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# A Family Firm:

The Carey Family

In Their Role As Border Officers,

1568-1603.

An M.A. Thesis

By

Gareth James Marklew

Of

The Graduate Society and the Department of History

University of Durham,

2000 - 2001.

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19 APR 2002

Abstract

Of

“A Family Firm: The Carey Family In Their Role As Border Officers

1568-1603.”

An M.A. Thesis

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Between 1568 and 1603, members of the Carey family filled a number of prominent positions within the administration of the English Marches on the Anglo-Scottish Border. As close relatives of Queen Elizabeth I of England, they were able to build up considerable power and influence both on the Border and at the English court.

This thesis attempts to examine how the Careys worked together as a family on the Border, at court and in institutions such as Parliament. It examines how the Careys' position at court supported the members of the family involved in Border office, and looks at the links that existed between the court and the Border. It also looks at the origins of the Carey family, and how it was that they came to hold such a position of importance, and how it was that their influence and power in England declined significantly after 1603. In particular, the part played by Elizabeth I in the rise to prominence of the Careys is examined, as is the role which her death played in the decline of their power.

The thesis also attempts to examine the roles filled by the members of the Carey family on the Border, and studies the nature of the relationships between them, the English Border gentry, other English Border officers and Scottish gentry and officials.

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## Abbreviations And Short Titles Used In The Notes

Where only an authors name is given, then it refers to the only reference to that author in the bibliography. Where an author has more than one work listed in the bibliography, their name in the notes will be followed by one of the abbreviations listed below. Full details of all publications, including full publication details of all collections of State Papers, Patent Rolls and Acts of the Privy Council used, can be found in the bibliography. Unless stated otherwise in the notes, volumes for collections of State Papers, Patent Rolls and Acts of the Privy Council, are indicated in the notes by the years they cover. Unless stated otherwise, references to documents in these collections refer to the document number, rather than the page number on which the document can be found.

- APC        Acts of the Privy Council.
- BUT        Cross, M.C., “Berwick upon Tweed and the neighbouring parts of Northumberland on the eve of the Armada”, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. XLI, 1963.
- CBP        Calendar of Border Papers.
- COA        Stone, L., *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*, Oxford, 1965.
- COC        Lomas, R., *County of Conflict: Northumberland From Conquest to Civil War*, 1996.
- Cork        Carey, Robert, *The Memoirs of the Life of Robert Cary, Baron of Leppington and Earl of Monmouth*, London, 1759.
- CPR        Calendars of Patent Rolls.
- CSPD       Calendars State Papers (Domestic).

- CSPD(Add) Calendars of State Papers Domestic (Addenda)
- CSPF Calendars of State Papers (Foreign).
- DNB Dictionary of National Biography, vol. III, London, 1973.
- EE Rowse, A.L., *Eminent Elizabethans*, London and Basingstoke, 1983.
- ESH Trevelyan, G. M., *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries Chaucer to Queen Victoria*, London, 1961.
- FSM Stone, L., *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, London 1979.
- GR Meikle, M.M., "'A Godly Rogue', The career of Sir John Forster, an Elizabethan Border Warden", *Northern History*, vol. XXVIII, 1992.
- JHC *Journals of the House of Commons*
- JHL *Journals of the House of Lords*
- LG Meikle, M.M., *Lairds and Gentlemen: A Study of the Landed Families of the Eastern Anglo-Scottish Borders c1540-1603*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1988.
- Mares Carey, Robert, *The Memoirs of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth*, Oxford 1972.
- MM Trevelyan, G. M., *The Middle Marches*, Newcastle, 1976.
- MP Hunter-Blair, C., *Members of Parliament for Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne. 1559-1831*, Gateshead, 1945.
- ND Meikle, M.M., "Northumberland divided: Anatomy of a Sixteenth Century blood feud", *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, vol. XX, 1992.
- NEEMA Lomas, R., *North East England in the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh, 1992

- PCB Spence, R.T., "The pacification of the Cumberland Borders 1593-1628", *Northern History*, vol. XIII, 1977.
- PE Cross, C., *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon 1536-1595*, London, 1966.
- PrivE Spence, R., *The Privateering Earl: George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland 1558-1605*, Stroud 1995.
- SS Rowse, A.L., *Simon Forman - Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age*, London, 1974.
- WDW Hunter-Blair, C., "Wardens and Deputy Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland in Northumberland and the English Wardens of Berwick upon Tweed", *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. XXVIII, 1950.

## Introduction

Every historian believes that the subject of their study has been unfairly ignored and under appreciated by previous generations of researchers. Even bearing this in mind, however, it is still surprising that there has been so little research on the careers of Sir Henry Carey, the first Baron Hunsdon, and of his family. This is despite the fact that Henry Carey was a powerful and influential figure at the court of Queen Elizabeth I. As a cousin (and quite possibly a half-brother) of the Queen, as a Privy Councillor and Lord Chamberlain, and as the senior crown official on the Anglo-Scottish Border for thirty years, he wielded immense power and influence. As Robin Rinehart commented in his PhD thesis on Thomas Radcliffe, the third Earl of Sussex, Henry Carey is a figure of whom it could be said that “less is known about them as political personalities than of contemporaries who could not equal the contributions made by them to the security and stability of the Elizabethan regime”<sup>1</sup>.

What has been written on Hunsdon and his family had been in the context of studies into other matters. Whilst Rinehart does mention Carey many times, it is purely in the context of his working relationship with the Earl of Sussex, and of his role in the suppression of the Rising of the Northern Earls. Likewise, the thesis of Susan Taylor refers to him in relation to his role in the events of 1569-1570<sup>2</sup>. All of the major works on the history of the Anglo-Scottish Borders mention Hunsdon, and most mention his sons, but these works tend to see the members of the Carey family purely as part of a succession of Elizabethan Border Wardens<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Rinehart, R., *Lord President Sussex And The Rising Of The Northern Earls, 1569-1570*, PhD thesis, Georgetown University, 1975, p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, Susan E., *The Crown and the North of England 1569-1570 And Its Causes*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Fraser, G.M., *The Steel Bonnets: The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*, London 1995; Watts, S.J., *From Border To Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586-1625*, Leicester, 1975; Tough, D.W., *The Last Years Of A Frontier: A History Of The Borders During The Reign of*

There is obviously a place for such studies, and it would be wrong to imagine the members of the Carey family as being one amorphous entity and not as a group of related individuals. It would be equally foolish however to neglect the fact that the Careys were a family, a distinct group. They were also a group who featured heavily in the history of the Border in Elizabeth's reign. Thus there is considerable scope for an examination of the Careys as a family on the Borders, looking at how they served as Border officials, and how they worked as a family in that environment.

The Careys' influence was not limited to the Border. They were a family who accumulated offices, lands and influence in the rest of England as well. Their role and actions in these offices, and their affairs and activities outside of the Border are for the most part outside of the scope of this study. The Careys' activities in the rest of England would make for an interesting study but this thesis is, after all, intended to examine the Carey family's role, actions and relations on the Border. However, the Careys on the Border did not live in isolation. The Queen's court and the Carey family's activities outside of the Border were of great importance in the lives of Hunsdon and his sons. It has therefore been necessary to examine the relationships between the Careys and the court, and to study some of their activities in the south of England. In particular, the ways in which the Careys on the Border gained both political and financial support are relevant, and are examined.

The links between the Careys in Border office and the court, and their activities outside of the Border are examined in Chapter Four of this thesis. Chapter One contains a brief summary of the state of the Anglo-Scottish Border in the second half of the sixteenth century, along with

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*Elizabeth*, Oxford, 1928; Pease, H., *The Lord Wardens Of The Marches Of England And Scotland*, London, 1913; Borland, R., *Border Raids And Reivers*, Dumfries, 1898.

an examination of the circumstances which created such a society, and of the problems faced by the Elizabethan Wardenry officials. Chapter Two looks at the origins of the Carey family and examines how they worked together as members of a family. Chapter Three, meanwhile, looks at the details of the Careys' activities on the Border, at how they conducted themselves in office, and at their relations with other officials and the local inhabitants on both the English and Scottish sides of the Border. Finally, Chapter Five briefly traces the career of the Carey family after the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and attempts to render some explanation for the relatively swift decline in power and influence which the Careys suffered after the Queen's death.

The evidence upon which this thesis is based is, with a few exceptions, that which is available in printed sources. The papers of the Carey family are long since scattered or lost<sup>4</sup>. There are various manuscripts currently within collections as diverse as the Public Record Office in London, of Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire, and of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C., but constraints of time and money have meant that such sources, relating as most of them do, to the Careys affairs in the south and in particular to Henry and George Carey's roles as Lord Chamberlain, have had to be ignored. Nevertheless, the evidence that is available in print is still of considerable quality and quantity, so little has been lost by ignoring manuscript sources.

The main printed primary sources for the Carey's work on the Borders fall into two categories. The first of these are the volumes of the calendars of various sets of state papers. Between them the Calendars of Border Papers, the Calendars of State Papers (Domestic) and

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<sup>4</sup> Tighe, W.J., *The Gentleman Pensioners In Elizabethan Politics And Government*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1983, p.4.

the Calendars of State Papers (Foreign)<sup>5</sup> contain the vast bulk of the correspondence between the Careys, William Cecil, the first Lord Burghley, his son Sir Robert Cecil and other courtiers and officials. The printed editions of the Acts of the Privy Council<sup>6</sup> contain details and records of communications between the Privy Council and English Border officials. Finally the Calendars of Patent Rolls<sup>7</sup> contain evidence of grants of offices, lands, licences and so forth, which serve to demonstrate the ways in which the Careys were rewarded for their services by the Crown.

These printed collections of sources, and particularly the Calendars of Border Papers have been criticised. Dr Meikle has suggested that these printed sources “often leave out important facts”, and has suggested that Border officials regularly exaggerated the levels of violence and difficulties with which they were faced<sup>8</sup>, thus rendering unreliable the evidence preserved in their correspondence. Despite the alleged unreliability of them as a source, however, Dr. Meikle still cites the Calendars of Border Papers no less than thirty times in Chapter One of her thesis alone<sup>9</sup>. Clearly such records are still of considerable use. Likewise, the sheer volume of reports of Border violence and lawlessness from such a wide range of sources suggest that whilst the Crown’s officials may have engaged in some exaggeration, there was still a significant amount of truth in what they had to say. The fact that native Borderers from Tyne and Redesdale were barred from apprenticeships with the Merchant-Adventurers Guild

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<sup>5</sup> Bain, J (ed), *Calendar Of Letters And Papers Relating To The Affairs Of The Borders Of England And Scotland Preserved In Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1560-1603*, two volumes, Edinburgh, 1894-1896, *Calendar Of The State Papers (Domestic) Of The Reign Of Elizabeth*, numerous volumes and editors, *Calendars Of the State Papers (Foreign) Of the Reign Of Elizabeth*, numerous volumes and editors.

<sup>6</sup> *Acts Of The Privy Council Of England*, numerous volumes and editors.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar Of The Patent Rolls Preserved In The Public Record Office, Elizabeth*, numerous volumes and editors.

<sup>8</sup> Meikle, M.M., *Lairds And Gentlemen: A Study Of The Landed Families Of The Eastern Anglo-Scottish Borders c. 1540-1603*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1988, p.143.

<sup>9</sup> Meikle. LG, Chapter One.

of Newcastle upon Tyne, on the grounds that they were “proceeding from such lawless and wicked progenitors”<sup>10</sup>, clearly demonstrates that fellow northerners believed that some Borderers were a violent, lawless society. Even Dr. Meikle admits that the surnames of Tyne and Redesdale in the Middle March were a violent raiding society, and that the slightly more settled gentry families of the English East March were frequently engaged in vicious feuds with one another<sup>11</sup>, whilst the situation in Cumberland on the Western March in 1583 was summed up by Thomas Musgrave, who warned Lord Burghley that the Cumberland surnames were “a people that...keep gentlemen of the country in fear”<sup>12</sup>. So long as one remembers that Border officials could exaggerate, it is not necessary to believe that they always did so, or that they did so to any great degree.

The second of the major printed primary sources are the Memoirs of Sir Robert Carey<sup>13</sup>, Lord Hunsdon’s youngest son. Written some thirty years after the death of Queen Elizabeth, these are not an autobiography in the modern sense of the word. They reveal little of Carey’s inner thoughts and feelings, recalling as they do Carey’s actions, deeds and activities rather than his opinions<sup>14</sup>. They are still, however, a valuable work. They provide a first-hand account of the life of a Border official and of relationships within the Carey family. As with all personal recollections, Carey’s memoirs are inevitably biased and self-favouring. One should take, for example, some of his claims as to the extent of his success to stopping reivers with a pinch of salt. Occasionally he mixes up the order and dating of events, as is only to be expected because he was writing so long after the events that he refers to. In all, however, Carey’s

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<sup>10</sup> Beckingsale, R.W., “The characteristics of the Tudor North” in *Northern History*, IV, 1969, p.80.

<sup>11</sup> Meikle. LG, p.421.

<sup>12</sup> Watts, p.27.

<sup>13</sup> Carey, Robert, *The Memoirs of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth*, (Mares, F. ed), Oxford, 1972.

<sup>14</sup> Mares, p.xxi.

Memoirs remain a work of great value for the perspective they give on Robert Carey's life on the frontier.

Secondary sources used in this thesis are listed in full in the bibliography. Suffice to say, they are numerous, and range from general histories of the Border to studies of specific element of Elizabethan society.

Any study of the sixteenth century hits the problems of dating and spelling. Wherever possible, for ease of reference, I have used the modern system of dating the beginning of the new year to the 1<sup>st</sup> of January of each year, rather than the more confusing, if more historically accurate method of dating it to the 25<sup>th</sup> March. Sadly, it is not always clear in secondary or printed primary sources whether dates mentioned refer to the Julian or Gregorian Calendar. Throughout this thesis I have used the dates as they are given in the sources themselves, and would refer the reader to those sources for more information on the dating system used.

As far as spelling is concerned, where a quote in sixteenth-century spelling is available I have, for purely aesthetic reasons, preserved the original spelling. Personal Names are spelt in a variety of different ways in the sources, so I have had to standardise some spellings in the text. I have chosen to use the spellings which occur most frequently in more modern texts, and thus Cary becomes Carey, Woddrington and Witherington become Widdrington and Ker and Carre become Kerr and Carr for the Scots and English sides of the Border respectively. Where possible, in the text place names have been given in their modern form.

Where there is a reference to 'Henry Carey' or 'Lord Hunsdon', the person referred to is Sir Henry Carey, the first Baron Hunsdon, and not any of his sons who bore the same name or title, unless another person is referred to in the text.

## Chapter 1

### The State Of The Anglo-Scottish Border In The Later-Sixteenth Century.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, there had developed along the Anglo-Scottish Borders a culture that was almost completely separate from the mainstream of English and Scottish society. The foundation of this society were the extended family groupings of the region, known as the surnames, which were further sub-divided into smaller units or graynes. Each grayne, and each surname had their headman, who controlled the affairs of the family. All the surnames of the region fitted into an intricate social structure, an interweaving of alliances and obediences which governed both the relationships between the families, and those between the surnames and the outside world<sup>15</sup>. Even amongst the more prosperous areas of the Border, in the east, north of the Coquet, for example, the family groupings retained their importance.

This was a society which was primarily pastoral in nature. The landscape of the Borders was, as it still is, not one which was ideally suited to arable farming. The upland pastures, however, were ideal ground for the summering of cattle and sheep, which were driven back down into the valleys for winter. The people of this region were regarded by their contemporaries as being somewhat primitive, barbarous even. The Elizabethan writer William Camden for example described them as:

“...ancienne nomades...who from the moneth of Aprill unto  
August, ly out skattering and sommering (as they terme it)

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<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note the similarities between the society of the Anglo-Scottish Borders in the sixteenth century, and that of the Scottish highlands through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It would be a topic worthy of some study, although not one which falls within the scope of this thesis, to examine to what extent similar social, economic and historical conditions existed in both these areas to cause the development of such similar societies.

with their cattaile....”<sup>16</sup>

This perception of the sixteenth century Borderers as being some kind of primitive, backward people, is one which has survived almost down to the modern day, even in the minds of some of the most eminent historians of this century. G.M. Trevelyan described them thus:

“Like the Homeric Greeks, the Borderers were cruel and barbarous men, slaying each other like beasts of the forest, but high in pride and rough faithfulness...”<sup>17</sup>

The main reason for these enduring images of the Borderers barbarity is the existence upon the Anglo-Scottish Borders of this time of a state of almost complete lawlessness. The favourite past-time of many of the surnames, both on the English and on the Scottish side of the Borders, and especially of the largest and most powerful, the so called “riding surnames”, was reiving - the rustling of each others cattle, sheep, and horses, along with the extortion of blackmail, or “blackrent”, as it was known in the Borders, and the kidnapping for ransom of their family’s opponents, or indeed of just about any other individual. When added to the tendency of the surnames to enter into often deadly “feedes”, or feuds, with each other with alarming regularity, the Anglo-Scottish Borders were a place where violence, and to some extent barbarity, was a regular occurrence.

It is true that violence existed in other parts of England at the time. Lawrence Stone has commented that:

“In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

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<sup>16</sup> Camden, William, *Britannia*, translated by Philemon Holland, London, 1610, p.806.

<sup>17</sup> Trevelyan, G. M., *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria*, London, 1961, p.154.

tempers were short and weapons to hand.

The behaviour of the propertied classes, like that of the poor, was characterised by the ferocity, childishness and lack of self-control of the Homeric age.”<sup>18</sup>

This may be something of a generalisation. The English of the sixteenth century didn't spend all of their time in violent quarrels any more than the English of the twenty-first century spend all of their time in peace and harmony. However, violence certainly existed. In 1593, for example, a group of supporters of the Talbot and Cavendish families set upon John Stanhope, with whose family they were feuding, in Fleet Street, whilst in 1573, Lord Grey of Wilton led twelve followers in an attack on one John Fortesque<sup>19</sup>. The Anglo-Scottish Border was different however, in that the violence there had the potential to touch every one of the inhabitants of the region. It was not just a case of people being targeted if they were involved in specific feuds. Whole populations, certainly in areas such as Redesdale, Tynedale and Liddesdale, were affected, not just the followers of one noble or another.

The question must be asked, therefore, as to how this state of lawlessness developed in Border society. It is not sufficient merely to see it as a result of the characters of those involved in violence, nor is it possible to, as one Edwardian historian did, put it down to the Borderers being “victims of an evil fate....”<sup>20</sup> There were multiple factors involved in shaping the characters of those involved, and multiple causes contributing to their fate. For any study involving the Anglo-Scottish Borders in this period, an examination of the factors involved in

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<sup>18</sup> Stone, L., *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, Oxford, 1965, p.223.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.225-226.

<sup>20</sup> Borland, p.3.

the creation of the society and an understanding of the context in which the culture developed is vital.

It is undoubtedly true that the very presence of the Anglo-Scottish Border was a factor which contributed to the high level of lawlessness and violence on the frontier in the late sixteenth century. By their very nature, frontiers can be violent areas, and the culture of any frontier society is affected by the level of violence which exists along that frontier<sup>21</sup>. The Anglo-Scottish Border, was no exception to this rule. For the best part of three hundred years, from the campaigns of Edward I of England and Robert I, the Bruce, of Scotland, to the reigns of Elizabeth I and James VI, there were variable levels of Anglo-Scottish warfare, which invariably affected Border society. It has been said, for example, that the raids and wars of Robert I returned the people of the Borders to “something like the cave ages”<sup>22</sup> - this may be something of an exaggeration<sup>23</sup> - the people of the Borders were more than capable of recovering from raids and warfare, if only because they grew so used to it, but the presence of conflict could not but help influence the development of the culture of the Borders.

The presence for three hundred years of a state of tension, which often broke out into conflict, between England and Scotland, led the Borderers to become ready for conflict at any time. As Camden said, of the Borderers of Gilsland, in Cumberland:

“For the inhabitants on both sides as Borderers  
in all other parts, are a military kind of men,  
nimble, wilie, alwaies in readines for any

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<sup>21</sup> James, M. E., *Change And Continuity In The Tudor North: The Rise Of Thomas, First Lord Wharton*, York, 1965, Borthwick Paper no.27, p.3.

<sup>22</sup> Fraser, p.28.

<sup>23</sup> Lomas, R., *North East England In The Middle Ages*, Edinburgh, 1992, p.72.

service, yea and by reason of often skirmishes

passing wel experienced...”<sup>24</sup>

There was not all that much difference between being always ready to take up arms for England, or for Scotland, against the other country, and being ready to take them up to indulge in a quick spot of cattle rustling. Of course, it was very much to the advantage of the English government to possess subjects in the Borders who were ready, willing and able to cause trouble for the other side. Henry VIII was only too happy to encourage the Borderers to raid into Scotland, and then to turn a blind eye when complaints were made about such activity<sup>25</sup>. In truth it suited successive governments, both of England and of Scotland, for the Borders to exist as a form of buffer, between the enemy and the more settled areas of their country<sup>26</sup>. In short, by the end of the sixteenth century, both through the course of events, and through the deliberate policies of various governments, violence had become a way of life amongst the Borderers, and this invariably left its mark upon their society.

The way in which it made the Borderers ready for, and used to, violence, was not the only impact several centuries of Border warfare had upon Border culture and society. With the exception of a few, large scale, invasions, made by royal armies, and led by monarchs or senior commanders, the vast majority of Anglo-Scottish conflict comprised of a pattern of swift, short raids, by smaller forces, which had the intention of destroying as much property, gaining as much booty, and causing as much chaos as possible<sup>27</sup>. With the existence of such a style of raiding, there was little point for the farmers of the region in settling down to grow crops, even in those areas of the Borders which were suitable for arable farming, for it would only

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<sup>24</sup> Camden, p.782.

<sup>25</sup> Robson, R., *The Rise And Fall Of The English Highland Clans: Tudor Responses To A Medieval Problem*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp. 104, 148.

<sup>26</sup> Fraser, p.30.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p.29.

take one raid to potentially wipe out a whole year's crop, and leave the farmers with nothing for their pains. It made more sense, therefore, to concentrate on pastoral farming, which had the advantage of rearing movable produce, which could be sent to a place of safety in the event of a raid, to preserve the farmer's income. Of course, the disadvantage of movable produce was that horses, cattle or sheep could be more easily stolen than a field of oats or barley, and so both the temptation and the opportunity of easy pickings was introduced to the Borders - tempting opportunities which were not easy to resist, especially when rustling was an easy way of recouping losses caused by other reivers. The fact that farming in the Borders was predominantly pastoral, with comparatively little of the countryside given over to the production of crops, thus produced a viable target and a profitable reason for reiving.

If reivers, or Scottish or English raiders, were riding through the night to steal cattle and horses, then it made sense for landowners, and their tenants to have secure places where those animals could be stored, and where their members could retreat to in safety. To meet this need it became common, all along the Borders, for landed families to construct fortified dwellings. In lowland districts, the most common form of fortification was the stone tower, usually of between forty and fifty feet high, with external dimensions of between thirty by twenty five and thirty by fifty feet, with three or four stories, and walls of six and seven feet thick<sup>28</sup>. In upland districts, such as Redesdale and North Tynedale, areas which were the heartland of the surname based society, two distinct, and unique, types of defensive structure were developed, the pele and the bastle. The pele was usually two stories tall, roughly rectangular, and measured about thirty five by twenty five feet, the walls being about four feet thick. Entry to the lower floor, where animals would be stored, was through a door in the end

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<sup>28</sup> Lomas, NEEMA, p.70.

wall, whilst entry to the upper floor, where people would reside, was by means of an external staircase, set side on to one of the longer walls. Bastles were larger versions of the same idea, often with a garret or attic, most of which were built prior to 1540, whilst most peles were built after that date.<sup>29</sup> Whilst these fortifications helped the people of the Border counties to resist the criminal activities of reivers, they also helped contribute to the lawlessness of the area. For the same towers, peles and bastles which could be used as defences against the reivers could be used by them to reside in whilst resisting any attempts by governmental authorities to bring them to book. One commentator, Sir Robert Bowes, a royal commissioner conducting a survey of the Borders in 1542, stated:

“...suerly the heddesmen of them have very  
strong houses....that yt wylbe very harde  
w<sup>th</sup>oute greatt force & laboure to breake  
or caste downe any of the saide houses.....”<sup>30</sup>

Bowes was chiefly referring to fortified houses and towers made of timbers - one need only imagine how much harder it would be to evict a reiver from a stone pele or bastle. Thus it can be seen that, by causing the building of such strong and secure defensive structures, the frequent occurrences of warfare along the Anglo-Scottish Borders contributed to lawlessness, by creating the circumstances whereby the reivers had plenty of places where they could retreat to, and where no governmental authority could reach them.

It is clear then that Anglo-Scottish warfare helped create the culture of violence, and was one of the factors which helped create high levels of lawlessness along the Borders. It is equally clear, however, that it can not have been the sole factor involved in the development and

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, pp.71-72.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Hodgson, J., *A History Of Northumberland, Part III, Volume II*, Newcastle, 1828, pp.232-233n.

survival of such a culture. After all, by the middle of Elizabeth I's reign there had been no overt warfare between England and Scotland for over two decades, and indeed, there had been comparatively little open conflict between the two countries throughout the sixteenth century<sup>31</sup>. There must have been, therefore, other factors which ensured the continuation of the Border way of life through periods of peace between England and Scotland, as well as through periods of war.

The problems of the Border regions in the late sixteenth century were in part caused by economic circumstances. A number of these circumstances combined to aid the spread of lawlessness and violence in the region. Probably the largest of these problems was that caused by over-population. Throughout England, in the later sixteenth century there existed a general trend of population growth - the population of the country increased from around 2.98 million in 1561, to 4.10 million in 1601<sup>32</sup>. This trend appears to have been reflected in the Border counties. Obviously, there was only a limited amount of land to support these extra people, and the amount of land available was further reduced by the Border custom of divisible inheritance. Under this system, land, rather than being handed down from father to eldest son was split between all the children of the deceased. The result of this custom was to ensure that the holdings of individuals got smaller and smaller, until they were no longer as economically viable as they had previously been<sup>33</sup>. That the English government at least thought that this division of land was responsible can be seen in an agreement reached with the Borderers in Elizabeth's reign, whereby it was decided that no customary holding should be divided amongst children unless each portion was worth six shillings and eight pence in yearly

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<sup>31</sup> Fraser, p.3.

<sup>32</sup> Guy, J., *Tudor England*, Oxford, 1988, p.32.

<sup>33</sup> Robson, p.41.

rent. It was further agreed that if somebody should die intestate, then their estate would be passed down according to the rules of primogeniture<sup>34</sup>. If the land they had inherited was not sufficient to support them, then people would turn to crime to gain the resources they needed, and in the Borders the most popular style of crime was reiving. That this was the case, was certainly the view of Sir Robert Bowes, who commented in 1550 that:

“...surely the great occasion of the dis-order  
...is that there be more inhabitants within  
...them then the said countreys maye susteyne  
to live truely. For uppon a fyrme of a noble  
rent There doe inhabite in some place three  
or fower householde.....”<sup>35</sup>

The problems caused by poverty created by over population were further increased by a decline in the use of light horsemen in the English army, in favour of heavy cavalry. For the Borderers, who had always provided light horsemen, this trend resulted them in losing what was for many the only alternative to farming, thus forcing them again to turn to reiving to make ends meet<sup>36</sup>.

As populations in the Borders grew, and the amount of land available to support these populations fell, the level to which the Borderers were affected by any shortages of grain rose<sup>37</sup>. At several points in the later sixteenth century, such shortages occurred. From 1594 until 1597, there was a run of bad harvests all across Britain<sup>38</sup>, and this severely affected the

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<sup>34</sup> Thirsk, J. (ed.), *Agrarian History Of England And Wales, Volume IV*, Cambridge, 1967, p.24.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Hodgson, p.243.

<sup>36</sup> Robson, p.203.

<sup>37</sup> Outhwaite, R.B., *Dearth, Public Policy And Social Disturbance In England, 1550-1800*, London, 1991, p.28.

<sup>38</sup> Appleby, A.B., “Disease or famine ? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1580-1640”, in *Economic History Review*, vol XXVI, 1973, p.419.

Border counties. In 1597, the Land-Sergeant, a government appointed official, of Gilsland, reported that the area was troubled by “great dearth and famyn wherewith the country hath been punished extremly these three hard yeares bypast”<sup>39</sup>, whilst a citizen of Newcastle, also writing in 1597 reported “sundry dieing and starving in our streets and fields for lack of bread”<sup>40</sup>. Thus it can be seen that, increased populations in areas such as the Borders, which were not, in the first place, ideally suited for arable growth, both because of the attentions of the reivers, and, at least in upland areas, by the nature of the soil, were severely effected by failures of the harvest. This was yet another factor which drove the inhabitants to reiving to survive.

The Borderers could also be badly affected by the actions of their landlords. There was, in Northern England, throughout the Tudor period, a trend for landlords to be absentees<sup>41</sup>. This caused problems to start with, as it led to produce, and more importantly the revenue raised from it, being taken out of the area in which it was produced<sup>42</sup>, thus leading to a further lack of income in the Borders. Potentially more serious than this, however, was the tend towards the enclosure of land. By this practice land which had been held in common was acquired by groups or individuals, who assembled the land they had gained into one farm, usually for the rearing of sheep - a result of a rise in wool prices between 1540 and 1550<sup>43</sup>. The people who had occupied that land could be summarily evicted. Sir Thomas Grey of Chillingham is reported to have expelled 340 men, women and children from Newham in one day in 1597<sup>44</sup>,

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<sup>39</sup> Quoted in *Ibid*, p.420.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in *Ibid*, p.419.

<sup>41</sup> Thirsk, p.17.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p.18.

<sup>43</sup> Reid, R. R., “The rising of the earls, 1569”, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XX, 1906, p.181.

<sup>44</sup> Kerridge E., *Agrarian Problems In The Sixteenth Century And After*, London, 1969, p.128.

whilst Sir John Delaval, described the actions of his cousin, Sir Robert Delavel, in Hartley in 1596 thus:

“.....(he) purchased all the freeholders lands and tenements, displaced the said tenants, defaced their tenements, converted their village to pasture..... and made one demaine....so that where there were then in Hartley 15 serviceable men furnished with sufficient horse and furniture there is not now nor hath been these 20 years last past or thereabouts...”<sup>45</sup>

In addition to those so evicted, there were others who suffered from enclosure. Land being used for pasture required fewer labourers to work it than land which was being used for arable farming. Therefore, agricultural labourers found themselves out of work as a result of enclosure, and with, as has been noted, there being lower demand than previously for lightly armoured Border horsemen to serve in English armies, once again Borderers had little choice but to turn to the violent and lawless way of life that was reiving.

It would be a mistake, however, to blame all of the problems of the Borders on the economy. Whilst over-population, poverty and unemployment could drive the less well off to reiving it needs to be remembered that a number of the reivers were, comparatively well off, landed gentry, who led the local Border communities, whilst others, particularly on the Scottish side, were peers of the realm, whose influence spread far beyond the Borders<sup>46</sup>. Such people had no need to turn to robbery to survive. The problems of enclosure, whilst they existed, should

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<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Butlin, R. A., “Enclosure and improvement in Northumberland in the sixteenth-century”, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th Series, vol. XLV, 1967, p.155.

<sup>46</sup> Fraser, p.90; Watts, p.55.

not be exaggerated. Indeed, enclosure in the Border counties was in many cases prevented, simply because enclosing land and evicting the tenants meant that there were less people able to turn out equipped to defend the county against reivers<sup>47</sup>. In some ways, the Border region actually held an advantage over the rest of England - it was for example less susceptible to outbreaks of plague than much of the rest of the country. With the exception of 1597 and 1598, when Carlisle, Penrith, Kendle, Appleby and Newcastle were all struck by plague<sup>48</sup>, the cold climate, and scattered distribution of the population that existed on the Anglo-Scottish frontier ensured that the best conditions for the spread of the plague did not exist in that region in the later sixteenth century<sup>49</sup>. Furthermore, the likelihood of plagues among cattle, always a great cause of trouble for any pastoral community, was reduced by the Borderers habits of transhumance farming<sup>50</sup>. So, there must have been further causes, aside from the economic ones, and those to do with cross-Border tension, that led to the existence of a lawless and violent society in the Border counties in the late sixteenth century.

The practical difficulties of governing the Borders, of enforcing any form of governmental authority in the region, were immense. It has been pointed out that in terms of travel hours Tynedale and Redesdale were more remote from London in the sixteenth century than the Falkland Islands are today<sup>51</sup>. On the Scottish side of the Border, Edinburgh, whilst closer in geographical terms, was equally as cut off from the life of the Border<sup>52</sup>. The terrain of the Borders was not ideally suited for the enforcement of law. Bowes, this time writing to the Marquis of Dorset in 1550, reported that:

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<sup>47</sup> Butlin, p.153.

<sup>48</sup> Appleby, pp.408-420.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, pp.407-408.

<sup>50</sup> Thirsk, p.22.

<sup>51</sup> Robson, p.19.

<sup>52</sup> Rae, T., *The Administration Of The Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603*, Edinburgh, 1966, p.1.

“There countrey is soe stronge full of woodes,  
Maresses and streat passages so that in the end  
they (the reivers) have after their evil doinge  
obtained the King’s Ma<sup>ties</sup> generall pardon....”<sup>53</sup>

Clearly there was a problem if all criminals had to do was to retreat into the wilderness of the Borders and wait out their pursuers. In his 1542 report, Bowes further demonstrates the difficulty the terrain presented in the government of the Borders, when discussing the region of Kidland:

“And ov’ that the said valyes or hoopes of  
Kyndland lyeth so dystante and devyded by  
mouteynes one from an other that such as  
Inhabyte in one of these hoopes valeys or  
graynes can not heare the Fraye outecrye  
or exclamac’ on of suche as dwell in an other  
hoope or valley.....”<sup>54</sup>

This was obviously a region in which the topography was always going to be against those wishing to enforce the law - it was just too easy for the reivers to make use of the lie of the land to come in on a quick raid, and vanish off into the hills and moorland, easily evading the few scattered spotters, who, on the English side of the Border at least were placed by local communities, on the orders of the government, in the hope that they could spot a raid coming and provide suitable warning<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Hodgson, p.235.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, p.223n.

<sup>55</sup> Trevelyan, G.M., *The Middle Marches*, Newcastle, 1975, p.23.

Efforts at enforcing the law on the Borders were not helped by the administrative structure which was in existence along them. On both the English and Scottish sides, the Border area was divided into three marches, the Western, Middle and Eastern Marches. Each of these marches was, in theory at least, under the control of a Warden, each of whom had a deputy. In addition, the areas of Tynedale and Redesdale in England, and Liddesdale and Teviotdale in Scotland came under the rule of officers known as “Keepers” - officers who were in theory lower in rank than the Wardens, but who in practice tended to operate at a similar level. The Wardens and Keepers, and their deputies were, in theory at least, supposed to work with each other to keep the peace of the Borders<sup>56</sup>. In reality these elaborate structures often broke down.

This occurred for many reasons. Writing in his memoirs about the later years of Sir John Forster, who held the office of Warden of the English Middle March virtually non-stop from 1560 until 1595, Sir Robert Carey, who himself held that post from 1598 until 1603, commented that he:

“..grew at length to that weaknesse by reason  
of his age, that the Borderers knowing it, grew  
insolent and by reason of their many excursions  
and open roades the inhabitants of that March  
were much weakened and impoverished.”<sup>57</sup>

Obviously, Wardens who were weak, either by age or by sheer incompetence, could not hope to control their marches.

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<sup>56</sup> Fraser, p.34.

<sup>57</sup> Mares, p.45.

Similarly, those seeking the enforcement of law and order in the Borders were not helped by the involvement of the Wardens and their officers in reiving. From the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards there were increasing levels of complaints made to the governments of England and Scotland about the involvement of the local gentry in crime along the Borders<sup>58</sup>, and it is apparent that this included many of the Wardens. Sir John Forster was suspended from duty by Elizabeth I, having been accused of a long list of crimes, of which it has been said “If half of it was true, Forster was one of the biggest villains on the frontier; probably rather more than half of it was...”<sup>59</sup>. Forster was re-instated, following an enquiry by Sir Henry Carey, the first Lord Hunsdon, Warden of the English East Marches from 1568 to 1596, who concluded that Forster was the “fittest man for the tyme”<sup>60</sup>. Forster was not alone amongst the Wardens in having his integrity questioned. Walter, Lord Scott of Buccleuch, Keeper of Liddesdale from 1594 until 1603, was responsible in 1596 for rescuing an infamous reiver, “Kinmont” Willie Armstrong, from the dungeons of Carlisle Castle, where he was being held by Thomas, Lord Scrope of Bolton, the Warden of the English West March<sup>61</sup>. There were many other cases of Wardens and their offices being up to their necks in the criminal activities of the riding surnames<sup>62</sup>. In many cases, there was little desire amongst the Wardens to stamp out reiving, because they themselves profited from it to a very great degree.

Even when there was a willingness amongst the Wardens to act against the reivers, it was not always as easy as it might have been. They relied heavily upon the co-operation of the other Border officers, and of the surnames, and when that co-operation was not forthcoming, there

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<sup>58</sup> Robson, p.79.

<sup>59</sup> Fraser, p.315.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in *Ibid*, p.315.

<sup>61</sup> Pease, p.211.

<sup>62</sup> James, p.4.

was very little that even the most energetic officer could do. In 1550, Bowes made clear what anybody taking legal action against an individual from a strong surname could expect:

“..for if...(the criminal) be of any great Surname  
or kyndred and be lawfully executed by order of  
Justice, The rest of his kynne..beare...much  
malice....against such as followe the law against  
their cossen...”<sup>63</sup>

No official, no matter how influential, could afford to upset the careful balance of diplomacy with which they had to manage affairs with the powerful surnames. If ensuring that a powerful surname was not upset meant ignoring some of their activities, then the Wardens rarely had much choice in the matter.

The Wardens' job was made much harder by the complex structure of the law which they were supposed to enforce. A specific code, the *leges marchiarum*, existed to cover cross-Border disputes. This had been drawn up at a number of meetings, the first of which was held in 1248, between commissioners from England and Scotland<sup>64</sup>. Over the years, commissioners from both sides met on many occasions, and the codes of laws were frequently rewritten - one collection, the “Leges Marchiarum” of Bishop Nicolson of Carlisle, published in 1705, contains eight collections, dating from 1249 to 1596<sup>65</sup>. Indeed the preamble to the agreement of 1563 mentions that, in part, this code was needed due to “....want of some more strait orders then heretofore have been provided”<sup>66</sup>, and yet the final code of Border laws was published only thirty-three years later. This uncertain mass of law, developed over several

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<sup>63</sup> Quoted in Hodgson, pp.232-233.

<sup>64</sup> Fraser, p.149.

<sup>65</sup> Nicolson, W., *Leges Marchiarum Or Border Laws*, London, 1705.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, p.120.

centuries was ripe for abuse, and abused it was. To add to the difficulties, technically no English warden had the right to try anybody apart from for the crime of "March Treason"<sup>67</sup> - a term which was supposed to cover treasonous association with Scots. Whilst this could be stretched about as far as it would go - one warden's court condemning three people for being persons of bad character<sup>68</sup> - it still left something of a hole in a warden's authority and further prevented them from doing their job. The difficulties of enforcing the law can be seen in the rarity of actual convictions for crimes - of the 59 trials held before the Warden's court of the Middle March in 1596, only three resulted in convictions<sup>69</sup>. With a record like that, it is easy to see how lawlessness could remain such a feature of life on the Borders.

A final problem which made it hard for the Border Wardens to govern their Marches was that of money. The English government, and in particular Elizabeth I seems to have been very unwilling to supply the wardens with the finances they needed to successfully fill their offices. Just before the Battle of Ancrum Moor, in 1545, the English Lieutenant General, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was forced to borrow 1000 marks in Newcastle, to pay the arrears of the English army<sup>70</sup>. Henry Carey commented of his office as Warden of the East March that he was "neyther in purse nor boddy able to indure it..."<sup>71</sup>. For a want of funding, the castles and defensive structures belonging to the crown and other governmental authorities were allowed to decay. In his 1550 report, Bowes commented that the castle of Wark was "much decayed" and had "muchoe neede there to be repayed"<sup>72</sup>, whilst in general:

"...all..the...castells fortresses towers and

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<sup>67</sup> Robson, p.158.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Lomas, R., *County Of Conflict: Northumberland From Conquest To Civil War*, 1996, p.67.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.129.

<sup>71</sup> CBP I, 102.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted in Hodgson, p.201.

piles within the said east marches belonging  
as well to the Kinge's Maiesty as to any other  
person be suffered to decaye...."<sup>73</sup>

Any official expected to do their duty when wages were not paid, and when money was not provided to fund their defences, was always going to face an uphill struggle, and whilst the chronic under-feeding of the Wardens and the Borders in general continued, the level of violence along the Borders could not be reduced.

Given the great difficulties involved in governing the Borders, what sort of people were appointed as wardens ? One option was to appoint locals, people who knew the area and its inhabitants, to be Wardens, Deputy Wardens and Keepers. In 1525, and again in 1542, peers agreed that to serve in Northumberland one needed to be related to all of the local gentry<sup>74</sup>, whilst as late as 1619 Lord Howard de Walden expressed the view that only those born and bred on the Borders could hope to control them<sup>75</sup>. From the time of Henry VII, however, the chief criterion of the monarchs of England was to ensure that the Borders were in "obedient and loyal hands"<sup>76</sup> In some cases, such as that of Sir John Forster, or as in the case of the Earl of Northumberland, appointed Warden of the English East and Middle Marches by Mary I, in 1557<sup>77</sup>, a local man provided such safe hands. In others, the monarch preferred to trust some loyal servant from the court. This category includes Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton, appointed Warden of the English West March in 1562<sup>78</sup>, and it also included the various members of the Carey family to serve on the English Borders.

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, p.204.

<sup>74</sup> Robson, p.114.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, p.116.

<sup>76</sup> James, p.5.

<sup>77</sup> Pease, p.201.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*.

The Careys in many ways provide a good example of Border officials in the sixteenth century. Closely related to Elizabeth I, they were royal courtiers, not native Border gentry. From 1568, when Sir Henry Carey was appointed to the wardenship of the English East March, until 1603, when, at the accession of James I, one of his sons, Sir John Carey was Warden on the East March, and another, Sir Robert, was Warden of the English Middle Marches<sup>79</sup>, there was rarely a year when there was not a Carey in some position on the Border. By looking at this family and at the way in which they fitted into the Border society, and the way in which they acted with, and reacted to, the local, national and international politics of the time it is possible to gain some insight into the nature of both the role of an Elizabethan Border official, and also to reach some conclusion as to the workings of that society. We are also fortunate in that, in the Careys, we have a family who has left a large written record. Robert Carey has left his memoirs, which include a detailed description of his life on the Borders, whilst the Careys also wrote, in the course of their duties, a large number of letters, a portion of which have survived (and, if Tough is to be believed, they had reasonably legible handwriting<sup>80</sup>, which has no doubt aided in the publication, and thus the easy availability, of these letters) thus leaving us more of a record. As several members of the family rose to positions of prominence within England, their contemporaries too wrote of them, thus ensuring that there are plentiful resources available allowing a study of the Carey family in their roles as Border officials in the later-sixteenth century.

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<sup>79</sup> Lomas, COC, p.163.

<sup>80</sup> Tough, p.xiii.

## Chapter II

### The Carey Family – Their Origins And Working Relationship

It has been said that Henry Carey was one of a “flock of minor gentry”, who came to replace the greater landed aristocracy as personal servants of the crown in the reign of Elizabeth<sup>81</sup>. His origins, in fact, were somewhat loftier than that statement implies.

He was born on the 4th March 1526, the eldest son and second child of Mary, the sister to Anne Boleyn. Officially, his father was Sir William Carey, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and Esquire to the Body of King Henry VIII<sup>82</sup>. There is, however, some good cause to be doubtful of the exact nature of Carey’s parentage. In 1527, after he had decided to wed Anne Boleyn, the king had sought, and had obtained, a papal dispensation that permitted him to wed the sister of someone with whom he had engaged in illicit intercourse<sup>83</sup>. In later life, comment was made as to the physical similarity between the king and Henry Carey<sup>84</sup>, whilst as early as 1535, a vicar being questioned by the Privy Council reported that one of his acquaintances, a monk of Syon, “did shoue to me yonge Master Care, saying that he was our suffren Lord the Kynges son by our suffren lady the Qwyen’s sister...”<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> MacCaffery, W., “England, the crown and the aristocracy”, in *Past and Present*, XXX, 1965, p.54.

<sup>82</sup> Cockayne, G. E. C., *The Complete Peerage*, London, 1926, vol VI, p.627.

<sup>83</sup> Warnicke, R. M., *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn - Family Politics At the Court of Henry VIII*, Cambridge, 1989, p.45.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, p.268.

<sup>85</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. VIII, 567.

Of course, the evidence that points towards King Henry VIII as the father of Henry Carey would not be strong enough to stand up in a court of law. The evidence that there is, is either purely circumstantial, or is based upon rumour and hearsay. It has been suggested that Henry's older sister, Catherine, later Lady Knollys, as the older sibling, would be the more likely of the two to have a royal father, as King Henry was certainly involved with her mother prior to her birth<sup>86</sup>. Furthermore, it could be asked why it would be that Henry VIII was willing to acknowledge one illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, his son by Elizabeth Blount, who was created Duke of Richmond in 1525, and yet not acknowledge Carey if he was indeed his son. In all, there are arguments for and arguments against that theory. In the long run, however, it does not really matter. Henry Carey was not just another minor gentleman - even if he was not the son of a king, then he was still the grandson of an earl (Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire), the nephew of one queen (Anne Boleyn), and the cousin of another (Elizabeth I).

Despite the high status that his family connections gave him, there is little evidence to suggest that Carey was particularly active on the national stage before the reign of Elizabeth. Under Edward VI, he sat as Member of Parliament for Buckingham in 1547<sup>87</sup>, but seems not to have played any major part in its proceedings<sup>88</sup>. He was granted the Buckinghamshire manors of Little Brickhill and Burton, along with the borough of Buckingham itself, which had belonged to his father, in 1547<sup>89</sup>, and was confirmed in possession of that property in 1552, although he passed the grant on to one Robert Brocas of Buckingham a few months later<sup>90</sup>. By 1553, he

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<sup>86</sup> Williams, N., *All the Queen's Men - Elizabeth I and her Courtiers*, London, 1972, p.38.

<sup>87</sup> Bindoff, S.T., *The Commons, 1509-1558*, vol. I., London, 1982, p.582.

<sup>88</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol I, p.1-23.

<sup>89</sup> Bindoff, p.582.

<sup>90</sup> CPR, Edward VI, 1550-1553, 250, 330.

had a position as a carver in the King's Privy Chamber<sup>91</sup>. Under Mary, he held the seat for Buckingham in the Parliaments of April and November 1554 and October 1555<sup>92</sup>. In the November 1554 Parliament, he was entrusted by the Crown with the presentation of the first Commons reading of the bill to restore the links between the Church of England and Rome<sup>93</sup>. This was despite the fact that he had apparently been under suspicion following the execution of Sir Thomas Wyatt, in April 1554. On May 20th of that year Carey, described as "One of the Lady Elizabeth's gentlemen", was summoned before the Privy Council "to make his contynuall apparaunce before them from time to time."<sup>94</sup> More official displeasure was to follow when, in January 1555, he was one of 109 members who left Parliament without licence, despite a royal prohibition on such behaviour. Quite why so many members acted like this is unclear. It has been suggested it was to demonstrate their opposition to the bill of reunification with Rome, or of the bill being debated at the time regarding the guardianship of the child which the Queen believed she was carrying at the time - a bill which would have made Philip of Spain the guardian of the child and of the realm should anything have happened to Mary. It is probably more likely that the absent members merely wanted to get away for their Christmas holidays<sup>95</sup>. Carey appears to have tempted the fates once more when, in the Parliament of 1555, he voted against a bill put forward by the crown<sup>96</sup>, although it is unclear whether this was the bill to return the first fruits and tenths to the church, which narrowly scraped through the Commons, or the bill to allow the seizing of the property of Protestant exiles, which was defeated in the House of Commons in December 1555<sup>97</sup>. It was perhaps as a result of this continued disobedience that Henry Carey did not sit in the Commons in Mary's

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<sup>91</sup> Bindoff, p.583.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Loach, J., *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor*, Oxford, 1986, p.11.

<sup>94</sup> APC, 1554-1556, 25.

<sup>95</sup> Loach, pp.46-50.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p.293.

<sup>97</sup> Bindoff, pp.20-21.

last Parliament, in 1558. Certainly in 1557, he was no longer enjoying any royal favour, as he was imprisoned for debt in the Fleet Prison<sup>98</sup>. It appears likely that much of his funds were taken up in supporting his cousin, Elizabeth.

Writing his *Histories of the Worthies of England*, in the mid-seventeenth century, Thomas Fuller, relying upon the “learnedest and gravest persons”<sup>99</sup> of the counties through which he passed, commented that the favour later shown by the Queen to Carey was:

“...rather restitution than liberality in Her Majesty;  
seeing he had spent as great an estate (left him by  
his father) in her service, rather her relief, during her  
persecution under Queen Mary....”<sup>100</sup>

That at some point Henry Carey had spent a large amount of another inheritance, that which passed to him from his grandfather, Thomas Boleyn, through his mother (who died on the 16th June 1543), was revealed by his son, George Carey, in October of 1597. George Carey was trying to claim his great-grandfather’s title of Earl of Ormond, and noted:

“Henry my father enjoyed and sold all of the lands  
descending from Boleyn, Earl of Ormond and  
Wiltshire...”<sup>101</sup>

It may well be that this need for a sale of land came in the reign of Mary, at a time when Henry Carey was receiving no support from the crown, and was having to do his best to support his cousin at the same time.

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<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, p.583.

<sup>99</sup> Fuller, T., *History of the Worthies of England*, vol. I, London, 1840, p.xi.

<sup>100</sup> Fuller, vol. II, p.47.

<sup>101</sup> CSPD 1595-1597, 510.

Whatever efforts he made to support Elizabeth during the reign of Mary, Carey was certainly rewarded on his cousin's succession to the throne. The queen knighted him soon after her accession<sup>102</sup>, and then on the 13th January 1559 he was created Baron Carey of Hunsdon<sup>103</sup>. Then, on the 20th March of that year, the queen massively endowed him with a grant of the manors of Hunsdon and Eastwick in Hertfordshire, Tunbridge, Sevenoaks, Hadlow, Seal and Kemsing in Kent, those of Conisbrough, Bardsey and Collingham in Yorkshire, along with the manors of Maldon (Bedfordshire), Newhame (Suffolk) and Rayleigh (Essex), as well as large areas of park and woodland, and the castles at Tunbridge and Conisbrough<sup>104</sup>. This grant was followed on the 3rd of July by one awarding Carey the stewardships of the manors of Leominster, Much Marcle and Kingsland in Herefordshire, together with the stewardship of all the lands appertaining to the priory of Leominster<sup>105</sup>. The grants did not stop there. The new Lord Hunsdon was appointed Master of the Queen's Hawks on the 30th October 1560<sup>106</sup>, this appointment was followed in 1567, of a grant of the power to issue licences for the keeping of handguns for bird shooting<sup>107</sup>. In April 1568, he gained, for himself and his son George, the reversion of the office of Chief Steward for the manors of Ampthill, Milbrook, Flitwick, Tingrith, Westening, Brogborough, Norwood, Ridgmont, Segenhoo, Husborne Crawley, Puddington, Clophill, Kynho, Shefford, Litlington, Dunstable, Totternhoe, Milton Bryan, Potsgrove and Greenfield in Bedfordshire and Wallendon and Swanbourne in Buckinghamshire<sup>108</sup>. It was on the 25th August 1568 that he was appointed Governor of the town and castle of Berwick<sup>109</sup>. A day later he was appointed "Warden or Keeper General of

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<sup>102</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. III, London, 1973, p.977.

<sup>103</sup> CPR 1558-1560, 60.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, 115-117.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*, 90.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, 1415.

<sup>107</sup> CPR 1566-1569, 317.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, 996.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, 1149.

the Marches of England towards Scotland in the part of 'L'East Marche' and in the Queen's Lordship of Scotland"<sup>110</sup>.

Henry Carey took at least two of his sons north with him, on his journey to take up his new post<sup>111</sup>. He certainly had a plentiful resource of sons to choose from, for his marriage to Anne Morgan (a daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan of Arkenstone in Herefordshire<sup>112</sup>) was a most productive one. Quite how productive is a matter of some debate. Some historians<sup>113</sup> have claimed that he had seven sons (in order George, John, then two Thomases and a William who are reported to have died young, Edmund and Robert) and three daughters (Catherine, Philadelphia and Margaret). This belief is based in part upon a sheet of notes, some of them in Henry Carey's hand, on the nativities of Carey's children, which was discovered bound between the first two volumes of a 1513 edition of Froissart's *Des Chroniques de France*. Quite how they ended up there is a complete mystery<sup>114</sup>.

However, the memoirs of Robert Carey, are quite clear on this issue, he states "I was the youngest of ten sons"<sup>115</sup>. One would expect that he knew quite accurately how many brothers he had. It is clear therefore that Henry Carey had not ten children, but ten sons, thirteen children in total. Hence it is important to identify the three missing sons. Hasler, in his biographical list of Elizabethan MPs, in addition to George, John, Edmund and Robert, lists two more members as being sons of Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon, one named Henry Carey, and one named William Carey. That old Henry Carey had a son, also named Henry, is

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<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, 1904.

<sup>111</sup> Hasler, P., *The Commons 1558-1603*, vol I, London, 1981, pp.548-549.

<sup>112</sup> Cockayne, vol VI, p.629.

<sup>113</sup> The Dictionary of National Biography gives this information, for example, as does Mares, p.xv.

<sup>114</sup> Mares, p.90.

<sup>115</sup> Mares, p.3.

proved conclusively by a letter from Hunsdon to William Cecil, written in March 1570, in which he requests a pardon for one Ascolph Cleasby, one of the northern rebels, because “he may do very much with one of my Lord Conyers daughters and heirs, whom I am about to get for my son Harry”<sup>116</sup>. Furthermore, in a letter of January 1572, the Earl of Mar, writing to Lord Hunsdon, expresses his regrets that he had missed seeing “your son Mr. Harry”, in Scotland<sup>117</sup>. Finally, there is a record of the administration of his estate being granted to his brother George on 22nd June 1581<sup>118</sup>, showing that he must have died by that time<sup>119</sup>.

The William Carey mentioned in the *History of Parliament* is clearly not the William who is mentioned by Mares as having died whilst young. As well as having sat in parliament, he is mentioned in a letter of February 1595, from John Carey to William Cecil, as having held the Captaincy of Norham Castle<sup>120</sup>, and he is mentioned several times in Border correspondence<sup>121</sup>. An inventory of his goods, taken after his death in 1593, also exists<sup>122</sup>, as do records of letters of administration granted to his wife<sup>123</sup>. William Carey must therefore be added to the list of the sons of Henry Carey. It can be assumed that he must have been born at some point after the death of the William who died whilst in childhood.

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<sup>116</sup> CSPD 1547-1580, 210.

<sup>117</sup> Hasler, p.549.

<sup>118</sup> Ridge, C.H., *Index to Administrations In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, London, 1954, p.30. He appears as “Henry Carew”, but as “Carew” and “Carey” are often mixed in such lists, it is likely that it is in fact Henry Carey.

<sup>119</sup> The Elizabethan astronomer and mystic Simon Foreman recorded that Hunsdon had an illegitimate son named Henry, the mother of whom was Emilia Bassano, the daughter of one of Henry VIII’s court musicians (Rowse, A.L., *Simon Foreman – Sex And Society In Shakespeare’s Age*, London, 1974, p.99). If Foreman was correct however, this son was not born until 1593, and so was clearly not the same individual.

<sup>120</sup> CBP vol. II, 31.

<sup>121</sup> eg CBP vol. I, 477, 543; vol. II, 35, 156.

<sup>122</sup> Greenwell, W., *Wills and Inventories From The Registry at Durham*, part II (Surtees Society Publications, 38), Edinburgh, 1860, p.231. The original is in Durham University Library (Durham Probate Records Wills, 1593, William Carey esq.)

<sup>123</sup> Greenwell, p.30. This time the surname appears as “Carre”, but the original, again in the keeping of Durham University Library, confirms it to be William Carey.

This leaves one more son to be located. A clue may be found in the letters of Sir Ralph Saddler, himself a Deputy Warden of the East and Middle Marches in the late 1550s, and Treasurer to the Crown's northern army during the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569. Writing to Sir William Cecil during this rising, he mentions a "Mr. Edward Carey", whom the editor of his letters, Sir Arthur Clifford, identifies as "a son of Lord Hunsdon's"<sup>124</sup>. It is possible that this is merely an error, and that Sir Ralph Saddler was in fact referring to Edmund Carey, one of Lord Hunsdon's known sons. However, this would seem unlikely, as Edmund Carey was not born until 1558<sup>125</sup>, and would have been only eleven at the time of the rising, and so would have been too young to play any active part in the suppression of the revolt.

If Edward Carey is, tentatively, accepted as one of the sons of Henry Carey, then that leaves a total of ten sons (George, Henry, John, Edward, the two Thomases and William, another William, Edmund and Robert<sup>126</sup>), and the three daughters, Catherine, Philadelphia and Margaret - an impressive array indeed, when one considers that Lawrence Stone's figures show that the average number of children produced by a fertile first marriage amongst the aristocracy in Elizabethan England was just over five<sup>127</sup>.

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<sup>124</sup> Saddler, R., *The State Letters and Papers of Sir Ralph Saddler*, (Clifford, A. (ed.), vol. II, Edinburgh, 1809, pp.37,48.

<sup>125</sup> Mares, pp.90-91.

<sup>126</sup> There is one further possibility. In *Alumini Cantabrigienses*, a biographical list of Cambridge students compiled in the 1920s, from records extant at the time, there is a record of one Michael Carye, who is listed as being the son of the first Lord Hunsdon, and the brother of George and John Carey. It states that he was matriculated into Trinity College in 1566, at the same time as his brother John, and notes that he "died in Ireland". No more references are given (Venn, J., *Alumini Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge From the Earliest Times To 1900*, vol I., Cambridge, 1922, p.292.) It seems however, that Edward Carey is a more likely addition to the list of the sons of Lord Hunsdon, and that Venn was in error when he described Michael Carye as one of Hunsdon's children.

<sup>127</sup> Watts, p.67.

Of these children, George, Henry, Edward, John, William, Robert and Philadelphia had some involvement in Border matters. The involvement of George was limited to serving under his father's deputy Sir William Drury in the suppression of the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, and the raids into Scotland which followed in 1570, taking part in embassies to Scotland in 1566, 1569, 1582 and 1589<sup>128</sup>, and briefly holding the rights to the reversion of the stewardship of Bamburgh Castle<sup>129</sup> - he subsequently enjoyed a successful career at court. Young Henry has left little evidence of his involvement in Border affairs, aside from the fact that he took the seat for Berwick upon Tweed in 1571, and died there ten years later<sup>130</sup>, whilst Edward appears only in the letters of Ralph Sadler. Philadelphia was chiefly involved in Border affairs through her marriage to Thomas, Lord Scrope of Bolton, the Warden of the English West March from 1592 until 1603. It was William, John and Robert who were to be, with their father, most heavily involved with the affairs of the Border over the next three decades.

Henry Carey held the office of Warden of the East March from 1568 until his death in 1596. For a short while in 1585, he was also Warden of the Middle March<sup>131</sup>. In 1580 he was appointed Captain-General of all the forces on the frontier<sup>132</sup>, and in 1589 was named Lord-Warden-General of all three marches, and Keeper of Tynedale<sup>133</sup>. William sat as MP for Morpeth in 1584 and for Northumberland in 1589<sup>134</sup>, and was, by January 1587 a Captain in Berwick<sup>135</sup>, whilst he, John and Robert were all, at various times Captains of Norham<sup>136</sup>. John

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<sup>128</sup> DNB, vol. III, pp.974-975.

<sup>129</sup> Meikle, M., "A Godly Rogue: The career of Sir John Forster, an Elizabethan Border Warden" (GR), in *Northern History*, XXVIII, 1992, p.152.

<sup>130</sup> Hasler, vol I, p.549.

<sup>131</sup> APC 1586-1587, 221; Meikle, GR, p.149-150.

<sup>132</sup> Cooper, L. and Cooper, T., *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1913, p.215.

<sup>133</sup> Cooper and Cooper, vol. II, p.217.

<sup>134</sup> Hasler, vol. I, p.551.

<sup>135</sup> CBP vol. I, 477.

was Chamberlain of Berwick from 1585<sup>137</sup>, and Marshal and Deputy Governor of the town from 1594 until 1599 (with an interlude as Governor from 1597-98), and Warden of the East March from 1601 until 1603<sup>138</sup>. Sir Robert Carey was Deputy Warden of the English West March from 1592-1593, Deputy Warden of the East March from 1595 to 1597, Warden of the East March from November 1597 until March 1598<sup>139</sup>, and Warden of the Middle March from 1598 until 1603<sup>140</sup>. Robert Carey was also MP for Morpeth in 1586 and 1589 and for Northumberland in 1597 and 1601<sup>141</sup>.

The Carey family dominated life on the Borders, particularly in the Eastern March, for three decades. In later years, Henry Carey spent more and more time away from his March - in 1577 he was appointed to the Privy Council<sup>142</sup>. Having become a member of the Order of the Garter in 1561<sup>143</sup>, he became Captain of the Queen's Gentleman Pensioners in 1583<sup>144</sup>, and was appointed Lord Chamberlain in 1585<sup>145</sup>. He also assembled a number of lesser offices<sup>146</sup>, as did George, who, following his father's death in August 1596, became second Lord of Hunsdon, and eventually became Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, a Privy Councillor and Lord Chamberlain<sup>147</sup>, before his own death in September 1603.

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<sup>136</sup> CBP vol. II, 25.

<sup>137</sup> CBP vol. I, 806.

<sup>138</sup> Hunter-Blair, C.H., "Wardens and Deputy Wardens of the Marches of England Towards Scotland", *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th Series, vol. XXXVII, 1950, p.77.

<sup>139</sup> In effect, Robert Carey took over as Warden in the summer of 1596, on his father's death, with his brother John acting as his deputy. He wasn't confirmed as warden until November 1597.

<sup>140</sup> Hunter-Bair, WDW, pp.74-75.

<sup>141</sup> Hasler, vol. I, p.550.

<sup>142</sup> APC 1577-1578, 89.

<sup>143</sup> Kinney, A.F., *Titled Elizabethans*, Hamden, Connecticut, 1973, p.65.

<sup>144</sup> Tighe, p.452.

<sup>145</sup> Kinney, p.4.

<sup>146</sup> Amongst others: Warden, Chief Justice and Justice in Eyre for the Royal Forests South of the Trent (List and Index Society, *Draft Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1588-1599*, p.370), Keeper of Hyde Park (CPR 1572-1575, 1688) and Keeper of Somerset House and its gardens (*Ibid*, 1689),

<sup>147</sup> DNB, vol. III, p.975.

The Careys were a family positioned close to the very top of Elizabethan society. Throughout Elizabeth's reign there were just under sixty holders of English peerages at any one time<sup>148</sup>. Of these peerages, only ten were created by Elizabeth, and one of these ten was the Barony of Hunsdon, created originally for Henry Carey<sup>149</sup>. The Careys were members of a highly exclusive club. Even amongst the rest of Elizabeth's nobility, they stood out. It has been calculated that of 342 peers who held their positions between 1558 and 1641, twenty-nine received seventy-five per cent of the wealth granted by the crown. Of these, only eight received all or most of these grants during the reign of Elizabeth. Henry Carey was in that number<sup>150</sup>. This was a family of prominence and power, whose prestige and social status could be matched only by a few other families.

Although the Careys were an extremely wealthy and powerful family, they did have some equals at the court of Elizabeth. The Cecils – William, the first Lord Burghley and his sons, Thomas, later the second Lord Burghley, and Robert, later the Earl of Salisbury – enjoyed a significant place at the royal court. So did the large Howard family, although they suffered a slight fall in prestige following the execution for treason of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk in 1572, whilst the Dudley family, including the Earls of Warwick, Leicester and (by marriage) Essex, could be counted amongst the highest in the land. It was in these families, and others of similar rank and position, that the Careys had their equals, and their most important acquaintances.

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<sup>148</sup> Stone, COA, p.99.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid*, p.756.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, pp.475-476.

In many ways, the Careys resembled these families. They were certainly similar in the way in which the family was brought up and educated, and thus provided with the experience necessary to take up a role in the administration of the country. As a boy, Robert Carey, and presumably his brothers also, received lessons from a private tutor, although he was later to confess that he did not profit greatly from them<sup>151</sup>. Such tuition was standard for the children of noble families<sup>152</sup>. George and John Carey both attended Cambridge, whilst William studied at the Inns of Court<sup>153</sup> (whether they benefited much from it is another matter entirely – John was later to admit that “I am no scholler”<sup>154</sup>), as did an increasing number of members of noble families of the time<sup>155</sup>. Although there are some suggestions that he was illiterate<sup>156</sup>, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon was educated enough to be able to quote Plato in a speech in the House of Lords<sup>157</sup>. Thus in educational background the Careys were typical of the Elizabethan nobility – they may not have been particularly brilliant scholars, but they were far from uneducated ruffians.

The early careers of the Carey family also appear to be fairly typical of those of the great nobility – a period of service in some capacity under another noble, or some officer of the crown, such as Robert Carey’s attachment to Sir Francis Walsingham’s embassy to Scotland in 1583, or George Carey’s work on the Borders with his father in the period from 1568-1570, was followed by promotion to office in their own right. Further promotion then followed for the fortunate, or skilful, few. Robert Dudley, for example, advanced in this way – from service in various wars under Mary, to the position of Master of the Queen’s Horse on

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<sup>151</sup> Mares, p.3.

<sup>152</sup> Stone, COA, p.683.

<sup>153</sup> Venn, p.292, Hasler, vol. I, p.551.

<sup>154</sup> CBP vol. II, 856.

<sup>155</sup> Stone, COA, p.687.

<sup>156</sup> Cooper and Cooper, vol. II, p.218.

<sup>157</sup> Neale, J.E., *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1584-1601*, London, pp.228-229.

Elizabeth's accession, to, eventually, the Earldom of Leicester<sup>158</sup>. Even Lord Burghley followed a similar path, starting out in the service of Protector Somerset, and the Duke of Northumberland, in the reign of Edward VI, and then proceeding on to some work as a diplomat for Mary, before Elizabeth appointed him as her Principal Secretary<sup>159</sup>.

In their careers on the Borders, however, the Careys do seem to have differed from their counterparts. It was unusual for one family to hold so much influence, and so many prominent positions in one region of the country. Some families, such as the Howards, might have wielded large amounts of local influence in the areas around their estates, but none held so many powerful crown offices in a region so far away from the bulk of their own estates. In the mid 1590s, for example, Careys held the Wardenry and Deputy-Wardenry of the East March, along with the Captaincy of Norham, and the positions of Marshal and Chamberlain of Berwick. Meanwhile, Thomas, Lord Scrope of Bolton, husband of Philadelphia Carey was Warden of the English West March. From 1601-1603, John and Robert Carey were Wardens of the East and Middle Marches respectively, with Scrope still running the West March. Henry Widdrington and William Fenwick, both nephews of Robert Carey's wife's first husband, acted as Carey's Deputy Wardens in the Middle March. For periods, the Careys and their relatives filled many of the most powerful of the crown offices on the Anglo-Scottish Borders – positions which gave them great authority, and put large amounts of regional power into the hands of one family.

Why then were the Careys allowed to hold so many positions of power in one area? It could be suggested that it was mere coincidence – that the Careys were simply the most suitable

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<sup>158</sup> Williams, p.57.

<sup>159</sup> Williams, p.43.

individuals at court available for the duty. Certainly the Careys were well suited to the role – if Henry Carey was the son of Henry VIII, then he and his sons were cousins of James of Scotland, and would be ideally suited to be placed in positions which did involve a great deal of communication with Scotland. James seems, at some points in time at least, to have been particularly fond of Robert Carey, even going so far as asking the Queen if she would allow Carey to come and stay at his court<sup>160</sup>, and so he in particular could be seen as being suitable for a Wardenry position. As Henry Carey was Warden of the East March from as early as 1568, and spent considerable amounts of time there throughout the 1570s and 1580s, it is probable that his sons would have spent parts of their childhood in the north, and so know the area and its conditions, which would again have increased their qualifications for posts on the Borders. There were, however, many talented men at the court of Queen Elizabeth, and many native Borderers who knew the region as well, if not better than any courtier. There must, therefore, be some further reason why this one family, and no other was so singled out as to be allowed to build up their dominance in this way.

The reason is quite clear. The Careys held the trust and support of the Queen. They were close kin to her, and she believed that they were a loyal and a reliable presence in area which had, in the reigns of her father and grandfather, been famous for its instability. Any Borderer might have the knowledge and experience to make a good Warden or Deputy Warden, and where locals could be relied upon they were employed, most notably in the case of Sir John Forster, but in the Careys the Queen had a unique resource. Not only were they courtiers, and nobles of high rank, but they were also experienced in the affairs of the Borders. Best of all, they could be relied upon to be loyal primarily to her – and not to their own pockets or those

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<sup>160</sup> Mares, p.5.

of their friends. As members of the Queen's family, the Careys were believed by Elizabeth to be amongst her most reliable servants.

The Queen also realised that, if it was not already guaranteed by their family ties to her, the loyalty of the Careys was further secured by the degree to which the Careys relied upon her for support and patronage. In a letter written to his father in 1578<sup>161</sup>, Robert Carey explained that the Queen was unhappy about the amount of time Hunsdon was taking to commence his journey to Berwick. He reported that the Queen had informed him that if Hunsdon did not head north with all speed, she would "set (Hunsdon) by the feete" and "appoynt some uther"<sup>162</sup> to his post. Elizabeth knew that this was a threat which not even Hunsdon could afford to ignore – Henry Carey owed his livelihood to her and could not afford to displease her. In his memoirs, Robert Carey acknowledged how much he owed to the Queen, when he commented that, towards the end of her reign, he realised that "most of my livelihood (was) depending on her life..."<sup>163</sup>.

Making her courtiers financially reliant upon her, to bind them to her, was a standard tactic of the Queen's<sup>164</sup>. It was, after all, her withdrawal of the Earl of Essex's monopoly on the sale of sweet wines which finally pushed him into revolt against her<sup>165</sup>. What sets the Careys apart from others, such as Essex, was that they were members of a very small group for whom the financial ties which bound them to the Queen were of secondary importance in their

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<sup>161</sup> This is the dating given by Mares (pxiv). Cooper and Cooper (vol. II, p216.) date it to 1583. Such a dating fits well with a letter written by Sir Francis Walsingham in 1583, in which he comments that the Queen's "offence towards Lord Hunsdon rather increases..." and mentions that he himself had incurred Elizabeth's wrath by intervening on Carey's behalf (CSPD 1581-1590, 181.).

<sup>162</sup> Quoted in Mares, p.xiv-xv.

<sup>163</sup> Mares, p.58.

<sup>164</sup> Haigh, C., *Elizabeth I*, London, 1988, p.64.

<sup>165</sup> Haigh, p.103.

relationship to her. They were loyal to her, primarily because she was their Queen, because she was of their family, and because she had always shown them favour. Consideration of what they would lose if they lost that favour, was, for the Careys, a secondary consideration. It was because of this that the Queen allowed them to gain such a dominant position on the Borders.

Family connections, both to the Queen and to others, can be seen to have played a major role in the lives of the Careys. By blood or by marriage, they were related to many of the most important families of England. Henry Carey's sister, Catherine was married to Sir Francis Knollys, a prominent member of Elizabeth's Privy Council. By him, she was the mother of Lettice Knollys, who married first Walter Devereux, the Earl of Essex (and was mother to Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex executed in 1601), and next Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, brother to the Earl of Warwick. Hunsdon's daughters also married well – the eldest, Catherine, married Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham (at various times Lord Chamberlain, Lord Admiral and eventually Earl of Nottingham), whilst Philadelphia had her marriage to Thomas, Lord Scrope, the West March Warden and a member of an influential northern noble family. The youngest daughter, Margaret, married Sir Edward Hoby, a prominent knight.

The Carey sons also made good marriages. George married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire (following George's death she married Ralph, the third Lord Eure, who had served, albeit unsuccessfully, as Warden of the English Middle March, from 1595-1598), whilst John married Mary, daughter of Leonard Hyde of Throcking, Hertfordshire. As Hertfordshire contained many of the Carey family's most valuable estates, including the manor of Hunsdon itself, a marriage into another major local family was

obviously of considerable use to the Careys, as it allowed them to increase their presence in areas away from their crown positions on the Borders. Edmund Carey married three times, to a succession of wealthy heiresses. Robert meanwhile married “a gentlewoman more for her worth than her wealth”, and in doing so attracted the Queen’s displeasure<sup>166</sup>. He may have married his wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Hugh Trevannion, a prominent Cornish knight, for love, but he gained a lot from it. Elizabeth’s first husband had been Sir Henry Widdrington, a member of a prominent Northumbrian family, and from 1592-1594 Henry Carey’s deputy as Governor of Berwick. By his marriage therefore, Carey gained connections to the Northumbrian gentry, including members of the prominent Selby, Fenwick and Forster families, as well as the Widdringtons<sup>167</sup>. He also gained estates centred on the manor of Widdrington in the Middle March.

The Careys possessed an extensive extended family. Being related to somebody, however, did not necessarily mean that the relationship meant anything. In fact, as was the case with most noble kinship groups, relationships mattered only when the Careys wanted it to. Robert of Essex might have been Robert Carey’s second cousin, but on hearing the news of Essex’s failed revolt, Carey left no doubt as to where his feelings lay, writing of the “violence of those unworthy wretches”<sup>168</sup> – and this was despite the fact that it had been the Earl who had knighted him in 1591. Similarly, Leicester may have been the husband of Henry Carey’s niece, but, it did not mean that they were necessarily allies at court – they disagreed, for example over Queen Elizabeth’s proposed marriage to the Duke of Alençon – Carey approved of the match, or at least was willing to approve whatever the Queen felt she wanted, whilst Leicester

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<sup>166</sup> Mares, p.25.

<sup>167</sup> See Appendix Two for more details of Northumbrian families related to Robert Carey by marriage.

<sup>168</sup> CBP vol. II, 1333.

was very much opposed to it<sup>169</sup>. Likewise, whilst Leicester was involved in the plotting surrounding the Duke of Norfolk's proposed marriage to Mary Queen of Scots, Carey strongly disapproved of the scheme<sup>170</sup>.

Even within the immediate Carey family, relations were not always entirely amicable. In 1595 a quarrel arose between Henry and Robert on one side, and John on the other, when Henry appointed Robert as Captain of Norham, a position which John had previously held and which gave him the rights to additional income through tithes. Although the matter was eventually settled, through the mediation of William Cecil, John clearly felt hard done by, and believed that his father had been turned against him<sup>171</sup>. In 1593, Robert Carey was involved in a protracted legal dispute with his sister-in-law, Martha, the widow of his brother William. The dispute revolved around an estate, which had been left to William, with a provision that if he died without issue (as he did) the estate was to pass to Robert. William, however, altered these terms, and left the estate to his wife. When Robert took up a legal action against Martha to recover the estate, George Carey took Martha's side, an action that was hardly going to promote an outbreak of brotherly love. In this case, when Robert came to London to personally oversee the case, George backed off, Robert won his case, and family stability was maintained<sup>172</sup>. In 1602 John Carey freely admitted to Robert Cecil that whilst he hoped his brother, George, by then the second Lord Hunsdon, would enjoy a long life, he was still eagerly anticipating what offices or wealth he might inherit should his brother die<sup>173</sup>. This was

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<sup>169</sup> Haigh, p.77.

<sup>170</sup> Williams, p.124.

<sup>171</sup> Mares, pp.32-33; CBP vol. II, 25,31,36.

<sup>172</sup> Mares, pp.27-28.

<sup>173</sup> CBP vol. II, 1505,1512.

a situation which, whilst not unusual for a noble family of the time<sup>174</sup>, could hardly have inspired domestic harmony within the Carey household.

Robert Carey usually maintained particularly close relations with the Queen. It was he whom she sent after the Earl of Essex, when, in 1587, the Earl attempted to leave for the Sluys expedition against her will. It was also Robert whom Essex chose as the best person to make apologies to the Queen on his behalf, after he had failed to obey a royal order to return from France in 1591. When, in 1597, in an attempt to gain confirmation as Warden of the East March, Carey decided to risk coming to court without the Queen's permission, both George Carey and Robert Cecil warned him that her displeasure would be great. Instead, she confirmed him as Warden, and made him a grant of £ 500<sup>175</sup>, clear evidence of the favour she showed him. Yet even Robert Carey occasionally felt the wrath of the Queen. When she heard that he had married without her permission, the Queen flew into a terrible rage, and would not agree to see him, or to speak to him. It took delicate negotiations by Lord Hunsdon, and Robert needed to be at his most flattering in a "stormy and terrible" interview with the Queen, before her rage abated<sup>176</sup>.

Despite these occasional fallings out, however, the Careys frequently worked together as a family, particularly on the Border. George and Henry were involved in their father's campaign against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in 1569-1570. In the aftermath of this campaign, Lord Hunsdon chose George as his envoy to the Earl of Moray, the Scottish regent. William Carey appears to have been a captain in the garrison at Berwick, as well as Captain of

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<sup>174</sup> Stone, L., *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, London, 1979, p.88.

<sup>175</sup> Mares, p.44.

<sup>176</sup> Mares, p.30.

Norham, both positions in which he would have worked closely with his father. In 1570, Henry Carey noted that he would “join with my Lord Scrope (Henry, the father of Philadelphia Carey’s husband, and Warden of the English West March from 1562-1592) to ride upon Ferniehurst and Buccleugh as soon as my sons come into town.”<sup>177</sup> When the Mayor and council of Berwick began to complain of the effect that Hunsdon’s extended absences were having on the town, it was John Carey who was sent north, both to answer such complaints, and to bring the unruly burgesses firmly back under the authority of their Governor<sup>178</sup>.

Even ‘though the two of them quarrelled bitterly over the Captaincy of Norham, co-operation on Border affairs between Robert and John Carey is plain to see. They actively consulted one another on the best course of action to take in acting against reivers from both the Scottish and the English side of the Border<sup>179</sup>. Their letters back to court reveal remarkably similar opinions on the actions of some of the Borderers, particularly Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, Warden of the Middle March of Scotland, who for some time was clearly public enemy number one to the brothers<sup>180</sup>. It is hard not to see that a certain level of co-operation most probably went into the writing of such reports. It obviously made sense to the Careys that if both of them wrote expressing the same opinion, somebody at court would listen to them.

As well as working closely with their immediate family, the Careys also frequently worked with their relatives by marriage. Robert was appointed Deputy Warden of the West March by his brother-in-law, Thomas, Lord Scrope, and, when Robert became Warden of the Middle March, he, as has been noted, appointed two nephews of his wife’s first husband as his Deputy

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<sup>177</sup> CSPD 1547-1580, 236.

<sup>178</sup> CBP I, 818,820.

<sup>179</sup> Mares, p.38; CBP vol. II, 1348,1420.

<sup>180</sup> CBP vol. II, 303,305,366,408.

Wardens. A Robert Withrington (an often-found variant of Widdrington) appears in 1591, as official messenger to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk from the Lord Lieutenant of those counties (who just happened to be Lord Hunsdon)<sup>181</sup>. It may well be that this was yet another of the family connections being employed in what could almost be described as a family firm.

The greatest example of the Careys working as a family came with the death of Queen Elizabeth<sup>182</sup>. Knowing that she was dying, Robert determined that he would be the first to take news of her death to James of Scotland. By this he hoped to gain the backing and support of the King, to replace that which he knew he would lose at the death of the Queen. Having travelled to the court, he was alerted when the Queen died. The Privy Council had given orders that none should leave the palace, so that they could control who took the news to Scotland. So, Robert made his way to the bedroom of his brother, George, by then Lord Chamberlain, "who was in his bed, being over-watched (having been without sleep) many nights before". Having awoken George, Robert used the Lord Chamberlain's authority to get himself out of the palace. He was then warned by Sir William Knollys (a Privy Councillor, and, as the son of Sir Francis Knollys and Catherine Carey, his cousin) that the Council were still intending to block his departure, so Carey hastily took his leave, early in the morning. By the evening of the day of his departure he was in Doncaster, the next day he made it to his own seat, at Widdrington in the Middle March. Here he gave orders to his Deputies to hold the March, and to have James declared King in Morpeth and Alnwick. It is likely that at this time he sent word to his brother John, acting Warden of the East March, and Governor of Berwick. By the next evening, he met the King at Edinburgh - and that was despite the fact that he took a heavy fall from his horse on the way. To confirm his story, Robert showed the

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<sup>181</sup> APC 1591, 289.

<sup>182</sup> The best source for this information is Robert Careys's own account (Mares, p59-63).

King “A blue ring from a fair lady”, which the King accepted as proof positive of the Queen’s death. This blue ring appears to have been a pre-arranged sign, which the king was expecting to receive to confirm any reports of the death of Elizabeth. It is likely that the “fair lady”, from whom the ring came, was none other than Philadelphia<sup>183</sup>, Carey’s sister, the wife of Thomas Scrope, and a favourite lady-in-waiting of the Queen. Thus, involved in Robert Carey’s ride to Scotland were two of his brothers, one of his sisters, a cousin, and Henry Widdrington, one of his wife’s relatives. Quarrel occasionally they might, but when they needed to the Careys could work together like a well-oiled machine.

This tendency to work closely together both in professional and political fields sets the Careys slightly apart from other noble families of the time. Whilst office holders from other families might appoint their relations to jobs within their sphere of influence, or work with them to further some political end, they would more frequently appoint them as estate managers, or land agents for distant holdings, rather than appoint them to positions which would involve working with them closely, or dealing with them on a day to day basis.<sup>184</sup> Burghley, for example, advised his son, Robert Cecil, against appointing relatives to work with him, on the grounds that “they would do little and expect much”<sup>185</sup>.

Where members of other noble families did work closely together with their relatives, they did so because they had selected these relatives from a band of acquaintances, all of whom were suitable candidates, rather than picking them because they were family. This might have been the case in the Carey family also. Henry Carey employed several deputies before employing

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<sup>183</sup> Mares, p.63n.

<sup>184</sup> Stone, COA, p589.

<sup>185</sup> Quoted in Houlbrooke, p.46.

his sons, whilst both Robert and John picked some officers from outside the immediate circle of the family. However, the frequency with which the Careys took positions alongside each other on the Border, and the fact that non-Careys appear to have been chosen chiefly when there was no suitable family candidate available<sup>186</sup>, suggest that Henry Carey and his sons looked first to their own family, and to other acquaintances second, when seeking to fill positions under their command.

If this was unusual behaviour for nobles, it was quite common for the people amongst whom the Careys were to spend most of their time on the Borders, the local gentry, from both England and Scotland. The importance attached by people to ties of kinship increased as one moved away from London, and towards the Borders<sup>187</sup>. Sir John Forster provides an obvious example of somebody who insured that his kin were placed in prominent positions on the Border. In 1590, his Deputy Warden in the Middle March was his illegitimate son, Nicholas, who also acted as Constable of Alnwick Castle. Other Forster relatives in prominent positions in his March included his brother-in-law, Sir George Heron of Chipchase, who served as Keeper of Tynedale<sup>188</sup>, and Forster's step-nephew, Sir Thomas Grey of Chillingham, Sheriff of Northumberland in 1576 and 1593<sup>189</sup>. Forster was far from the only 'culprit'. On the English side, there were people like Sir Cuthbert Collingwood who, as Sheriff of Northumberland in 1581-1582, appointed his kinsman John Carr as his deputy<sup>190</sup>. On the Scottish side

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<sup>186</sup> Robert Carey was born c1560, John was born c1553. Throughout the 1570s, and the first half of the 1580s, therefore, they may have been counted as too young to take up senior Wardenry positions, whilst George, from 1578 held the position of Knight-Marshal of the Queen's household, and from 1583 that of the Captain-General of the Isle of White. Hence none of them would have been available to take up a Wardenry position at times when their father was appointing non-Careys to these posts.

<sup>187</sup> Stone, FSM, p.30.

<sup>188</sup> Meikle, GR, p.132.

<sup>189</sup> Meikle, GR, p.143.

<sup>190</sup> Meikle, LG, p.151.

meanwhile, there were the examples of the sixth Lord Home, Warden of the Scottish East March, who employed a distant relation, Alexander Home of Huttonhall as his deputy from 1582-1594, and Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, Warden of the Scots Middle March, whose deputy was Andrew Kerr of Primsideloch<sup>191</sup>.

Is it possible that the Careys, seeing how the Borderers worked, decided to follow their pattern? Henry Carey may have taken George and young Henry north with him in 1568, purely because they were his sons, but the appointments of William, John and Robert to Wardenry posts all took place after he had spent some time on the Borders, and had gained experience of them, as did Robert's appointment of Widdrington. The Borderers knew, as did the Queen, that by appointing a relative to a position, they were able to ensure, to a certain extent, that the post was held by somebody who could be relied upon. In the turbulent Border Marches, having people you could rely upon in key positions was of the utmost importance, and the strength of one's family in the area was directly related to the level of personal security which could be enjoyed. Henry Carey may not have been deliberately imitating the Borderers when he chose to ignore the usual practice of the nobles of his time, but he was certainly reacting to the same realities, and pressures, presented by the nature of Border society, in much the same way as the Borderers themselves did.

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<sup>191</sup> Meikle, LG, pp.88-89.

## Chapter III

### The Carey Family On The Frontier

The Wardens of the Marches held a wide-ranging brief. Writing in 1559, Sir Ralph Sadler, who was acting as Warden of the East and Middle Marches in the absence of the Earl of Northumberland, listed what he saw as their areas of responsibility. It was his belief that it was the role of the Warden to consult with local gentry for the better order of their March, to oversee regular musters of the march's defence forces, and to keep watch for, and deal with, "Marche traitours and felons"<sup>192</sup>. Henry Carey's patent of office as Warden refers to an earlier patent<sup>193</sup>, that given William Dacre on his appointment to the Wardenry of the English West March in 1558, for a description the role of the Warden. In addition to those outlined by Sadler, this lists the Warden's duties as to punish offences against truces made with Scotland, and to negotiate with Scottish officials<sup>194</sup>. In summary, as Fraser puts it, "the Warden's task was to guard and govern his March in times of peace, and command it in time of war"<sup>195</sup>. The role of the Warden's deputies, and the other Wardenry officials was to support him in his work – to aid in the preservation of peace and order on the Borders, and where necessary help lead the forces of the March.

These then were the tasks with which the Careys were faced on the Borders. To succeed in them, Henry Carey and his sons needed to be able to work with the local gentry. It was upon the Border gentry that the wardens relied for men in times of crisis, and for local information, and knowledge, both in their work against reivers and other felons, and in times of war. A

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<sup>192</sup> Saddler, vol. II, p.12.

<sup>193</sup> CPR 1566-1569, 1904.

<sup>194</sup> CPR 1558-1560, 37.

<sup>195</sup> Fraser, p.130.

Warden who lacked the support of the local inhabitants was liable to find himself in deep water before too much time had passed.

Ralph Eure discovered this on taking over the Wardenry of the Middle March in 1595. It was not long before he discovered that the Middle March gentry, and in particular that very large section of it that was related to the previous Warden, Sir John Forster, were not willing to work with him – a fact which caused him to complain bitterly to Lord Burghley<sup>196</sup>. Likewise, he was soon to discover that the one hundred horsemen he brought with him from Yorkshire were no substitute for locally born horsemen, who possessed expert knowledge of the Border<sup>197</sup>.

The Careys on the other hand seem to have been more than happy to rely upon the inhabitants of their marches. Even in 1569, when the Rising of the Northern Earls was at its height, Henry Carey, whilst accepting that large numbers of the local gentry were Catholic, and that some of them were fighting for the Earls, was more prepared than the other commanders of the Queen's northern forces, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Suddler, to accept that those fighting with him were reliable<sup>198</sup>. When he was not relying upon members of his own family, Carey seems to have favoured local gentry when appointing his officers – there was Sir Henry Widdrington, his deputy Governor of Berwick, for example, whilst Sir John Selby held the post of Deputy Warden of the East March for over thirty years from 1562 until his death in 1595. His sons followed him in his use of local officers – as well as Henry Widdrington, William Fenwick acted as deputy to Robert Carey in the English Middle March, whilst, from

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<sup>196</sup> CBP vol. II, 441.

<sup>197</sup> Meikle, GR, p.158.

<sup>198</sup> Rinehart, p.201.

1601-1603, John Carey's deputy in the East March was Richard Musgrave<sup>199</sup>. The Widdringtons, Selbys, Fenwicks and Musgraves were all powerful Border surnames, whose support greatly strengthened the position of the Careys in their marches.

As well as appointing them to officers' positions, the Careys actively consulted local officers, as well as locals who didn't hold any crown positions on the Border. In 1592, shortly after he had become Deputy Warden of the English West March, Robert Carey took the advice of Thomas Carleton, one of the local officers of the Carlisle garrison as to the best way of deal with some of the infamous Graham surname, who were holed up in one of their towers, having completed a raid<sup>200</sup>. In 1601, he consulted the gentry of the English Middle March, before moving against reivers entrenched in the Debatable Land<sup>201</sup>. John Carey meanwhile, consulted locals on matters as diverse as the arrangements to be made for the upbringing of recusants children, to the "faults and wants" of Berwick in his father's absence<sup>202</sup>.

The fact that the Careys were willing to work with, and to consult, native Borderers, does not, however, mean that they always took the advice that was offered. In 1601, Robert Carey did listen to the gentry of the Middle March, as they advised that the best way of dealing with troublesome reivers was to "speedily acquaint the Queen and the Council with the necessity of having more soldiers", and then promptly ignored their advice<sup>203</sup>. In 1596, William Selby complained to his nephew that:

"I offered to Mr John Carey and Sir Robert...to go out  
with the horse garrison, but it would not bee... I then

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<sup>199</sup> Hunter-Blair, WDW, pp.73- 77.

<sup>200</sup> Mares, p.24.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid*, p.51.

<sup>202</sup> CBP vol. II, 1414; CBP vol. I, 820.

<sup>203</sup> Mares, p.52.

desired Sir Robert to make the country keep plumpe  
watch but nothing was done...”<sup>204</sup>

Clearly, whilst they were willing to listen, the Careys were not always willing to follow the advice, or go along with the wishes of, the Borderers.

It is clear that, whether they agreed with them or not, the Careys were perfectly happy to work with members of the local gentry. This leads to the question as to how willing the local gentry were to work with the Careys. It has been suggested<sup>205</sup> that John and Robert Carey presented a challenge to the dominance in local affairs of the gentry of the English Border. The gentry had gained this position of dominance as a result of the decline in power of the Percy earls of Northumberland, a decline which had culminated in the execution of the seventh earl in 1572, following his part in the Rising of the Northern Earls of 1569. As Percy power in Northumberland declined, so families such as the Forsters, Greys and Collingwoods were able to achieve a position of authority on the Borders.

It is undoubtedly true that the Careys amassed a large amount of influence on the Borders. This was a process which started with the arrival of Henry Carey in 1568, and was furthered by the presence of his sons, George and Henry, and then William, John and Robert throughout the period from that date until the death of Queen Elizabeth. To argue then, as Dr Meikle does<sup>206</sup>, that the Careys only began to provide an alternative powerbase to that of the gentry in the 1590s, is inaccurate – William, John and Robert all held positions in Northumberland by the mid-1580s, and before then their father, and brothers George and Henry, had held

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<sup>204</sup> CBP vol. II, 431.

<sup>205</sup> Meikle, LG, p.14.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, p.142.

positions in the area. The Carey family's position in the area was deeply entrenched throughout the last three decades of the sixteenth century, by means of the offices which they held. Even when the only Carey to hold a post as Warden was Lord Hunsdon, and he an absentee at that, the posts of Deputy Warden, and the various posts within the Berwick garrison would still have ensured that the Careys wielded considerable influence. In 1567, when Mary, Queen of Scots, had landed at Workington, Sir Richard Lowther, at that time Deputy Warden of the West March had been able to use his office to resist the attempts of the Earl of Northumberland to gain custody of her<sup>207</sup>. It true, that the Earl, at that time did not enjoy the power or influence that his forebears had held in the North, or that he himself had briefly enjoyed under Queen Mary I, but he was still a peer of the realm, and one whose family held considerable estates in the area. The authority wielded by the Wardens, and through them by their deputies, however, was that of the Queen, and would always provide a powerbase to those who wielded it. It was also more than a theoretical authority, backed by the will of a distant queen. The will of the Border Wardens, their deputies and officers could be backed if need be by the use of the forces and artillery of Berwick and Carlisle, which, if the Wardens complained were not sufficient, were still of considerable strength.

It is also doubtful whether the local gentry perceived the Careys' authority and power as a threat to their own position. Whilst the Careys as a family wielded considerable influence, influence which was further enhanced by their connections at court, other Wardens also held similar, if not identical levels of power. The Scropes, as Wardens of the West March from 1562 -1603, the Earl of Bedford Warden of the East March from 1563-1567, and the Earl of Cumberland, as Warden of all the Marches from 1603, all held large amounts of power within

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<sup>207</sup> Bouch, C.M.L. and Jones, G.P., *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties, 1500-1830*, Manchester, 1961, p .44.

their March. The Wardens and their officials were the chief representatives of the Crown on the Borders. Despite the distance from Carlisle or Berwick to London, this still provided them with considerable authority, which the local gentry, with the possible exception of Sir John Forster, when he himself was a Warden, could not hope to match, and which, in general, they did not try to match. It is true that some Wardens, like Eure in the Middle March, were unable to cope with, or deal with the local reiving surnames, but those who could not were very much in a minority. In a head to head contest, whether of military strength or of political influence, the Wardens had enough power and authority to decisively defeat the local gentry. In 1570, forces under Forster and Hunsdon were able to decisively defeat those raised by Leonard Dacre, when he was engaged in what was, effectively, open and armed rebellion. It is highly unlikely that with the authority of the royal warrant behind them, along with the command of all troops raised for Border service and the use of the Border garrisons, as well as with the ability to summon aid from the south should the need arise, that any of the Wardens could be defeated by the local gentry if it came to armed struggle.

It is equally unlikely that had any serious social power struggle arisen between the Careys and either individuals or groupings amongst the local gentry, that the gentry could hope to succeed. After all, it was the very fact that they had received an increase in royal backing throughout the early years of the sixteenth century that had allowed so many of the Border gentry families to displace the Percies and Nevilles as a power in the locality<sup>208</sup>. That same royal backing could now work for the Careys, who were far closer in terms of blood and in terms of personal relations to Queen Elizabeth than the Border families were to her predecessors, and were thus more likely to benefit from her personal favour. The court

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<sup>208</sup> Watts, p.56.

connection of the Careys, the authority given to them by their warrants of office, and the practical resources they held control of in the shape of Berwick and its garrison, and, through their connections to the Scrope family, and during Robert Carey's spell as Deputy Warden of the West March, the Carlisle garrison, meant that, had any member of the local gentry wished to engage in a power struggle with the Careys, that member of the gentry would have lost. The gentry families of the Borders realised this, and so did not attempt or consider any serious struggle of that sort. With the exception of incidents such as the Rising of the Northern Earls and Dacre's revolt, which were both related more to national politics than local disputes, Lord Hunsdon's authority as Warden was not going to be questioned, and neither was the authority of his sons when they were acting as his representatives. Thus the Careys would have been perceived by the Border gentry as being not so much as a challenge to their position within the region, but as an ever present fact of life. The Borderers would have been more concerned with the challenges posed by other Border families rather than by the presence of royal authority which was far more constant in nature.

It can be seen therefore that, to the Border gentry, the Careys as Wardenry officials were not so much a threat to their authority as they were a part of the Border life – they held considerable power and influence, but, for the most part, they did not try to use this power to deprive the local gentry of that authority and power which had been gained at the expense of the Percys. The power and authority wielded by the Careys existed and operated at a very different level to that which the Greys, or the Collingwoods, or the Selbys, or even the Forsters possessed. The Careys were major players on the national and international stage, and this status meant that, when it came to local politics, they could solidly hold their own in any region in which they were involved, be it the Anglo-Scottish Borders, or the south-east of

England. The power and influence of the English Border gentry was, for the most part, limited to the Borders, in their interests lay in their conflicts were with other gentry families, and in their attempts to increase the wealth, prestige and standing of their own families and followers, not in confronting or challenging groups such as the Careys whom they could not hope to match. The interests and influence of the Northumbrian gentry lay more in the local administrative structures, in such offices as Sherrif and Justice of the Peace, rather than in the Border administrations. Likewise, the Careys' interest lay more in securing the Wardenry positions that held national as well as local importance, and had greater potential for profit and advancement than the local offices. However, whilst it may have been local gentry who held such positions, the Careys, or at least the offices which the Careys held, possessed a degree of influence over the local administration. The people who held offices such as Sherrif and J.P. were often members of families, such as the Fenwicks, Selbies and Widderingtons who were connected to the Careys, either by holding Border office under them, or, after Robert Carey's marriage, by family ties. Whilst the Carey family may not have been able to command the obedience of local office holders, they would certainly, at the least, be able to make clear to them their views. As early as 1550, Robert Bowes had reported that the inhabitants of North Tynedale were more likely to obey the Warden of the Middle March, or the Keeper of Tyndale than the Sherrif, whilst in the last few years of the sixteenth century it appears that the more prominent Northumbrian families had no wish to hold the office<sup>209</sup>, whilst the presence of the Wardens authority, and the nature of Border society meant that Justices of the Peace were, perhaps, of less importance than in the rest of the country<sup>210</sup>. The local offices held by Northumbrian gentry did not in themselves constitute a viable alternative power-base to that of the Warden, rather they represented an arena in which local families could gain some local

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<sup>209</sup> Watt, pp.24, 65.

<sup>210</sup> Tough, p.160.

eminence that did not detract anything from the authority and influence of those people who held posts in the Border administration.

Lawrence Stone stated that power takes many forms:

“...it may be composed in varying degrees of physical force,  
economic pre-eminence, and social or personal prestige;  
it may express itself in coercion, authority or manipulation...”<sup>211</sup>

An examination of the Careys presence on the Border shows that their offices allowed them to amass considerable amounts of all of these sorts of power. When it came to physical force and coercion, they had command of significant numbers of troops and amounts of artillery from Berwick and, during Robert's spell as Deputy Warden of the West March, and at other times through Lord Hunsdon's son-in-law, Lord Scrope, Carlisle. When it came to social or personal prestige, as the Crown's representatives on the Border, and as close relatives of the Queen, there were few, if any, people on the Borders who could challenge the Careys. Whilst the Careys might complain that their finances were short, their family was one of the most eminent in England at the time, and was possessed of extensive estates, offices and wealth. Their economic pre-eminence was not going to be challenged by the local gentry of the Anglo-Scottish Border. It is clear that, up to and until 1603, the Careys were possessed of great power on the Borders. This power was based mainly upon their offices, but was no less real for all of that.

If working with the Borderers in general was important, it was equally important that the Careys were able to work with the other crown officials on the Borders; other wardens and

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<sup>211</sup> Stone, COA, p.199.

officers both above and below them in the Border chain of command. As was the case with the relations within the Carey family, the relationships between the Careys and their contemporaries in office were never constant – they changed depending upon the individuals involved, and upon the course of events. People who disagreed with each other at one point in time, were perfectly able and happy to work with each other at a few days later, whilst people who had enjoyed perfectly amicable relations one day were at each others throats the next. However, despite the vagaries of personal relationships, some general trends can be noted.

John Carey, it seems, was regularly involved in disputes, both with officers serving under him, and with his superiors. In addition to his disputes with his father and brother over the Captaincy and tithes of Norham (see above, pp.-45), he appears to have got on particularly badly with Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, Warden of the English East March and Governor of Berwick from 1598-1601. During this period John Carey held the position of Marshal, and until 1601, Chamberlain of Berwick, and also served as Deputy to the new Governor. Clearly, he was not pleased that, after being acting Governor for the best part of three years, at first in the absence of, and then after the death of, his father, somebody else had been appointed to the Governorship and Wardenry. When Willoughby's appointment was announced he wrote angrily to Burghley that he felt "cleane forgotten" by the Queen and by the Court<sup>212</sup>. If Carey felt aggrieved at being passed over, Willoughby appears to have been somewhat insensitive to his feelings on the matter. On reaching Berwick, the new Governor wrote to the Privy Council complaining about the state of the garrison of the town<sup>213</sup> – the garrison that had been in Carey's care for the previous half decade.

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<sup>212</sup> CBP vol. II, 917.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*, 935.

Relationships between the two do not appear to have improved from that point. In October 1599, Carey was writing to Robert Cecil to complain that Willoughby had departed for a trip to London, leaving him to act as Governor in his absence without leaving any money to pay for expenses Carey might incur in such a role<sup>214</sup>. A more serious dispute came about in May 1600, when Carey claimed a section of an inheritance in Berwick, as payment for his services as Deputy Governor. Willoughby objected, claiming that, in an attempt to gain the inheritance, “One Arden a traveller, allso Sir John Caryes ladye” were claiming in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be “kindred to the intestate”. To this charge, Carey indignantly replied that Willoughby intended using the money from the inheritance to build a church in Berwick “as a uncharetabul consayet agaynst me”<sup>215</sup>. This matter appears to have been resolved in Carey’s favour, thanks to support from Robert Cecil<sup>216</sup>, but it was not long before Willoughby was again complaining of John Carey’s conduct.

In June 1601, Willoughby wrote to Robert Cecil to complain that Carey had sold on his office of the Chamberlainship along with a company of foot, which had been under his command, to a Captain Skinner. He also requested that he be allowed to appoint Robert, as opposed to John, Carey, as his deputy whilst he took a trip to London. Three days later, he pressed his complaint, suggesting that Carey would sell his Marshalship of Berwick if George Carey didn’t die and leave him some money soon<sup>217</sup>. Furthermore, Willoughby commented that he would not mind so much if it were Robert Carey who was receiving money from the sale of offices, as he was a far more worthy man than his brother<sup>218</sup>. These complaints came to

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<sup>214</sup> *Ibid*, 1115.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid*, 1175, 1177, 1178.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, 1202.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, 1384, 1385.

<sup>218</sup> Despite this endorsement, Robert Carey too clashed with Willoughby, complaining bitterly when, in

nothing, however, for less than three weeks later Willoughby caught a chill, and died. One month later, Carey received his patent as Warden of the English East March<sup>219</sup>. A month after that he was writing to Cecil to request the return of the muskets and bandoleers that had accompanied Willoughby's body on its final journey south<sup>220</sup>.

It was not only with Willoughby that John Carey clashed. On the 26<sup>th</sup> July 1597, William Selby, who was at that time Gentleman-Porter of Berwick, declared that he had had a quarrel with Carey, during which Carey had accused him of spying upon him, and of trying to monitor his performance in office<sup>221</sup>. Three days later, Carey wrote to Burghley complaining that Selby was insubordinate. The Privy Council promptly wrote to William Selby, ordering him to obey Carey, and not to try to diminish his authority<sup>222</sup>. Selby vigorously denied any wrong doing, but Carey again seems to have prevailed, for he made no more complaints about Selby after this time. Clearly, John Carey was given to contentious disputes – the description given by Watts, that he was “spleenish”<sup>223</sup> appears to be putting it lightly.

Just as John Carey's clashes with Wardenry officials were a constant trend in the relations between the Carey family and their fellow officials, so was the rather ambiguous relationship that the Careys enjoyed with Sir John Forster. In the thirty-five years which the Careys spent as Border officials – from Henry Carey's appointment to the East March in 1568, to the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603, there were only nine years in which Forster was not Warden of the Middle March. During six of these, from 1587-

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1601, Willoughby pursued a fugitive Scottish Laird, the Laird Ogilvie, into the Middle March, without giving fair notice to Carey, the Warden (CBP vol. II, nos.1315, 1317, 1318).

<sup>219</sup> CBP vol. II, 1403.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid*, 1411.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid*, 690.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, 694, 706.

<sup>223</sup> Watts, p.116.

1588, and from 1598-1603, a Carey held the post. The degree to which Lord Hunsdon and his sons were able to work with Forster was therefore of considerable importance to the Borders.

On his arrival in the East March, in 1568, Henry Carey appears to have rapidly developed a dislike of Forster. It is evident that he had little time for him. In letters back to court he was critical of Forster's ability, and of his conduct, commenting that he had not heard "any man more cried out of than Sir John Forster for suffering the Queen's subjects to be burned and spoiled..."<sup>224</sup>. He also noted, disapprovingly, the way in which tensions between Forster and Percy tenants were causing disorder in Northumberland<sup>225</sup>.

The outbreak of the Rising of the Northern Earls, in late 1569, forced Carey to work with Forster, no matter what his personal opinions of him may have been. Carey's forces served along with those of Forster during the revolt, and during the crushing of the revolt of Leonard Dacre which followed in early 1570 (Forster commanded Hunsdon's rearguard in the crucial battle with Dacre on the River Gelt, and took part in Carey's break-neck ride across country which preceded it). If, however, he was impressed by the conduct of Forster during these campaigns, Carey was less impressed by his conduct in their aftermath. "It is," he wrote in 1572. "a great pity to see how Alnwick Castle and Warkworth are spoiled by him and his"<sup>226</sup>.

In 1580, at a time when Hunsdon was gathering forces in preparation for a predicted invasion from Scotland, Forster again seems to have raised Hunsdon's ire. The Privy Council wrote to

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<sup>224</sup> CSPF 1566-1568, 540-541; Taylor, p.33.

<sup>225</sup> Taylor, p.28.

<sup>226</sup> Quoted in Batho, R.G., "The Percies and Alnwick Castle", in *Archeologia Aeliana*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, vol. XXXV, 1937, p.50.

Forster to complain that they had received word from Hunsdon that of the one hundred horsemen sent by Forster, under the command of his son Nicholas “..there were in the whole number xxx<sup>ty</sup> serviceable horses..”, the rest being “..mean tyttes and nagges..”<sup>227</sup>

Yet despite his apparent antipathy towards Forster, Henry Carey supported him against allegations of corruption and incompetence. These allegations reached a peak in 1587, when Forster was suspended from his post as Warden. Hunsdon was appointed to take his place, and to make enquiries into the corruption allegations. After a brief investigation into the complaints, Hunsdon reported to Burghley that:

“I perceve that these complayntes and grete artycles...  
ageynst hym, hath procedyd of meare mallys...hatchte  
by Sir Cuthberd Collingwood, hys mortall ennymy and  
nurrysht and sent one by my lorde of Huntyngdon..”

He also commented that Sir John had been “in moste of the matters unjustly charged”. Hunsdon then turned his wrath on Forster’s chief opponent and accuser, Cuthbert Collingwood, reminding Burghley that he:

“..in all his life to this daie, never did her Maiestie anie one  
daies servis – for in the rebellion tyme, he was Constable of  
Alnwick under my Lorde of Northumberland...”<sup>228</sup>

And suggesting that Collingwood was not fit to retain his office as Captain of Harbottle Castle.

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<sup>227</sup> APC 1580-1581, 339.

<sup>228</sup> CBP vol. I, 551,556.

Forster was reinstated as Warden by August 1588, and continued in office until 1595, when renewed allegations of corruption and incompetence saw him removed from office for good. Despite Carey's support for him during his suspension, relations between the two wardens do not seem to have markedly improved. During a long running legal case over an inheritance, which was disputed between the Herons (who were related by marriage to Forster) and the Carrs, both of whom were influential Border families, Hunsdon intervened to block a move by Forster to get the case delayed – an action which had it been successful would have been beneficial to the Herons. As it was, the case was won by the Carrs, and when the leading Carr in the dispute, William Carr, died soon afterwards, Carey took over the custody of his children, and took on the protection of their inheritance, including the portion which had been claimed by Forster's relatives<sup>229</sup>. This clearly demonstrates that Hunsdon was willing to risk upsetting his fellow Warden, and further demonstrates the influence which the Careys could bring to bear on events on the Border. Sir John Forster was a powerful and influential man, although he lacked the support at court necessary to ward off the allegations which eventually led to his dismissal from office, who could bring to bear considerable weight in any quarrel, and yet the Careys do not seem to have worried unduly about upsetting him.

Even when Henry Carey had begun to spend more time in London, his sons appear to have carried on his disputes with Forster. Writing in September 1595<sup>230</sup>, Robert Carey commented that:

“his age is within 6 of a hundred years ould, his

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<sup>229</sup> Meikle, M., “Northumberland Divided: An Anatomy of a Sixteenth-century Blood Feud”, in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5<sup>th</sup> Series, vol. XX, 1992, p.86.

<sup>230</sup> It should be noted that Carey was writing this at a time when he was hoping to gain the Wardenry of the English Middle March for himself, and so could be expected to be particularly critical of Forster. Even when this is taken into consideration, however, the expression of such sentiments hardly indicates any great affection between the two.

memory fayles him, he is not able to stir out of  
his chamber, and he hath none that medles for  
him in matters of the Wardenry but a bastard son  
of his own that is debite warden, wan that is...  
given over to drunkernes”<sup>231</sup>

Writing his memoirs some forty years later, Robert Carey was somewhat kinder, commenting that Forster “grew at length to...weakness...the Borderers knowing it grew insolent..”<sup>232</sup>. Kinder than his earlier comments ‘though this may be, it still does not amount to fulsome praise of Forster’s attributes. There can be no doubt that, whilst they were perfectly happy to work with Forster on Border matters, the Careys did not enjoy a particularly close relationship with the long serving Warden of the Middle March. The feeling may well have been mutual – despite their thirty-five year acquaintance, when he died, in 1602, Forster did not so much as mention any of the surviving Careys in his will<sup>233</sup>.

Given that Lord Hunsdon was not usually a great admirer of Sir John Forster, it may be seen as surprising that he opted to defend him against the allegations being made by Collingwood. It could be, as has been suggested, that Carey was “prepared to look beyond the evidence, and see only the figure of that Forster who...had ridden with him on the knife-edge journey which ended in the blood-stained waters of the Gelt...”<sup>234</sup> It may even be that Carey was honest in his belief that Forster was the best man for the post of Warden. However, it is more likely that Hunsdon’s support for Forster was a result of the way in which Sir Cuthbert Collingwood was being backed by the Earl of Huntingdon. The Earl, Henry Hastings, was President of the

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<sup>231</sup> CBP vol. II, 121.

<sup>232</sup> Mares, p.45.

<sup>233</sup> Durham Probate Records Wills, 1602, Sir John Forster of Alnwick Abbey, Alnwick.

<sup>234</sup> Fraser, p.315.

Council of the North, and as such, was the senior representative of the Crown in the north of England, ranking even above the Wardens of the Border marches. A distant relative of the Queen (his mother being descended from George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV, and Richard III, and uncle of Elizabeth I's grandmother, Elizabeth of York, whilst his father was descended from Edward III), Huntingdon was a somewhat straight-laced, fastidious, almost stuffy, character, of deep puritanical convictions – he was nicknamed “The Puritan Earl”. It is perhaps unsurprising that he should clash with Hunsdon, of whom it was said, by the antiquary Robert Naunton, “that his custom of swearing and obscenity in speaking made him seem a worse Christian than he was”<sup>235</sup>, and clash the pair most certainly did.

In 1581, after Carey had been appointed as Captain-General of the Crown's northern forces, in anticipation of a predicted Scottish invasion, Huntingdon made plans to use his office of Lord-Lieutenant of the northern counties to wrest control of the forces at Berwick from Carey, and was only prevented from attempting this by the timely intervention of Sir Francis Walsingham<sup>236</sup>. Relations between the two could not have been improved when the Privy Council decided to allocate three thousand pounds, out of five thousand that had originally been allocated to Hunsdon, to Huntingdon's troops. Furthermore, when expenses for the gathering of troops were allocated, Carey received fifty pounds less than the earl did<sup>237</sup>.

Such incidents appear to have soured the air between the two men, and more disagreements ensued. In 1587 Carey complained to the Privy Council that the troops being raised in Yorkshire, by Huntingdon, for service on the Borders were of low quality. The Council

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<sup>235</sup> Naunton, R, *Fragmenta Regalia or Observations on Queen Elizabeth, Her Times And Favourites*, (Cerovski, J.S. ed), Washington, London and Toronto, 1986, p.70.

<sup>236</sup> Cross, C., *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings, Third Earlof Huntingdon, 1536-1595*, London, 1966, p209.

<sup>237</sup> APC 1580-1581, 313; 1581-1582, 30.

immediately wrote to Huntingdon, demanding that he raise more troops of higher calibre, and send them north, an action that cannot have pleased the President of the Council of the North<sup>238</sup>. Shortly after this came the Forster affair, when Hunsdon was only too happy to lay the blame for Collingwood's accusations at Huntingdon's door. The clearest evidence of the breach between the two men, however, can be seen in Carey's reaction to plans drawn for the defence of England in the face of the Spanish Armada.

Under the original plans, drawn up at Court, Henry Carey was to be Lieutenant of the Queen's northern forces, serving under Huntingdon, in much the same way as he had served under the Earl of Sussex in 1569. On hearing this news, Carey fired off a furious letter to Burghley:

“...to be leuetenaunte under one that never saw  
any servys, nor knowes yn any respecte what  
appertaynes too a capten... I am offerd gretar  
wronge then I dyd thynk wolde a byn offerd me  
by that loorde; but I perceve yt ys a grete matter  
to be an Erle !...knowynge how yll he and I shall  
agre....and that what good servys soevar shalbe  
dune, shall redownde too hys honor and glory, and  
yf any yll, ytt wylbe layde ayen me... I wyll ley  
yn pryson rather...”<sup>239</sup>

Hunsdon's distaste for Huntingdon was clear, and a new post was found for him. When the Spanish Armada sailed against England, Henry Carey was in the south, personally commanding the Queen's guard in the English camp at Tilbury.

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<sup>238</sup> APC 1587-1588, 267,274.

<sup>239</sup> CBP vol. I, 512

If further evidence is needed of how deeply entrenched Henry Carey was both in the Queen's affections and in his powerbase on the Borders, it can be seen in the fact that despite his many disagreements with Hastings, the Earl was unable to take any effective political action against Carey. The question of whether or not the President of the Council of the North had any technical authority over Wardenry matters is debatable, but even if he had no technical authority one would expect that the President of the Council of the North, one of the senior peers of the realm, would not take kindly to one who crossed him on so many occasions. Yet, only on one occasion, in 1581 at the time of the feared Scottish invasion, does Huntingdon appear to have considered directly challenging Hunsdon's authority, and on that occasion he allowed himself to be dissuaded. Hastings seems to have realised that Henry Carey was not somebody who he could easily challenge in any squabbles and seems to have accepted that the Border regions were an area where he could not easily exert his power, except on the rare occasions when, such as in 1595 when he oversaw John Forster's final fall for power, he was acting with the full will and authority of the Queen.

It is interesting that, in the same letter in which Hunsdon savages Huntingdon's military reputation, he lavishes praise upon Huntingdon's predecessor as President of the Council of the North, the Earl of Sussex. Remembering his time serving under Sussex, during the Rising of the northern Earls, and the reprisal raids into Scotland that followed that revolt, Carey commented:

"I was deputy leuetenaunte under my lord of  
Sussex who was a worthy nobell man of servys.."

Carey possessed a great deal of respect and admiration for Thomas Ratcliffe, the Earl of Sussex. Although he may, in part, have been dispatched from Berwick to York in 1569, as a potential replacement for the Earl, should Sussex have proved disloyal<sup>240</sup>, Hunsdon rapidly developed a good opinion of Ratcliffe. He had no hesitation in expressing his opinion, savagely denouncing those of the Queen's advisors who expressed doubts as to Sussex's loyalty, and praising the earl's qualities in glowing terms<sup>241</sup>. In turn, Sussex appreciated both Hunsdon's abilities and his support – "...I think nothing can stir him to discord and I will avoid any occasions of offence..."<sup>242</sup>, he wrote to William Cecil in 1570. He was also willing to assign lands formerly in the possession of the rebels to Carey's sons, although the Queen later overturned his decision to allocate the lands of Edward Dacre to George Carey<sup>243</sup>. Following the suppression of Dacre's revolt, the two worked together to great effect on the raids into Scotland, which were designed to punish those Scots who had supported the revolts. There is no reason to doubt that, had Sussex not been replaced by Huntingdon, they would have been able to continue working well together for many years.

The differences between Henry Carey's relationship with Huntingdon, and his relationship with Sussex, are indicative of the relationships between the Carey family and other crown officials – sometimes relationships were good, sometimes they were bad, it depended on whom was involved, and what was going on at the time. Some relationships were more constant than others – John Carey seems to have got on badly with many people and there seems to have been little love lost between the Careys and Forster, for example - but on the whole, as in governmental and other bureaucratic organisations today, few of the sets of

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<sup>240</sup> Rinehart, p.21.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, pp.258,270.

<sup>242</sup> CSPD (Add) 1566-1579, 262.

<sup>243</sup> Sharp, p.171; Taylor, p.238.

relationships between Careys and other officials were permanently settled as good or bad. Where relationships were poor, tensions did not result from any great political, or moral, differences, but rather from more mundane matters – over allocation of resources, over clashing areas of responsibility, and at their most basic level, over personal impressions of the various officers involved. However, despite the tensions which existed, the Careys were both willing, and able to work with the local gentry and with other crown officials, whether they liked them or not. Whilst Robert Eure returned from the Middle March within a couple of years, complaining bitterly of the unwillingness of local families to aid him in suppressing trouble, Robert Carey was able to summon up the sons of the local gentry and besiege outlaws in the wilds of the frontiers. Whilst Forster and Hunsdon clashed on several occasions, they were still willing together to defeat Leonard Dacre in 1570. The Careys realised that their authority could be enhanced if they were willing to work with local families, and so they did so.

This ability to work with others was of great benefit to the Carey family in their work on the Border, but it alone did not guarantee their success as Border officers. Success in governing their marches, in combating the activities of reivers both Scottish and English, and defending against, and negotiating with, the Scottish officials and Crown, depended as much upon the competence and capabilities of the Careys, as it did upon their relationships with the other inhabitants and officials of the English side of the Border.

Henry Carey was for many years an absentee officer, removed by virtue of his posts at court from his offices of Warden of the East March and Governor of Berwick. It could be expected that the East March would suffer from his absence. Some contemporary reports seem to

suggest that both the March and Berwick did suffer greatly from the continued absence of their Warden and Governor. If these reports are accurate, then they surely cast some doubt upon the skill with which Lord Hunsdon minded his charge.

In 1587, a report was submitted to the Earl of Huntingdon, by Robert Arden, the collector of customs for Berwick. This report suggested that the town was in a poor state. Sir Henry Widdrington, the Marshal and Carey's Deputy Governor was described as being corrupt, ill, and, just as bad to sixteenth century eyes, an atheist. The stores of food, ammunition, weaponry and other supplies for the garrison were, according to Arden, poorly kept and in disorder, whilst the soldiers were elderly and unfit for duty<sup>244</sup>. In general, because of the absence of Carey, the ability of the town to defend itself against any attack was being severely reduced. Such a report hardly reflected favourably upon Lord Hunsdon.

Yet this report might not paint an entirely fair picture of the state of Berwick in the 1580s. Hunsdon certainly did not agree with its conclusions, particularly as Huntingdon wasted no time in presenting the report to the Queen and Privy Council. Carey wrote to Burghley that:

“I am very sorry t'understande that any (and here  
the words 'counselour (especialy)', a clear  
reference to Huntingdon, are crossed out) showlde  
...informe hyr Majesti of the weaknes of a towne,  
wheryn I thynke he was never yn....”<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Quoted in Cross, C., “Berwick on Tweed and the neighbouring parts of Northumberland on the eve of the Armada” in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, Volume XLI, 1963, pp.123-132.

<sup>245</sup> CBP vol. I, 548.

Whilst Arden certainly had been in Berwick at some point, in 1587 he was reported as being “a victualler in Flanders with my Lord of Leicester”, and it was said that he “seldom cometh at Barwick”<sup>246</sup>. Huntingdon was certainly in no position to give up-to-the-minute reports on the state of the town, as he himself rarely brought the Council in the North out of York after 1574<sup>247</sup>. At this time, Henry Carey was not in fact far away from his charge. Rather than being at court in London, he was in the Middle March overseeing the administration of affairs there, following the suspension of Sir John Forster. In his absence he appears to have delegated responsibility for the town to Sir Henry Widdrington, Sir John Selby, the Deputy Warden of the East March, and to his son, William Carey. Where necessary, he despatched instructions for Berwick from Morpeth or Newcastle<sup>248</sup>. He could hardly therefore, be said to have abandoned his post without giving a second thought to the well-being of Berwick. The Queen appears to have been satisfied as to Hunsdon’s management of the town, for on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1587, writing again to Burghley, Carey expressed his pleasure that the Queen was happy with his governance of Berwick<sup>249</sup>.

Further complaints were made about the administration of Berwick in March 1593, at a time when Henry Carey had been absent for several years. The complaints were addressed to the Queen and came from the Mayor of Berwick, William Morton, and the Aldermen of the town council<sup>250</sup>. They alleged that “..notable abuses in the general militarie goverment” were “to the noe little hazard of this place...” The abuses occurred, according to the Mayor, “in and by the absence and sufferance of the Lorde Governor..” – a clear targeting of the blame at Carey.

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<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*, 545.

<sup>247</sup> Cross, PE, p.164.

<sup>248</sup> CBP vol. I, 541, 548, 549.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid*, 556.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid*, 806.

The Mayor's list of complaints is lengthy. Once again, Sir Henry Widdrington is accused of corruption and incompetence. Hunsdon and his officers are accused of selling places in the town's garrison to "bankeroutes and runagates" who "defy their creditors being in the Queen's service", whilst Henry Carey is personally accused of weakening the garrison by taking men from it with him to court (although quite why the Mayor is so depressed at seeing the back of the "bankeroutes and runagates" who he claimed Hunsdon was employing is not made clear...). In addition, there are complaints on the poor states of the garrison's pay and supplies and of the presence and activities of Scots within the town walls. These are accompanied by more direct attacks against the Careys. They allege that Hunsdon had encroached on their fishing rights on the Tweed, and described him as an "absentee, who spends not one penny of his interteignment and proffytes..in this place..", and that John Carey had abused his position as Chamberlain of the town by demanding that citizens acquired fresh titles to their properties from him, at a fee. William Carey, they complained, as Captain of Norham, was preventing the Mayor's officers from arresting anybody against Carey's will in Norhamshire, and was using the company of foot he commanded to intimidate any who complained about his family's practices<sup>251</sup>.

It is hard to say to what an extent such complaints were justified. It seems reasonable to assume that, in a town such as Berwick, tensions between the military Governor and garrison, and the civilian Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses would always exist, particularly as the Burgesses resented coming under the authority of a military governor. Morton's complaints about the Careys should be put in the context of the existence of such tensions. Complaints

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<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

that the Careys and the garrison in general were infringing upon the rights of the burgesses of the town ranked high in the list of grievances which the Mayor presented, suggesting that Morton and the Aldermen were not exactly unbiased observers on the state of affairs. The Crown does not seem to have been inclined to take the complaints too seriously, for, in a letter of instructions dated 27<sup>th</sup> March 1593, investigations into the alleged abuses were entrusted to John Carey<sup>252</sup>. He promptly reported back that the faults and wants of Berwick were “maynie and yet not so maynie but that I hope in short time to reform...”<sup>253</sup>. Not surprisingly, none of the faults Carey claimed to find were ascribed to the Carey family. Instead he described three main areas of problems in Berwick. The first was in the poor state of repair of various of the walls and gates, the second was a number of problems caused by “the unablensness of Sir Henry Woddringtons diseased bodye..” , and finally were a number of problems to do with the town supplies, which had been caused by “this poor gentlemans faultes, Mr. Vernons...”<sup>254</sup> (Robert Vernon was the victualler of the garrison, and appears to have run up considerable debts, in his work, both to members of the garrison and to civilian members of the town’s population)<sup>255</sup>.

The Mayor and Aldermen were less than impressed by John Carey’s enquiries. “We doubt..”, they wrote, in April 1593, “if he will take our advice and for revealing the faults here, we stand dangerously with my lord governor and his sons...”. Ten days later they complained that they “despaired of redress of the long endured suffering of our commonwealth”, as Hunsdon and his sons were angered by their complaints. In May 1593, William Morton tried again, complaining that “Mr. (John) Carey still perseveres in derogation of ourselves and our

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<sup>252</sup> CBP vol. I, 814.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*, 820.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid*, 820, 824.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid*, 649, 665, 725.

liberties...”<sup>256</sup> Despite their complaints, however, Lord Hunsdon and his sons continued in office. Queen Elizabeth obviously did not believe that her relatives and trusted officers had done anything to merit being suspended from their posts, as Sir John Forster had been.

The Careys could probably be forgiven if their administration of Berwick and the Eastern March left something to be desired. Whilst the letters which they sent to court no doubt contained exaggerations designed to increase appreciation of their plight and elicit a response from Queen Elizabeth, or Burghley of the Privy Council, there must have been a degree of credibility about them, if they were not to be dismissed out of hand by their recipients. The correspondence of the Careys speaks of a lack of resources for the Border officials that made their jobs considerably more difficult. Within a few months of taking up office in 1568, Henry Carey was writing to Burghley requesting forty pounds to allow the construction of a stove to dry out gunpowder, whilst in August 1570, he requested two hundred marks to allow the rebuilding of parts of Norham Castle<sup>257</sup>. Robert Carey was still requesting money for the upkeep of Norham thirty years later<sup>258</sup>, whilst John Carey despatched long letters to court detailing long lists of repairs needed, and the costs for each of them<sup>259</sup>.

Of all the works undertaken by the Careys at Berwick, on what scant resources they were able to gather, the longest lasting were the works carried out under their supervision on the walls and ramparts of the town. Although most of the work on the Elizabethan walls was completed between 1558 and 1565, before the Careys’ period of office on the Border, work continued on them throughout the Queen’s reign<sup>260</sup>. The Careys, and in particular John Carey,

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<sup>256</sup> *Ibid*, 825, 827, 837.

<sup>257</sup> CSPPF 1566-1568, 2592, 1569-71, 1153.

<sup>258</sup> CBP vol. II, 189, 295.

<sup>259</sup> Eg. *Ibid*, 56,67,71,80,86,202,205,212,275,510.

<sup>260</sup> Cowe, F.M., *Berwick-on-Tweed, A Short Historical Guide*, Berwick, 1975, p.9.

were responsible for overseeing the construction of a number of the most prominent features of the Elizabethan defences of Berwick.

In 1590, John Carey oversaw the construction of what is now called the “Scots Gate”, which was at the time known as the “New Mary Gate”, after the church of St. Mary which had previously stood upon the site. This was the north gate of Berwick, through which the Great North Road ran on its way to Scotland<sup>261</sup>. By June 1594 a demi-bastion, named Hunsdon’s Mount, sometimes known as Hunsdon’s New Mount, had been constructed, and armed with cannon, at the point where the Elizabethan defences met the medieval town walls<sup>262</sup>. Between 1595 and 1596, a further gate, known as the “Carie Port” was constructed<sup>263</sup>. This gate is now known by its medieval name, the “Cow Port”, whilst Mount Hunsdon was renamed “the King’s Mount” after James VI and I passed through Berwick following the death of Elizabeth in 1603. Their Elizabethan names, however, stand testimony to the involvement of the Carey family in their construction.

Lord Hunsdon played a small role in the construction of Lindisfarne Castle. Work upon this fortification had been planned since the time of Henry VIII, but it was only completed in 1571, three years after Henry Carey had taken office as Warden of the English East March and Governor of Berwick<sup>264</sup>. A total of £ 1691/3s/1/2d was spent on the construction of the castle in the 1560s and early 1570s<sup>265</sup>. As the crown officer with ultimate responsibility for the

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<sup>261</sup> *Ibid*, p.10; CBP vol. I, 686.

<sup>262</sup> Cowe, p15; CBP vol. I, 957.

<sup>263</sup> Cowe, p.14; CBP vol. II, 386.

<sup>264</sup> O’ Sullivan, D. and Young, R., *The English Heritage Book Of Lindisfarne Holy Island*, London, 1995, p.92.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*, p.93.

governance of Lindisfarne, Hunsdon would undoubtedly have been involved in the administration of such an expensive project.

It was not just money for building works which was in short supply – the pay for the garrison and officers was often late and insufficient, as were the funds for the garrisons expenses. This lack of money had repercussions right through the town of Berwick. The victualler Robert Vernon's financial problems seem to have had their origin in the large amount of debts which he was owed by officers and members of the Berwick garrison, who couldn't pay him due to the lack of their own wages. Lord Hunsdon and William Carey were notable figures on the list of those who owed him money<sup>266</sup>. A victualler without money meant that the food supplies for the garrison were erratic in provision and variable in quality. If the volume of his letters which mention victuals is anything to go by, supplies were a considerable headache for John Carey. He apologised to Robert Cecil in 1597 "I have heretofore often troubled your honor with a tedious theame of...victualles"<sup>267</sup>.

Queen Elizabeth seems to have thought nothing of letting her officers serve her without pay, at their own expense. John Carey seems to have been the most unfortunate of all his family for this. His expressions of dismay over his financial state grew increasingly plaintive:

"I would humbly ask consideration of my poor estate,  
for I cannot live here on my own charges, having a  
wife and household in the south to maintain..."

he wrote, in April 1593, whilst in June of that year, he stated that:

"I am happy in this – that if hereafter my poore

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<sup>266</sup> CBP vol. I, 649, 1003.

<sup>267</sup> CBP vol. II, 870.

wife and children doe go a begging, yt shall not  
be said...that I have consumed my estate in an  
alehouse or idle drunkennes but in her Majesties  
service.....”

In April of 1594, he resorted to further emotional blackmail:

“...by my being here I have loste at least fower  
hundreth poundes...But I hope Her Majestie  
will consider more graciouslye of me than utterlye  
to undoe me, my wiffe and poore children in her  
service. It is a thing she has never done to anye, and  
therefore I will not despair...”<sup>268</sup>

John Carey’s financial situation may not have been quite as bad as he made out. When his brother William died in 1593, the inventory of his goods added up to a total value of £ 295/-/10d, a respectable sum<sup>269</sup>. John Carey also had sources of income in addition to the fees and benefits he was entitled to as a Border officer. In 1582, for example, he was appointed Receiver-General of Revenues for the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, and for the towns of Canterbury, Rochester and Chichester. These offices entitled him to an annuity of one hundred pounds, in addition to a commission of twenty shillings for every hundred pounds which he dispatched to the exchequer<sup>270</sup>. When the wages for the Wardenry officials did come through, they were considerable – the Warden of the East Marches was entitled to £ 400 per annum, plus £ 266/13s/4d for servants, whilst the Governor of Berwick earned another £ 400

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<sup>268</sup> CBP vol. I, 826, 846, 949.

<sup>269</sup> Durham Probate Records Wills, William Carey Esquire, 1593, Berwick upon Tweed.

<sup>270</sup> CPR 1580-82, 1471.

per year. When he was Warden of the Middle March, Forster was entitled to £ 300 per year, with an allowance for £10 a year for a deputy, and forty shillings a year each for two sergeants. The lesser offices also produced reasonable wages, the Marshal of Berwick was entitled to £260 a year (although this included the wages for twenty horsemen), and the Chamberlain £ 94/13s/4d. As Captains of companies of one hundred footmen, William and John Carey could claim a sum of four shillings a day. In addition, accommodation was provided free of charge in the royal castles of Berwick and Carlisle<sup>271</sup>. Also, as William Morton and his fellow Aldermen alleged in their complaints, it was possible for the Careys to make money from the privileges of their offices, and from selling places and positions in the garrison to the highest bidder.

So, the financial burdens of the Border officials may not have been quite as bad as they made out. However, they certainly existed, as did the trouble of finding enough money to maintain the garrisons and towns of the Marches. It is also apparent that much of the wealth of the members of the Carey family was tied up in, and was invested in, their work on the Border. In addition to John Carey's letters on the subject, it is worth noting for example that, of the two hundred and ninety five pounds and ten shillings worth of goods in the inventory of William Carey's possessions, thirty two pounds and one shilling of that value is made up of arms, armour, military equipment and "Corne delyverd to the soldyers". Clearly, not all of this equipment could have been for his own personal use - one man could not use a dozen muskets for example, and it is unlikely that William Carey would personally have much use for a "drome and a case of fyfes" ? This must represent equipment used by the troops of Carey's company, owned, and presumably purchased, by Carey himself. The Carey family were

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<sup>271</sup> CBP vol. II, 90, 817, 1308; Pease, pp.182-183.

effectively subsidising the Crown presence in their Wardenries out of their own pocket, and as the salaries paid to the officers at Berwick were often paid in arrears, the complaints of John Carey were both realistic and reasonable. Such a drain on their resources could not have made their work on the Borders any easier.

This does lead to the obvious question as to why the Careys continued to serve upon the Borders if it was such an expensive occupation. They were members of a noble, influential and comparatively well off family. What was to stop them seeking their fortune in other areas of the country ?

There are in fact, several answers to these questions. Firstly, it should be remembered that the Careys did seek their fortunes in many areas of the country. The Careys on the Border were only a part, albeit an important one, of the family firm. Other members of the family sought for fortune elsewhere. George Carey, for example, after he left the borders settled down on the south coast, and at court, whereas Edmund Carey seems to have spent at least some of his time on military service. The power and influence which their positions on the Border gave them, both in the North and at court was another reason why the Carey's remained in their posts. To have any area of the country where they could build up a powerbase was a considerable asset, and the Borders were just such an area, particularly as it was one which had a comparative lack of noble families to challenge their ascendancy. Despite the expense of the posts, the authority which they held on the Borders was good for the Careys both individually and as a family. Finally, there is the fact that at the head of the Carey family was the Queen. Sometimes greedy and self serving the Careys may have been, but if they were one thing they were always fiercely loyal to Elizabeth. It may not have always best suited their

pockets to serve on the Border, but if it was where their Queen ordered them to serve it was where they would be. They might occasionally beg her to change her mind, but in the end they followed her will.

The range of tasks carried out by the Careys in their administration of the Borders, in addition to those tasks specified by the patents of the Border Wardens, was great. For example, like all government officials, the Careys were expected to play their parts in the hunting down of recusants, and of any seminary priests and Jesuits who entered their area of authority. This they did, albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm. In 1587, William Carey was sent orders by the Privy Council to assist Sir John Forster in the apprehension of certain Jesuits in the Middle March<sup>272</sup>. In November 1593 John Carey reported with great satisfaction that:

“..in longe and often laying of baite, I have  
at last caught a fish... This is one Mr Thomas  
Oglebye, a seminary priest and Scotsman lately  
Comde out of Flaunders...”<sup>273</sup>.

Robert Carey, on the other hand, seems to have been less enthusiastic in his religious duties. In 1600, after he had been ordered to by the Privy Council, he delivered a collection of recusants to Durham, to face enquiries into their behaviour. Having reached Durham, he discovered that the Bishop, Toby Matthew, who was heading the investigations into recusancy was not present to deal with the people he had brought in. Carey angrily proclaimed that:

“I deseir no more to be imployed in this  
service: it is an office chiefly belonging

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<sup>272</sup> APC 1586-1587, 135.

<sup>273</sup> CBP vol. I, 916.

to my lord of Durham, yeat when I had taken  
all the paynes and cum myself to the  
commition I found his lordship absent...<sup>»274</sup>

Lord Hunsdon, by the time he took over as Warden of the English East March in 1568, had seen many changes of religion in England. When he was eight, Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy had passed through Parliament severing the link with Rome. The reigns of Edward VI, Mary I and then Elizabeth I had each in turn produced new religious policies. As with Burghley, and with most people who lived through all of those changes, Hunsdon was Machiavellian where religion was involved, a person who could, and would follow whichever variety of Christianity was the will of the sovereign at the time, and so he too loyally followed the Queen's line, hunted out any foreign priests or Jesuits entering his March, and supported campaigns against recusancy.

However, any Warden investigating recusancy on the Borders in the late-sixteenth century had a problem. The problem lay not so much in finding recusants as it in finding people who were not supporters of the old religion. Through much of the later-sixteenth century, and particularly in the 1560s, 1570s and early 1580s, periods when Hunsdon spent most of his time on the Border, Northumberland in the east, and Cumberland in the west contained a large number of Catholics<sup>275</sup>. This fact was acknowledged by Henry Carey in 1587, when he commented that "the mydill and thys est marche, ar almost all becum papysts"<sup>276</sup>. Therefore, except for those occasions when the Privy Council, or the Bishop of Durham or Archbishop of

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<sup>274</sup> CBP vol. II, 1331.

<sup>275</sup> Meikle, LG, pp.320-321.

<sup>276</sup> Quoted in Meikle, LG, p.321.

York demanded action against recusants, the Careys, along with other Wardens and Border officers, seem to have pursued a policy of 'live and let live' in relation to the Catholic inhabitants of their Marches. They certainly do not seem to have occupied much of the time of the Careys, as shown by their correspondence on the issue. Jesuits, of whatever nationality, and foreign priests, were, on the other hand, another matter entirely. They seem to have been actively sought for by the Careys. This was because they were seen as possible agents of foreign powers, especially of the Pope and Spain, and so were threats to the security of the realm. For that they merited far more serious consideration than native gentry who, in many cases, had remained loyal to the Crown even during the rising of the Northern Earls in 1569.

The defence of the realm in general and of their march in particular, whether it was against English rebels, Scottish raiders or Spanish invaders, was one of the primary duties of the Warden. In theory, the Warden could draw upon the whole of the manpower of the March, for all men over the age of 16 and under the age of 60 were required to muster for the defence of the March upon their Warden's command. In practice, however, things were not so simple. Throughout the later sixteenth century the numbers of people who actually mustered, and arrived with the required degree of equipment, fell dramatically. Between 1580 and 1584, for example, the number of fully equipped horsemen mustering in the English East March fell from 1148 to 838<sup>277</sup>, and the pattern was the same across most of the Border throughout the late-sixteenth century<sup>278</sup>. This was a problem faced by all of the Border officials, and was one which none of them, including the Careys, could ever really deal with. Therefore, for defensive purposes, the Careys had to rely upon the troops of the garrisons which they commanded, along with any Borderers that they could raise along the way.

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<sup>277</sup> Tough, p.90.

<sup>278</sup> Watts, pp.19,39,110; Tough, pp.90-91.

Given such problems of manpower, it was perhaps fortunate that there were not many occasions when the Careys had to lead their marches in full scale warfare. Indeed, there were really only three occasions, and all of these occurred within the first two years of Henry Carey's Wardenry of the English East March.

In November 1569, the revolt known as the Rising of the Northern Earls broke out. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, feeling isolated from power and fearing a decline in their families' traditional influence in the north of England, gathered their forces, and marched south, intending perhaps to release Mary Queen of Scots from her imprisonment at Tutbury. Having occupied Durham, where they publicly restored the Catholic mass in the Cathedral on the 14<sup>th</sup> November, they proceeded to march south, taking Barnard Castle and occupying Hartlepool. Then, threatened by two royal armies, one from the north commanded by the President of the Council, the Earl of Sussex, along with Hunsdon and Sir Ralph Sadler, and one raised in the southern and midland counties under the command of the Earl of Warwick and Lord Clinton, the Lord Admiral of England, which was rapidly advancing, the Earls' army began to melt away. Hotly pursued by crown forces, including Border horsemen under Sir John Forster, and Berwick troops under Sir William Drury, and with routes through the Pennines being blocked by West March troops under Henry, Lord Scrope, the Earls fled across the Border. In Scotland they were received by nobles loyal to Mary<sup>279</sup>.

Henry Carey had played a pivotal role as one of the commanders of the northern royal army. Having secured the towns of Berwick and Newcastle, as he was ordered to by the Queen,

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<sup>279</sup> Taylor, pp.232-240; Guy, pp.272-275.

Carey had joined Sussex at York, at a time when that city was threatened by the rebels. He had worked closely with Sussex, and liaised successfully with his fellow Wardens Forster and Scrope, to ensure that, once the Queen's northern supporters had gathered their forces, the Earls were harried until they were forced to retreat to Scotland on 20th December 1569.

As the new year dawned, the Queen, conscious as ever of the need to keep a tight grip on the nation's purse strings, ordered the discharge of most of the crown forces which had gathered on the Border. Carey, along with the Earl of Sussex protested at this, arguing that tensions in the area were still high and that further trouble could erupt at any moment<sup>280</sup>. Queen Elizabeth, however, was not to be argued with, and so the bulk of the northern army, along with Warwick and Clinton's southern force, were allowed to return to their homes. That Hunsdon and the President of the Council of the North were right to be concerned, was proved when, in January 1570, Leonard Dacre of Gilsland began to gather supporters at his home in Naworth.

When Dacre refused to obey a summons by Sussex to come to York, the Queen ordered Carey to consult with his fellow Wardens, Scrope and Forster to contrive a plan to arrest Dacre<sup>281</sup>. On 19<sup>th</sup> February 1570, Hunsdon and Forster, with troops from the garrison of Berwick and from the Middle March, set out to Naworth, to arrest Dacre. On arriving at Leonard Dacre's seat, they saw that it was well defended, and that they were considerably outnumbered, and so decided to head across country, to join forces with Scrope at Carlisle. Dacre had other ideas, however and pursued them, with all of his supporters. The two sides met on the River Gelt where, having resisted "the proudest charge upon my shot that ever I

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<sup>280</sup> Taylor, p.329.

<sup>281</sup> CSPD (Add) 1566-1579, p.230.

saw”<sup>282</sup>, Carey led a devastating counter-charge that smashed Dacre’s allies, and forced Leonard Dacre to flee. The victory came not a moment too soon, for shortly afterwards a force made up of Scottish Borderers, and English reiver horsemen, appeared to join with Dacre. Seeing him defeated they fell back.

One of the results of these risings was Henry Carey’s third campaign on the Border. As a reaction to Scottish involvement in the Rising of the Northern Earls and Dacre’s revolt, the Queen ordered a series of reprisal raids against southern Scotland. The raids took place in the spring of 1570 and, once again, Henry Carey played a key role. With Sussex, he led a series of raids, the scale of which is indicated by his description of the first day of operations they took the English army into Teviotdale:

“...burning on both hands at least two miles  
leaving neither castle, town or tower until they  
came to Jedburgh”<sup>283</sup>

In all three of the military operations of 1569-1570, Henry Carey played an important part. He was willing, as his actions at the Battle of the Gelt prove, to lead his troops from the front and, whilst making an occasional error (along with the rest of the northern command, he did not believe that Barnard Castle could fall to the Earls’ army in 1569, for example<sup>284</sup>), he was in general a competent, capable and daring commander. His skills as a military leader were obviously appreciated by the crown, as he was given high ranking places in plans for predicted campaigns in 1578, 1581 and 1587-1588<sup>285</sup> - not a bad record for somebody who had been

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<sup>282</sup> Sharp, pp.219-226;Fraser, pp.305.

<sup>283</sup> CSPF 1569-1571, 844.

<sup>284</sup> Rinehart, p.175.

<sup>285</sup> APC 1578, 306; 1580-81, 313,339; DNB vol. III, p.977; CBP vol. I, 572.

described in 1567 by the Spanish Ambassador to Elizabeth's court as one who was "not thought much of a soldier"<sup>286</sup>.

Lord Hunsdon and his sons played a considerable part in the preparations of the English defences against the anticipated arrival of the Spanish Armada. As early as the summer of 1587, plans were being drawn up. Summaries were prepared of the state and nature of the garrison, pensioners and ramparts of Berwick. A plan was submitted, although never approved, to the Queen for an "Inskonce", a form of artificial rampart, to be constructed along the length of the Anglo-Scottish Border, sections of which were written in the hand of Hunsdon's clerk. Clearly, the Careys on the Border would have been involved in such preparations. At the end of October 1587, Hunsdon, acting in his capacity of Vice-Admiral of Northumberland and County Durham, stayed all shipping off the coast, and sent careful notes to Court of the tonnage and crews of any useful vessels<sup>287</sup>. On November 14<sup>th</sup> 1587, he reported that three hundred troops sent by the Earl of Huntingdon had reached Newcastle and were being garrisoned in, and supplied by, various towns in the Middle March. These troops were intended to guard against the Scots as much as they were intended to protect against the Spanish, for both Carey and the English government believed that there was a strong risk that James of Scotland would invade England in support of any Spanish invasion. Careful note was taken, therefore, of any communication between Scotland and Spain, whilst Hunsdon argued strongly for bribing James VI to refuse any Spanish requests for Scottish aid. It would be, Hunsdon declared, far cheaper to pay off James than to maintain high numbers of troops in the north of England<sup>288</sup>.

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<sup>286</sup> *Calendar of Letters And State Papers Relating To English Affairs, Preserved Principally In The Archives of Simancas, 1558-1567*, 443.

<sup>287</sup> CBP vol. I, 537, 544, 545, 558, 581.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid*, 563, 569, 587, 589.

By the time the Armada had entered the channel, Henry Carey, having refused to serve under the Earl of Huntingdon in the north, was at Tilbury, commanding the 16,000 troops of the Queen's bodyguard. Close by were a number of his sons. Sir Edmund Carey is mentioned as a Colonel in the Queen's bodyguard<sup>289</sup>, whilst Robert Carey served as a volunteer aboard the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, alongside the Earl of Cumberland<sup>290</sup>. George Carey, meanwhile, as Governor of the Isle of Wight, was heavily involved in planning and organising that island's defences, and maintaining its harbours, and those of neighbouring Hampshire for English shipping<sup>291</sup>.

The bulk of the responsibilities for the conduct of the defences of the north appear to England fell upon the Earl of Huntingdon. By the 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1588, he had travelled north from his usual base at York to Newcastle, in response to an order from the Queen to see to the defences of Tynemouth<sup>292</sup>. Despite the fact that Huntingdon travelled to Newcastle, in the Middle March, and Hartlepool in the Palatinate of Durham, he does not appear to have visited Berwick or the East March<sup>293</sup>. The reports and communications that came out of Berwick at the time of the Armada came from Sir Henry Widdrington, Hunsdon's Marshall<sup>294</sup>. Similarly, communications between the Council and Berwick seem to have been sent directly to Henry Carey's officers, as was the case in July 1588, when Simon Musgrave, the Master of Ordnance at Berwick was ordered to supply powder and shot to the English fleet in the North Sea<sup>295</sup>. As, when he was absent overseeing the affairs of the Middle March following the suspension

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<sup>289</sup> CSPD 1581-1590, 519.

<sup>290</sup> Mares, p.9.

<sup>291</sup> DNB, vol. III, p.975.

<sup>292</sup> CBP vol. I, 611.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid*, 620, 625, 626.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid*, 620, 621, 623, 624.

<sup>295</sup> APC 1588, 212.

of Sir John Forster, Hunsdon delegated charge of Berwick affairs to Widdrington, Sir John Selby, and his son William Carey, it is probable that he also took this course in 1588.

Huntingdon may have been in overall command of the Queen's forces in the north of England, but Berwick and the East March was still very much the domain of Hunsdon, and, in his absence, of Hunsdon's representatives, and Huntingdon does not appear to have tried to enforce his authority there. By 9<sup>th</sup> September 1588, Huntingdon had returned to York, from where he informed the Council that the Armada was reported to be north of the Shetland Isles<sup>296</sup>. Once Huntingdon had returned to York Carey's authority on the Border remained intact and unchallenged.

George Carey emerged with credit from the Rising of the Northern Earls, during which he served under his father, and from the raids into Scotland of 1570, after which he was knighted by the Earl of Sussex for showing bravery in the field<sup>297</sup>, and proved his worth as Governor of the Isle of Wight during the time of the Armada. How capable Henry Carey's other sons would have proved themselves to be in any large scale conflict is harder to judge. Certainly Robert Carey had seen active military service both on land, in the Netherlands and France with the Earl of Leicester, and at sea against the Spanish Armada<sup>298</sup>. Whether John or William Carey had any military experience prior to their coming to the Border is unclear. If not, they would soon have gained some in the Eastern March, for the Borders were a violent place, even when there was no open warfare.

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<sup>296</sup> CBP vol. I, 632.

<sup>297</sup> DNB, vol.III, p.974.

<sup>298</sup> Mares, pp. 9,13.

A large proportion of the time of the Wardens and their officers was spent on dealing with the “marche felons and traitours” mentioned by Sadler. These were the infamous reiving surnames, those Borderers from both the English and the Scottish side of the frontier, whose violence and criminal activity was well known. Combating their activities was a tricky task, but it was one which the Careys, and in particular Henry and Robert Carey rather seem to have enjoyed. Robert later wrote of his time on the frontier:

“I lived with a great content for we had  
a stirring world, and few days passed over  
my head but I was on horseback, either to  
prevent mischief, or to take malefactors and  
to bring the Border...better quiet then it had  
been in times past.”<sup>299</sup>

Indeed, the whole tone of the sections of his memoirs which deal with his life on the Borders is far more vibrant and energetic than earlier or later sections<sup>300</sup>. He writes of his time on the Borders with a passion which clearly indicates his enjoyment of the time he spent there.

Henry Carey is said to have taken as much pleasure from hanging thieves as other men took in hunting and hawking<sup>301</sup>. This direct approach to crime prevention seems to have been characteristic of the methods employed by the Careys in combating reivers. The tactic used by the Carey family against troublesome Borderers seems to have been one akin to the modern policy of ‘zero-tolerance’, cracking down hard on perceived miscreants as and when they were

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<sup>299</sup> *Ibid*, p.23

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, p.xxxii.

<sup>301</sup> DNB, vol. III, p.977.

found. Robert Carey reported on how, having taken up his position as Deputy Warden of the English East March under his father, he began to set out to catch reivers:

“They were no sooner brought before me  
but a jury went upon them, and being found  
guilty they were hanged...”

He recalled, with some satisfaction “I had in short time the country more quiet...”<sup>302</sup>. He was to employ similar tactics in the Middle March:

“I took not so few as sixteen or seventeen that  
summer, and the winter following – of notorious  
offending that ended their days by hanging or  
heading...”<sup>303</sup>

Direct ‘though he was, Robert Carey usually seems to have stuck to the legal niceties of life upon the Border. He did at least ensure that the reivers he captured went before a jury before they were hanged. John Carey on the other hand, on at least one occasion, was less concerned about the finer points of legal procedure. In July of 1596, some Scots made the mistake of stealing some of John Carey’s horses. Realising that this could cause them considerable trouble, the thieves quickly agreed to give them back. The horses however were never returned, and so Carey took alternative action. He sent fifty horsemen from the Berwick garrison to the home of the alleged ringleader of the horse thieves, one Jock Dagleish, where they, in Carey’s own words “cut himselff (Dagleish) all in peces.....”<sup>304</sup>. James VI of Scotland angrily protested at the death of his subject, and the Queen wrote angrily to John

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<sup>302</sup> Mares, p.35.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid*, p.48.

<sup>304</sup> CBP vol. II, 298.

Carey condemning him for his barbarity. Despite her words of condemnation, however, Carey was allowed to continue to serve on the Border, and seems to have suffered none of the penalties which others who displeased the Queen, such as Raleigh on his marriage, and Essex in the years before his revolt, suffered. This does lead one to wonder whether the Queen was genuinely angry with her relative, or whether her words were intended more to placate Scotland than to criticise John Carey's methods of dealing with horse thieves.

Whether or not one agrees with Borland, who, in 1898, argued "If those who were condemned were not always guilty of the particular crimes laid to their charge, their general record was sufficiently bad to warrant their being thus summarily dealt with."<sup>305</sup>, it is clear that the Careys methods were direct, and brutal. Whilst the penalties for offences under Border Law were harsh, the various codes of Border Law did suggest that offences committed by one nations' subjects should be reported to that individual's Warden, so that the Warden in question could apprehend and punish the criminal<sup>306</sup>. The Careys did not always adhere strictly to this code. Sometimes such actions caused problems. John Carey's part in the killing of Dalgleish, for example, caused something of a diplomatic incident. On 11<sup>th</sup> July 1596, Ralph Eure reported to Burghley that:

"The King (James VI of Scotland) I hear is displeased  
and does not countenance our ambassador as before."<sup>307</sup>

Carey apologised for offending her sensibilities<sup>308</sup>. At the same time however, he expressed bafflement at why such a fuss was being made over the fate of one Scottish reiver, when, he argued, the reivers themselves got up to far more mischief, and such killings were common on

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<sup>305</sup> Borland, p.93.

<sup>306</sup> Fraser, pp.150-153.

<sup>307</sup> CBP vol. II, 300.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid*, 329.

the Border. Indeed, he was more offended by suggestions that his men had plundered Dalglish's house whilst they were murdering him, than he was over any allegations of his implication in the killing<sup>309</sup>.

The complaints received from James VI over the killing of Dalglish serve to illustrate the problems encountered by the Carey family in another of their tasks as Wardens, that of maintaining relations with the Scots. The fact that many of the reivers who troubled the marches came from Scotland, added to the Warden's problems. Whilst Robert Carey may have thought that the best way of dealing with such raids was to launch reprisal raids, to extract "revenge for revenge and blood for blood"<sup>310</sup>, such actions ran the risk of attracting displeasure both from the Scottish Crown, and from the Scottish Borderers.

Such a problem arose in August 1598. A party of Scots crossed into Redesdale, in Robert Carey's Middle March, despite earlier warnings from Carey that they should not do so without his permission. Carey responded by sending a party of troops under his deputies, Henry Widdrington and William Fenwick, to intercept the Scots. Half a dozen of the Scots, who claimed, probably truthfully, that they were doing nothing more than hunting, were killed, and another sixteen taken prisoner. The sixteen prisoners were kept in prison for a few days, before being released, having promised never to cross the Border without permission again. Robert Carey was triumphant, relaying the news to London with some satisfaction, seeing it as a perfectly successful operation. Successful 'though he was, Carey obviously expected some

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<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*, 348, 366.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*, 373.

reply from the Scots, for he took pains to write swiftly to Lord Burghley and to his brother, George Carey, to explain his actions<sup>311</sup>.

Robert Carey was proved right in his predictions, for James VI was not happy. The Scottish king sent furious letters to Carey, and to the Queen, demanding an explanation. To avoid an international incident, Elizabeth agreed that an enquiry into the matter should take place, and Fenwick and Widdrington were placed under house arrest for its duration<sup>312</sup>. This was of some inconvenience to Carey, for he relied greatly upon his two deputies, and he argued that they should be released<sup>313</sup>, but it was not until February of 1599 that the two were released and were free to carry out their duties as Deputy Wardens once again<sup>314</sup>.

As with relations between the Careys and the English Borderers and officials, the working relationships which the Carey family enjoyed with Scottish Borderers and officials were variable. Sometimes they could be perfectly amicable, at other times they were barely civilised, depending upon the personalities involved and the circumstances of the time.

In general, there seems to have been an underlying assumption that the Scots were untrustworthy, and their officials either incompetent or corrupt. In 1569, after the flight of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, Hunsdon reported that he doubted whether the Earl of Moray, the Scottish regent, had the courage to risk defying the Scottish Borderers by handing over the earls<sup>315</sup>. His opinion of James VI seems not to have been much higher.

Hunsdon reported in November of 1587 that:

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<sup>311</sup> *Ibid*, 974, 975; Mares, p.56.

<sup>312</sup> APC 1598-1599, 270; Mares, p.57.

<sup>313</sup> CBP vol. II, 1020, 1028, 1029, 1036, 1049, 1054.

<sup>314</sup> APC 1598-1599, 572.

<sup>315</sup> CSPD (Add) 1569-1579, p.191.

“I know for serten..that thys kynge looks  
for ayde out of Spayne...wyth mony  
whansoever the kynge of Spayne shall  
land...in Englande, then thys kynge wylbe  
reddy to invade us...”<sup>316</sup>

As far as Henry Carey was concerned, the Scottish king, related as he might have been to Queen Elizabeth and to Carey himself, could be trusted as far as he could be bribed, and to this end he recommended upping the pension that Elizabeth paid James each year from 1586<sup>317</sup>.

Henry Carey’s opinions of the Scots were not much higher than his opinions of their king. In 1570, he commented that they were “so subtil on both sides that a right wise man will find his wits occupied to deal with them”, whilst he argued that the Scottish Wardens were amongst the most active of the reivers<sup>318</sup>. John and Robert Carey both appear to have agreed with their father on that point, for they complained bitterly about the reiving activities and the failures in office of Scottish Wardens.

Looming largest of the figures involved in their complaints was Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, Warden of the Scottish Middle March. According to Robert Carey, in September of 1596, the East March was “daily spoiled by Teviotdale. All through the pride and insolence of Sir Robert Kerr.” Carey was certain that “No justice will be done whilst this wicked man bears office”<sup>319</sup>. Robert Kerr was the Careys’ public enemy number one, and both Robert and John Carey complained about him frequently, both to the English and the Scottish Crowns<sup>320</sup>. This

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<sup>316</sup> CBP vol. I, 560.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid*, 588, 599.

<sup>318</sup> CSPF 1569-1571, 2182, CBP vol. I, 560.

<sup>319</sup> CBP vol. II, 365.

<sup>320</sup> Eg. *Ibid*, 295, 303, 303, 363, 366, 375, 408.

tension between the Warden of the English East March, and the Warden of the Scots Middle March reached a head in September of 1596. Robert Carey captured a group of reivers from the Burn surname, who were close associates of the Kerrs. One of these, George “Geordie” Burn, was a good friend of Robert Kerr’s. Robert Carey was warned that if he hanged Geordie Burn, Kerr would seek to exact his revenge from the English East March. Carey hanged him anyway<sup>321</sup>.

If one believes Carey’s memoirs, then Kerr certainly tried to take his revenge, but “God so blessed me and the government I held, as for all his fury, he never drew one drop of blood in all my March, neither durst his theives trouble it much with stealing, for fear of hanging if they were taken “. This view is slightly at odds with reports of the Careys, at the time, of reiving activities by Cessford’s followers<sup>322</sup>. Whatever the outcome, however, after the intervention of the Border Commission of 1596, the Scots eventually agreed to hand Kerr over to the English as a pledge for the good behaviour of his March. After some delays, the handover took place, and “contrary to all mens expectations”, Kerr asked to stay with Robert Carey<sup>323</sup>. During his time at Berwick, Robert Kerr seems to have hammered out some of his differences with both Robert and John Carey. Whilst some of these discussions were heated, involving “charging and recharging one another with wrong and injuries”<sup>324</sup>, some sort of arrangement seems to have been made. In his memoirs, Robert Carey recalled that “before our parting we became good friends”, whilst after Kerr returned to Scotland, Carey wrote to his brother George that “If he (Kerr) continues as he has begun, then this country will soon be an altered place”<sup>325</sup>. Things do not seem to have been perfect – only a month previously Robert Carey

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<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*, 371, 373; Mares, p.35-36.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid*, p.39; CBP vol. II, 375, 408.

<sup>323</sup> Mares, p.40.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid*, p41; CBP vol. II, 911.

<sup>325</sup> Mares, p.41; CBP vol. II, 1116.

had been complaining that “I can get no redress out of Sir Robert Kerr, only delays and idle excuses”, whilst he also blamed Kerr for a planned escape attempt by Scottish pledges held at York castle<sup>326</sup>, but, by November of 1599, even John Carey had to admit of Kerr that:

“..shewer he is a fare altered man that I  
ever saw fram so bade to so good....”<sup>327</sup>

Despite their conflicts with, and distrust of, the Scots, the Careys were willing to work with them when they needed to. Henry Carey even expressed admiration for one Scottish Warden, Sir John Carmichael, Warden of the Scottish West March, from 1588-1590 and again from 1598 until his murder in 1600.<sup>328</sup> He was even willing to work with the earl of Moray, sending troops from Berwick to help Moray against Scots loyal to Mary Stewart. More surprising was Hunsdon’s support for Lord Home, a Marian Catholic dispossessed by English troops when Home’s traditional followers failed to support their Lord. Carey’s sympathy in this case appears to originate from a sense of anger that a fellow aristocrat should be put upon by rivals of a lower social standing, proving that nationality was no barrier to gaining Hunsdon’s support<sup>329</sup>.

In general, the Carey family’s view of how to deal with the Scots is summed up by a letter sent by Lord Hunsdon to the Lairds of Lethington and Grange, in 1571. If they were to follow James VI and stop supporting Mary Stewart, Carey informed them, then Queen Elizabeth would aid, protect and defend them. If, however, they refused this generous offer, they would be brought to support James by force<sup>330</sup>. Such a line seems to have been followed by all the

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<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, 1049, 1102.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, 1122.

<sup>328</sup> Fraser, p.141.

<sup>329</sup> Meikle, LG, p.102.

<sup>330</sup> CSPF 1569-1571, 2115.



Careys on the Border. If the Scots agreed with them, and were willing to work with them, then relations could be perfectly amicable. If, however, they felt that the Scots were being less than co-operative, then they were always willing to use more forceful measures to bring them around to their way of thinking.

The maintenance of relations with Scotland was a delicate balance, for any single incident, such as the murder of Dalgleish, or the Redesdale Hunting Incident, could cause serious problems. Yet the Careys continued to pursue a policy which was, in some ways, very rough and ready and which would appear at first glance to have been a somewhat clumsy way of conducting international relations. Despite such a forceful policy, however, the Careys appear to have been remarkably successful in maintaining good relations with Scotland. This was because the Careys understood just how far they could go, how far they could take Border disputes, they knew how best to maintain a balance between preserving international peace and maintaining the honour, reputation and integrity of the English crown. Thus, in May 1597, John Carey expressed great dissatisfaction with William Bowes, the English ambassador to the court of King James, because he felt that Bowes was pushing England towards a war with Scotland, and that, in Carey's words, "A warr is soner began than ended"<sup>331</sup>. The Scottish Wardens too realised how far they could irritate the English before suffering reprisals. Just where this limit lay depended upon the individuals concerned – it is doubtful whether Walter Scott, the Keeper of Liddesdale would have launched his infamous raid to free "Kinmont Willie" Armstrong from Carlisle castle, had the English response been likely to be anything more serious than the heavy raids ordered by the English West March Warden, Thomas Lord Scrope, that followed. Relations between the English and Scottish Border

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<sup>331</sup> CBP vol. II, 632.

officials, and through them relations between the two Crowns, seem to have been based on a delicate game of brinkmanship, with each side willing to compromise far enough to avoid any outbreak of war, but each at the same time trying to gain as much advantage over the other country as possible, and the Careys seem to have been particularly skilled players of that game.

Dr. Meikle has suggested, referring to the years 1598-1603, that “the late sixteenth century English Wardens were all outsiders who were arrogantly and deliberately provocative towards the Scots”<sup>332</sup>. This is, however, only half of the story, for whilst the Careys, and the rest of the English Border officials were willing to take actions which could provoke the Scots, the Scots officials in the recent past had been just as willing to be equally belligerent, as was clearly demonstrated by the actions of, amongst others, Robert Kerr of Cessford and Walter Scott of Buccleuch in the years running up to their spell in English custody. The Careys, and the Borders as a whole, had no way of knowing whether Scott’s and Kerr’s apparent reformation of character would last, and had, if they were to avoid allegations of weakness which might have encouraged the reivers, to take actions that made them appear tough, and decisive. Wardens and Wardenry officials on both sides of the Border were guardians of their country’s, their monarch’s, and their own pride and reputation. The best way to secure and guard that pride and reputation was to be seen to diminish that of the other country, but at the same time, an all-out war had to be avoided, as it would have been to the advantage of neither England nor Scotland.

The Careys were helped in this game of brinkmanship by the good relationship which they had (despite Henry Carey’s opinions on his trustworthiness) with James VI. It is interesting to

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<sup>332</sup> Meikle, LG, p.431.

note that, even in the aftermath of the Dalglish killing, and the Redesdale Hunting incident, James VI made no move, and attempted to bring no serious complaint against John or Robert Carey as individuals. Whilst acknowledging that John Carey had given the order for the killing of Jock Dalglish, the main complaints made were against the troops who carried out the order, whilst in the case of the Redesdale incident, it was Widdrington and Fenwick who were singled out for blame. This was in part due to the fact that James VI knew perfectly well that the Careys, as relatives of the Queen, were unlikely to be seriously punished by the Queen, but it was also due to the fact that the King liked the Careys, trusted them, and except where the demands of Scottish prestige required him to condemn their actions, as in the case of the Dalglish killing, seems to have been willing to work with them.

In 1587, James VI wrote requesting a meeting with Robert Carey. Lord Hunsdon commented at the time that this was because:

“the kynge wolde deale more inwardly  
with my sunne in those matters between hyr  
majesti and hym, than with any uther mane  
yn Inglande exepte sume uther of myne”<sup>333</sup>

Again, in 1593, when James wanted to meet an English official, he specified that it should be either Hunsdon or one of his sons<sup>334</sup>.

The Queen recognised both the usefulness and the existence of such a relationship. It is surely no coincidence that it was Robert Carey who was despatched to Scotland in 1587, with the Queen’s explanations of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, James VI’s mother. On that

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<sup>333</sup> CBP vol. II, 582, 586, 602.

<sup>334</sup> Mares, p.30.

occasion however, not even the Carey's special relationship with James paid off – Robert Carey was told that the King could not guarantee his safety should he choose to enter Scotland, and had to deliver his messages through an intermediary<sup>335</sup>.

Queen Elizabeth was, particularly in the later part of her reign as speculation as to her successor began to mount, notoriously touchy about any English nobles having too much contact with James VI. Even Sir Robert Cecil, when he was arranging for James' succession to the throne of England had to take care to use a codename. Yet the Queen allowed the Careys, who were far enough away from London to be outside of her immediate scrutiny, considerable freedom to communicate with the King of Scotland. This is clear evidence of the trust Elizabeth had in the loyalty, and the competence in the field of international diplomacy, of the members of the Carey family on the Border.

The Careys more than adequately repaid the faith and trust which the Queen placed in them. They proved to be competent administrators in peace time, and able soldiers in times of war. They were able to work with local gentry, with other government officials and with their Scottish counterparts to ensure that the Borders were kept in at least a relatively orderly state. If their methods of dealing with outlaws and reivers seem overly harsh or arbitrary by modern standards, then they were undoubtedly effective and acceptable by the standards of the time. If a reiver was hanged, he was not going to steal any more cattle, and thus the Careys' jobs, and the lives of the people of the frontier were made a little easier. In addition to the good work they did for their Queen, the Carey family on the Borders were able to do good work for

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<sup>335</sup>CBP vol. II, 490, 491, 495, 497; Mares, p.7.

themselves, using their offices to enable them to build up a solid base of power and influence in the North, a base that would last for as long as the Queen's patronage allowed it to flourish.

## Chapter IV

### The Careys' Activities Outside The Borders

The Carey's offices gave them extensive amounts of power and influence on the Borders. These offices, and the wealth of the family that helped them to support themselves, came from their connections with the royal court in London, and, more specifically, from their connections with the Queen. It is impossible to gain an accurate picture of the activities of the Carey family on the Border without examining their connections to, and their activities at, the court of Queen Elizabeth I.

The Carey family relied upon the Queen for the offices they held, and for the lands and the incomes that they possessed. Keeping the support and favour of the Queen was of the utmost importance to them. To a degree the Careys had an advantage over many other courtiers, because they were so closely related to the Queen. However, the Careys were not the only family in England to be related to Elizabeth. The Knollys, the Hastings and the Howards were all families who could claim ties to the Queen. The Careys still needed to compete with them, and other families, for the Queen's favour, and this competition drew them into the politics and searches for patronage which were such prominent features of Elizabeth's court.

Whilst all the Careys were involved in the hunt for patronage, a clear difference in the nature of their search between members of the family can be seen. Henry Carey sought patronage directly from the Queen, and was usually successful in gaining recognition. Because of the closeness of his relationship with the Queen, he had no need to seek the support of any other of the prominent members of court, and had no need to attach himself to any particular

faction. Robert Naunton commented that the Earl of Leicester considered Hunsdon to be one who was “*noli me tangere*”, implying that they were not to be contested with...” Likewise, Thomas Fuller, in his *History of the Worthies of England*, remarked of Hunsdon that “He hung at court on no man’s sleeve, but stood on his own bottom until the time of his death...”<sup>336</sup>

Henry Carey was a major player in his own right in the game of Elizabethan court politics, and as such was secure in his own position, and had no particular need to rely upon allies to support him. He was however perfectly willing to work with others when he needed to. Most frequently, he was allied with William Cecil, the first Lord Burghley. In 1562, when Elizabeth was ill with smallpox, and the succession was being debated, they both supported the claims of Lady Catherine Grey (the sister to the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, and granddaughter to Mary, the youngest daughter of Henry VII), although Carey was more public in his support than Cecil. They also both supported the Alençon marriage, whilst in 1572, and again in 1580, when Hunsdon was on the Border, Cecil acted as his proxy in the House of Lords<sup>337</sup>. Carey also seems to have been, if not opposed then certainly not overly friendly towards the Earl of Leicester, a stance that would have brought him into agreement with Cecil. According to Naunton, Leicester described Carey as being “of the Tribe of Dan”<sup>338</sup>, a reference to the Book of Genesis:

“Dan shall judge his people, as one of the  
Tribes of Israel. Dan shall be a serpent in the  
way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horses

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<sup>336</sup> Naunton, p.41; Fuller, p.47.

<sup>337</sup> Williams, p.78; Haigh, p.77; *Journal of the House of Lords, 1509-1577*, p703; 1578- , p.47.

<sup>338</sup> Naunton, p.41.

heels so that his rider falleth backwards...”<sup>339</sup>

This is not an entirely complimentary description. If Naunton’s sources were correct, then they suggest that Leicester saw Hunsdon as one who was likely to oppose him.

It would be incorrect to suggest, however, that Hunsdon and Burghley were always in agreement. In 1589, for example, in a debate in the House of Lords on a bill to limit clergy to one benefice each, Burghley supported a move by Lord Grey to insist on the Queen being accompanied by a number of temporal lords when she met with the Bishops to discuss the matter. Hunsdon “utterly dislyked the Lord G(rey)’s motion”, and, by extension, Burghley’s support for it. The choice of whom she chose to meet with, declared Carey, was for the Queen and the Queen alone, and the House of Lords should not presume to dictate to her<sup>340</sup>.

It is interesting to note that it was a defence of the Queen’s prerogative that led Carey to disagree with Cecil. For if Hunsdon could be said to belong to any faction at Elizabeth’s court, it was surely the Queen’s. From the Queen he gained his peerage and his offices and the lands and the income that supported them, and the Queen was usually willing to support him. In addition to the lands and titles granted to him at the beginning of her reign, and the offices which he gained over the years, Elizabeth rewarded Carey handsomely in the aftermath of the Northern rebellions, with a large grant of lands formerly belonging to Leonard Dacre. Lands in West Harlsey, Dalton, Aislaby, Whitby, Potto, Golton, Swainby, Facelby and Scruton in Yorkshire, and Eckington, Spinkhill, Ronaldshawe, Mosbrough, Ridgeway, Bramley and Troway in Derbyshire were granted to him, along with leases on lands formerly belonging to

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<sup>339</sup> Genesis, Chapter 49, Verses 16-17 (Revised Version).

<sup>340</sup> Hartley, T.E., *Proceedings In the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, vol. II*, London, 1995, p.431; Neale, J.E., *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584-1601*, London, 1967, pp.228-229.

Dacre and the Earl of Westmoreland in 1571, 1573 and 1575. Hunsdon also received a steady flow of grants of wardship, licences and minor offices to support himself<sup>341</sup>.

Carey did not always get exactly what he wanted from the Queen. After the Rising of the Northern Earls, he asked for the lucrative stewardship of the royal manor of Richmond, a position formerly held by the Earl of Northumberland, but that post went instead to Sir John Forster. In July 1569, Carey requested the position of Chief Justice of the Royal Forests North of the Trent, but he had to wait until 1589 before he was granted that position south of the Trent<sup>342</sup>. In all, however, Henry Carey could not have been disappointed by the bounty he received from the Queen.

Elizabeth does appear to have been genuinely fond of Carey. On his defeat of Leonard Dacre, she sent him a letter of congratulation and thanks. The bulk of it was written by her secretary, but a post –script was added in the Queen’s own hand. It began:

“I doubt much my Harry, whether that the victory  
given me more joyed me, or that you were by  
God appointed the instrument of my glory. And  
I assure you, for my country’s good the first might  
suffice; but for my heart’s contention, the second  
more pleaseth me...”<sup>343</sup>

Throughout his life Hunsdon was allowed to build up considerable debts to the Crown, which the Queen did not attempt to call in. On his death he owed fee farm rent for Hunsdon, had not

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<sup>341</sup> CPR 1569-1572, 1828; 1572-1575; 200, 3047, 1688, 1689; 1575-1578, 2687; CSPD 1581-1590, 641.

<sup>342</sup> CSPD (Add) 1566-1579, 151; Rinehart, p.245; CSPF 1569-1571, 324; Bindoff, p.582.

<sup>343</sup> CSPD (Add ) 1566-1579, 240.

paid any subsidy since 1563, and hadn't paid for a wardship purchased in 1587, and yet the Queen still paid out £ 1097 from her own pocket for his funeral in Westminster Abbey<sup>344</sup>. In comparison, the Queen refused to pay the funeral costs of the Earl of Huntingdon, although he too was related to her<sup>345</sup>. The difference between the two appears to have been based purely on the Queen's personal feelings towards the two men; she liked Carey more than she liked Huntingdon.

In a letter written in March 1571 to Roberto di Ridolphi, the Duke of Norfolk listed those members of the English nobility who, he believed, would support his plans to land six thousand Spaniards at Harwich, depose Elizabeth and enthrone Mary Queen of Scots, those who would oppose them, and those who would remain neutral. Hunsdon he placed in the neutral camp<sup>346</sup>. This reflects more upon the political and personal insight and judgement of Norfolk, than it does upon Henry Carey's loyalty. Hunsdon was a loyal supporter, and a close friend of the Queen, who worked for, and was loyal to her and her alone.

As a major figure in Elizabethan court politics, Henry Carey not only did not have to worry about searching for any patron other than the Queen, but was in a position to act as a patron for others. Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor from 1579 until 1587, originally rose to prominence as a client of Hunsdon's<sup>347</sup>. More famous nowadays is William Shakespeare, whose Lord Chamberlain's Men flourished under the patronage first of Henry Carey, and then of George<sup>348</sup>. As Captains of the Band of the Gentleman Pensioners, a body of courtiers

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<sup>344</sup> Haigh, p.62; Stone, COA, pp.576, 578, 784.

<sup>345</sup> Haigh, p.62.

<sup>346</sup> Rigg, J. (ed) *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs Preserved Principally At Rome In The Vatican Archives, 1558-1571*, 762.

<sup>347</sup> Pulman, M.B., *The Elizabethan Privy Council In The 1570s*, Berkeley, London and Los Angeles, 1971, p.31.

<sup>348</sup> Guy, p.429.

designed to act as a bodyguard for the Queen, the first two Lord Hunsdons were in an ideal position to exercise patronage – as membership of the Band was an eagerly sought after privilege, which enabled its members to get access to the Queen, and as the Captain of the band was entitled to nominate potential members<sup>349</sup>. Clients such as Shakespeare, Bromley, and those hopefuls wanting to join the Pensioners did not have any direct connection to the work of the Carey family on the Border, but they served to bolster and support the Careys' power and influence at court, which in turn helped to support the Careys engaged in Border work.

Just as Henry Carey was always assured of the Queen's support, George Carey, as Hunsdon's eldest son and heir, was also looked on favourably by the Queen. From acting as an envoy to the Scottish court, he progressed to be Knight Marshall of the Queen's household, and Governor of the Isle of White. Following his father's death, he became a Privy Councillor, Captain of the Gentleman Pensioners, and, in 1597, Lord Chamberlain. He too was gifted with large amounts of land by the Queen, acquiring lands in Penpoll, Dinnerdake, Elerky, Degembris, Treworga, Trenowth, Rodmyn, Landgrey, Torcrosss and Probus, along with "all other lands and liberties in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset of Francis Trugion of Probus attainted...and all goods and chattels of the said Francis" in 1579<sup>350</sup>. As her reign progressed, more and more of the first generation of Elizabeth's councillors began to die out. Their replacements were increasingly drawn from a smaller and smaller circle of key families, and George Carey, as his father's heir, was very much part of that privileged circle<sup>351</sup>.

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<sup>349</sup> Tighe, p.42.

<sup>350</sup> CPR 1578-1580, 1244.

<sup>351</sup> Haigh, p.68.

Whilst patronage came fairly easily to Henry and George Carey, things were not so simple for the younger members of the family. Whilst they still started out with all the advantages which their family name brought them, they had to compete with a crowd of other younger sons of the nobility who found themselves in a similar position. To a degree it was possible to use the positions and influence of the older Careys to advance themselves, John and Edmund Carey were elected to the parliamentary seats of Buckingham and Newport, Isle of Wight thanks to the influence in those counties of Hunsdon and George Carey, for example<sup>352</sup>, but more support was still needed.

In the early part of his career, Robert Carey seems to have attached himself to the rapidly rising star of his second cousin, the Earl of Essex. He served with him in military campaigns in France and the Netherlands, and was knighted by him in 1591<sup>353</sup>. Although he was still counting on the Earl of Essex for support as late as September 1594<sup>354</sup>, Robert Carey seems to have gradually moved to the camp of Burghley, and his son Sir Robert Cecil, and it was to them that he wrote for support on a number of issues, from Carey's place in the Queen's affections to local property disputes<sup>355</sup>. Certainly, Carey seems to have had no involvement with Essex's revolt in 1601, although there was a Northumbrian connection, as John Selby, the brother of one Gentleman-Porter of Berwick and the son of another, and a Captain of a company of the Berwick foot in his own right, took part in Essex's revolt and was later pardoned through his brother's influence<sup>356</sup>.

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<sup>352</sup> Hasler, vol. I, pp.545, 549.

<sup>353</sup> Mares, p.18.

<sup>354</sup> CSPD (Add) 1580-1525, 370.

<sup>355</sup> CBP vol. II, 222, 247.

<sup>356</sup> Watts, p.66.

John Carey too sought patronage from Burghley and his son. Following the death of Henry Carey, John wrote to Robert Cecil asking to be “patrenished under the shadow of your winge”, and, for good measure, on the same day he wrote to Burghley claiming that “my only suit at present is that that it would please you to patrenishe me.”<sup>357</sup> This was not entirely true, in the same letter John drops some very heavy hints to suggest that he would be by far the best choice for the new Governor of Berwick. Robert Carey too wrote at this time to Burghley and Cecil, commenting that in the aftermath of his father’s death, the East March would need a new warden, and hinting that he would be the most suitable candidate<sup>358</sup>.

The securing of offices was one of the major goals for any courtier. Offices meant power, prestige, authority and influence. Just as importantly, they meant cash, both in the terms of the salaries that went with the posts and in terms of the money-making opportunities afforded by them. Money was of particular importance to the Careys on the Border, as holding Border office meant exposing one’s self to considerable personal expense. The quest for positions was continuous, and in some cases took a decidedly macabre turn. John Carey seems to have monitored office holders carefully, waiting for one of them to fall ill, before requesting their jobs. In 1595, he wrote to inform Burghley that Sir John Selby, the Gentleman-Porter of Berwick either “was allredy ded, or that he could not longe continewe”, and requested that he should be given the position on Selby’s death. Similarly, in 1597, when Sir Robert Bowes, the Treasurer of Berwick, was ill, Carey sent regular reports on the state of his health to Burghley, along with suggestions that he’d be suitable for the position. Carey was at it again in 1601, when Sir William Read, the Captain and Governor of the Farne Islands was ill. Carey suggested to Robert Cecil that Read’s son really wasn’t fit to succeed his father in office, and

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<sup>357</sup> CBP vol. II, 315, 316.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid*, 314, 326.

that it would make far more sense for the post to be joined with that of the Governor of Berwick, a position held, of course, by Carey<sup>359</sup>.

Robert Carey seems not to have taken such a morbid interest in the health of office holders, although, in 1585 he was more than happy to depict Sir John Forster as being close to death through old age, and commented that as a result the Middle March was in need of a good warden – like himself<sup>360</sup>. When he wanted a job, however, he could campaign as hard as his brother. On Henry Carey's death, Robert immediately wrote to London pointing out that with his father's death his authority in the March had ceased, and there was need to appoint a good officer as Warden. Eventually, the Queen granted him a patent to act as Deputy Warden in the East March, but this was not enough for Carey, who pressed for the full authority of Warden. Indeed, he pressed his case so forcefully, the Queen wrote imperiously bidding him to stop pestering her<sup>361</sup>.

Never one to be put off from his task, Robert Carey resolved to come to London to present his case to the Queen in person. Despite not having permission to come to court, he travelled to London, and, despite warnings from Robert Cecil and George Carey that "I had no way to save myself from some great disgrace, but to return without her knowledge of my being here", he gained an interview with the Queen. After some sustained flattery, the Queen sent him back to Berwick with a patent as Warden and five hundred pounds<sup>362</sup>. In this matter, as with the way in which he regained the Queen's favour following his marriage, Robert Carey proved that he was very much a skilled and experienced courtier, who knew how best to bring the

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<sup>359</sup> CBP vol. II, 157, 160, 165, 167, 783, 801, 812, 826, 856, 870, 903, 928, 1429, 1433, 1438.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid*, 129.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid*, 314, 326, 404, 585, 590, 591, 592, 593, 619, 643, 651.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid*, 662, 728, 810; APC 1597-1598, 138; CSPD 1595-1597, 539; Mares, p.43-44.

Queen around to his way of thinking. A self-confessed dandy, he spent large amounts of his money on clothes, and on maintaining the lifestyle of a wealthy young courtier<sup>363</sup>. He also played a full part in the entertainments and ceremonies of the court, often at considerable expense. It was this flamboyant style, and his skill as a courtier which ensured that Robert Carey was placed more highly in the Queen's favour than John Carey, who seems to have been less skilled in realising how to please the Queen.

Certainly John Carey seems to have benefited less from the Queen's generosity than his father or brothers. He failed for example, in his attempts to gain the Treasurer or Gentleman-Porter's places at Durham. He was not, however, altogether forgotten. He received a grant of two hundred pounds from the estate of Thomas Francke, in 1577, for example, and his receivership of revenues for the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex and the towns of Chichester, Canterbury and Rochester in 1582<sup>364</sup>. Despite these comparatively small grants, it is true that he received little attention until 1601. Then, on the death of Lord Willoughby, he was confirmed as Governor of Berwick upon Tweed and Warden of the East March within a month of his predecessor's death<sup>365</sup>. Clearly, despite the fact that he was not her favourite amongst the Careys, and despite her anger with him over the killing of John Dalgleish, the Queen had not forgotten John Carey. The fact that she kept him in office despite the complaints of the Mayor of Berwick and Willoughby, suggests that Elizabeth still had some regard for him as a person, and for his continued loyal service.

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<sup>363</sup> Mares, pp. 12, 22.

<sup>364</sup> CPR 1575-1578, 2354; 1580-1582, 1471.

<sup>365</sup> CBP vol. II, 1398, 1403.

Obtaining and making use of office and patronage were not the Carey family's only source of income. In addition to the income generated by the family estates, which would have supplied the bulk of their income, there were a number of other opportunities at court to raise funds. Henry Carey, for example, invested money into a variety of projects, all of which were intended to make a profit. He owned and developed property in London, including holdings in Paris Gardens, an area of Southwark notorious for its brothels, along with a selection of former monastic holdings<sup>366</sup>. He also invested in shipping, pledging fifty pounds in March 1577 to support the second voyage of Sir Martin Frobisher (although as he still had not paid out his money by October of 1577, it seems that on that occasion Carey was trying to make something for nothing). Likewise, in 1581 he paid out two hundred pounds to support a voyage by Edward Fenton to the East Indies<sup>367</sup>. Such payments were not philanthropic gestures, they were calculated to provide a healthy return from the predicted profits of the voyages, a return which could then further help to support the Carey family's expenditure.

Lord Hunsdon's standing at court placed him in an ideal position to make money. As Captain of the Gentleman Pensioners he was entitled to a salary of two hundred marks per year, but as he was entitled to nominate individuals for appointment to the band, and as such nominations were most likely sold by him to people who would pay generously for such preferment, the profit from the office could be far greater than just the income from its salary<sup>368</sup>. Similarly, the office of Lord Chamberlain carried a salary of one hundred pounds per year, but also brought an allowance of eleven hundred pounds per year, supposedly in lieu of bed and board at court. In February 1594, Hunsdon, as Lord Chamberlain, was empowered to appoint two officers to

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<sup>366</sup> Salgado, G., *The Elizabethan Underworld*, London, 1977, p.52; Stone, COA, p.395.

<sup>367</sup> Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan 1513-1616, 33, 45, 182.

<sup>368</sup> Tighe, pp.24, 42-43.

“help view all persons that offer to come to court”. This was part of a move to reduce the number of people filling the royal court. It placed the Lord Chamberlain in a position of considerable influence, as it allowed his representatives to vet all those wishing to attend the court. Obviously, there was a considerable profit to be made from those who wished to persuade the Chamberlain’s representatives that they were suitable to attend the court of Elizabeth I<sup>369</sup>.

George Carey may have, as one contemporary reporter commented, “ever esteemed an ounce of honour more than a pound of profit”<sup>370</sup>, but he too was not averse to generating a healthy income for himself. In the later stages of Elizabeth’s reign, as Captain of the Gentleman Pensioners and Lord Chamberlain he would have enjoyed many of the same money-making opportunities as his father. Previous to that, as Governor of the Isle of Wight, he had sent out between one and three privateering vessels a year, an activity which could, although it did not always, generate a profit, and which was very popular with Elizabethan courtiers<sup>371</sup>.

Aside from the Queen and the court, the other major area of political interest for courtiers in London was Parliament. Most courtiers of any importance had seats in Parliament of one description or another. If they were not peers, entitled by right to a seat in the House of Lords, then they managed to obtain seats in the House of Commons as representatives of either a borough or of a county. The Careys were no exception to this rule. George Carey sat for Hertfordshire in 1571, Canterbury in 1572 and Hampshire in 1584, 1586, 1589 and 1593, whilst his brother Henry held the seats of Berwick upon Tweed in 1571 and Buckingham in

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<sup>369</sup> Braddock, R.C., “The Rewards of Office Holding In Tudor England” in *Journal of British Studies*, vol. XIV, no.2, 1975, pp.34-35; CSPD, 1591-1594, p432.

<sup>370</sup> Stone, COA, p.42.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid*, p.365.

1572. Meanwhile, John gained the Buckingham seat in 1584, 1586, 1589 and 1593, whilst William Carey was MP for Morpeth in 1584, and for Northumberland in 1589. Robert sat for Morpeth in 1586 and 1589, Callington in 1593 and Northumberland in 1597 and 1601. Edmund Carey too held seats, Newport in the Isle of Wight in 1584 and 1589, Oxford in 1593, Buckingham in 1597 and Wiltshire in 1601. Lord Hunsdon held his seat in the House of Lords from the time of his ennoblement in 1558, and had sat in the Commons for Buckingham in Mary's reign<sup>372</sup>.

Clearly the family was eager to use their influence in individual counties and boroughs to gain seats. Lord Hunsdon held extensive estates in the Home Counties, whilst George Carey during his time on the Isle of Wight could influence elections both on the island and in neighbouring Hampshire. George and Robert Carey both had interests and connections in Cornwall, which would have helped Robert secure Callington in 1593, whilst the power of the Careys on the Border meant that they could pick from a handful of northern seats. At least one of the two Berwick seats seems to have been virtually reserved for the nominees of the Warden of the East March. In 1571, for example the seats were held by Lord Hunsdon's son, Henry, and by Valentine Brown, at that time Treasurer of the Berwick garrison. In 1572, one of the seats was held by Robert Newdigate, a friend of Hunsdon's, whilst in 1589, 1593 and 1597 one of the Berwick seats was held by William Selby, the Gentleman Porter of Berwick and an important figure in the garrison<sup>373</sup>. It is true that both Berwick seats in 1584 and possibly 1586, and one of them in 1589, 1593 and 1597 were held by prominent burgesses opposed to the military control of Berwick<sup>374</sup>, but this could have come about as much as a result of a

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<sup>372</sup> Hasler, vol. I, pp.545-551; Bindoff, p582

<sup>373</sup> Hasler, vol. I, pp219-220.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*

deliberate policy of appeasement on the part of the Careys as from any inability to get their candidates into office.

Other Border parliamentary seats were open to the influence of Hunsdon and his sons. In Morpeth, Richard Drake who replaced George Bowes in the 1572 parliament, may well have owed his place to Henry Carey's influence, whilst George Gifford who served alongside William Carey in 1584, Henry Noel who sat for Morpeth with Robert Carey in 1588, and both Edmund Bowyer who took the Morpeth seat in 1593<sup>375</sup> when Robert Carey chose to sit for Callington, and Francis Tynedale who was the second member for Morpeth in 1593 seem to have owed their seats to Lord Hunsdon's influence<sup>376</sup>. John Browne, one of those sitting for Morpeth in 1601, was the Recorder of Berwick, and may have owed his seat to Robert Carey<sup>377</sup>. This clearly shows that the Careys influence on the Border extended outside of Henry Carey's powerbase in Berwick and the East March - Morpeth was situated in the Middle March, where, for much of this period the Warden was John Forster. Forster, however, seems to have had little say in the appointment of MPs for Morpeth.

The County seats of Northumberland show slightly less signs of being dominated by the Careys or their nominees, although they still made their presence felt. At least one of the two seats was usually held by a member of one of the Northumbrian gentry. Thomas Grey of

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<sup>375</sup> Bowyer also sat for Southwark, an area of London where the Carey family had considerable property interests, in 1597. Another person to sit for Southwark, Zacharia Lok, who held the seat in 1601, had in 1593, been a Member for Ipswich, of which town Henry Carey was Steward. Robert Newdigate, as well as sitting for Berwick in 1572, sat for Buckingham, a town where the Careys or their nominees occupied one of the seats for all but one of Elizabeth's Parliaments, in 1563 and 1571, whilst his son, also called Robert took the seat in 1601 (Hasler, vol. I, pp.119, 249, 255, 471; vol. III, pp.128-129). Clearly, the Careys maintained a network of clients who could be presented with suitable seats, and equally possessed a list of seats available to their clients.

<sup>376</sup> Hasler, vol.I, p.221.

<sup>377</sup> Hasler, vol.I, p.501.

Chillingham sat in 1586, Robert Widdrington in 1588, 1593 and 1597, and William Selby of Newcastle in 1601<sup>378</sup>. It is notable that, whilst these were all members of influential families in their own right, and were linked by marriage to John Forster, they were also members of families who had links to the Careys, particularly after Robert Carey's marriage in 1593<sup>379</sup>. Whilst there is little evidence that the Careys were behind the election of these Members, it is reasonable to assume that they were in regular contact with them, and would be able, at the least, to make their opinions clear. The second Northumbrian seat was certainly more directly open to Carey influence - it was after all held by William Carey in 1588, by William Reade, the Captain of a company of foot at Berwick and commander, under the Warden, of the defences on Holy Island and by Robert Carey in 1597 and 1601. The influence of Sir John Forster in this seat again seems to have been limited - his son-in-law, Sir Francis Russell, held the seat in 1582 and 1584, and he may have had some influence on the selection of Northumbrian gentry to fill the seat, but his influence does not seem to be as apparent of that of the Careys<sup>380</sup>.

What then did the Careys do with their seats in Parliament, both the ones they held personally, and the ones held by their clients?

All of the most powerful figures at the court of Elizabeth either held seats of their own, or controlled clients who held seats in the House of Commons. It has been suggested that through this influence the Privy Council manipulated the Commons in an attempt to use Parliament to persuade the Queen to come around to their way of thinking<sup>381</sup>. However, Lord Hunsdon was the man who clashed with Burghley in the Lords in defence of the Queen's

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<sup>378</sup> Hunter-Blair, C., *Members of Parliament for Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne 1559-1831*, Gateshead, 1945, pp.106-109.

<sup>379</sup> See Appendix Two for more details of Northumbrian families linked to Robert Carey by marriage.

<sup>380</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>381</sup> McCaffrey, p.64; Haigh, p.113.

prerogative to do as she saw fit and the Careys as a family were solidly loyal and obedient to their relative's wishes<sup>382</sup>. In addition, the Careys benefited when the Queen could control her actions, because she showed them favour. Hence it is hard to imagine the Carey family, under normal circumstances, trying to use their influence to persuade Parliament to manipulate the Queen.

Many members used Parliament to further their own interests and those of their patrons and clients. Indeed, so many attempted to introduce private members' bills that on several occasions the Crown instructed the Commons through the Speaker to keep their discussions short, and to limit the amount of time they spent discussing their private business<sup>383</sup>. It is likely that the Careys, like any other group in Parliament, would be interested in forwarding their own interests. However, if they did attempt this, little in the way of direct evidence remains, due to the fragmentary nature of the records of parliamentary activity from the time. Certainly in 1585 Lord Hunsdon presented, and pushed through, a bill which assured him of certain lands in Hackney, whilst George Carey successfully campaigned for the enfranchisement of a number of boroughs on the Isle of Wight, which gave him enough influence to be able to nominate the members for those boroughs when they were enfranchised<sup>384</sup>. Little other evidence exists of the Careys pursuing their own goals in Parliament, but nevertheless, there is no reason to suggest that they were not willing to use

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<sup>382</sup> There were very occasionally exceptions to this behaviour. In 1586, Hunsdon was on the committee of members of both Houses which stated Parliament's belief in the necessity of the execution of Mary Stewart. This was a belief which the Queen did not necessarily share. It is interesting that on this rare occasion that Henry Carey can be seen to have been taking part in a move to push the Queen into a course of action which she was opposed to, it was an action which, he believed was necessary to preserve the Queen's safety. Obviously the Queen's safety meant more to him than her approval.

<sup>383</sup> Pulman, pp.95-96; Haigh, p.110.

<sup>384</sup> Hartley, vol.II, pp.99-100.

their position to push for their own advancement. After all, they were able to gain an advantage from every other public role that they held.

Similarly, there is little evidence to show that the Careys were passionate and loyal supporters of the Queen in the Commons, but as they were in the other areas of public life it is likely that they were amongst her strongest supporters in Parliament too. In 1593 George Carey loyally supported the Queens' request for a subsidy, replying to an MP who had argued that the people they represented would object to paying more taxes by stating that:

“..they would moe thank us for taking somewhat  
from them, then if wee should abandon them and  
leave them and and all that they have to the spoile  
of the enemye”<sup>385</sup>

It is evident that the Careys maintained a close interest in Border matters that were before Parliament. George Carey served on committees on the fortification of the Borders and on the city of Carlisle in February 1581. In 1597, Robert Carey sat on a committee considering a bill on the export of sheepskins and pelts (an important trade in the north of England), and on one examining a bill on regulating the local government of the northern counties<sup>386</sup>.

Lack of surviving evidence makes it difficult to analyse fully the Careys activities in Parliament. It is likely that they supported the Queen's wishes and policies, as well as attempting to further their own interests, and they certainly maintained a watching brief on measures involving the Borders, and no doubt added their opinions to any such discussions.

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<sup>385</sup> Hartley, vol.III, pp.93-94.

<sup>386</sup> Hasler, vol I., p.551.

At the very least, as has been noted by Dr Meikle<sup>387</sup>, membership of the House of Commons gave gentlemen residing in Northumberland an opportunity for an expenses paid trip to London. Both John and Robert Carey frequently expressed their desire to be given permission to travel to London and to court. Holding seats in Parliament gave them that opportunity.

The Careys were not the only people at court to maintain an interest in the Borders. By their very nature as the English mainland's only land frontier with a foreign power the Borders were of immense strategic importance. As Elizabeth's reign progressed and it became more apparent that James VI of Scotland was the Queen's most likely heir, interest in English contact with Scotland, which happened mainly across the Borders, increased. Thus it was that the Careys on the Border had to deal with interest in the frontier from a variety of different circles at court.

Most prominent was the interest from official government circles. Contact between the Careys and the court was frequent and regular, although the official system of post riders left something to be desired, attracting as it did complaints of slow delivery times, and being open to interception by any group or individual who could stop the riders, as was the case in 1588, when Lord Carey had to regretfully inform Sir Francis Walsingham that "whatsoever letters or otherwise that you sent me in your laste paquet yt is better knowne in Scotland than I doe", after the boy delivering the letters was intercepted by a band of reivers.<sup>388</sup> The Careys wrote most frequently to Burghley and to Robert Cecil<sup>389</sup>, who both dominated the Privy Council and Elizabethan government, and were also the closest the Careys had to allies outside of the

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<sup>387</sup> Meikle, LG, p.61.

<sup>388</sup> CBP vol. II, 183, 921.

<sup>389</sup> The vast bulk of the correspondence from the Careys recorded in the Calendars of Border Papers, the Calendars of State Papers (Domestic) and the Calendars of State Papers (Foreign) which relate to the Borders is addressed to either Burghely or Cecil.

Queen and their own family. Once Henry Carey began to live at court and not on the Border, his sons wrote frequently to him also, although many of these letters appear to have been lost or scattered with the rest of the Carey family papers. Both the Cecils and Hunsdon were concerned to limit the number of people at court who received news from the Borders, as is shown by a letter written by John Carey to Burghley, in July 1593, in which he answers accusations that he was "writing to others at court with the same news I sent to your lordship for her Majestie". Carey was adamant that he wrote only to Burghley, Robert Cecil, and to his father, Hunsdon, "I wrote to no other of my friends," he reported, "slothefullne therein being the only fault that makes my frendes condemne me"<sup>390</sup>. Clearly Burghley perceived that there was an advantage to be had in restricting intelligence on the situation on the Borders to a small circle. Information at Elizabeth's court was power, and Burghley and his son relied heavily upon the Careys for news from the Borders.

The regular flow of correspondence from the Borders to court covered as wide a range of business as was covered by the Wardens' duties. The day to day administration was covered, the minutiae of muster rolls, reiver hunting, and the never-ending quest for supplies and money. The Careys also reported back on the proceedings and results of their meetings and dealings with their Scottish counterparts, occasionally asking advice on how to proceed in particularly delicate diplomatic situations. Such was the case in September 1598, when Robert Carey wrote to Burghley requesting his advice on how he should proceed in a dispute which had developed between himself and Robert Kerr of Cessford. The dispute had arisen from a point of protocol involved in formal meetings between Wardens. By tradition the Warden meetings took place within Scotland. The question was whether the English Warden should

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<sup>390</sup> CBP vol. I, 870.

travel straight into Scotland or whether, as Robert Carey believed, the two Wardens should meet midway on the Border between the two realms, and then proceed into Scotland. To the modern eye, this may appear to be a fairly pointless piece of pedantry, of little actual relevance, but to the people involved it was a matter of great importance. National pride was at stake, and neither Warden could afford to have the public perception of the standing of their nation affected by appearing to act in a manner subservient or inferior to the other Warden<sup>391</sup>.

A different sort of diplomatic problem caused John Carey to seek the advice of Robert Cecil in August 1600. On 5th August 1600, the Earl of Gowrie, a prominent Scottish nobleman was killed, along with one of his brothers, allegedly after being involved in an attempt upon the King's life<sup>392</sup>. The day after the death of Gowrie, the Earl's younger brothers appeared in Berwick, along with their tutor, asking to be granted refuge in England. Carey was at a loss for what to do in this delicate situation. To openly aid the young Scotsmen would be to offer an insult to James, sending them back to Scotland could place them at great risk, so John Carey wrote to Cecil asking what he should do with his unwanted guests. Eventually, presumably on Cecil's advice, the young Scotsmen were advised to move south to Richmond, Ripon, or Hull, where they would be further away from the Border<sup>393</sup>.

The Careys also helped to relay considerable quantities of intelligence on Scottish affairs to London. Occasionally, these reports were sent to Sir Francis Walsingham, who headed Elizabeth's intelligence-gathering network until his death in 1590, but more frequently, as with other matters, the Careys contacted the Cecils. The intelligence dispatched in this way took

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<sup>391</sup> CBP vol. II, 998, 999.

<sup>392</sup> Dickinson, W.C., *Scotland From The Earliest Times To 1603*, Edinburgh, 1961, p.368; Arbuckle, W.F., "The Gowrie Conspiracy", in *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxvi, 121, 1957, pp.1-24.

<sup>393</sup> CBP vol. II, 1217, 1221, 1230, 1235, 1243.

many forms. Most of it was basic in character, details of the movement of James around Scotland, or of the intrigues and plotting of the various factions of the Scottish court – particularly the Catholic faction<sup>394</sup>. Occasionally however, information of a more direct usefulness was obtained. In 1587, Hunsdon wrote to both Burghley and Walsingham telling them that he had arranged for a servant of the French ambassador to Scotland to steal the ambassador's papers (although he refused the servant's offers to steal the ambassador's jewels as well). A day later Hunsdon reported that the ambassador was complaining that he had been robbed of six or seven hundred crowns and a selection of clothing. The ambassador had apparently made no mention of missing papers. Five days after that, Carey commented, with some satisfaction, that "The loss of the French Imbassytor's casket and apparell ys marvellusly stormde att yn Skotlande, and the Imbassytor reddy to runne made, wyshyng hymselfe ded..."<sup>395</sup>. Some of the intelligence gathered may seem today to be somewhat pointless – whilst news of the visit of ambassadors from Denmark and Brunswick to the Scottish court was obviously of diplomatic interest, quite what Robert Cecil made of a report of July 1594 in which John Carey revealed that the ambassadors were "everey daye allmoste drunke" is not recorded<sup>396</sup>.

Occasionally, however, it seems that the Careys failed in their intelligence gathering operations. John Carey apologised to Burghley in 1593 that the quality of intelligence and information he provided was not always as great as that of the intelligence provided by the Queen's ambassadors in Scotland. This was because, he explained, the ambassadors were closer to the events at court than he was, and also, Carey added rather pointedly, because the

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<sup>394</sup> eg CBP vol.I, 964, 860, 861, 990; CBP vol. II, 246, 254, 275.

<sup>395</sup> CBP vol. I, 549, 550, 552, 555.

<sup>396</sup> CBP vol. I, 965.

ambassadors “hath beside a farther helpe (her Majesties purse)”. In 1601 John Carey was apologising again. “I must continue my oweld songe” he wrote to Cecil, “want of news”<sup>397</sup>.

As well as receiving advice and instructions directly from the Cecils, the members of the Carey family serving on the Border also received regular orders from the Privy Council. The role of this body in relation to the Borders was a confused one. Technically, it was, after the Queen, the highest authority in England and as such could command the Warden’s obedience. Practically speaking, however, it was located too far from the Border to be able to take a day to day interest in the running of the Marches. However, despite its distance from the frontier, the Privy Council still attempted to exert a direct influence over the Warden’s conduct.

Occasionally the Privy Council would become involved in the practical side of the administration of the frontier. In both 1588 and 1596, Commissions of Enquiry were appointed to look into Border problems, and to try and resolve outstanding issues that were causing problems. To what extent these Commissions were seen as being necessary due to the errors of the Wardens is unclear. Henry Carey was given a place on the 1588 Commission, which suggests that he was not seen as being culpable in any problems that may have arisen<sup>398</sup>. It is true that neither John nor Robert Carey were given places upon the 1596 Commission, and were instead merely ordered to actively seek redress for the victims of Scottish raids<sup>399</sup>, but there is little evidence to suggest that their omission from the Commission was down to any allegations of incompetence on their part. Certainly both remained in office, which suggests that the Commission produced no evidence of misconduct sufficient to merit

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<sup>397</sup> CBP vol. I, 870; vol. II, 1412.

<sup>398</sup> Tough, p.123.

<sup>399</sup> APC 1595-1596, 309.

dismissal. The Commissions had little lasting impact upon the Borders. Although it's true that the intercession of the 1596 Commission further raised official notice of the raids carried out by Buccleugh and Kerr of Cessford, it was unable to clear all the matters presented to it. At its meeting at Berwick, for example, between the 14th January 1597 and the 19th February 1597, the Commission settled only two hundred and twenty seven out of five hundred complaints presented to it relating to the East March<sup>400</sup> - leaving nearly half to be dealt with by the Wardens. After the Commission had adjourned to Carlisle in April 1597, raids from Scotland continued<sup>401</sup>, whilst Lord Scrope, in the English West March, regarded the treaty reached by the Commissioners as a failure<sup>402</sup>. The surrender of Walter Scott of Buccleuch and Robert Kerr of Cessford came only after William Bowes was despatched from London to Edinburgh to demand their surrender in February 1598 - many months after the Commissioners finished their work<sup>403</sup>. It can be seen therefore that the Border Commissions were not seen by the Elizabethans as being brought into being due to any incompetence on the part of the Wardens, but were rather in part an administrative device designed to re-enforce the interests of the Crown and country in the Border regions, and in part a diplomatic exercise to ensure that relations between England and Scotland remained on an even footing. As such, they succeeded in general terms, but failed to bring about any large degree of progress in more specific local cases. The Commissions should be seen as attempts to complement the work of the Border Wardens, rather than attempts at replacing them.

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<sup>400</sup> Tough, p.265.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, p.266

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*, p.268.

On several occasions, following letters from Henry and John Carey, the Privy Council discussed the problems of supplies and stores that so bedevilled the Governors of Berwick. By December 1598, they seemed convinced that they had sorted the problem, and wrote to John Carey to tell him that his problems were over<sup>404</sup>. This may well have been the case, for the volume of complaints from Carey about supplies seems to have been dramatically reduced, so it is possible that the actions of the Privy Council sometimes could have a positive impact upon the Borders<sup>405</sup>. The Privy Council also frequently wrote to the Careys at Berwick instructing them to give places in the garrison, or pensions to individuals<sup>406</sup>. Whether any of the Careys resented such an interference in the process of making appointments is unrecorded. Most likely, the Carey family accepted, and expected, interference in the appointment of people to positions in Berwick as the product of the political system. There was nothing unusual after all in prominent individuals acquiring offices or grants for their clients.

More irritating to the Careys would have been the demands sent by the Privy Council for troops from Berwick to be despatched elsewhere. As the largest standing garrison in England, demands for the service of troops from Berwick were fairly frequent. In March 1573 Henry Carey was ordered to dispatch one hundred troops to join the Earl of Essex's forces in Ireland, whilst in August 1577, one hundred foot were ordered to be sent to join Henry Scrope's forces in Carlisle. Instructions for the dispatch of another three hundred troops to Ireland arrived in August 1579, whilst in November 1581 another demand for one hundred troops for the West March, this time to guard Gilsland and Bewcastle, arrived<sup>407</sup>. Such a regular drain

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<sup>404</sup> APC 1571-1575, 302, 312, 327, 328; 1575-1577, 33, 122, 301; 1595-96, 5; 1596-1597, 562.

<sup>405</sup> In the Calendar of Border Papers there is only one complaint of a lack of supplies at Berwick from John Carey after that date.

<sup>406</sup> APC 1571-1575, 251; 1577-1578, 299, 302; 1581-1582, 250; 1596-1597, 339; 1601-1604, 53, 88, 326.

<sup>407</sup> APC 1571-1575, 203; 1577-1578, 9; 1578-1580, 224; 1581-1582, 263.

on the strength of the forces at Berwick could not have made the job of the Warden of the East March and the Governor of Berwick any easier. Even if the numbers of troops dispatched, or of those remaining, was made up by the recruitment of locally raised forces, the task of finding and moving such numbers can not have been appreciated by the Careys, especially when the problem of increasing poverty (see Chapter One) led to falling numbers of local horsemen willing or able to turn out for Border service, is considered. The Careys would have considered the maintenance of the size of Berwick's garrison an important consideration. Whilst Scotland and England officially enjoyed a long period of peace in Elizabeth's reign, there was no way that they could predict how long such a peace was going to last. The town on Berwick was a key part of the English defences on the Border, and as such merited a high level of manning. Therefore, any move which reduced the number of troops available would not have been appreciated.

The Privy Council also contacted the Border Wardens over matters of importance concerning relations with Scotland. In August 1578 Hunsdon received word that, in conjunction with Huntingdon, he was to "with all spede put in a readines a good number of corslettes, harquebusiers and horsemen to enter upon the suddaine into the realme of Scotland" to support James VI against rebel lords. In April 1589 the Council wrote to Carey, Scrope and Forster instructing them to use all of their "endeavour and best meanes to impeache and lett" the Earl of Bothwell to ensure that he did not join with other Scottish lords opposed to James. A letter of December 1589 further ordered the three Wardens to ready their forces to aid the Scottish king in putting down "those undutyfull subjectes of the Borders" as there was "some

altercation likely to happen in Scotland by some of the nobility and others evell affected in religion”<sup>408</sup>.

Thus it can be seen that the intervention of the Privy Council into the affairs managed by the Careys upon the Border ranged from small-scale tinkering with administration at Berwick to issuing instructions for preparations for open conflict in Scotland. Such decisions as were reached by the Council with regards to the Borders would not have been reached without some input from the Careys. The Cecils, who dominated Elizabeth’s Privy Council, were kept well informed by the Carey family of the happenings on the Border and of the Careys opinions on them. From the time of his appointment to the Council in 1577 until his death in 1596, Henry Carey was a Privy Councillor himself, and, when he was not on the Border was a regular attendee of Council meetings. Following his death, George Carey followed him onto the Council. Obviously the Careys would try and persuade the Privy Council to see matters their way, and to follow their advice.

Evidence exists to show that on some occasions at least they were successful in this. In May 1591, the Council sent a letter to the Earl of Huntingdon, as President of the Council in the North, criticising him for not acting quickly enough to quell riots which had taken place in Doncaster. The Council had been prompted to take this action by a petition signed by the Deputy Mayor and the Aldermen of the town, which had been presented to the Privy Council by Lord Hunsdon (who, it just so happened, had been appointed High Steward of Doncaster in October 1590)<sup>409</sup>. This was clearly a move in the long time rivalry which existed between

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<sup>408</sup> APC 1577-1578, 305; 1588-1589, 149-150; 1589-1590, 250.

<sup>409</sup> APC 1591, 128.

Henry Carey and the Earl of Huntingdon, and was clearly an occasion on which Hunsdon was able to persuade the Privy Council to see his point of view on a matter.

In June 1600, the Privy Council wrote, at the recommendation of Robert Carey, to Henry Widdrington, Carey's deputy as Warden of the Middle March, to praise and thank him for his service to the Queen. Similar letters to a number of members of the Northumbrian gentry, all recommended by Robert Carey, followed on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1600 and the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1601<sup>410</sup>. By persuading the Council to acknowledge their service, and by supplying names of gentry whom he considered suitable recipients of such letters, Robert Carey was not only further encouraging the prominent figures of the Middle March to work with him as Warden, but was also establishing himself as a person who had the ear of Council, and thus would have improved his personal standing in Northumberland. In short, therefore, although the Privy Council may occasionally have acted in ways which irritated the Careys, Hunsdon and his sons still managed to influence Council decisions, and were able to use that influence to further bolster their standing on the Border.

There was also a level of unofficial interest maintained in the Borders by a variety of members of Elizabeth's court. Prior to their revolt of 1569, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland had strong connections to the Border counties through the estates they held there, and through the traditional dominance of the Percy and Neville families in the region. At the time of the Rising of the Northern Earls, the Earl of Northumberland certainly hoped to use the influence that his family had historically wielded in the north to raise a large number of supporters. In this he was disappointed, however, for the interregnum of the Percy earldom,

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<sup>410</sup> APC 1599-1600, 372; 1600-1601, 472; 1601-1604, 54.

which had occurred between 1537 and 1557, had served to reduce the power and influence of the Percies in Northumberland. Their place had been taken by local families, such as the Forsters, and by royal appointees such as the Careys<sup>411</sup>. As Warden of the English East March, Henry Carey held a position traditionally enjoyed by a Percy. His presence on the Border was thus a very obvious symbol of the way in which families which had in previous years maintained a presence on the Border were replaced, both in office and in terms of the power wielded in the region, by loyal servants of the crown.

Another noble family that traditionally held an interest in the north of England was the Clifford family, the Earls of Cumberland. Henry Clifford, the second Earl, who died in 1570, lived on his northern estates in virtual seclusion, rarely coming to court after Elizabeth's coronation. Although married to a sister of Leonard Dacre and despite the fact that he was a committed Catholic, he played no part in any of the northern revolts (although at the same time he did not come out openly to support the Queen). Apart from holding his northern estates, he had little to do with Border affairs<sup>412</sup>.

His son, George Clifford, the third Earl, was quite different to his father. An active courtier, and a favourite of the Queen's, he had served with Robert Carey against the Spanish Armada<sup>413</sup>, and clearly knew the family. Although severe financial difficulties forced him to sell of several of his northern estates<sup>414</sup>, he stayed active in the region. In 1581, for example, he was one of a number of commissioners appointed to survey the state of castles and forts in the West March, whilst, in the run up to the Armada he had originally been appointed to serve

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<sup>411</sup> Meikle, LG, p.12; Watts, pp.56-57

<sup>412</sup> Williams, p. 130; Haigh, p.56.

<sup>413</sup> Mares, p.9.

<sup>414</sup> Stone, COA, pp.163-164, 363.

as Marshal of the Field in the northern forces under Huntingdon<sup>415</sup>. Shortly after the accession of James of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603, Cumberland was appointed Warden of the English West and Middle Marches, and Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland, and of the town of Newcastle.

The promotion Clifford gained soon after James' accession was a result of the way in which Cumberland had assured himself of James' support in the years prior to the death of Elizabeth. James was a supporter and a friend of Cumberland's many years before the Queen's death. When Elizabeth died Clifford was ready to ride north to meet James on his way to London, whilst members of his family travelled to meet the king in Scotland<sup>416</sup>. The Queen strongly disapproved of such contacts, but they still occurred. Sir Robert Cecil joined Sir Henry Howard, the future Earl of Northampton, amongst other prominent men to engage in contacts with James despite Queen Elizabeth's dislike of contact between her courtiers and her successor. As royal officials, the Careys should have reported any such contact to the Queen. If they knew of them (and it would be surprising if they did not), however, the Careys do not seem to have told Elizabeth. Loyal servants to the Queen that they undoubtedly were, the Careys were realistic enough to know that their Queen could not live forever. That James was the most obvious successor to Elizabeth was clear. That Robert Carey was so prepared to ride to Scotland on the death of Elizabeth, complete with a pre-arranged sign in the form of a ring to confirm his words, shows that the Careys themselves had considered the importance of maintaining good relations with James. Whilst there is no evidence, other than their long term friendship, to support the assertion<sup>417</sup> that Robert Carey was acting in league with Robert

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<sup>415</sup> CBP I, 83, 569.

<sup>416</sup> Spence, R., *The Privateering Earl: George Clifford, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Cumberland 1558-1605*, Stroud, 1995, pp.122, 186.

<sup>417</sup> Williams, p.260.

Cecil when he rode to Scotland, there is certainly evidence to suggest that the Careys as a family were well prepared. In his memoirs, Robert Carey himself admits to being in contact with James in the months and years prior to the death of Queen Elizabeth<sup>418</sup>.

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<sup>418</sup> Mares, p.59.

## Chapter V

### 1603 and Beyond

Robert Carey undoubtedly hoped to profit by being the first to deliver the news of Elizabeth's death to James of Scotland. In this he was disappointed, for although on delivery of his message he was appointed as a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, he lost that office when James reached London. He later recalled in his memoirs that "I only relied on God and the King. The one never left me, the other shortly after his coming to London deceived my expectation, and adhered to those that sought my ruin"<sup>419</sup>. This reference to opponents at court is interesting. Certainly Carey's actions on the death of the Queen attracted considerable dislike. He was condemned for trying to make a profit out of the death of his cousin, whilst the Privy Council criticised him for pre-empting their own messenger<sup>420</sup>. It is safe to assume that at least some of this criticism stemmed more from resentment generated by his success in being the first to break the news to the king, rather than from any moral objections in the minds of his detractors (as the Earl of Cork and Orrery, who edited an edition of Careys memoirs in the eighteenth century put it "Every courtier, no doubt, wished for wings, Sir Robert Cary wisely got upon a horse."<sup>421</sup>), but no doubt the criticism stuck, and harmed Robert Carey's reputation, which may in part account for his subsequent loss of favour.

More damaging may have been the distance that seems to have developed between the Careys and their erstwhile allies, the Cecils. Whilst they often worked together at court, and, in the

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<sup>419</sup> Mares, p.65.

<sup>420</sup> Quoted in Carey, Robert, *Memoirs of the Life of Robert Cary, Baron of Leppington and Earl of Monmouth*, (John, Earl of Cork and Orrery ed.), London 1759, pp.xv-xvii.

<sup>421</sup> Cork, p.xviii.

case of John and Robert Carey actively pursued the Cecil's patronage, the Careys were never so much clients of the Cecils, as they were allies.

The distance that the Careys maintained from the Cecils is best demonstrated by Robert Carey's ride to Scotland on the death of Queen Elizabeth. This was the result of plans laid by the Carey faction, not the Cecil one. By maintaining their distance from the Cecils, the Careys were preserving their integrity and status as major players in their own right in the Elizabethan court, but were, at the same time sowing the seeds of their own destruction. When Robert Cecil was laying his plans for ensuring the smooth succession to the throne of England of James VI of Scotland, there was no place in his plans for the Careys - by maintaining their independence from other factions at Court, the Careys had ensured that they would not be counted amongst the Cecil party who received rewards when James came to the throne.

It is likely that Robert Cecil knew by the time of Elizabeth's death, that Robert Carey was planning on being first to Edinburgh with the news. On the 22nd March 1603, Edward Bruce, Abbot of Kinross, and one of James' trusted advisors, had written to Lord Henry Howard, a member of Cecil's faction, informing him that:

“...there was a gentilman direct from richmont...  
who...had audience of 30 [King James]...his credit  
was from Sir Robert Carie to giwe 30 [King James]  
assurance that 24 [Queen Elizabeth] could not outliwe  
thre dayes at most, and that he stayed only at court to  
bring to hem the first newes of her dethe..”<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> Bruce J. (ed), *Correspondence of James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth with an Appendix Containing Papers Illustrative of Transactions Between*

Given that Cecil seems to have been alerted by this to Carey's plans, it is of some credit to the Carey family network that he was able to make it to Edinburgh at all.

The end of Elizabeth's reign marked the end of much of the Carey family's influence and power, both in national and in Border affairs. George Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland was appointed as Warden of the West and East Marches, and as Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland, and of the town of Newcastle, thus putting both John and Robert Carey, along with their brother-in-law, Thomas Scrope, out of their Wardenry positions. The union of the crowns rendered obsolete the need for a military garrison at Berwick upon Tweed, and so John Carey also lost his position as Governor of the town. He did receive a grant of an annuity of four hundred and twenty four pounds, probably as compensation for his loss of earnings, but Robert received no such gift. Both Carey brothers were named in a commission of oyer and terminer issued on the 25<sup>th</sup> June 1603, a month after James' accession, but both were omitted from the 1604 commission of the peace for Northumberland, a clear indication of a decline in influence of the Careys on the Border<sup>423</sup>.

Late in 1603, Robert Carey, apparently realising that the loss of the Queen's support and his Border office which provided most of his powerbase, made his position in Northumberland untenable, sold his position as Captain of Norham Castle, and the estates which went with it, to George Home, the Earl of Dunbar, for £6000, further reducing the Careys' presence in Northumberland. He does appear to have retained ownership of the estates at Widdrington, which his marriage had brought him, but, certainly by 1623, and probably soon after 1603, he

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*King James and Robert, Earl of Essex*, Camden Society, vol. LXXVIII, 1861, p.48.

<sup>423</sup> Watts, p.233; Hasler, vol. I, p.550.

was leasing them out to Sir Henry Widdrington, his former Deputy Warden, and was living back at court<sup>424</sup>.

At the same time that the Careys were losing their power and influence on the Border, they were losing the elevated position that they had enjoyed in the rest of the country. On the 4<sup>th</sup> May 1603, George Carey, who had been ill for some time, resigned from his position of Lord Chamberlain. On the 21<sup>st</sup> May his position as Captain of the Gentleman-Pensioners was granted to the Earl of Northumberland<sup>425</sup>. On September 9<sup>th</sup> 1603, George Caréy died, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Thomas Berkeley. None of the Careys inherited his place on the Privy Council. The title of Baron Hunsdon passed to John Carey, who lived out the rest of his life on the manor of Hunsdon. He is occasionally mentioned in the records of the court entertainments of James I, but held no more prominent positions. He died in 1617, passing the Hunsdon title to his son Henry, who became Viscount Rochfort in 1621, and Earl of Dover in 1628. The Earl of Dover sold the manor of Hunsdon to William Willoughby, later Lord Willoughby of Parnham, on the 4<sup>th</sup> March 1653, but retained the Hunsdon title. He was in turn succeeded by his son, John, who died without issue in 1677. On his death, the Earldom of Dover became extinct, but the Barony of Hunsdon survived, passing to Robert Carey, the son of the eldest son of Sir Edmund Carey, who had died aged seventy-nine in 1637. On his death in 1692, it passed to his cousin, another Robert, the eldest surviving son of Edmund Carey's second son, who died in 1702, passing the title of Baron Hunsdon to William Ferdinand Carey, the grandson of Edmund Carey's third son. He

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<sup>424</sup> Mares, p.67; Watts, p.139.

<sup>425</sup> Durham Probate Records Wills, Widdrington, Sir Henry of Widdrington, Knight, 1624. Published in *Wills and Inventories From The Registry of Durham Part IV*, Surtees Society, CXLII, 1929, pp.165-167.

was the last Baron Hunsdon, by the time of his death in 1765, no other survivors in the male line from Sir Henry Carey could be found, and thus the barony became extinct<sup>426</sup>.

Of the surviving sons of the first Lord Hunsdon, only that most skilled of courtiers, Robert Carey, succeeded in regaining some of the influence which the Carey family had once enjoyed. Despite the lack of success that he enjoyed immediately after James' accession to the throne, Robert Carey eventually managed to regain royal favour.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1605 he was appointed Governor of the Household of the young Prince Charles, the then Duke of York and the future Charles I. In 1611, he became the Duke's Master of the Robes, and when Charles became Prince of Wales in 1617, Carey was appointed as Chamberlain of his household, a post which was sought by amongst others Robert Kerr of Cessford, by then the Earl of Roxburgh. On the 7<sup>th</sup> February 1622, he became Baron Carey of Leppington, James I apparently being persuaded to grant him some recognition. On the 7<sup>th</sup> February 1626, following the coronation of Charles I, he was created Earl of Monmouth, at which point his memoirs close<sup>427</sup>.

Charles I must have recalled Carey's governance of his childhood household with some affection, for he continued to show Carey favour. Robert Carey was Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire in 1627-1628, and even appears to have been able to recover some of his former position of influence in the north of England. He was granted property in Yorkshire, along with Kenilworth Castle, and in 1628 became a member of the Council of the North. He even seems to have made it back to Northumberland, for in 1638 he is recorded as being Captain of

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<sup>426</sup> Cockayne, vol. VI, pp.630-632.

<sup>427</sup> CSPD, 1619-1623, pp.221, 341; Fraser, p.359n.

Tynemouth Castle. As late as March 1639, he was contributing three hundred pounds towards King Charles' planned campaign against Scottish rebels. Robert Carey died on the 12<sup>th</sup> April 1639, the last of Henry Carey's legitimate sons. He was nearly eighty, a considerable age for the seventeenth century. Quite possibly, as Fraser puts it "had he lived a few years longer he would have been in the saddle again in the Civil War, reliving those happy days when 'we had a stirring world' "<sup>428</sup>.

Carey was succeeded as Earl of Monmouth by his eldest son, Henry (his younger son, Thomas, having pre-deceased his father, dying without issue on the 9<sup>th</sup> April 1634), who married the daughter of Lionel Cranfield, the first Earl of Middlesex, and who spent most of his life translating various works from French and Italian, and, apart from being impeached by Parliament in 1641 for supporting King Charles, playing no great part in political life. The title of Earl of Monmouth died with him in 1661, for his elder son, Lionel, had been killed fighting for the royalists at the Battle of Marston Moor in 1644, whilst his younger son, Henry, died of smallpox in 1649, leaving one son, another Henry, who in turn died in 1653. Thus a little over two centuries after Henry Carey's creation as Baron Hunsdon, his family had died out in the male line<sup>429</sup>. Although one of his sons and two of his grandsons became Earls, none of his descendants after Robert achieved any great prominence. What then could account for the comparatively swift decline in the influence and position of the Carey family?

It could be suggested that with the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in the person of James I and VI the Border between the two countries lost its significance and importance,

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<sup>428</sup> Cockayne, vol. IX, pp.56-58; CSPD 1625-1626, pp.12, 535, 554; 1631-1633, pp.296,456; 1638-1639, p.15; CSPD (Add.), 1625-1649, p.604; Fraser, p.139.

<sup>429</sup> Cockayne, vol IX, pp.58-60.

and thus there was no longer any need for the Crown to employ people like Robert and John Carey most of whose career and experience was tied up in the frontier. Deprived of the power and authority that their positions on the Border had given them, the Careys rapidly lost their influence.

There are, however, problems with such a theory. Although the Border, to all intents and purposes, ceased to exist after James' accession to the English throne, the work associated with it did not vanish so easily. King James was determined that the riding surnames, especially the Grahams of the English West March, who had doubled in number since the 1560s<sup>430</sup>, and a number of whom had taken part in large scale raiding in the week following Elizabeth's death that extended as far as Penrith, should not be allowed to flout the law, and should be brought firmly under the control of the Crown's representatives. A determined effort was to be made to bring the most prominent of the reivers to book.

As early as November 1603, thirty-two alleged reivers, including members of the Elliot, Armstrong and Johnstone families, were hanged. Fifteen more were banished, and another one hundred and forty were outlawed. In June 1605 seventy-two Grahams were rounded up and dispatched as 'volunteers' to serve in the military in the Low Countries. By 1606, a total of three hundred and six people had been outlawed, a list which included members of all of the most prominent surname, Grahams, Elliots, Armstrongs, Johnstones, Kerrs, Irvines, Nixons and many more. In October 1607 the Earl of Dunbar, who had been appointed as Lieutenant over all the Marches, indicted one hundred and ten Borderers for various crimes. Although all but four of them were acquitted, most were still volunteered for military service, and

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<sup>430</sup> Spence, R.T., "The Pacification of the Cumberland Borders, 1593-1628", in *Northern History*, vol. XIII, 1977, p.61.

transported off to garrisons in Ireland. As late as the 1614 proclamations were being issued forbidding transported Grahams from returning home from military service abroad<sup>431</sup> and problems persisted into the 1620s<sup>432</sup>. Clearly there was still work to be done upon the Border. The need for experienced officers of the Crown in the region was still very real, and yet the Careys were not employed in any such capacity.

There is also the fact that the decline of the Carey presence and power on the Border was accompanied by a decline in their influence in the south of England. There was still a Carey presence at court, in the form of John, Robert and Edmund Carey, and their sons and grandsons, and Robert at least enjoyed a measure of success, but none of them achieved the same levels of prominence that Henry and George Carey had both reached. The decline in the significance of the Border does not explain the decline in Carey power at court.

It appears that the Careys, as a family, suffered from being out of favour, or at least suffered from being less in favour than some others, with King James. This is surprising, for all through Elizabeth's reign, relations between the members of the Carey family on the Border and James had been reasonably amicable. Yet it is very noticeable that most of the further advancement Robert Carey enjoyed came through the patronage of Charles I. It is hard to come to any conclusion other than that James I simply preferred to advance other of his courtiers at the expense of the Careys.

Perhaps the most likely explanation is that the Careys suffered from the fact that they were so closely associated with Queen Elizabeth. They were clearly identified as being members of a

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<sup>431</sup> Fraser, pp.364, 371, 379; Watts, pp.142, 154.

<sup>432</sup> Fraser, pp.377-378.

group that were loyal to, and tied closely to, the Queen. King James had his own loyal servants; he didn't need those of the old Queen. Indeed, he had two courts of courtiers to choose from. The fact that the Careys were not considered members of the Robert Cecil circle at court probably counted against them - his was by far the most influential voice in the early days of James' reign in England, and if he viewed the Careys as potential rivals rather than friends, their hopes of hanging on to much power would be limited. Robert Carey's efforts to reach Edinburgh on Elizabeth's death would not have endeared him to Cecil, who had worked hard to maintain control of the succession process. Thus it is likely that the Careys owed at least some of the lack of favour shown them by James I to the machinations of Cecil. The Careys did not fade immediately into complete obscurity, but they were very much a part of the Tudor past, and not the Stewart future.

## Conclusion

In many ways the Careys were like any other family. They quarrelled, they argued, they disagreed with one another. As an older son, John Carey felt that he was unfairly ignored by his father, in favour of Robert Carey, the youngest son of the family. They were a collection of individuals, each with their own characters, and their own ways and methods of working. The Careys however, and in particular the Careys on the Border, still worked together as closely as members of any other noble family. Compared to, for example, the Cecils, whose close family network consisted of little more than William, Lord Burghley and his two sons, Thomas, the second Lord Burghley, and Robert, who later became Earl of Sailsbury, the Carey family network, consisting of Hunsdon, his numerous sons, and close ties by the marriage of his daughters to noble families such as the Scropes and the Howards, as well as connections gained by the marriage of his sons was extensive, and stretched over a wide geographical and political field. Despite the size of this network, and despite their disagreements, the Carey family were able to work together to great effect.

When Sir Henry Carey was appointed as Warden of the English East March, he faced a task of governing an area that contained some very lawless and violent elements. It was also a task that would involve him in suppressing revolts, and maintaining diplomatic relations with the Scots. If he was to succeed in this huge task, he needed to be working with people he knew he could trust and rely upon. Trusted Borderers could fill some of these positions, people like Sir John Selby, but more reliable still were the members of his own family.

George, the younger Henry, and possibly the mysterious Edward, served with their father in the campaigns against the Rising of the Northern Earls, the revolt of Leonard Dacre and in the raids into Scotland that followed, with George being used in the immediate aftermath of the 1569 rising as an envoy to Scotland. After the northern revolts, young Henry Carey at least seems to have remained in the north with his father, dying in Berwick upon Tweed in 1581. He had sat in Parliament for the town in 1571, and had no doubt ensured that the Careys opinions on northern affairs were heard in Parliament. After his death, both John and William Carey held posts in Berwick, and William held the Commons' seats of Morpeth and Northumberland. By the time of William's death in 1593, Robert Carey too had arrived on the frontier, first as Deputy to his brother-in-law Thomas Scrope in the West March, and later, much to the disgust of John Carey, as Deputy Warden to his father in the East March. By this time Lord Hunsdon was spending less and less time in the north, remaining instead at Court, where he handled his official posts, and oversaw the Carey family affairs. His sons served as his personal representatives, and his trouble-shooters in Berwick, keeping firm control of those elements, such as the Mayor of Berwick, who tried to complain about his rule and who resented the military control of the town.

Following the death of Lord Hunsdon in 1596, his sons John and Robert maintained the family presence on the Border. Until 1598, they served as acting Governor of Berwick and Warden of the East March respectively, maintaining the family's presence and influence in the north. In 1598, Robert Carey was appointed Warden of the Middle March, where the extensive kindred that he had gained through his marriage served to support him, thus increasing his ability to perform his duties. Even though Lord Willoughby was appointed as Governor of Berwick and Warden in the East March, John Carey retained his position of power at

Berwick. In 1601, on Willoughby's death, John Carey's position at Berwick and his experience of the Border, as well as his family connections meant that he was the obvious choice for the jobs. From 1601, therefore, two of the three English Marches were governed by a Carey, and somebody who was married to one governed the third. Thus, for over thirty years, Careys were in positions of influence and authority on the frontier. Even when they didn't control directly more than one of the Wardenries, the Careys possessed great influence in northern affairs. They, or their relations controlled large numbers of troops, and were able to call on more from the local gentry. They could influence the appointment of numerous MPs and were in a position to offer patronage to many friends and associates. Following Robert Carey's marriage, they were able to call upon ties of marriage to half a dozen or so of the most prominent Border families. Most importantly, they had connections at court. Even when she appeared displeased with them, as she was with Robert Carey over his marriage, and with John Carey over the killing of Jock Dalgleish, the Queen made no move to deprive them of their influence. By their activities and office at Court, and in other areas of the country, the Careys were able to build up a network of wealth and influence that could support the family. It is clear that by the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 the Carey family had achieved a position of influence both in general in English affairs, and most particularly on the Borders, that was matched only by a few of the most powerful individuals at the English court.

The Careys owed their position of dominance on the Anglo-Scottish Border to the Queen. It was she who granted them their offices, and gave them the opportunities to raise the funds that supported them. Equally as importantly, she made no move to prevent the Careys from gradually building up a powerbase on the frontier that was, at its height easily the equal, and frequently stronger than that held by Sir John Forster, perhaps the most influential of the

native Northumbrians on the Border, as was clearly demonstrated when Hunsdon intervened in the Carr/Heron feud. Even when, through his marriage, Robert Carey obtained estates in Northumberland to add to the offices which he already held there, the Queen was more upset by his choice of bride rather than his accumulation of a local powerbase. Just as Lord Hunsdon had had his sons appointed to offices in Berwick so that they could give him aid and support, Queen Elizabeth had appointed him to be her Warden of the East March because she knew he was a reliable and capable servant, who would always support her cause. In this, Hunsdon's sons followed their father. Through them the Queen was able to maintain government over an area remote from central control. She rewarded them for their services with affection, and more practically, with advancement. Even John Carey who was least favoured of the Careys was allowed to hold his office, and was eventually promoted, despite complaints against him. The support of the Queen was vital for the Careys in building up their fortunes on the Border, which were based almost exclusively in their offices. Useful as this support was when the Queen was alive however, it proved more of a hindrance after she was dead. For without the support of the Queen, to maintain them in their Offices, the Careys soon lost their prominence in northern affairs. This loss of power can be seen, therefore, as being a direct result of their failure to secure other patrons and supporters, either in London or in Edinburgh.

Lord Hunsdon could prosper merely from holding the Queen's favour; he was secure enough in her affections that he would have to have committed an act of treason before he lost it. His sons, however, to ensure that they had the best chances of success in life, had to secure the support of other factions at court. Most frequently, they worked with William, Lord Burghley, and his son Sir Robert Cecil, although Robert Carey also enjoyed the patronage of

the Earl of Essex for many years. It would be a mistake to consider them merely as clients of the Cecils, however. They asked for, and received the Cecils' support on a number of matters, but the relationship was more one of equals. The Cecils provided additional support to that which the Careys already enjoyed at court. In return, the Careys provided the Cecils with in-depth information on happenings on the Border and in Scotland, intelligence which helped the Cecils maintain their mastery of the Privy Council.

The Careys were a family firm, and the Queen was very much at their head. When the Queen died the firm lost its most powerful backer. James of Scotland failed to replicate Elizabeth's support for the Careys, as he had his own servants to reward, and there was little place in his plans for the loyal followers of the old regime. The influence of Cecil, who wished to ensure that it was loyal members of his faction, amongst whom the Careys did not count, who received rewards and office, may well have been instrumental in pushing the Careys to the margins of James' court. The family's power and influence declined swiftly, particularly on the Border, although it was to be over two centuries before the family disappeared in its entirety.

The Careys did not just provide the Queen with loyal backers in the north of England. They also provided her with a series of capable and competent officials. In 1592, Richard Topcliffe praised the depth of Lord Hunsdon's knowledge of Scottish affairs, commenting that "none better knows the Scottish causes, or can better decipher the knavery...than his Lordship."<sup>433</sup> In 1597, Robert Carey was able to write knowledgeably upon the habits of the reivers. They would, he commented:

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<sup>433</sup>CSPD 1591-1594, 268.

“never lightly steal before Lammas, for fear of the  
assizes, but being once past they return to their  
former trade... the last moneths in the yeare are  
theyr cheife tyme of stealing: for then are the nights  
longest, theyr horse at hard meat, and will ride best,  
cattell strong, and will drive furthest...”<sup>434</sup>

Clearly, the Careys were willing to study the problems of Border society and work hard to solve the problems. In 1568, George Carey was reported by Sir William Drury as having “entered into a bare soldiers pay and refuses no duty, watching and warding as every private poor man.”<sup>435</sup> Lord Hunsdon, John and Robert Carey all actively pursued reivers, working on the theory that it was best to hit them hard, and use brute force where necessary to bring as many rieurs as possible to book. It could be argued that this policy served only to make reprisal raids more likely, and to stir up further trouble, but as Wardens of the English Marches, and defenders of the rights and reputations of the Crown, the Careys had to be seen to be making an effort to take on those who defied their authority.

Whilst making such efforts, it was necessary for all of the Careys to maintain the delicate balance of relations with Scotland, taking action where necessary to preserve the pride and honour of England, but never making any errors that would push the two countries into an all-out war. All of this they managed despite a lack of ready resources and help from the central government.

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<sup>434</sup> CBP vol. II, 745.

<sup>435</sup> CSPF 1566-1568, 2531.

When compared to other English Elizabethan Wardens, the Careys must be seen to have been relatively successful. Ralph Eure lasted for three years, before admitting that even the aid of his one hundred Yorkshire horse couldn't help him in maintaining order in the Middle March. He never had the advantage of the support of the large network of kinship which marriage had brought to Robert Carey, which helped him secure the co-operation of the local gentry, and so keep order in the Middle March, but then neither did Lord Hunsdon when he first came to the East March. Thomas, Lord Scrope survived eleven years as Warden of the West March, but by the time of Elizabeth's death the Grahams were still able to launch large scale raids into Cumberland, and in 1596 Walter Scott of Buccleuch was able to penetrate Carlisle Castle to release Willie Armstrong. Certainly the Careys managed to maintain more order in their Marches than that. Whilst Sir John Forster, for much of his career as a Warden, managed to keep a lid on reiving activities through a mix of negotiation and hard work, reiving in the Middle March increased towards the end of his spell of office, and he failed as a politician. He did not manage to maintain enough support at court to allow him to keep his office, a problem which the Careys never encountered. They did have an advantage over Forster, in that they had the Queen's support, which once again demonstrates just how vital the backing of the Queen was to the career of the Careys on the Border.

The Careys were by no means perfect individuals. The whole of the story of the Carey's presence on the Border is one of nepotism on a grand scale. If one believes the complaints of the Mayor and Aldermen of Berwick, they were perfectly happy to make money and profit at the expense of the rights of the citizens of the town. John Carey freely admitted to selling places in the garrison for profit, claiming that it had been standard practice for twenty years, during most of which time his family had been running Berwick. For long periods Lord

Hunsdon was an absentee Warden, which was not ideal for the East March, although the reports of the Burgesses of Berwick perhaps present an exaggerated report of the problems which this absenteeism caused, as Hunsdon seems to have been most careful to leave capable deputies behind to look after things when he was absent. Robert Carey's ride to take the news of Queen Elizabeth's death to King James has attracted considerable criticism. As little as twenty years ago, Watts, no doubt thinking of his actions on the death of Elizabeth, described Robert Carey as a "courtier- politician" and called him "one of the best known examples of this despised species"<sup>436</sup>.

Such criticisms as may be levelled at the Careys are, however, anachronistic. Actions that may be seen by modern eyes as corrupt were nothing more than the standard practice of the prominent people of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. All of Elizabeth's courtiers were politicians – they had to be if they were to hope to achieve anything in their careers. Even Lord Hunsdon, who was praised by both Naunton and Fuller for his forthright honesty and bluff nature, was a shrewd and calculating politician, who was perfectly capable of manipulating the Privy Council into condemning the actions of his political opponent the Earl of Huntingdon. The political skills of the Careys were to be taxed to the utmost extreme on the Anglo-Scottish Border, where they had to pick their way through a mire of problems of feuds and reivers, of administration and supplies, and of maintaining relations with a whole range of other parties. The support of the extended network of the Carey family and their relatives, both on the Border and at court, and most importantly the ever present patronage and favour of Queen Elizabeth, was of the utmost importance to them in this work.

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<sup>436</sup> Watts, p.125.

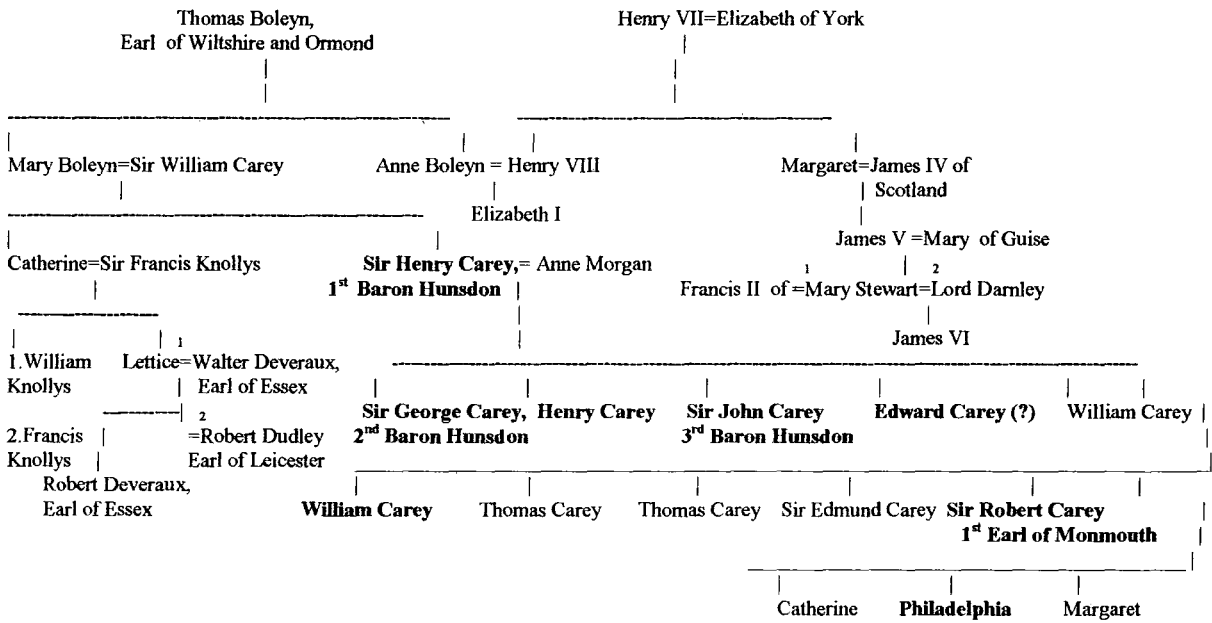
With the death of the Queen, the Carey family lost its most powerful supporter, and with her lost their access to Border office. It was this loss of their most influential patron, rather than any decline in the need or necessity for skilled officers on the Border, which led to the decline in influence and power of the Carey family.

In conclusion therefore, the Careys were as complicated a range of people as any in Elizabeth's reign. They were competent and capable, but they could also be corrupt and brutal. They were talented politicians, and skilled courtiers, but, in the end, were out manoeuvred by a more talented politician, Sir Robert Cecil. They were able to work closely together as a family unit, but still quarrelled and bickered between themselves. In all, there was only one constant about them, a deep and unswerving loyalty to, and affection for, the cousin who gave them everything, and whose death deprived them of so much of their power, Queen Elizabeth.

# Appendix I

## Simplified Family Tree Of The Carey Family

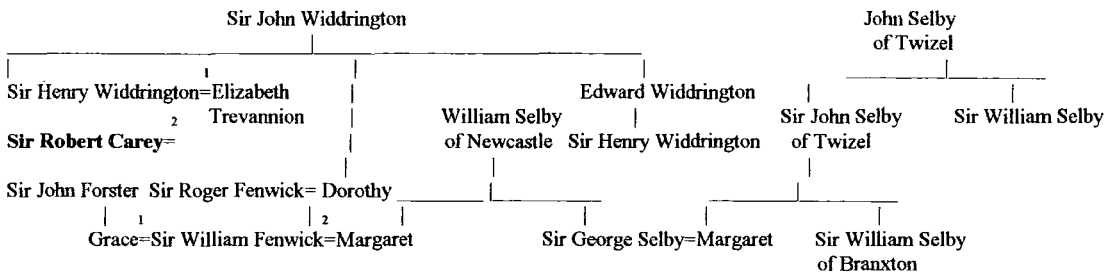
Members of the family involved in Border affairs appear in bold text.



Appendix II

Simplified Family Tree of Sir Robert Carey's Relatives by Marriage.

Source: Watts, pp.262-265



## Appendix III

### Carey Family Lands And Offices By County

**Sources:** Bindoff; Hasler; CPR 1550-1553; 1558-1560; 1566-1569; 1569-1572; 1572-1575; 1575-1578; 1578-1580; 1580-1582; CSPD 1631-1633; 1638-1639.

#### Bedfordshire

**Henry Carey:** Granted manor of Maldon, 1559; Granted stewardships of manors of Ampthill, Milbrook, Flitwick, Tingrith, Westening, Brogborough, Norwood, Ridgmont, Segenhoo, Husbourne, Crawley, Puddington, Clophill, Kynho, Shefford, Litlington, Dunstable, Totternhoe, Milton Bryan, Pottsgrove and Greenfield, 1568.

#### Berkshire

**Henry Carey:** Granted lands at Stratfield Mortimer, 1559.

## **Buckinghamshire:**

**Henry Carey:** Held manors of Little Brickhill, Burton and Buckingham, 1547-1552; MP for Buckingham, 1547, 1554, 1555; Granted Stewardship of manors of Wallendon and Swanbourne, 1568.

**John Carey:** MP for Buckingham, 1584, 1589 and 1593.

**Edmund Carey:** JP, 1598.

## **Cambridgeshire**

**Henry Carey:** Appointed Recorder of Cambridge, 1590.

**John Carey:** JP, 1594.

## **Cornwall**

**George Carey:** Granted the manors of Penpoll, Dinnerdake, Elerky, Degembris, Treworga, Trenowth, Rodmyn, Landgrey and Probus, 1579.

## **County Durham**

**Henry Carey:** Granted part of the temporalities of the see of Durham, 1589; Granted Lease on manor of Halliwell, 1573.

**Robert Carey:** JP, 1601.

## **Cumberland**

**Henry Carey:** Vice-Admiral of the County by 1587.

**Robert Carey:** Deputy Warden of the West March c1592-c1594.

**Philadelphia Carey:** Married to Thomas, Lord Scrope of Bolton, Warden of the West March, 1592-1603.

## Derbyshire

**Henry Carey:** Granted manors of Eckington, Spinkhill, Ronaldshawe, Mosbrough (now in South Yorkshire), Ridgeway, Bramley and Trowaye, 1571.

## Devon

**George Carey:** Granted manor of Torcross, 1579.

## Essex

**Henry Carey:** Granted manor of Rayleigh and hundred of Rochford, 1559.

## Gloucestershire

**Edmund Carey:** JP, 1598.

## Hampshire

**George Carey:** MP for the county, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593; JP, 1584; Vice-Admiral of Southampton, 1586; Lord Lieutenant of the County, 1599.

## **Herefordshire**

**Henry Carey:** Granted Stewardship of the manors of Leominster, Kingsland and Much Marcle, and of all lands formerly appertaining to the priory of Leominster, 1559.

## **Hertfordshire**

**Henry Carey:** Granted title of Baron Hunsdon and manors of Hunsdon and Eastwick 1569.

**George Carey:** JP, c1580.

## **Isle of Wight**

**George Carey:** Governor, 1583.

**Edmund Carey:** MP for Newport, 1584, 1589.

## Kent

**Henry Carey:** Granted manors of Tunbridge, Sevenoaks, Hadlow, Seal, Kemsing, Wye and the castle of Tunbridge, 1559.

**George Carey:** MP for Canterbury, 1572.

**John Carey:** Granted office of Receiver-General of Revenues of the county and of the towns of Canterbury and Rochester, 1582.

## Middlesex

**Henry Carey:** Keeper of Hyde Park and of Somerset House and its Gardens, 1574.

**George Carey:** JP, 1584.

**Edmund Carey:** JP, 1598.

## Norfolk

**Henry Carey:** Lord Lieutenant by 1591.

## Northamptonshire

**Henry Carey:** Granted lease on woods at Roode, 1559.

**Edmund Carey:** JP, 1592.

## Northumberland

**Henry Carey:** Governor of Berwick, Warden of the East March, 1568; Captain-General of Northern Forces, 1580; Acting Warden of the Middle March, 1587-1588; Vice Admiral of the county by 1587; Lord Warden-General and Keeper of Tynedale, 1589.

**George Carey:** Held reversion of Captaincy of Bamburgh Castle, 1572-1584.

**Henry Carey Jnr.:** MP for Berwick, 1571.

**John Carey:** Chamberlain of Berwick, 1585-1601; Captain of Norham Castle; 1593-1595; Captain of a company of foot at Berwick, 1593-1601; Marshal of Berwick, c1594; Deputy Governor of Berwick, 1594-1601; Deputy Warden of the East March, 1598-1601; Warden of the East March and Governor of Berwick, 1601-1603.

**William Carey:** MP for Morpeth, 1584 and Northumberland, 1589; Captain of Norham Castle and a company of foot by 1593.

**Robert Carey:** MP for Morpeth 1586, 1589 and Northumberland, 1597-1601; Captain of Norham Castle, 1595-1603; Deputy Warden of the East March, 1595-1596; Warden of the East March 1596-1598; JP c1596; Warden of the Middle March, 1598-1603; Captain of Tynemouth Castle by 1638; Obtained manor of Widdrington by marriage, c1593.

### **Oxfordshire**

**Henry Carey:** High Steward of Oxford, 1592.

**Edmund Carey:** MP for Oxford, 1593.

### **Staffordshire**

**Robert Carey:** Lord Lieutenant 1627-28.

### **Suffolk**

**Henry Carey:** Granted manor of Newhame and manor and park of Huntingfield, 1559; High Steward of Ipswich, 1590; Lord Lieutenant of the county by 1591.

### Surrey

**John Carey:** Receiver-General of Revenues for the county, 1580.

### Sussex

**John Carey:** Appointed Receiver-General of Revenues for the county and for the town of Chichester, 1582.

### Warwickshire

**Robert Carey:** Granted Kenilworth Castle, 1625.

### Westmoreland:

**Henry Carey:** Vice-Admiral of the county by 1587.

## Wiltshire

**Edmund Carey:** M.P. for the county, 1601 and for Calne, 1604.

## Yorkshire

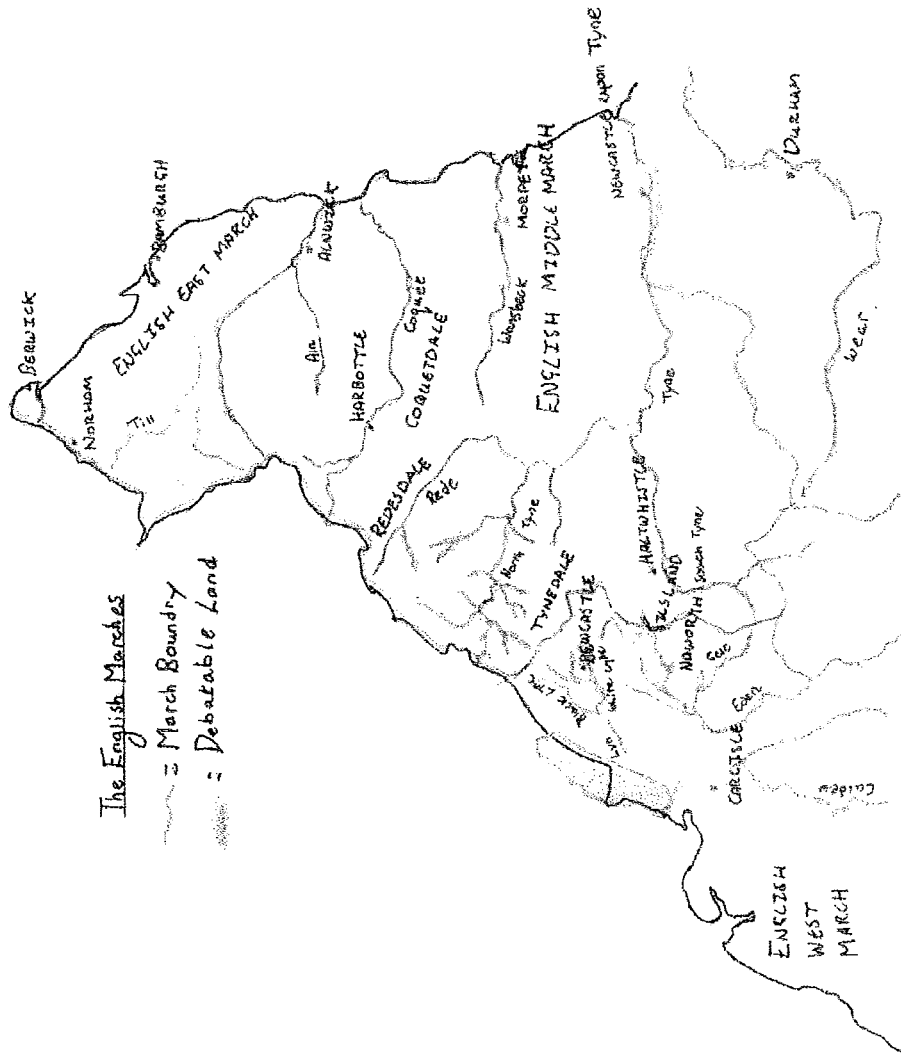
**Henry Carey:** Granted manors of Conisbrough, Bardsey and Collingham and Conisbough Castle, 1559; Granted lands at West Harlsey, Dalton, Aislaby, Whitby, Potto, Golton, Swainby, Faceby and Scruton, 1571; Granted lease on lands at Ainderby Steeple and Warlaby, 1576; Appointed Steward of Doncaster, 1590.

**Edmund Carey:** JP, 1598.

**Robert Carey:** Granted lands at Lockington and reversion of Credling Park, 1632.

# Appendix IV

Source: Fraser, pii-iii.



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