

THE TOWNLEYS AND WARNERS OF VIRGINIA AND THEIR ENGLISH CONNECTIONS

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DISCOVERY of two important facts about Augustine Warner of Warner Hall, namely, that he came from Norwich, County of Norfolk, England, and that his wife was Mary Townley of Stone Edge,¹ Lancashire, England, was reported in my article of 1969 in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.² These facts were extracted from a pedigree chart of the Townleys of Stonehedge in Dugdale's *Visitation of Lancashire*, which had previously been overlooked.³ Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter Principal King of Arms of the College of Arms, wrote me concerning this oversight after seeing my article: "Raines tells us that his edition of Dugdale's Lancashire Visitations up to the letter R is taken from the original here, from the letter S from a copy with *additions* by Dugdale's friend Hopkinson, the Yorkshire antiquary. Now the interesting thing is that the pedigree of the Stonehedge branch of the Townleys, which is here in question, is not in the original Visitation, so must be one of Hopkinson's additions, and this may account for the fact that no one here had ever spotted it."⁴ Almost simultaneously with the publication of my article and after some vain inquiries to persons in England about the Townleys of Stonehedge, we were led by noting the presence on a detailed modern map of a Stone Edge very near Colne and not far from Burnley, the original seat of the Townleys of Towneley Hall, to look up the Colne and Burnley parish registers. Particularly in the Colne registers⁵ was found abundant information on the Townleys of both Stone Edge and Barnside, from which latter the Stone Edge branch derived. The present article will report on this informa-

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¹ The present spelling. Earlier spellings are Stonehedge, Stonedge, Stonedg, Stonyedge.

² "A Discovery Concerning the Townley and Warner Families of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVII (October 1969), 473-476.

³ *The Visitation of the Count Palatine of Lancaster, Made in the Year 1664/5 by Sir William Dugdale, Knight*, edited by the Rev. F. R. Raines ([Manchester]: printed for the Chetham Society, 1872-1873). The Townley of Stonehedge chart is on III, 314.

⁴ Letter of November 20, 1969. My references to Dugdale in the following pages are to the Raines' edition of the *Visitation*, including whatever additions Hopkinson made.

⁵ *The Registers of the Parish Church of Colne in the County of Lancaster: Christenings, Weddings, and Burials, 1599-1653*, transcribed and edited by Thomas Backhouse Ecroyd, (Rochdale, 1904).

tion, as well as much else concerning Mary Townley and Augustine Warner and their kindred.

We will begin with Augustine Warner, gentleman of Norwich. It can be seen, in the light of Dugdale, that his transportation into Virginia by Adam Thoroughgood was due to his Norfolk County origin; for Adam Thoroughgood, gentleman, was baptized in 1603 at St. Botolph's, the parish church of Grimston, County of Norfolk, England, of which his father had been appointed vicar in 1581.⁶ Their two families may well have been acquainted before Warner came to Virginia with Thoroughgood in the *Hopewell* in 1628, the year that Thoroughgood returned from England with a wife and thirty-three other passengers whom he claimed as headrights along with others in 1635.⁷ Warner was seventeen.⁸ He acquired his first patent of land, 250 acres called "Pynie Neck" at the New Poquoson on the Bay, October 12, 1635, when he was twenty-four. This was for the transportation of five persons, unnamed, and it is noted that the grant of 250 acres was later renewed and 200 more added.⁹ The reference is clearly to his patent of May 13, 1638, for 450 acres designated in the same way and with three boundaries identical, due for his own personal adventure, the adventure of his wife Mary Warner, and transportation of seven persons, of whom only two are named.¹⁰ This grant obviously breaks up into 200 acres for the four persons here named and the 250 acres previously granted for five unnamed persons. It would seem a proper inference that between 1635 and this date in 1638 Warner had returned to England, married Mary Townley, and brought her to Virginia. It is interesting to note that the date of the patent, May 13, 1638, falls on his wife's twenty-fourth birthday.

Research into Warner's English background has been hindered by the scarcity of published materials. The problem is set forth by Sir Anthony Wagner in the letter already cited: "The second interesting point is that this tells us where Augustine Warner came from, which we never knew, namely from Norwich. I have accordingly been looking at the most obvious sources to see if any Norfolk sources here have a clue to his parentage, but

⁶ *Adventures of Purse and Person, Virginia 1607-1625*, compiled and edited by Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodruff Hiden, (Princeton, 1956).

⁷ References to headrights and land grants rely on the Land Office records at Richmond, and often on Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1666* (Baltimore, 1969).

⁸ He was born September 28, 1611, as inferred from the statement on his tombstone at Warner Hall that he died December 24, 1674, aged 63 years 2 months 26 days.

⁹ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

I find none, though there is in the Visitation a Whetnall, alias Warner, family of Norwich, which I should much like him to come from.

"Now there are Parish Registers of no less than thirty-one churches in the city of Norwich, which go back to a date sufficiently early to contain the entry of Augustine Warner's baptism, but not one of them has been printed, and of not one of them have we a complete manuscript copy here, so that searches would have to be made in Norwich, and this would be a big job. There are other possible approaches, but they would be laborious also." Attracted by the problem, we made a preliminary study of the Norwich region and the location of the records, especially the parish registers, and then went to England in 1972 to do research there. Study of the extant Norwich registers failed to reveal either the baptism or the marriage of Augustine Warner. However, even before making the trip to England, we were doubtful of success on the baptism point; for the hypothesis about his descent which emerged from study of published pedigrees and wills obtained from English record offices, plus a letter from Mr. T. R. C. Blofeld of Hoveton House, indicated that he was probably baptized in one of two parishes on the outskirts of Norwich, namely, Hoveton St. John and Thorpe St. Andrew, for which registers of the desired period no longer exist. Sir Anthony Wagner's remark about the Whetnall alias Warners led us to study the pedigree in the *Visitation of Norfolk*, 1563, 1589, and 1613,¹¹ and the wills of Robert Warner, Esq., of Norwich (d. 1575) and his brother Sir Edward Warner, Knt., of Plumstead (d. 1565), and of Robert's son Sir Henry Warner, Knt., of Mildenhall (d. 1617), with the result that we had to conclude that Augustine Warner was not of this branch of the Whetnall alias Warners. In the same Visitation volume, however, we noticed in the Steward pedigree¹² that a Thomas Warner of Hofton (i.e., Hoveton) had as his wife Elizabeth Sotherton, whose father was Augustine Sotherton of Hellesdon near Norwich and whose grandfather in turn was Augustine Steward of Norwich. It seemed distinctly possible that this Thomas Warner might have had a son named Augustine, a unique Warner name. We therefore investigated the families of Thomas Warner of Hoveton and Elizabeth Sotherton of Hellesdon.

First, for Elizabeth Sotherton's line, from which the name Augustine may

¹¹ *The Visitation of Norfolk, made and taken by William Hervey, Clarenceux King of Arms, Anno 1563, . . .* edited by Walter Rye, Harleian Society Publications, Volume 32 (London, 1891) pp. 308 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 268 f.

have been carried into Virginia. It is a distinguished line of mercers and grocers who were aldermen and mayors of Norwich still remembered in historical spots of the city and in the history books. In this line the name Augustine, which goes back at least as far as Augustyn Boyce of the fifteenth century, is much favored, especially after the career of Augustine Steward (1491-1571), Elizabeth Sotherton's great-grandfather, several times mayor of Norwich and considered one of the most notable men of his day. Two of his houses are still preserved and pointed out in the city, as well as his portrait and mace of rock crystal.¹³ On the following page we insert a pedigree chart giving some of the data on Elizabeth Sotherton's people.

The marriage of Elizabeth Sotherton to Thomas Warner is recorded in the parish registers of St. Mary's in Hellesdon (on the western boundary of Norwich), which was a seat of the Sotherton family. The entry, dated October 15 (or the Latin numeral could be 20), 1602, states that Mr. Thomas Warner of St. Lawrence parish, Norwich, married Elizabeth Sotherton of Hellesdon with licence. Subsequently at St. Lawrence a daughter of Thomas Warner, Ann, was baptized March 4, 1602/3. Presumably this is Elizabeth Sotherton's child, though conceived before the marriage entry, since St. Lawrence is the right parish and the name of Elizabeth's mother was Ann. No other child of Thomas Warner is baptized here so far as we could discover in a search of St. Lawrence registers up through 1612.

Thomas Warner was a son of the William Warner of Thompson, gentleman, who bought Morehouse Manor at Hoveton St. John in 1586, and who was thereafter styled William Warner of Hoveton St. John or, occasionally, of Norwich.¹⁴ That Thomas was his son is established in numerous ways, and in particular by the will of William Warner of Hoveton St. John, gentleman, made January 26, 1609/10, and probated January 25, 1610/11,¹⁵ which mentions his son Thomas, Thomas's wife Elizabeth, and

¹³ Basil Cozens-Hardy and Ernest A. Kent, *The Mayors of Norwich 1403 to 1835; Being Biographical Notes on the Mayors of the Old Corporation* (Norwich, 1938). One of Augustine Steward's notable acts recited here is the obtaining of a grant to the city from the Crown by which the Blackfriars' Convent (now called St. Andrew's Hall) was saved from destruction by Henry VIII. A portrait of Augustine Steward in 1534 is reproduced on p. 49.

¹⁴ The history of Morehouse Manor and various details on William Warner and his family are given by Anthony Norris, "An History of the Hundred of Tunstead in the County of Norfolk," Vol. III in the Rye manuscript collection at the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, folio pages 648-654. Mr. and Mrs. T. R. C. Blofeld have kindly furnished us with a copy of the deed of 1586 in which William Warner is styled of Thompson.

¹⁵ Consistory Court of Norwich, 168 Harman. The probate copy has been generously photostated for us by Mr. and Mrs. T. R. C. Blofeld at the Norwich and Norfolk Record Office, where the archivist, Miss Jean Kennedy, has rendered much other valuable assistance in this research.

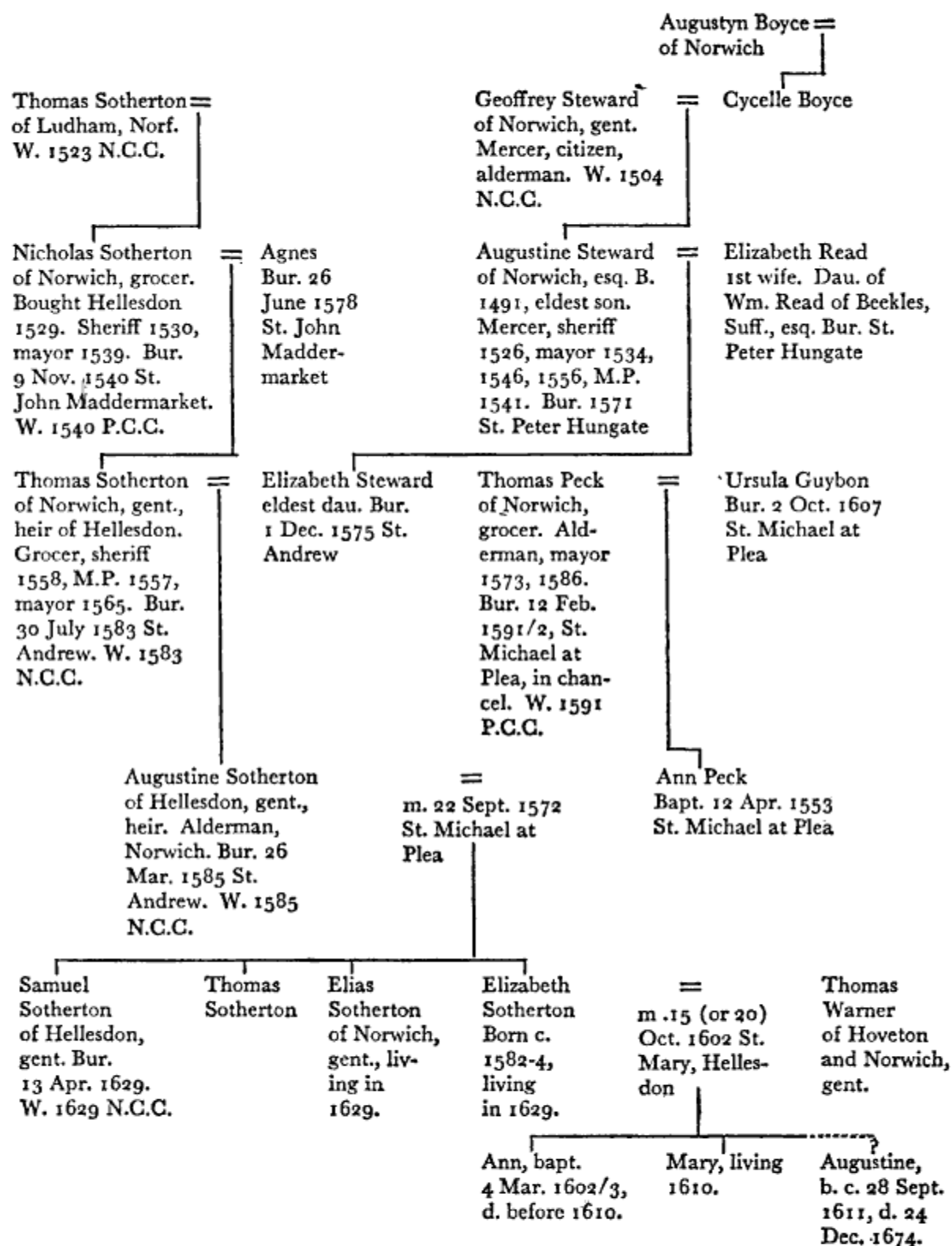


Figure 1—PEDIGREE OF ELIZABETH SOTHERTON WARNER *

* Constructed from Steward pedigree in *Visitation of Norfolk, 1563, 1589, 1613*, Harl. Soc. vol. 32, pp. 268 f.; from registers of St. Andrew, St. Michael at Plea, St. John Maddermarket in Norwich, and St. Mary in Helledon; from Basil Cozens-Hardy and Ernest A. Kent, *The Mayors of Norwich, 1403 to 1835* (Norwich, 1938); and from wills in the Norwich Consistory Court and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

their daughter Mary, and identifies the wife as Elizabeth Sotherton by leaving a bequest of £50 to his granddaughter Mary to be held by Mary's uncle Elias Sotherton, gentleman, of Norwich, who according to the Sotherton pedigree was Elizabeth's youngest brother. No other child of Thomas and Elizabeth Warner is mentioned: perhaps Ann had died, and as for the possible Augustine the will was made more than a year and a half before he was born. From this will and from Norris (see fn. 14) we know that Thomas's mother was named Mary, and that he was the youngest of three sons, the eldest being William a priest ("clerk") and the second Christopher who had a son Robert and daughters Margaret and Mary. The will provides that if William, to whom Morehouse Manor is to pass after the death of his mother, dies without issue, the property shall pass to Robert, the son of Christopher. This, in fact, is what happened, as we learn from Norris and the manorial court rolls;¹⁶ for son William died unmarried in 1613 before his mother, and after her death in 1616 Robert inherited Morehouse Manor, which he sold in 1620, being then of Stanhowe in Norfolk to the northwest of Hoveton St. John and Norwich. Robert's father Christopher had died before 1613 as shown by the will of William Warner, Jr., which refers to him as deceased. Neither this will of 1613 nor the will of Mary Warner, widow, which from internal evidence was made before that time, mentions any child of any of the sons except Christopher's daughter Mary; each of them does make bequests to Thomas and names him as one of the executors.¹⁷

Thomas Warner and his wife Elizabeth were deeded land in Hoveton St. John and St. Peter by Thomas's father, May 5, 1603. In 1604 they join with his father in selling lands in Hoveton St. Peter.¹⁸ It is stated in Norris's history that Thomas Warner at this time was of Thorpe-by-Norwich.¹⁹ Whether he was still living there when his father died in January 1610/11, we do not know. At least it seems likely that he was at Hoveton at the date of the inquest that followed the death of his father which was held September 25, 1611 (three days before the calculated date of Augustine Warner's birth), at which time reference is made to Hoveton land that had been given to him and his wife Elizabeth.²⁰ He must have been

¹⁶ Norris, *History of the Hundred of Tunstead*, folio 653, and the Court Rolls of Hoveton St. John from 37 Elizabeth to 21 Charles (NNRO A—164279), folios 209 ff.

¹⁷ The will of William Warner, Hoveton St. John, clerk, 1613, is a Norwich Consistory Court will, 241 Cooney; as also the will of Mary Warner, Hoveton St. John, widow, 1616, 94 Sayer.

¹⁸ Manorial rolls cited in fn. 16, folio 52 and folio 64.

¹⁹ Norris, *History of the Hundred of Tunstead*, folio 652.

²⁰ Manorial rolls, folio 107.

there in 1613, if not earlier, since that part of the Steward pedigree naming him as of Hoveton was obviously from the Visitation of 1613. On November 3, 1613, the inventory of the estate of his deceased brother William Warner, clerk,²¹ was made by him and Myles Cooke of Horning,²² the executors. He may have stayed on until the estate was settled, but on December 5, 1615, he is styled a gentleman of Norwich on an occasion when he and his wife Elizabeth were testifying concerning lands in Hoveton St. John and St. Peter.²³ His mother died in 1616, and he was the executor of her estate, taking out the administration August 27, 1616.²⁴ Maybe he returned to Hoveton for a while, but certainly after his nephew Robert sold the last of the property in 1620²⁵ he was elsewhere. His wife Elizabeth was still living in 1629 when her eldest brother Samuel Sotherton of Hellesdon, gent., in his will made March 16, 1628/9, refers to her as "my sister Warner" in the item where he bequeaths £5 apiece to her and his brother "Mr. Ellis Sotherton." She may still have been living in 1634, when a widow Warner is named as among those in St. Stephen's parish excused from being assessed for a tax to buy corn for the poor of Norwich, a tax begun in 1630 following the plague of that year.²⁶ There is a parish register record of a Thomas Warner, gent., being buried on October 3, 1624, in St. George Tombland, Norwich. In 1633 a Thomas Warner was living at King's Lynn. We have discovered no will of Thomas Warner or of Elizabeth Warner.

Thomas Warner's father William Warner, according to the deed by which he obtained the Manor of Morehouse in 1586, was at that time of Thompson in the County of Norfolk (see fn. 14). Norris in his history states with conviction that this William Warner was descended from William Warner, Esq., of Thompson whose will was probated May 9, 1468. He offers no positive evidence, however. We have gone through the parish registers of Thompson from 1538 through 1616 without finding a single

²¹ Norwich Diocesan Register, Probate Inventories 1613. NNRO, Box 32, Class Inv./26, No. 208.

²² Myles Cooke, bachelor at law, was a witness to all three of the Warner wills here cited. A Mary Cooke, perhaps his wife, also witnessed the will of William Warner, clerk. We note in the Norwich subsidies of 1593, 1598, and 1599, that William Warner, gent., was taxed for land in the parish of Christ Church, i.e., the Cathedral, and that in 1625 after his death Myles Cooke was taxed for land there (London PRO, El79-152/471, 152/497, 153/511, 153/583). The facts hint at some sort of close relationship. Had there been intermarriage between the Cooke and Warner families?

²³ Manorial rolls, folios 151 and 153.

²⁴ Norwich Consistory Administrations from 1605 to 1625, at NNRO, folio 192.

²⁵ Manorial rolls, folios 209 f.

²⁶ Walter Rye, *The Norwich Rate Book from Easter 1633 to Easter 1634* (London, 1903).

Warner. We must conclude, therefore, that the William Warner of Hoveton St. John was not in Thompson until after the baptism of his children. Where was he before? The evidence points to the region of East Dereham north of Thompson, both places being in the County of Norfolk westward of Norwich. At Hoe-next-East Dereham there was a family of Warners from at least the early sixteenth century which favored the names William and Thomas. The accompanying chart shows the lines of relationship derived from wills and other records. We call attention to the William Warner appearing in the chart as second son of the Thomas Warner of Hoe who died in 1559. By his father's will²⁷ this William Warner held the Manor of Rowholme or Rougholme with appurtenances in Gressenhall, Longham, and Hoe, and other property in Betely, Great Bittering, Hoe, and East Dereham, and rents and lands in Hasborough (i.e., Happisburgh) and other towns adjoining, which had been bought of Mr. Cooke of Mileham. In connection with the Manor of Rougholme, a court record of 10 Elizabeth (1568)²⁸ names William Warner's wife Mary, and she is named again in the same year in the will of his eldest brother, Thomas Warner of Hoe, made April 1, 1568. This will²⁹ refers us back to the will of Thomas's father-in-law William Paynter (or Pointer) of East Dereham, dated July 1, 1566,³⁰ which names Thomas's brother William Warner of East Dereham and his wife Mary as the parents of William Warner the younger, who is bequeathed threescore pounds to be paid to him at twenty-one or to his parents if he does not reach that age. In Thomas Warner's will this bequest of his father-in-law is reaffirmed, it being the condition upon which his own son Thomas is to inherit lands of his grandfather's; and he on his own gives to his brother William his books of law, which suggests that they both had a legal education; and we know that Stephen Warner, the youngest of the three brothers, had studied at the Inns of Court as well as at Cambridge, where he was of Gonville Hall.³¹

The young William Warner of Paynter's bequest would appear to be the William Warner who according to *Alumni Cantabrigienses* was admitted to Caius College, Cambridge, at the age of seventeen, June 15, 1582, having been born at East Dereham, the son of William Warner,

²⁷ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1559, 38 Chaynay, London, PRO, Prob. 11, 42b, C/920.

²⁸ G. A. Carthew, *The Hundred of Launditch and Deanery of Brisley in the County of Norfolk* (Norwich, 1877), II, 461.

²⁹ Probated July 19, 1572, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 26 Daper. London PRO, Prob. 11, 54, C/920.

³⁰ Probated October 1, 1566, Norfolk Archdeaconry Court, in *Wills of 1563-1566*.

³¹ John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I. (Cambridge, 1922). Also the will of Thomas Warner of 1559 above-mentioned.

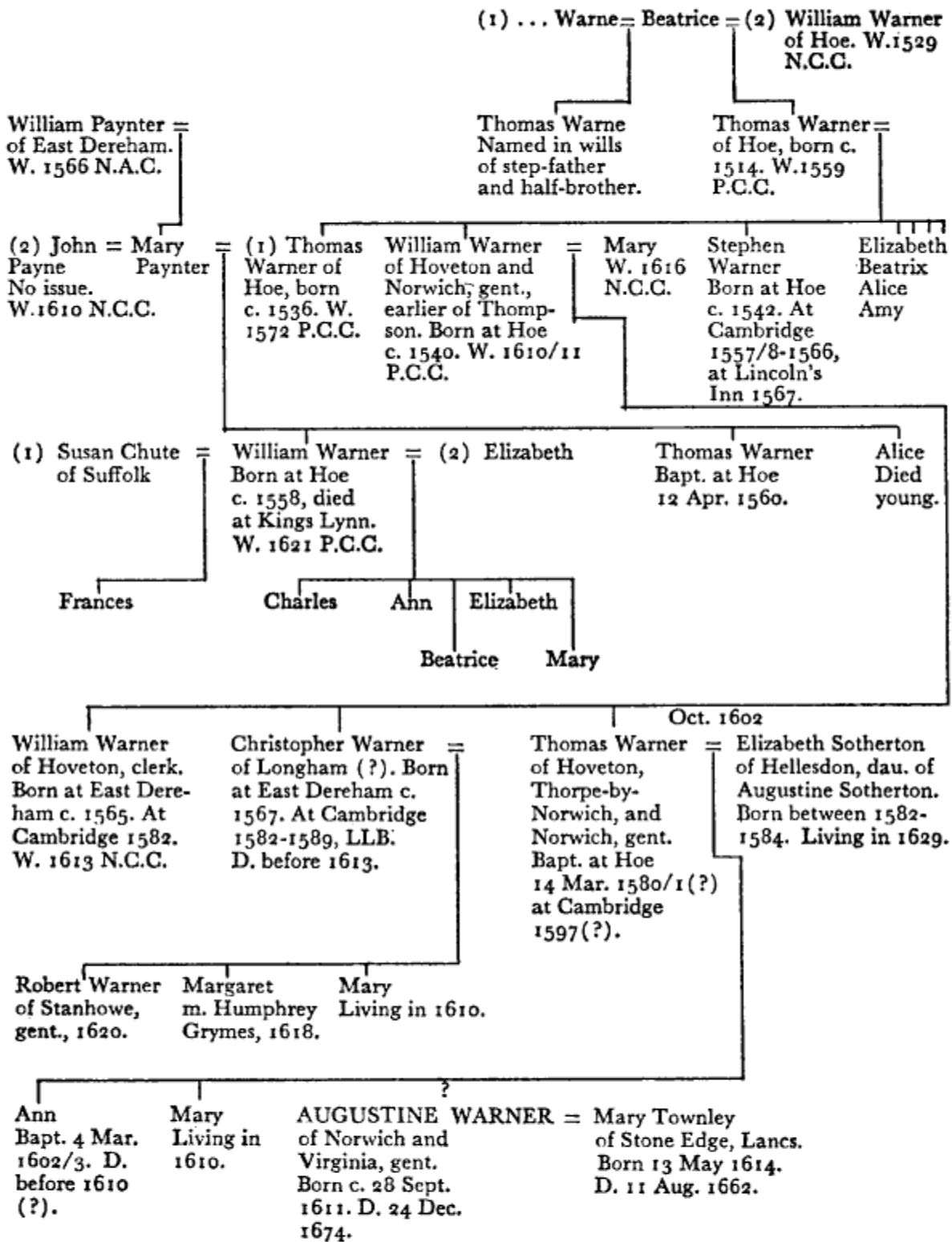


Figure 2—THE WARNERS OF HOE-NEXT-EAST DEREHAM AND THEIR DESCENDANTS*

* Constructed from the Poynter (Paynter) pedigree in *Visitation of Norfolk 1563, 1589, 1613*, Harl. Soc. vol. 32, p. 224; from *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; from Carthew, *History of Launditch*; from Norris, "History of Tunstead"; from the registers of St. Laurence in Norwich, and St. Mary's in Hellesdon; from wills in the Norfolk Archdeaconry Court, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the Norwich Consistory Court; etc.

yeoman, and previously educated in nearby Mattishall. He was ordained a deacon and priest at Norwich, January 25, 1605, at age forty, and served as curate of Hardley. These figures would put his birth in 1565, the year before William Paynter's will. He is identified in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* as the brother of Christopher Warner who was admitted at the same date to Caius, aged fifteen (thus born in 1567), and likewise born at East Dereham, son of William Warner, yeoman, and educated in Mattishall. He received an LL.B. from Trinity Hall in 1589. In Bishop Redman's Visitation of 1597³² reference is made to Christopher Warner with an LL.D. in Longham, which was the location of one part of the property inherited by William Warner from his father Thomas by his will of 1559. These two brothers, William and Christopher, must have been sons of the William Warner of East Dereham whom we have been discussing, and it would seem most unlikely that the William Warner of Hoveton St. John should have been a different William Warner and yet also with a wife Mary and a first son William who was a priest and a second son Christopher. There is the further point, made by Norris, that William Warner of Thompson and Hoveton St. John was not a young man in 1586 when he bought Morehouse Manor, because in 32 Elizabeth (1590) his sons William and Christopher were old enough to be parties to a court action bearing on possession of the Manor, which is in agreement with the fact that the William and Christopher of the Cambridge records would have been respectively twenty-five and twenty-three in 1590; in fact, William Warner the father was about fifty, if he was the William Warner of Norwich, gent., whose deposition of June 14, 1593, states that he was then fifty-three or thereabout, thus born about 1540.³³

³² *Diocese of Norwich, Bishop Redman's Visitation, 1597: Presentments in the Archdeacons of Norwich, Norfolk, and Suffolk*, edited by J. F. Williams, Volume XVIII of the Norfolk Record Society series (Norfolk, 1946), p. 52.

³³ PRO, C21/L30/8. For a time William Warner may have lived at Yaxham, two and a half miles south of East Dereham, where his sons William and Christopher were born, and just west of Mattishall, where they went to school. A William Warner of Yaxham is in the muster of 1577 (*The Muster Returns for Divers Hundreds in the County of Norfolk 1569, 1572, 1574 and 1577*, Part I, edited by H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Volume VI of the Norfolk Record Society series [Norwich, 1935], p. 109) and the lay subsidy of 1581 (*Lay Subsidy of 1581, Assessors' Certificates for Certain Norfolk Hundreds*, edited by Percy Millican, Volume XVII of the Norfolk Record Society series [Norwich, 1944], pp. 111, 115, 117), and is party to deeds in 1580 and 1584 (J. C. Tingey, "A Calendar of Deeds Enrolled Within the County of Norfolk," *Norfolk Archaeology or Miscellaneous Tracts Related to the Antiquities of the County of Norfolk*, published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society [Norwich, 1898], Volume XIII, pp. 64, 67). In the muster taken at Wymondham common on August 15, 1577, he is credited with a suit of plated armor ("almayne revett") and two bows by statute, and with one cannon ("calever") by supply. In the 1581 subsidy he is one of the seven assessors signing the tax list for Mitford Hundred, comprising the parishes of Yaxham, East Dereham, Mattishall, and others, and is himself listed for Yaxham, not East Dereham; as for Hoe-next-East Dereham, which is

We come now to Thomas, the third son of William Warner of Hoveton St. John, gentleman. He was not old enough to be a party to the court action with his father and brothers, but if he was born as late as 1581 he would have been twenty-one when he married Elizabeth Sotherton in 1602. According to *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, a Thomas Warner matriculated at Caius June 30, 1597, aged seventeen, born at Hoe, son of William Warner, gent., and educated at Lynn and Norwich (thus born about 1580). This must be the Thomas, son of William Warner, mentioned by Carthew (see citation fn. 28, p. 711) as baptized at Hoe March 14, 1580. According to Venn's *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, Thomas Warner's teacher at Norwich was a Mr. Limbert. It is therefore highly interesting that a Mr. Stephen Limberd is found along with William Warner, Sr., gentleman, as a member of Christ Church (Norwich Cathedral) in 1597, when in Redman's visitation both are reprimanded for non-attendance, and Mr. Limberd for not instructing his scholars in the catechism as authorized.³⁴ This association of names seems to identify Thomas Warner, the Caius student, as the son of William Warner of Norwich and Hoveton St. John. As already mentioned, a Thomas Warner was living at King's Lynn in 1633, at which time according to a deposition he was

just across the northern boundary of Mitford Hundred in Launditch Hundred, no subsidy of 1581 has been found. In a deed of October 26, 1584, William Warner of Yaxham, gentleman, is conveying land in Eynsford Hundred, bought in 1580, to John Futter of Thuxton, gentleman, in Mitford Hundred; which is interesting, because the Futter name is prominent in Thompson parish registers. No William Warner is found in later subsidies for Mitford Hundred (i.e., 1595 and 1606, PRO E 179 152/477 and 153/556); while, on the other hand, the Norwich subsidies of 1593, 1598, and 1599, but not of 1581 (respectively PRO E 179 152/471, 152/497, 153/511, 152/423) do list a William Warner, gentleman, with lands at Christ Church, i.e., the Cathedral, and the Tunstead Hundred subsidies of 1598 and 1610 (PRO E 179 153/510, 253/36) list William Warner, gentleman, with lands at Hoveton St. John. The natural inference is that William Warner moved around, being of East Dereham and Yaxham before he was of Thompson, as he was designated when he purchased Morehouse Manor in 1586. He did not hold the manor court there until 1588. Perhaps in January, 1586/7, there is a glimpse of him selling other land as a resident of Wymondham (see Tingey, *op. cit.*, p. 68), which is southeast of Yaxham and midway between Thompson and Norwich; but he is not in Wymondham in the subsidy list of 1593 (PRO E 179 152/463). On June 1, 1593, William Warner of Norwich made a deed to John Wattes of Begate, apparently in the Mattishall area, as indicated by the reference (*Genealogical Abstracts Relating to Families Connected With the Parishes of Mattishall and Reepham in the County of Norfolk*, privately printed by Frederick Arthur Crisp, 1885, p. 6) and by the fact that a John Wattes is listed in the muster and lay subsidy for Mattishall and made his will there in 1624 (NCC). Although we do not know what lands were conveyed by this deed, it connects William Warner with a resident of Mattishall, in the area where he appears to have spent the first forty or more years of his life.

³⁴ The references are to John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, 1349-1897 (Cambridge, 1897), I, 163; and Bishop Redman's *Visitation* (cited in fn. 32), Norfolk Record Society, XVIII, 38.

fifty-two years old.³⁵ His birth year of about 1581 suggests the possibility that he could have been the Thomas Warner we have been discussing, but his identity is uncertain.

A fact which connects the Warners of Hoveton St. John with the region of Hoe and East Dereham is that the original deed by which Morehouse Manor was conveyed from Robert Palmer to William Warner is endorsed on the back as sealed and delivered in the presence of John Payne and William Warner. John Payne, gentleman, of King's Lynn at his death in 1610, a large landowner in East Dereham and elsewhere, was the second husband of Mary Paynter, whose first husband was Thomas Warner of Hoe, the elder brother of William Warner. This is entirely in line with the other bits of information already presented.

We do not know what arms were borne by William Warner of Hoveton St. John, gentleman. Warner Lewis of Warner Hall, a descendant of Augustine Warner, used Or a cross engrailed vert on his silver plate for Warner. Maybe the tinctures are incorrectly represented and this was supposed to be Vert a cross engrailed or, as given by Burke.³⁶ According to Papworth,³⁷ Vert a cross engrailed or is used by Warners of Norfolk, and both Vert a cross engrailed ermine and Vert a cross engrailed argent are coats used by branches of the Whetnall (variously spelled) family. Vert a cross engrailed ermine is the coat for Wetnal in the Visitation of Cheshire in 1580, the county in which the Whetnall alias Warner family is said to have originated, whereas the Whetnall alias Warner arms in the Visitation of Norfolk 1563, 1589, 1613, quarter the Whetnall coat, Vert a cross engrailed argent, with the Warner coat. Blomefield³⁸ similarly describes the Whetnall coat and gives the history of the Whetnall alias Warner family in the pedigree of Henry Warner of Mildenhall, Suffolk. However, Blomefield³⁹ describes the Whetnall coat as Vert a cross engrailed

³⁵ C. A. Bernau's file cards on British court records at the Public Record Office.

³⁶ See the note in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., III (1894), 165, written by the editor, Lyon G. Tyler, who had seen and examined the Warner Lewis silver.

³⁷ John W. Papworth, *An Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms*, reprinted from 1874 edition by Genealogical Book Co., 1965, p. 621.

³⁸ Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (Fersfield, 1789), I, 337. He tells the story of how John Warner of Besthorpe, having no heirs, left his estate to Thomas Whetenale, a younger son of his friend Sir James Whetenale of Cheshire, provided Thomas would come to Norfolk and adopt his name, as he did in 1374. Robert Warner of Norwich (father of Henry) and Sir Edward Warner of Plumstead, two brothers, finding that their name was anciently Whetenale, continued to use the Whetenale paternal coat as it had been quartered with the Warner coat.

³⁹ *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, IV, 28.

ermine on the brass to Sir Edward Warner in the church at Little Plumstead. Mr. C. P. H. Wilson in a letter to me has described the Whetnall coat on the memorial brasses of Sir Edward Warner (1565) of Little Plumstead, and of Sir Henry Warner (1617) of Mildenhall.⁴⁰ He says that his rubbing of Sir Edward's brass shows no ermine, and that "the infill of the cross is lead to represent silver; to show ermine the lead would have to be engraved with ermine spots. All the infill for colours has long since vanished." He also says, "The Mildenhall brass to Sir Henry, 1617, has the arms on a flat plate, with no infill. The engrailed cross is pocked with spots to indicate Or. 'Tincture by lines' started in this century. But there are no diagonal lines to indicate Vert, so I do not know what to think. The spots may not be genuine 'tincturing by lines' — just to make the cross stand out. Could this have caused Burke to say Or? Sir Henry may have used Or to distinguish his branch." Mr. Wilson tells me that families do change tinctures and forms of their crosses and that an engrailed cross Argent would mean the Besthorpe or Plumstead Warners, while an engrailed cross Or might mean the Mildenhall branch.

As has been discussed, Augustine Warner did not descend through Sir Henry Warner (1617) of Mildenhall, nor his father Robert Warner of Norwich, nor his uncle Sir Edward Warner of Little Plumstead. Whatever may account for the differences, can an engrailed cross (assuming that Warner Lewis was correct in using it) link the Warners of Virginia with a branch of the Whetnall alias Warner family of Norfolk? This is a question for experts in heraldry. Our hypothesis about the Warners of Hoe does not rule out this possibility; for example, Thomas Whetnall alias Warner, second grandson of the original Thomas Whetnall alias Warner, and grandson of William Spayne (Spain), may have started a branch of Warners not entered on the Whetnall alias Warner pedigree given in the Visitation of Norfolk, and this branch may have used only the Whetnall engrailed cross for their coat.

From Dugdale we know that Augustine Warner of Norwich, gentleman, married Mary Townley of Stone Edge, and from Virginia land grant records we know that he married her before May 13, 1638. But where? Boyd's index of English marriages, and parish registers of Lancashire and Norwich,

⁴⁰ Mr. Wilson of East Wretham, Thetford, Norfolk, who studies and makes rubbings of memorial brasses in East Anglia, is interested in the way heraldry can be a pointer to genealogy, and is especially interested in connecting East Anglian families with Colonial America. It was through Mr. Wilson that we gained access to the first register of Thompson parish.

have failed to reveal it. We think it occurred in Norwich, or perhaps in the County of Suffolk where Mary's sister Alice seems to have resided for a while before marrying a Norwich man, Richard Gray. Indeed, their father Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge may have brought the girls to East Anglia himself. In 1623 his wife died, to judge from a burial entry at the Burnley church, and he may very well have gone with Alice, then nineteen, and Mary, then nine, if not other children also, to the Norwich region where there were four Townleys, Henry, Thomas, another Thomas, and Lawrence, all ministers of churches. One of the Thomas Townleys is known to have been his first cousin; the other Thomas and Henry were probably his brothers; and Lawrence was probably his nephew. Either Thomas, who was his cousin, or Lawrence, his probable nephew, could have performed the marriage ceremony for Mary Townley and Augustine Warner.

Henry Townley, rector of Hethel in Norfolk at the time of his death, was probably a brother of Mary's father, as well as Thomas Townley, at one time minister of St. John Maddermarket in Norwich. Henry Townley made his will December 4, 1626;⁴¹ in it he mentions his niece Alice Townley in Suffolk and leaves her 40 shillings, and his nephew Lawrence Townley, clerk, and leaves him his violls, his books, and his best cloke and fluff-gown. This Henry Townley was a graduate of Cambridge, with a B.A. and M.A. from Trinity in 1593/4 and 1597.⁴² He would have been born about 1571. From his will and the parish registers of St. Giles, Norwich, we know that he had born to him William (baptized September 17, 1616, buried December 25, or 26, 1624), Henry (baptized November 17, 1617, living at the time of the will), Mary (baptized February 9, 1618/9, living at the time of the will), Lawrence (baptized July 20, 1620, not in the will), and Frances (in the will), and that his widow was named Frances. He was buried in St. Peter Hungate, Norwich, December 20, 1626, according to the registers there. In this same church, September 6, 1623, was buried the Thomas Townley who was probably his brother. Of this Thomas Townley we know that when he was minister of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, he married Susan Langforde in North Elmham with license January 10, 1618/9, and that he had a daughter Ann baptized at St. Peter Hungate October 22, 1619. The fact that an Edward

⁴¹ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 59 Skynner, at London PRO.

⁴² *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

Langforde witnessed Henry Townley's will is further evidence of a tie between Henry and Thomas; for Edward Langforde, whose own daughter was named Ann (will of 1629, probated 1636 in Norwich), could have been a kinsman of Thomas's wife Susan Langforde. We have no record of the preparation of this Thomas Townley for the ministry, but if our deductions are correct he was specially provided for in the will of his father Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge (d. 1597/8) with a bequest for his education.

The other Thomas Townley mentioned above, who was the son of Henry Townley of Barnside (eldest brother of the first Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge), was rector of St. Peter Hungate, Norwich, between 1615 and 1627, and must have performed the burial services for Thomas and Henry Townley, his first cousins as we believe. This Thomas Townley, who was born at Colne about 1586 and educated at Cambridge (B.A. 1608/9, M.A. 1612), began his connection with Norwich as early as 1615 at St. Peter Hungate, and became a petty canon of Norwich Cathedral in 1638, and sacrist there in 1639, when the church of St. Saviour's was conferred on him. According to Dugdale he married Elizabeth Wade of Hapton and settled at Oakenhead, Lancashire, where a son Henry succeeded him.

A fourth Townley minister in Norwich was Lawrence. He was evidently the Lawrence Townley of *Alumni Cantabrigienses* who matriculated sizar from Trinity in 1619, received his B.A. 1622/3 and his M.A. 1626, was ordained priest at Norwich September 24, 1626, was rector of St. Etheldreda 1627-1636, rector of St. Edward and St. Julian 1634-1642, perpetual curate of St. Benet 1637-1641, and buried in Norwich Cathedral,⁴³ where, according to Blomefield, the stone described him as a minor canon of that church and put his death at May 24, 1642.⁴⁴ It seems probable that he was the son of Charles Townley of Foulridge, baptized at Colne February 8, 1602/3. If so, he would have been a nephew of the second Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge and his other brothers, including, as we believe, the Thomas Townley who was a minister of St. John Maddermarket and the Henry Townley, rector of Hethel, who named a Lawrence Townley as his nephew. He would also have been a first cousin of Mary Townley.

Mary Townley Warner and Augustine Warner first resided in Virginia

⁴³ *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II., 510.

⁴⁴ Perhaps his wife was Mary, widow of John Hall, who was a churchwarden of St. Etheldreda in 1634 and earlier. According to Henry F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (Boston, 1901), I, 690, the will of Humphrey Hall of London in 1641 makes a bequest to Mary, formerly wife of his son John, now wife of Lawrence Townley of Norwich.

at the New Poquoson. From there they moved to the Severn River on Mobjack Bay in what is now Gloucester County (Augustine Warner's first grant of land there was dated January 18, 1642/3) and Warner Hall was built on the site still so designated. There in the walled-in graveyard the slab of Mary Warner is inscribed with a few vital facts and an epitaph,⁴⁵ time-worn and partially obliterated. Published accounts differ as to whether the birthdate is given as May 13 or May 15, 1614.⁴⁶ It is our conclusion from on-the-spot examination that it reads May 13, 1614. The date of her death is given as August 11, 1662. The birthdate of May 13, 1614, combines with the baptismal date of May 15, 1614, for "Maria fil' Law: Townley de Stonedg gent'" in the Colne parish registers to prove beyond doubt that Mary Townley of Stone Edge is correctly identified as the wife of Augustine Warner, in agreement with Dugdale.

The Stone Edge family of Townleys into which Mary Townley was born was an offshoot of the Townley family of Barnside, a minor branch of Towneley of Towneley. Barnside is to the east, Stone Edge to the west, of St. Bartholomew's, the parish church at Colne. As this is the church where the Barnside and Stone Edge families worshipped, were christened, married, and buried, it is good to know something about it as background for the Townley history. Whitaker states⁴⁷ that in the time of Henry VII or Henry VIII, at the restoration of the church, two chapels or chantries were added, one on the north side by the Banisters of Parkhill, one on the south by the Townleys of Barnside. The Townley chapel was built by the first Lawrence Townley of Barnside. In the choir screen he imitated the

⁴⁵ The mutilated epitaph has been misread in *Epitaphs of Gloucester and Mathews Counties in Tidewater, Virginia through 1865* (Richmond, 1959), if the present state of the slab can be trusted. There, on page 100, it is given thus:

Here lyes entombed ye phoenix of her time
Whose rare virtues dyne
. yet we cannot say
Tho' dead, ye phoenix ever dyes away

Our recent careful reading of the slab yields instead:

Here lyes entombed ye pheonix of her time
one whos rare virtues did p y dyed
. nd yet we can not say
Though ye pheonix never dyes away

The blanked-out spaces (room for about five letters between *p* and *y* in the second line, for about ten at the first of the third line, and about two in the smooth space before *yet*) invite attempts at reconstruction, but none of our efforts have satisfied us.

⁴⁶ For example, *Epitaphs*, cited in footnote 45, gives May 15, but Morrow Egerton Sorley, *Lewis of Warner Hall*, . . . (Columbia, Mo., 1935), p. 46, gives May 13.

⁴⁷ Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley, and Honor of Clitheroe, in The Counties of Lancaster and York* (London, 1806), p. 367.

TOWNLEY OF BARNSIDE

ARMS—Argent, a fess sable, three mullets in chief of the second.

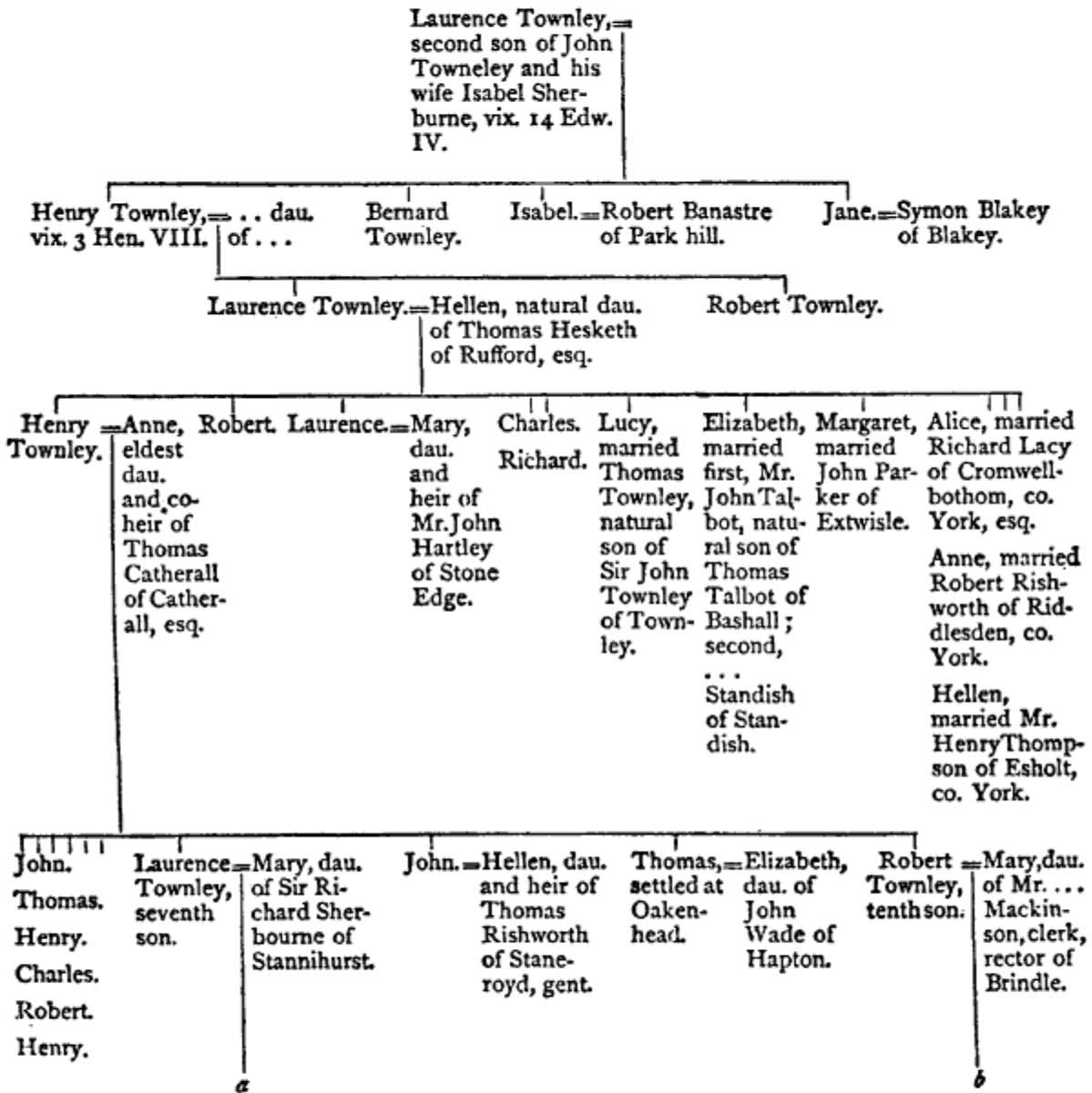


Figure 3—DUGDALE'S PEDIGREE CHART OF TOWNLEY OF BARNSIDE SHOWING THE ORIGIN OF TOWNLEY OF STONEHEDGE.

one at Towneley Hall where he grew up. The chapel still remains, and also a rectangular font which bears the Townley arms and the initials L T. The Townley house at Barnside was on the top of a hill bordering on the bleak moors of Yorkshire. It was built of stone, and some of it remains to this day. Barnside was granted in 1258 to the priory of St. John of Pontefract

by Edmund de Lacy.⁴⁸ Under the priory Lawrence Townley the first of Barnside (d. 1530), his son Henry (d. 1531), and Henry's son Lawrence leased it until 1544 when the monasteries were dissolved by Henry VIII and this manor was sold by the Crown to John Bradyll of Whalley, gentleman.⁴⁹ In 1545 the latter Lawrence Townley and his son Henry bought it of Bradyll. One sees on looking from Barnside across the moors the old road as it comes over from Haworth through the Haworth Gap cut in the line of hills. Haworth, the home of the Brontes, is only a few miles distant, and these same moors were vividly described in *Wuthering Heights*. The Barnside Townleys left this location about the beginning of the seventeenth century for Carr Hall, which was built by Henry Townley (d. 1616), armiger, the eldest brother of the first Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge, not far to the north.

Lawrence Townley, the founder of Barnside, was the second son of John Towneley⁵⁰ of Towneley and Isabel, daughter of Richard Sherburne of Stoneyhurst, whose marriage settlement was made April 16, 1445. In 1456 John Towneley made a settlement of his manors and lands, naming his sons Richard, Lawrence, Nicholas, Henry, and Bernard. He died soon after his oldest son Richard contracted marriage with Jane Southworth in 1472.⁵¹ His second and third sons, Lawrence and Nicholas, were executors of his will in 1474.⁵² Richard Towneley, successor to his father at Towneley, had a son John born July 31, 1473, and baptized at Burnley church; Lawrence Townley was godfather along with Richard Sherburne.⁵³ When Richard died in 1482, this son was already married, though only nine years old and under the guardianship of his father-in-law. Very early marriage was a common custom among the gentry of those days. Isabel and Jane, two daughters of Lawrence Townley of Barnside, entered into marriage contracts in 1485, and the facts suggest that Isabel also was in her childhood.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *The Victoria History of the County of Lancashire*, edited by William Farrer and J. Brownbill (London, 1906-), VI, 546 ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

⁵⁰ Of the thirteenth generation of this family whose history goes back to 1200. See *Official Handbook & Guide to Towneley Hall*, compiled by H. C. Thornton, Curator, 1965 (issued by the Libraries and Arts Committee of the County Borough of Burnley). Pedigrees have been published in many places (e.g., Dugdale).

⁵¹ *Victoria History of Lancashire*, VI, 458.

⁵² William Farrer, *The Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe, in the County of Lancaster* (Manchester and Edinburgh, 1897-1913), I, 240.

⁵³ *Victoria History of Lancashire*, VI, 458.

⁵⁴ *Victoria History of Lancashire*, VI, 444, fns. 33 and 34.

The *Victoria History of Lancashire* and the *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe* have many references to Lawrence Townley of Barnside and his affairs. One especially interesting item, found in the record of a court held at Colne January 28, 1507/8, concerns reversion of various lands to the King by the death of Lawrence's wife Joan. On this occasion it was stated that John Banastre was next heir, but Lawrence Townley claimed the right to remain in possession during his life by the courtesy of England. John Banastre brought it to trial, but some years later, at court October 9, 1515, Lawrence Townley was still maintaining right of possession for life against John Banastre, who at that time was proposing to transfer the property to others. The year before, the two of them had been elected greaves of Colne.⁵⁵ Lawrence Townley's late wife seems to have been John Banastre's mother.⁵⁶ We learn the year of his death from an entry in the court records at Colne, October 11, 1530, where his son Henry is named next heir.⁵⁷ A year later Henry also was dead, as noted at court October 24, 1531.⁵⁸ Lawrence, Henry's son and successor, is in 1535 listed as bailiff of Barnside in the return of rents of the abbey of the priory of Pontefract.⁵⁹ This Lawrence's wife was Hellen or Ellen Hesketh, natural daughter of Thomas Hesketh of Rufford.⁶⁰ There are numerous references to this Lawrence Townley in the records. Perhaps the last during his lifetime was on May 23, 1565, when he is referred to as deputy steward of the Manor of Colne; the next year, June 12, his son Henry is designated as his heir.⁶¹ His third son was Lawrence, the founder of the Stone Edge branch of Townleys.

A couple of incidents related in James Carr's *Annals*⁶² illustrate the character of these Townleys, especially their determination to uphold their rights and to have their authority accepted. In 32 Henry VIII (1541) Lawrence Townley, the third master of Barnside, who bought Barnside of Bradyll, prosecuted Thomas Townley and others in the Duchy Court for wrongfully occupying the Townley choir. He charged that, as the result of disputes between himself and George Houghton, gentleman, of Green-

⁵⁵ Farrer, *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe*, I, 232, 263.

⁵⁶ *Victoria History of Lancashire*, VI, 527, fn. 80.

⁵⁷ Farrer, *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe*, I, 301.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁶⁰ Thomas Hesketh (d. 1523) had no legitimate issue; he bequeathed his manors to his natural son Robert, who married Grace, daughter of Sir John Towneley (d. 1541), and the remainders to Robert's brother Charles and sister Ellen; and he also made provision in his will for Alice Haward, their mother, who had married William Tarleton of Rufford (*Victoria History of Lancashire*, VI, 122).

⁶¹ Farrer, *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe* II, 350, 363.

⁶² *Annals and Stories of Colne and Neighbourhood* (Manchester, 1878).

field about the occupancy of the choir, Thomas Townley, son-in-law of Houghton, along with "other riotous and evil-disposed persons, by the commandment of the said George Houghton, did enter into the said Church of Colne, and there break the door of the said choir violently and with great force at the service time, whereby the service of God within the said church is much letted and the parishioners much disquieted"; and he foresaw continuation of this conduct unless the Court forbade it and granted to the Barnside family the right of peaceful occupancy due them by previous award to his grandfather, Lawrence Townley, who had built the chapel at great cost. Thomas Townley replied vigorously to these charges, asserting that the suit was only "to vex and putte costys on the Defendant, and for no other cause," that for twelve years he had held his kneeling place there as the son-in-law of George Houghton who sixteen years before had been granted the right by the Abbot of Whalley, and that in fact he had only quietly opened the door which had been maliciously nailed shut by the plaintiff. The Court decided that the original award to the Townleys of Barnside should prevail. Behind this dispute more was probably going on than appears in the legal documents; for, on examining the Dugdale pedigree charts, one notices that Thomas Townley, the natural son of Sir John Towneley of Towneley Hall, was first married to Hellen Houghton of Greenfield but divorced her and secondly married Lucy, eldest daughter of the Lawrence Townley who had brought the complaint, and sister of the Lawrence Townley who founded the Stone Edge branch of Townleys. Lucy lived on into the next century, dying at an advanced age in 1621 and remembering in her will four "cosens" (one of them at Stone Edge) and the poor of the parish.⁶³ Back of this story is another, involving the niece of Sir John Houghton and the builder of the Townley choir himself. In 1514, Monday after Easter, "Mr. Lawrence Towneley of Barnside, and Henry, his son, make motion for the marriage of John Bulcock and Agnes, niece of Sir John Houghton, in the garden of Nicholas Wilson, of Colne."⁶⁴ Bulcock was a rich man, but old, and Agnes who was about twenty did not want to marry him. Lawrence Townley applied pressure. "'Thou art nocht,' he said to her, 'and a beggarle wolt thou be, & yf thou forsakest thys rych man tak me never for thy frend, but gett thee fast from me, & out of my house, for I will be as moch thy foe as I have been thy frende.' And

⁶³ Her will, made August 27, 1621, is at the Lancashire Record Office, Preston, also abstracted in Chetham Society, *Remains, Historical and Literary . . .*, n.s., XXVIII (1893). She was buried at Colne September 11, 1621. The "cosens" of the will were actually nephews.

⁶⁴ This and the following quotation from Carr, *Annals and Stories of Colne and Neighbourhood*, p. 68, fn. 2.

all the night he tried to persuade her, and she said to Katherine Baxter: 'Alas! Katryne, I am undone, for my frends woll make and compel me to have John Bulcock, and, by my trowth, I had lever dy then have hym, for I never loved hym, ne never wyll do, & so I pray yo bere me record hereafter, for I woll never tarry with hym when I am weddyt.' " Forced to wed him, she mutilated her breast to avoid cohabitation, and unsuccessfully attempted to divorce him. This sad business occurred in the year that the strong-willed Lawrence Townley was elected a greave of Colne.

As previously noted, the Stone Edge branch of the Townleys was founded by Lawrence, the third son of the Lawrence Townley of Barnside who figures in the story about the chapel dispute. In 1563 he is referred to as "junior" and as of Barnside, but in 1564 he is of Blacko, which Stone Edge borders. On the first occasion, his brother Henry, soon to be fourth master of Barnside, is acting at court, May 28, 1653, to surrender land in the Forest of Trawden to the use of "Lawrence Towneley, junior, of Barnside, gent., and Alexander Liffesay, gent., and their heires."⁶⁵ On the next occasion, at court November 3, 1564, when this piece of land is mentioned again, we find that we are having to do with "Lawrence Towneley of Blackowe."⁶⁶ It would appear that we here catch a glimpse of him making the first step to establish himself in the Stone Edge region. According to Dugdale, he married Mary Hartley, daughter and heir of Mr. John Hartley of Stone Edge. The Court Rolls of Clitheroe give us a slightly different story. At court held June 3, 1563, at Higham for the Forest of Pendle, it is recorded that "Mariarie" Hartley, widow, late wife of James Hartley had the use of Stone Edge where James Hartley had dwelt and a moiety of his other property, to be "after her decease to the use of Margaret Townley, now wife to Lawrence Townley the younger of Barnside, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and for default of such issue to the use of Lawrence Haigh of Langlay and his heirs."⁶⁷ The other moiety of James Hartley's property went directly to Margaret Townley. As for the part that was to come to her after the decease of James Hartley's widow, Lawrence Townley bought out Haigh's rights. We thus see that his wife's name was Margaret rather than Mary, but it is unclear what her relationship was to James Hartley. Perhaps he was her brother. If so, her father could have been named John, as Dugdale has it, and as her naming a son John might

⁶⁵ Farrer, *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe*, I, 446.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 462.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 324.

indicate. By 1566 Lawrence Townley was one of the greaves of the Forest of Pendle⁶⁸ and thus clearly established in the Stone Edge territory.

In coming from Barnside to Stone Edge, Lawrence Townley was moving to a pleasanter situation, to the west of Colne. We do not know exactly what Stone Edge was like when he came into possession, but at the present time there are three separately named estates on each of which there are large, ancient, thick-stone-walled buildings. The three divisions of land are about the same in area and similarly apportioned into distinctly named fields and woods. What is known as East Stone Edge is on the eastern slope of the hill. An 1802 plot map shows it as consisting of about fifteen acres of fields plus lane, house, and garden. Great Stone Edge, which lies to the west under the brow of the hill, contains a few more acres. A third portion just below to the northwest is called Lower Stone Edge. The magnificent long hill of Pendle to the west is in view of all of them.

Here we introduce as Figure 4 the Dugdale chart of the Stone Edge Townleys. Several Townleys previously mentioned in this paper will be seen in the chart. Other persons of special interest because of their connection with the Warners of Warner Hall, as will appear in the discussion, are Lawrence and John Townley on the last line of the chart; Mary Townley Warner's sister Elizabeth, as wife of Richard Halstead and Christopher Smith; and her sister Ann, as wife of Samuel Hoyle of Barkisland, Yorkshire.

We shall work down from the top of the chart. Lawrence Townley, third son of Lawrence Townley of Barnside and first master of Stone Edge of the Townley name, in his will (made January 5 and probated January 19, 1597/8) names his wife "Margrett" and his son Lawrence as executors. His goods and the debts owed him are divided into three parts: the first part to his wife, "by the laudable custome of this lande"; the second, to the five younger sons, Henry, Charles, John, Robert, and Thomas; and out of the third part, "which is my owne parte," after discharge of funeral expenses and debts, he gives £10 apiece to his two youngest sons, Robert and Thomas, "for their better preferment and their good educacoun," and the remainder to be divided equally among his wife and five sons aforesaid, and finally "one great garnar standing in my Barne att Stonedge" to his eldest son and heir Lawrence. No real estate is touched by the will. The inventory of the personal property and debts owed him amounted to £214-8. He owed £6-7-2. Among those in debt to him were his eldest brother Henry,

⁶⁸ Farrer, *Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe*, II, 364.

TOWNLEY OF STONEHEDGE

ARMS—Argent, a fess sable, three mullets in chief of the second, a mullet for difference.

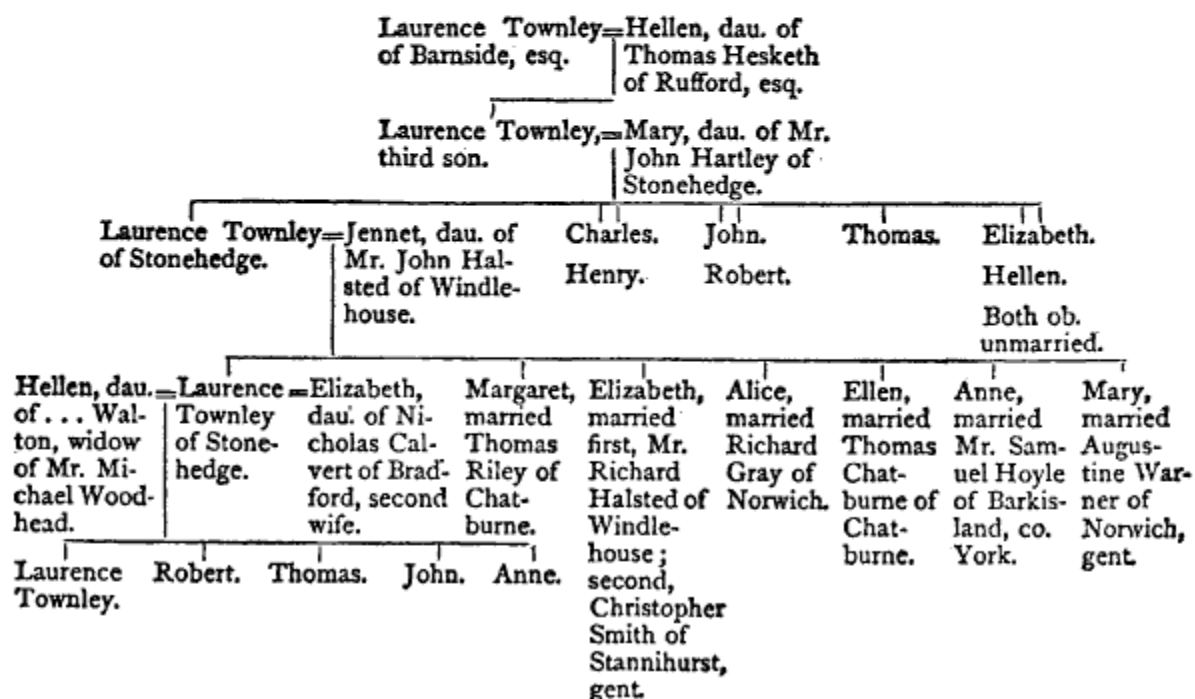


Figure 4—DUGDALE'S PEDIGREE CHART OF TOWNLEY OF STONEHEDGE.

master of Barnside; his next older brother Robert; his son Lawrence; and his son's father-in-law John Halstead of Windlehouse.⁶⁹

The will is in good agreement with Dugdale, except for the given name of the wife and the small change of age order of Henry and Charles. The daughters are not mentioned in the will. Of Charles we know that he established himself at Foulridge Hall, which is near Stone Edge, and we have record of the death of his first wife who bore his son Lawrence⁷⁰ and of his marriage to his second wife Elizabeth Barcroft who bore his son Charles. He died at Foulridge Hall and was buried at Colne January 11, 1635/6. Robert in 1622, then of Lower Blacko Stonedge, leased Foulridge Hall for a thirty-one-year period to begin on the death of his brother Charles, who had it in tenure, and in fact he survived him, dying at Foulridge and being buried at Colne May 10, 1645. Of John we know nothing, but Henry and Thomas appear to have been the ministers in the Norwich region previously discussed.

Lawrence, second master of Stone Edge, was already married to Jennet

⁶⁹ The will and inventory are at the Lancashire Record Office, Preston.

⁷⁰ See previous discussion of this Lawrence on p. 333.

Halstead at the time of his father's death. His wife's father John Halstead of Windlehouse appears to have been buried at Burnley July 10, 1601, and her mother Elizabeth to have taken up residence with the Townleys at Stone Edge, since a Colne entry states that Elizabeth Halstead of Stone Edge, widow, was buried September 21, 1612. Lawrence Townley's two oldest children, Margaret and Elizabeth, were presumably born prior to March 27, 1599, the date of the earliest baptismal entry made in the Colne parish registers. Margaret, named for her father's mother, married November 30, 1618, at Colne, Thomas Riley of Chatburn. Elizabeth, evidently named for her mother's mother, married May 1, 1616, at Colne, Mr. Richard Halstead of Windlehouse (in Burnley parish), probably a cousin; and secondly Christopher Smith. Dugdale states that he was of Stannihurst (i.e., Stoneyhurst), but there is a question whether he was not rather of Stonirakes in Burnley parish near Windlehouse, a matter to be discussed later. Alice was baptized February 12, 1603/4; her marriage record we have not found, but assume that Dugdale is correct in joining her to Richard Gray of Norwich.⁷¹ Ellen, possibly named for her father's grandmother, was baptized March 4, 1605/6, and married February 11, 1622/3, at Colne, Thomas Chatburn of Chatburn. Anne was baptized November 2, 1608, and was of Luddenden, Yorkshire, when she married Samuel Hoyle of Barkisland, Yorkshire, in the parish of Elland in 1630.⁷² Lawrence, whose history will be recounted later, was baptized April 21, 1611. The last child, Mary,⁷³ was baptized May 15, 1614, and married Augustine Warner of Norwich and also of Virginia, as we now know. In all the baptismal records of Lawrence Townley's children he is of Stone Edge, except in the case of the earliest, Alice, where he is "of Fulshay, gentleman." (Fulshay or Fulshaw is virtually at Stone Edge and was a part of the Townley holdings.) How long his mother lived at Stone Edge we do not know; if she was living after the beginning of the Colne burial entries in April 1599, her death was not recorded there under the name Townley. Mary Brigg in her article⁷⁴ illustrating the somewhat fluid boundaries between the gentry and the lower classes in England in the seventeenth cen-

⁷¹ As previously argued, she was probably the niece Alice Townley, then of Suffolk, in her uncle Henry Townley's will. It may be that her marriage occurred about a year later, for John, son of Richard Gray, was baptized August 16, 1629, at St. James with Pockthorpe, Norwich; and Richard, son of John Gray, was baptized there December 8, 1596.

⁷² Paver's Marriage Licenses, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XX, 97.

⁷³ In my earlier paper I derived Mary's name from her grandmother, under the influence of Dugdale's error in calling her Mary rather than Margaret Hartley.

⁷⁴ "The Forest of Pendle in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Chester*, CXIII (1961), 75.

tury mentions Elizabeth, daughter of Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge, as receiving a legacy in 1609 from Lawrence Smythe of Pasture in Barrowford, a husbandman, and that Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge in 1619 was a trustee for James Foulds of Barrowford, a yeoman. The will of Lawrence Townley of Barnside, made August 23, 1623, refers to lands in the Forest of Pendle left in trust to the use of Lawrence Townley "of Stonyedg, gent."⁷⁵ There is mention of his wife in a legal document of June 20, 1623, stating that Lawrence Townley "of Stonyedg, gent." and his wife Jennet surrender to John Woodhead of Pasture in Barrowford, husbandman, property in Barrowford during the lives of Margaret his wife and Lawrence his son.⁷⁶ Perhaps Jennet died soon after this transaction, as the only burial we can find of anyone who could be Jennet Halstead Townley is in the Burnley registers, where the entry concerns the burial of the wife of Lawrence Townley of Windlehouse, August 12, 1623. Windlehouse was Jennet's family home. It was, furthermore, the residence at this time of her daughter Elizabeth, wife of Richard Halstead, who had christened a daughter May 1, 1623. Was Lawrence Townley temporarily of Windlehouse? At court July 9, 1624, he is referred to as one of the commissioners dividing fifteen acres of commons called "Limestone Scarrs" in Briercliffe (where Windlehouse is) among freeholders and copyholders.⁷⁷ But on April 11, 1635, he is referred to as Mr. Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge in the assignment of two pews to him and his tenants in the Colne parish church.⁷⁸ He was buried at Colne February 12, 1654/5, an old man. No will is on record, nor would there have been much occasion for one, with his daughters all married and his one son the inevitable heir under English law.

The third Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge, son of the preceding, baptized April 21, 1611, married as his first wife Alice Calvert, daughter of Nicholas Calvert of West Bradford by Waddington in the parish of Mitton, Yorkshire, in 1632.⁷⁹ He was twenty-one. His first child, Anne, was bap-

⁷⁵ J. P. Earwaker, ed., "Selected Abstracts of Wills of Lancashire and Chester," Chetham Society, *Remains, Historical and Literary . . .*, n.s., XXVIII (1893), 192.

⁷⁶ Document on file at the Lancashire Record Office, Preston, DDT0 A/1 K/23, K/5/117, 1623.

⁷⁷ Farrer, *Court Rolls of Honor of Clitheroe*, II, 418.

⁷⁸ Certificate of the Bishop of Chester's Committee, Lancashire Record Office, DDB 80/33.

⁷⁹ Year and parish are given by Paver, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series*, XL, 13. The marriage is not in the registers of the Waddington church, where Nicholas Calvert was churchwarden 1625-1632 and buried December 14, 1636. A register note states that he was late of Bradford and about December 4, 1636, surrendered a dwelling in Bradford for the use of the poor. His will of December 8, 1636, does not mention Alice, but this is often the case with married daughters. The only child mentioned is Robert, one of the executors. A third of the estate

tized at Colne December 12, 1634, apparently named after Alice Calvert's mother; for the burial of "Anna Calverd de Stonedge vidua" occurred at Colne February 22, 1644/5. Lawrence (the first son, according to Dugdale) was baptized February 2, 1639/40. There is no baptismal record for Robert, who according to Dugdale was the second son. But it seems from the unpublished court rolls at Clitheroe Castle that Robert was the elder, for he is referred to as "son and heir apparent" of Lawrence Townley in a record of January 6, 1658/9, and also in the record of the inquest May 6, 1674, which adds that in 1658 he was seised in his own right of Stone Edge (see fn. 86). He must at this time have reached twenty-one: thus he was born about 1637. Thomas, the third son, was baptized September 11, 1642. A fourth son, Richard, not mentioned by Dugdale, was baptized June 14, 1645. A fifth, John, listed by Dugdale as fourth, is believed by us to have been the progenitor of a line of Townleys in Virginia and to have been born about 1649, on evidence to be presented later. We suspect that the death of Lawrence Townley's wife Alice Calvert and his remarriage occurred after the birth of John. This supposition is borne out by Dugdale's chart, which attributes to the first wife the cluster of children just named, and by the fact that a second cluster of children is found in the baptismal records at Colne between 1652 and 1658, topped off by the fact that the name of Lawrence Townley's wife in the poll tax of 1660, as well as in Clitheroe court records later, is Ellen—a common variant of Hellen. No records of burials are to be found in the Colne parish registers of 1599-1653 after May 8, 1650, a period of more than three years; and there are no parish records of marriages between February 6, 1644/5 and June 16, 1654, a period of more than nine years. This deficiency in the records is due, in the language of Ecroyd in the preface to the published registers, "to the unsettled state of affairs which, according to a note made in the Register, prevailed during the 'Cromwellian Rebellion.'"⁸⁰ Baptismal records are continuous, but it is possible that they are incomplete because of the extremely troubled conditions in the area. Lawrence Townley's second mar-

is bequeathed to his wife, but her name is not given (the will is at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York). We accept from Dugdale that Nicholas Calvert was the father of Lawrence Townley's wife, but he was wrong about her given name and about her being the second wife. Her baptism is not at Waddington, but the baptismal records are missing between 1600 and 1616 when she should have been born. Robert is the only child of Nicholas Calvert in the baptismal record, and the date is July 29, 1616. Lawrence Townley on January 24, 1655/6, surrendered land in Overbarrowford to Robert Calvert and another party (unpublished court rolls at Clitheroe Castle for the Manor of Ightenhill available through Colonel G. N. Robinson, steward).

⁸⁰ Ecroyd, *Registers of the Parish Church of Colne in the County of Lancaster*, p. viii.

riage, presumably to Hellen or Ellen Walton,⁸¹ widow of Michael Woodhead, might have occurred in the period when no marriages were being recorded at Colne. It seems reasonable to suppose that Alice Calvert Townley died and Lawrence Townley married Woodhead's widow after May 8, 1650, during the time when neither burials nor marriages were being recorded at Colne, but soon enough for the birth of his son Henry, baptized November 2, 1652. Let it be added that it was in the same district as Stone Edge that a Michael Woodhead was having children between 1642 and 1647 but not thereafter. It is our guess that it was the widow of this Michael Woodhead⁸² whom Lawrence Townley took as his second wife. To her, then, would have been born Henry, baptized November 2, 1652; Ellin, probably named for her mother, baptized March 18, 1654/5; and William, baptized April 11, 1658.

From the poll tax census in Pendle in 1660⁸³ which lists only Lawrence and his wife Ellen as subject to tax (Lawrence 2 shillings on a per annum estate of £5, and Ellen 6 pence) we can conclude that no children of taxable age (i.e., 18) were living with them, which means that at least Anne, Robert, and Lawrence were gone from home, and that, if Thomas was with them, he had not reached his eighteenth birthday, which fell on September 11, in the year the census was taken. Other references to Lawrence Town-

⁸¹ Was she Ellen Walton or Ellin Water? A Michael Woodhead married an Ellin Water on December 20, 1641, at Skipton, Yorkshire (not far over the border from Colne) as recorded in *The Parish Register of Skipton-in-Craven 1592-1680*, edited by W. J. Stavert (Skipton: Printed at the "Craven Herald," 1894). This is the only entry for either Michael Woodhead or Ellin Water. Did this Michael Woodhead's widow marry Lawrence Townley? There is no reference to an Ellen Walton in this register, but two Ellen Waltons were baptized at Colne who would have been of marriageable age in 1641. However, there is no record of a Michael Woodhead-Ellen Walton marriage. The names "Walton" and "Water" are similar enough in sound and shape to have been confused.

⁸² John Woodhead of Pasture to whom Lawrence Townley and his wife Jennet leased land in Pendle in 1623 for duration of the life of his wife Margaret and son Lawrence had also a son Michael, for Margaret widow of John Woodhead named him as her son and sole executor of her will made March 10, 1638/9 (Lancashire Record Office, Preston). Three children of John Woodhead, John, Lawrence, and Nicholas, were baptized at Colne, but not Michael. It is possible that the Woodhead family of the Colne parish originated in Yorkshire in the nearby parish of Elland, for a succession of Woodheads is there from an early date, and we notice that a Michael Woodhead, son of John Woodhead of Stainlande, was baptized May 20, 1599. A Michael Woodhead, designated as of Northowram, buried a wife Mary August 12, 1641; and he himself was buried February 15, 1646/7. Our guess is that this Michael Woodhead was the son of John and Margaret Woodhead, and that soon after the death of his wife Mary he married Ellen Walton or Water. The children of Michael Woodhead of Pendle and Pasture are recorded as follows in the Colne parish registers: Mary, baptized December 15, 1642 (named for his recently deceased first wife?); Margaret, April 20, 1645 (his mother's name); and John, September 19, 1647 (his father's name). The last child would have been posthumous if, as we are supposing, the burial in the Elland parish February 15, 1646/7 was of the Michael Woodhead here in question. No other baptisms of Michael Woodhead children are recorded in the parish of Colne or the parish of Elland.

⁸³ PRO, E 179 250/4.

ley are found in various documents after this date and on past his death and burial, November 11, 1672. In particular, in the hallmote of the Manor of Ightenhill for the Forest of Pendle, held June 11, 1673,⁸⁴ it is recorded that on January 20, 1671/2, Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge, gent., and Ellen his wife surrendered parts of the land and great barn at Stone Edge to John Hargreaves. There is no will that we have been able to discover, but we know from the inquest reported May 6, 1674,⁸⁵ that Ellen survived as his widow at Stone Edge and that, since Robert his son and heir apparent had crossed the sea shortly after 1658 and it was not known whether he was alive,⁸⁶ the property should pass to Thomas and his heirs in perpetuity according to the custom of the Manor. Thomas was the third son according to Dugdale, and we know from the baptismal records that he was younger than Lawrence. But Lawrence is not referred to here. Whether he was dead or simply disregarded by the court because of absence across the sea, we do not know. We do know that his name is on Augustine Warner's headright list of October 8, 1672,⁸⁷ standing among 202 names as the fifty-ninth while Augustine Warner, Jr., comes as the one hundred and thirteenth. The entry for Augustine Warner, Jr., may refer to his return from England after his schooling there, and Lawrence Townley likewise probably came before 1672, and very likely before the poll tax of 1660 in Pendle, but not much before that, because he is not listed as one of Warner's headrights of February 8, 1658/9.⁸⁸ It must be that Warner accumulated the 202 names over a period of several years.

Mary Townley Warner was the youngest of the sisters of the Lawrence Townley who died at Stone Edge in 1672 and next after him in order of birth. It can easily be supposed that she kept in touch with him and influenced his sons to come to Virginia. She may have returned to England for a visit at Stone Edge before her father's death in 1654/5, for her name is among the fifty headrights listed by Warner for his grant of October 26, 1652.⁸⁹ Certainly her husband sailed for England in August of 1661 on

⁸⁴ Seen at Clitheroe Castle.

⁸⁵ Clitheroe Castle.

⁸⁶ The words, as translated from the Latin, are: "that Robert Townley son and heir apparent of Lawrence Townley late of Stonedge, deceased . . . in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty-eight was seised in his own right . . . of and in one Capital messuage called Stonedge . . . and that the aforesaid Robert Townley Immediately afterwards set out across the sea beyond the realm of England and whether the aforesaid Robert Townley is still alive the Jurors aforesaid Know Not." This and other court rolls in Latin were transcribed and translated by my husband, Harold G. McCurdy, whose interest and help have been indispensable.

⁸⁷ Patent Book 6, p. 410.

⁸⁸ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 385.

⁸⁹ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 264.

business for the Colony in the *Elizabeth*⁹⁰ and before that, in 1658, her son Augustine, Jr., was enrolled in the Merchant Tailors' School in London.⁹¹ She had at least two daughters by Augustine Warner: one, whose name is unknown, married David Cant;⁹² the other, Sarah, married Lawrence Townley, and they had a daughter Alice, apparently named after Lawrence's mother.

Alice Townley married John Grymes, and they had three children, Anne, John, and Charles, mentioned in the wills of both of the parents. In addition, the will of John Grymes (made July 1, 1708, and probated in 1709) mentions two "daughters-in-law," i.e., stepdaughters, Elizabeth Darrell and Sarah Gibbons, to whom mourning rings are left.⁹³ How they came to be his stepdaughters is a puzzle. Elizabeth Darrell was probably the wife of Sampson Darrell and daughter of Tobias Handford (or Hansford).⁹⁴ Sarah Gibbons could have been the widow of Thomas Gibbons.⁹⁵ If so, she named a daughter Elizabeth, and this raises the question whether widow Elizabeth Handford, who was the mother of Elizabeth Darrell, was also the mother of Sarah Gibbons. Was Sarah's coming birth in Virginia unknown to Tobias Handford when he made his will in England in 1677? Or was she a daughter by another marriage? If John Grymes married widow Elizabeth Handford as his first wife, then her daughter Elizabeth would

⁹⁰ *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., XI (1902-1903), 29-33.

⁹¹ See Charles J. Robinson, ed., *A Register of the Scholars Admitted into Merchant Taylors' School, from A.D. 1562 to 1874*. (Lewes, 1882-1883). Here he is listed as eldest son of Augustine Warner, gent., born in Virginia October 20, 1643, but the Warner Hall tombstone gives his birthdate as June 3, 1642.

⁹² This is according to a research note of Mr. George H. S. King, dated August 2, 1960.

⁹³ In a note on "Grymes of 'Brandon' &c." in the Genealogy section of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVII (1919), 184-187. It is assumed in the discussion above that "daughter-in-law" in the will is equivalent to stepdaughter; but Mr. George H. S. King observes in a letter that the expression might also be equivalent to god-daughter, which would eliminate the problem.

⁹⁴ Sampson Darrell on October 21, 1699, received a grant of 5,000 acres, part of 20,000 granted Philip Ludwell, Tobias Handford, and Richard Whitehead on October 24, 1673, and due Darrell by right of intermarriage with Elizabeth Handford, daughter and heir of the said Handford. Tobias Handford had a grant in 1662/3 in Gloucester and another in 1666/7 in the same area near Colonel Augustine Warner. He died in London in 1677. His will (VMHB, XVI, 71) calls him late of Gloucester County, Virginia, now of London, gent. He leaves his Virginia estates to wife Elizabeth, and children Tobias, Elizabeth, and Mary; stipulating that if his son Tobias became possessed of the Manor of Shobden, Herefordshire, England, his legacy to personal estate in Virginia was to be void.

⁹⁵ In the registers of Charles Parish, York County, 1648-1789, there is a Thos. Gibbons entered as dying in 1706; and Thomas and Sarah Gibbons are shown having three children, Elizabeth, John, and Thomas, born respectively on September 13, 1699, November 22, 1701, and June 31 [sic], 1704, Elizabeth dying October 2, 1700. Records concerning the estate of Thomas Gibbons are found in York County Orders & Wills, No. 13, p. 37, February 24, 1706/7, p. 94, November 24, 1707, and inventory p. 111. His widow Sarah brought a petition, which the court granted, for recovery from Edward Moss, administrator, of a bed, frying pan, iron pot, pewter dish, 2 plates, 3 spoons, and a tray (p. 102).

have been his stepdaughter, and perhaps Sarah.⁹⁶ Clearly Alice Grymes was not Elizabeth Darrell's mother. As to Sarah Gibbons, the given name would of course be fitting for a daughter of Alice's in memory of her mother. However, only her three Grymes children are mentioned in her will of January 1, 1709/10 (probated May 1, 1710).⁹⁷ Charles was born October 10, 1693.⁹⁸ John, the chief heir and executor, was born in 1691.⁹⁹ Anne must have been the firstborn child, presumably about 1689.¹⁰⁰ Alice, then, could have married Grymes as late as 1688. She was still Alice Townley May 17, 1679, when the will of Augustine Warner, Jr., which bequeaths to her 1400 acres of land in New Kent County (later St. Stephen's Parish of King and Queen), refers to her as his niece and the daughter of Lawrence and Sarah Townley, deceased.¹⁰¹ Between this time in 1679 and 1688 she could have married, had a daughter Sarah, and been widowed, on the assumption that she was born in the early 1660s. Her name was continued in her granddaughter Alice Grymes, daughter of John; this Alice married Mann Page II and had a son John Page who became governor of Virginia. Another granddaughter, Lucy, child of her son Charles, married Henry Lee and their grandson was Robert E. Lee.

We turn back now to Stone Edge to continue that story. Thomas Townley, designated heir by the court in 1674, made his first transfer of land in November of 1674, a piece of Stone Edge to Thomas Smith of Stonirakes.¹⁰² In 1681 he is named in the high constable's tax list as possessed of an estate in Pendle Forest yielding a per annum revenue of £12.¹⁰³ His children were Lawrence, John, Anne, Thomas, Richard, and Mary, as inferred from baptisms and burials. Thomas Townley was of Slipper Hill (near Stone Edge) at the time of his burial November 18, 1697. At the inquest

⁹⁶ Grymes would have been younger than the widow Handford. According to a deposition he was born in 1660 (VMHB, XXVII [1919], 185).

⁹⁷ VMHB, XXVIII (1920), 403 ff.

⁹⁸ The will states that Charles will become 21 on October 10, 1714, at which time he and his sister are each to receive £100 sterling.

⁹⁹ According to his tombstone he was in the 57th year of his age when he died November 2, 1748.

¹⁰⁰ The tombstone inscription, as given in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVII (1919), 186, states that at her death December 17, 1735, Anne was "In the 16th year of her Age." This is clearly erroneous, and perhaps the 1 should be a 4, making it the 46th year of her age, which would put her birthdate in 1689.

¹⁰¹ William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia . . .* (Richmond, Philadelphia, New York, 1809-1823), VIII, 630. Lawrence must have been living in 1667, as his father in a court record of that year is designated "senior."

¹⁰² Unpublished court rolls at Clitheroe Castle.

¹⁰³ R. Sharpe France, ed., "A High Constable's Register, 1681," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, CVII (1955), 55-87. The Thomas Townley item is on p. 85. The only other person listed as of Stone Edge is James Hargreaves, gent., with per annum income of £7.

recorded at Easter court in 1700, Thomas's son John (baptized March 31, 1673) was the heir.¹⁰⁴ However, by 1706 Richard Townley (baptized July 3, 1682) was apparently the successor to his brother John at Stone Edge. He is designated as gentleman and as of Stone Edge in a legal document of November 12, 1706, drawn up in anticipation of his marriage to Mary Hartley, daughter of Roger Hartley of Foulridge, clothier. The marriage took place two days later at Colne. The document is a marriage contract specifying how the manor of Stone Edge with its buildings and various named fields (several identifiable with those of Great Stone Edge in 1842) is to be passed on to Mary Hartley, Richard's intended wife, and their heirs.¹⁰⁵ Richard Townley baptized six children at Colne between December of 1707 and March of 1721/2—Anne, Mary, Elizabeth, Thomas, Richard, and Grace. His last two children were born at Malkin Tower, and at the time of his death the Colne burial entry of February 15, 1726/7, specifies that he was of Malkin Tower, White Moor, and was lately of Stone Edge.¹⁰⁶ This is the last entry in the Colne registers examined (up to 1812) connecting any Townley with Stone Edge. The name Townley also ceased in the Barnside-Carr Hall parent line with the death in 1739 of Richard Townley of Barnside, who was married in 1728 to Martha Barcroft of Noyna,¹⁰⁷ and whose daughter and sole heir Margaret was to marry John Clayton.

When in my previous paper I asked the question whether the two brothers Robert and Thomas Townley could also have come to America under the influence of the Warners, and noted that a Robert Townley is found in Virginia as early as 1702 and a Thomas Townley in North Carolina at a later date, I was making deductions from Dugdale's chart without the information in the Colne parish registers and the court rolls of Clitheroe. Robert Townley did cross the sea, but since he was born about 1637 it hardly seems likely, though not impossible, that he was the Robert

¹⁰⁴ From a photostatic copy of a part of the Index to the unpublished court rolls at Clitheroe Castle. Caution must be exercised in interpreting the Index. The dates given refer to the court minutes, not to the actual transactions, which may have occurred years before.

¹⁰⁵ The copy seen was a draft of a "Memorandum" on file at the Manchester Central Library.

¹⁰⁶ Malkin Tower was a favorite gathering place in the early seventeenth century of the witches notorious in the Pendle Forest region. The wife of Henry Townley of Carr Hall, Ann Townley, who died October 25, 1611, was rumored to have been a witchcraft victim.

¹⁰⁷ Martha Barcroft was the daughter of Thomas Barcroft of Noyna in the parish of Colne. Two of her brothers were in America in 1722; Ambrose in Pennsylvania, William in Virginia. William Barcroft was dwelling with Mr. Christopher Jackson, a merchant of Nansemond County, in 1728 (see the Barcroft letters, at Lancashire Record Office, Preston). Incidentally, in the Dugdale pedigree chart of the Townleys of Hurstwood, a Christopher Jackson of Worsthorpe is listed as married to Eleanor Townley, daughter of John of Hurstwood.

Townley who is named in 1702 as a surveyor of land for the Chickahominy Indians in company with John Hurtt¹⁰⁸ and in 1706 as recipient of a bond and deed for land in King William County from the same Hurtt.¹⁰⁹ In regard to Thomas Townley of North Carolina it must be definitely said that he was not the Thomas Townley of Stone Edge who was the brother of the Lawrence Townley who married Sarah Warner in Virginia, as has been shown; and furthermore that the earliest record of the American Thomas that we have is of 1749 when he was acquiring the 100 acres on Boague Sound later known as Townley's Point.¹¹⁰

We have now dealt with all the sons of the third Lawrence Townley of Stone Edge listed by Dugdale except the youngest son, John. He has left no trace in the English records that we have examined. But a John Townley, definitely an associate and kinsman of Augustine Warner, Jr., acquired land in Virginia before 1676, and we still believe, as stated in my earlier article, that he was Warner's first cousin and brother of Lawrence Townley of Virginia. John Townley was granted his 1,100 acres on the Arrakeco Swamp¹¹¹ in Stratton Major Parish, New Kent County, March 17, 1675/6, by Sir William Berkeley, Governor—460 acres being for transportation of nine persons (unrecorded), these acres being added at that date to the 640 acres already purchased from Ralph Green on which Townley's house was standing. The 640 acres purchased from Green would seem to correspond to the 650-acre tract patented by Green in 1663.¹¹² The next reference to John Townley removes any doubt about his kinship

¹⁰⁸ Petition, August 19, 1702, in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1695-1696, 1696-1697, 1698, 1699, 1700-1702* (Richmond, 1913), p. 385.

¹⁰⁹ King William County Records, Book 1, Part 2, 1702-1707, pp. 319 ff., in Virginia State Library.

¹¹⁰ Carteret County Records in North Carolina Archives, Deeds 1722-1758, Part II, pp. 37 f., January 25, 1749.

¹¹¹ Previously, biased by knowledge of later Townley acquisitions on the Dragon Swamp, I misinterpreted the original land grant document on microfilm (Patent Book 6, p. 604) as locating these 1,100 acres on the Dragon instead of on the Arrakeco, a name no longer in use. Discovery of this error led to the study of all references to the Arrakeco (in its various spellings) in Nugent and later Land Office Records through Book 13 and in the Stratton Major Vestry Book, from which we concluded that the Arrakeco is to be identified with the upper branches of the present Brunt Mill Creek in lower King and Queen which crosses Highway 14 near Shackleford and empties into the Mattaponi not far above its junction with the Pamunkey. After making this deduction we wrote to Dr. Malcolm H. Harris of West Point, Virginia, for his opinion and learned that he had already reached the same conclusion and published it in the *Bulletin* of the King and Queen Historical Society, Spring 1970. Not far northeast of the intersection of highway and creek, where Foster's Mill once stood, was John Townley's land, in or near what is now called Milbytown.

¹¹² Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 505. Ralph Green was a vestryman and churchwarden in Petsworth Parish. The same name (not the same person) appears in Burnley Parish in Lancashire.

to Augustine Warner, Jr. This is a document of 1678 concerning the invasion of Warner Hall by Nathaniel Bacon, William Bird, and a great company of armed men in September of 1676.¹¹³ Here Warner states that Nathaniel Bacon the younger had demanded and taken the keys of the storehouses and chests at Warner Hall from Warner's "kinsman and overseer John Townley whome he had at that time left in full trust with the same."¹¹⁴

John Townley gave his deposition in this case of *Warner v. Bird* on June 6, 1678, before the Council of Virginia and Mr. Secretary Ludwell, president. We learn that he was twenty-nine years old, and thus born around 1649. His account of the invasion puts life into the event and gives reality to his own existence. He tells how he had been entrusted with the guidance of the house and family as overseer, and had "had alsoe delivered to him by Inventory all the household goods and other merchandizing goods and stores in and belonging to the sd Coll. Warner and laid upp and stored in his said house and storehouses thereto belonging, the Keyes of which houses and storehouses were demanded and commanded from him by the said Bacon and those with him; wch Keyes being afterwards in the hands & keeping of Capt. Wm. Bird." According to his report, Captain Bird shortly after coming to Warner Hall took a plate-handled scimitar and black-fringed shoulder belt belonging to Warner and wore them while there, and was still wearing them about a fortnight later when John Townley again saw him at Col. Warner's house at "Chieskake."¹¹⁵ He tells how Bird at Warner Hall opened the stores and chests and issued the goods to the armed men, who carried them away. He took particular notice that when Bird was delivering out the goods and "mett with any ffine goods, as Silke ffine Hollands, or other ffine Linnings, silke Stockings Ribband, or the like he sent them into Bacons roome, where he was often called in and was very Conversant." After the intruders were gone, John Townley, on the understanding that they intended to return, packed up the remainder

¹¹³ Public Record Office, C.O. 1/42 1678, on microfilm reel no. 94 of the Colonial Project Collection.

¹¹⁴ Warner was with Governor Berkeley's forces; on September 25 he was conferring with Robert Morris, whose ship *Young Prince* was anchored in the James River (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1675-1676*, item 1035).

¹¹⁵ This gives us a further glimpse of Bacon's movements. The troops were at Warner Hall at the last of September. About a fortnight later, i.e., about the middle of October, they or some of them were at Warner's place on the Piankatank (the elder Warner obtained a grant of 2500 acres at "old Cheescake town" October 26, 1652—Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 264), and on October 26, at the house of Major Thomas Pate in Gloucester County, Bacon died (Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel* [Chapel Hill, 1957], p. 85; for another account of the incident at Warner Hall see Pierre Maramband, "William Byrd I: A Young Virginia Planter in the 1670s," *VMHB*, LXXXI [1973], 141-145).

of the goods and put them on board the ship *Lady Frances*, taking an inventory so that he knew what was missing and that the true value of the purloined goods was 845 pounds 2 shillings sterling. His deposition, which he signs, is followed and confirmed by the testimony of William Blackburne and William Sympson, servants, and Richard Scarlett,¹¹⁶ a freeman and sharer, all living at Warner Hall, and by the testimony of William Overton, a soldier in Bacon's company.

As can be seen from the above, John Townley moved about freely in connection with Warner's affairs and he was not spending all his time on his own land in Stratton Major Parish during this period or perhaps up until after Warner's death in 1681. In April of 1680 he still owned this land, as Mr. John Lane was granted 540 acres bordering on John Townley (misspelled "Townby") on the northeast side.¹¹⁷ On October 23, 1690, he was granted 80 acres on the Poropotank Creek for importing two persons, viz., Jno Townley and Robt Grice.¹¹⁸ A John Townley (spelled "Towley") was on the King and Queen rent rolls of 1704 as having 200 acres, the only Townley named.¹¹⁹ This could be the original immigrant, as his age in 1704 would have been only 55. If so, he must have disposed of most of his land. On the other hand, if he was deceased and a division had been made among his heirs, this could be a son. A John Townley, presumably a grandson of the first, was of Stratton Major Parish when he was buying land along the Dragon Swamp in Essex County in 1743 and was in 1767 seated with his wife in pew 7 of the New Church which stood very near the old grant of land.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ A family of Scarletts lived in East Dereham, Norfolk, close by Hoe, the seat of the Warners of that region.

¹¹⁷ Land Office Records, Book 7, p. 23, microfilm. The common boundary is identical with that described as Townley's northeast boundary in the 1675/6 grant, except for a slight difference in the surveyed length.

¹¹⁸ Land Office Records, Book 8, p. 96.

¹¹⁹ Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, 1922), Appendix p. 229.

¹²⁰ Some other Townley references in early Virginia records may be noted. A Jos. Townly is on Jacob Lumpkin's headright list of 1682 for a grant in New Kent (Land Office Records, Book 7, p. 228). We know of no other Joseph Townley in either Virginia or England. A William Townley is on William Moore's headright list of 1670 for a grant in Nansemond (Land Office Records, Book 6, p. 31). A William Townley witnesses a deed from Benjamin Read to Thomas Read in York County January 12, 1692/3 (Deeds, etc., 1691-94, I, p. 561). These Reads were evidently brothers of Mildred, wife of Augustine Warner, Jr., a fact suggesting that the witnessing William Townley was a kinsman of John and Lawrence, though whether of Virginia or English birth is a question. As mentioned above, the last child of their father at Stone Edge was named William. A William Tunley was clerk of the York County court (1704-1708) and there are numerous court records of him until his disappearance from York County in 1709; a will of 1728 in South Carolina (Archives, Charleston County Wills, Vol. II, p. 35) may be his, but it does not establish his identity as a Townley, even though "Tunley" is an occasional variant of "Townley."

Early English immigrants to a given area of Virginia often were related or from the same neighborhood. Mr. Noel Curren-Briggs has shown that there is a similarity of the surnames in York County, Virginia, and Norfolk County, England.¹²¹ He states that the headright system, which brought about the establishment of ex-servants on land around their former masters and associates in the New World, tended to produce a surname distribution pattern in Tidewater Virginia similar to that found especially in the English counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and southeast Yorkshire, in which many of the big adventurers and planters originated. I, too, have noticed this phenomenon in reference to the English counties of Lancashire and Norfolk, and also in reference to the migration of people from earlier settled areas in Virginia to new lands farther west in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, where the same clusters of family names are repeated. This cohesion of groups is helpful to the genealogist in tracing a given family, as illustrated here by the fact that association of the Townleys with Augustine Warner has been the key to unlocking their story. Among the headrights listed by Warner for his grants of land between 1635 and 1672 there are 233 different surnames. About a fifth of these correspond to surnames indexed in the Colne parish registers of 1599-1653. Mr. Curren-Briggs lists sixty Norfolk surnames occurring in York County, Virginia, including the Thoroughgood and other surnames of neighbors of Warner in the New Poquoson, though not Warner. Ten of these surnames are on Warner's lists. But it may be noted that six of these are identical with surnames also occurring in Colne parish in the registers of the period mentioned, and that virtually half of those on the Curren-Briggs list are also to be found in the restricted area of that parish, and so are not unique to the County of Norfolk. Certainly Warner drew from both regions. Three-fifths of the different surnames in his headright lists occur in the will indexes of the Norwich Consistory Court for the period 1550-1686.¹²²

Study of Warner's lists with the possibility of kinship in mind can lead to interesting speculations. Take the case of Lawrence Smith. We knew that a sister of Warner's wife had married a Smith, and so we were interested to find that the first mention of Lawrence Smith in Virginia was as a headright of his in the list of October 26, 1652, where the name of Mary

¹²¹ "Similarity of Surnames in York County, Virginia, and County Norfolk, England," *VMHB*, LXXVIII (1970), 442-446.

¹²² M. A. Farrow, *Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich . . . 1550-1603* (Norfolk, 1950) and M. A. Farrow and T. F. Barton, *Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich . . . 1604-1686* (Norfolk, 1958), Volumes XXI and XXVIII respectively of the Norfolk Record Society publications.

Warner also appears. Lawrence Smith's first grant of land was in Gloucester on Mobjack Bay, and a later grant, part of which had been sold to him by Warner, lay across the North Branch of the Severn River from Warner.¹²³ Lawrence Smith was conforming to the pattern of settling near the man who had brought him to Virginia. Later, he became influential as a surveyor and military commander and large landowner. Some have supposed that he came from Totnes, Devonshire, on the strength of a coat of arms on the tomb of his great-granddaughter Mildred Smith Jameson (1735-1778) at Temple Farm.¹²⁴ Weighing against this is the fact that the Totnes parish registers do not reveal the baptism of any Lawrence Smith between 1620 and 1640, only four Smiths being baptized in this period of twenty-one years: three girls, and one boy not named Lawrence.¹²⁵ Now, as Major Lawrence Smith was closely associated with Warner and even named a son Augustine, presumably in his honor, it seems possible that the relationship involved a family tie. By some it has been supposed that Smith married a daughter of Warner's named Mary.¹²⁶ I suggest that Lawrence Smith, like Lawrence Townley, was a nephew of Mary Townley Warner. The line of reasoning is this: According to Dugdale, Elizabeth Townley of Stone Edge, an older sister of Mary Townley, married first Richard Halstead of Windlehouse and second Christopher Smith of Stannihurst (Stoneyhurst), gentleman, by whom she might well have had a Lawrence. We have not been able to verify her marriage to Christopher Smith of Stoneyhurst. Stoneyhurst is in the parish of Mitton, but a check of the Mitton registers¹²⁷ has not revealed a Christopher Smith-Elizabeth Halstead marriage, nor a Christopher Smith baptizing children there, though there was a burial of a Christopher Smith there April 16, 1638. However, in the Burnley parish registers, where many records are found

¹²³ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 365; Land Office Patent Book 6, p. 12.

¹²⁴ The arms are described as Azure a chevron between 3 acorns slipped (i.e., on a stalk) and leaved or (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., II [1893], 80). Mr. John Frederick Dorman in a letter February 9, 1970, states that perhaps the family did know in 1778 that these were the correct arms but that there were too many cases of error in memorial armory in Virginia for a family identification to be made solely through the arms on a tomb of the fourth generation. Mrs. Jonathan F. Reeves of Texas has sent me a picture of the Totnes arms as shown on Plate XIX of *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, edited by Joseph Jackson Howard, Vol. II (London, 1876), and, on facing p. 96, a picture and description of the arms granted by the College of Arms in 1602 to George Smithes of the County of Somerset, gent., then of London, whose family descended from a family of that name in the County of Lancaster. This Lancashire Smith coat was Argent a chevron azure between 3 oak leaves vert on each an acorn or. This is of interest because of Lawrence Smith's possible Lancashire origin.

¹²⁵ Examined at the Devonshire Record Office, Exeter, summer of 1972.

¹²⁶ According to letters, Mr. George H. S. King has never found proof of the surname Warner, and Mr. John Frederick Dorman has always doubted that Smith married a daughter of Warner's.

¹²⁷ Checked by the librarian at Sheepscar Library, Leeds.

of the Halsteads of Windlehouse, there is a Christopher Smith marrying an Elizabeth Halstead May 3, 1624.¹²⁸ The possibility that the Elizabeth Halstead of this entry was marrying for the first time was checked by looking into the baptisms of Elizabeth Halsteads who would have been of marriageable age in 1624. The two who were found died before reaching maturity, and thus the Elizabeth Smith of the 1624 marriage could have been the widow of Richard Halstead. The marriage record does not give Christopher Smith's place of residence, but we infer it was Stonirakes from the fact that after that marriage a Christopher Smith residing there baptized at Burnley: John, September 12, 1624; Lawrence, March 29, 1629; Christopher, January 29, 1631/2; a child whose name is obliterated in the record but known from other sources to be Richard, May 24, 1635; and Thomas, December 17, 1637. Perhaps Dugdale confused Stonirakes with Stoneyhurst, familiar as the residence of gentry.¹²⁹

Stonirakes is very near to Windlehouse, the residence of Elizabeth Townley's first husband Richard Halstead, who married her May 1, 1616. Subsequently he baptized three children, John at Colne, March 23, 1616/7, Elizabeth at Burnley, January 23, 1619/20, and Ellen at Colne, May 1, 1623. We have not found any record of his death. There is a reference to a Richard Halstead of Windlehouse in a memorandum dated July 9, 1624, in the court rolls of Clitheroe¹³⁰ concerning a division of Limestone Scarrs among freeholders and copyholders in the Briercliffe region, but the memorandum may well have been entered some time after the business of division had been completed, as we have found to be the case in other records we have examined; or this might be Richard Halstead, the father.¹³¹ Otherwise, the Elizabeth Halstead of the May 3, 1624, marriage to Christopher Smith could not be Elizabeth Townley Halstead.

Our hopes of more positive evidence were raised by noting that an Elizabeth Smith of Stonirakes, widow, had left a will in 1679, still at the Lancashire Record Office. Our information from Lancashire, disappointingly, was that this will had completely deteriorated; but more recently Mrs. Jonathan Floyd Reeves of Nacogdoches, Texas, who has independently concluded

¹²⁸ William Farrer, ed., *The Registers of the Parish Church of Burnley in the County of Lancaster. Christenings, Weddings, and Burials 1562 to 1653* (Rochdale, 1899), p. 154.

¹²⁹ The only Christopher Smith we have found in the region designated as a gentleman was the Christopher Smith of Bank End, a freeholder in 1600 (*Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, XII [1885], 236).

¹³⁰ Farrer, *Court Rolls of Honor of Clitheroe*, II, 418.

¹³¹ A Richard Halstead baptized a son Richard at Burnley May 13, 1593, and this Richard would have been of the right age to marry Elizabeth Townley. The identification, however, is uncertain.

that Lawrence Smith of Virginia was the son of Christopher and Elizabeth Townley Halstead Smith of Stonirakes,¹³² sent me a copy of the will made by ultraviolet photography, and though only the right half is clearly readable, this half, plus a few words deciphered in the more damaged portion, furnishes some valuable data. The will was made January 28, 1675/6, and probated January 5, 1679/80. All five of the Smith sons are named in the order of their baptism, and interspersed are the names of two women, Elizabeth Scarborough of Summerhouse, County York, widow, and Blanche Smith, son John's daughter who was baptized March 7, 1651/2. Son Christopher is stated in the will to be of Windlehouse (the seat of the Halsteads), and son Thomas to be of Stonirakes,¹³³ the location of sons John and Richard is indecipherable. The most pertinent item is that son Lawrence is designated as "late of Stonirakes" and to him is left a bequest which he may have (as we reconstruct the passage) if he shall come "& lawfully demaund the same." Not only Lawrence's absence from Stonirakes at this time, but also the expectation that he might return, fits in well enough with the history of Lawrence Smith of Virginia, for he made a number of trips out of Virginia to judge from the fact that he lists himself as a head-right once in 1666 and twice in 1671¹³⁴ and definitely made a voyage to England in 1686.¹³⁵ We know from the poll tax of 1660 for Briercliffe¹³⁶ that no Lawrence Smith was then at Stonirakes, when Christopher Smith¹³⁷ is listed with his wife Elizabeth and two sons Richard and Thomas and a servant Issabell Hargreaves.

Was the widow Elizabeth Scarborough of Summerhouse *née* Elizabeth Halstead, daughter of Elizabeth Townley by her first marriage? Summerhouse, Yorkshire, is located at Cowling in the parish of Kildwick, not far over the Lancashire-Yorkshire border from Colne. Mrs. Gladys Whittaker of Nelson, Lancashire, assisted us in obtaining records of this area.¹³⁸ There

¹³² Now published by Mrs. Reeves in an article, "Smith of Virginia," in Mrs. John Bennett Boddie's *Historical Southern Families*, XVII (Baltimore, 1972), 183-196.

¹³³ See p. 348 for a reference to him as receiving a piece of Stone Edge from Thomas Townley in 1674. Both the fact that Christopher was at Windlehouse and the fact that Thomas leased land at Stone Edge reinforce the opinion that they were Elizabeth Townley's sons.

¹³⁴ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 548; Land Office Records, Book 6, p. 93.

¹³⁵ York County Deeds and Wills, Book 7, p. 203.

¹³⁶ PRO, E 179 250/4.

¹³⁷ Dead by 1673, when the Hearth Tax gives "Widdow Smith" (PRO, E 179 132/355).

¹³⁸ Mrs. Whittaker also aided us in earlier stages of this research in obtaining data from unpublished parish registers and other Lancashire documents. She has been assisting Mr. Wilfred Spencer, F.L.A., of Colne, the local authority on the history of the region, in the transcription of hitherto unpublished Colne parish registers. It was he who turned our first inquiry over to her and gave her the benefit of his expert knowledge in the search for Townley and other records.

are Scarboroughs in the Kildwick Parish Registers¹³⁹ (beginning in 1575), some of Cowling, but none specifically of Summerhouse. A few Smith entries refer to Summerhouse. William and Elizabeth Smith of Summerhouse baptized a son Stephen February 14, 1664/5; later (designated as of Cowling) they baptized four more children—John, William, Ellen, and Mary. Ellen was baptized March 12, 1675/6, just a month and a half after Elizabeth Scarborough, widow, is mentioned in the will of Elizabeth Smith of Stonirakes as then residing at Summerhouse. Possibly the Smiths of Summerhouse had some connection with the Smiths of Stonirakes which could account for Elizabeth Scarborough living there in her widowhood. We suppose that she was the same as the Elizabeth Scarborough, relict of Lawrence Scarborough, who was buried in Kildwick July 20, 1691. A Lawrence Scarborough was buried July 2, 1674, as recorded in the registers of Carleton parish, a locality not far from Kildwick and Cowling. This fits in with the reference to Elizabeth Scarborough of Summerhouse, widow, in the will of Elizabeth Smith, made January 28, 1675/6. Although the marriage to Lawrence Scarborough has not been found in any parish registers of the area, or in Boyd's Marriage Index or Paver's Marriage Licences (1630-1644), there is a single reference to an Elizabeth Halstead in the Kildwick Parish Registers—the birth on January 17, 1640/1, of an illegitimate daughter, Hellen Holstead, to Elizabeth Holstead and Hugo Atkinson. Holstead or Halstead is not a local surname, and this is the only occurrence of the name at this period. It seems likely that Elizabeth Halstead, 21 at the time of the entry, later married Lawrence Scarborough.

In the Carleton Parish Registers (beginning in 1612) other Scarborough records are found. Lawrence Scarborough is recorded as marrying Margaret Pastphen February 11, 1632/3. This wife was buried February 19, 1633/4. Martha, wife of Lawrence Scarborough, was buried December 4, 1640. Paver's Marriage Licences include Lawrence Scarborough, skinner of Carleton, as marrying Martha Laccocke, spinster of Skipton (near both Carleton and Kildwick) at Skipton in 1638. Paver also records a marriage of Lawrence Scarborough, yeoman, 29, of Carleton, to Mary Fairfax, spinster, 23, of Addingham (which is near Skipton) at Addingham in 1641. The Lawrence Scarborough of the last entry would have been born in 1612. If he was also the Lawrence Scarborough of the first marriage, he would have been 21 at that time, and could have married again in 1638 and changed

¹³⁹ *The Parish Registers of St. Andrew's, Kildwick-in-Craven, Volume I, Baptisms, Deaths and Marriages, 1575-1622*, edited by William Anderton Brigg (The Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 1913).

his occupation between 1638 and 1641. No record has been found of the death of Lawrence Scarborough's wife Mary, but she also may have died soon after the marriage. Whether we have here one or more Lawrence Scarborougs is uncertain, but the Lawrence whose widow was Elizabeth may have married her by mid-1642, as Edward, son of Lawrence Scarborough, was baptized in Carleton parish February 26, 1642/3. Thirty-three years later, January 25, 1675/6, Edward Scarborough of Carleton baptized a daughter Elizabeth, suggesting that his mother was the Elizabeth Scarborough in question. Thus, Elizabeth Halstead whose illegitimate daughter Hellen was born January 17, 1640/1, could have been his mother, and the mother of the other children of Lawrence Scarborough whose baptisms are recorded in the Carleton Parish Registers—Ellen, August 14, 1651, and William, January 26, 1653/4. (There may have been other children, but there is a break in the Carleton registers between 1654 and 1671.) There is only a burial entry for Lawrence Scarborough's son Lawrence, September 23, 1645, and so it is not known whether he was born before or after Edward. In this burial entry Lawrence Scarborough is designated as of Lothersdale, which is a region on the moors between Carleton and Cowling.

Although the facts presented are not conclusive evidence that widow Elizabeth Scarborough was Elizabeth Halstead, and thus proof that Elizabeth Smith of Stonirakes was born Elizabeth Townley of Stone Edge, they certainly make it seem likely.

The hypothesis that Lawrence Smith of Virginia was from Lancashire, the son of Elizabeth Townley Smith and nephew of Mary Townley Warner, is not absolutely proved but seems a strong possibility. It is in line with this hypothesis that he named a daughter Elizabeth, though there is no record of his having had a son Christopher.¹⁴⁰

Another possibility suggested by Warner's headright lists is that his wife's sister Alice comes into the picture, inasmuch as a Richard Gray (the name of her Norwich husband) appears in Warner's list of 1672 (a son, possibly?) and two other Grays, Thomas and Mary, are in his lists of 1652 and 1658/9, respectively. It is likely that there was some family connection between Augustine Warner and his two other Warner headrights, John in 1658/9 and Jacob in 1672. Perhaps the same Jacob Warner is the one

¹⁴⁰ A Christopher Smith was on the quitrent rolls of King and Queen County in 1704 for 200 acres (Wertenbaker, *Planters of Colonial Virginia*, p. 229). Was he related to Lawrence Smith? Later, in 1728, a Christopher Smith of Hanover County received a grant in Spotsylvania County (Virginia Land Grants, Book 13, p. 738). Lawrence Smith's son William died in Spotsylvania in 1734.

named in 1678 in the Petsworth parish vestry book.¹⁴¹ In the same parish at the same time there was a Robert Warner serving as clerk of the vestry.¹⁴² I have argued that the Robert Warner of Stanhowe, Norfolk, who inherited Morehouse Manor was Augustine Warner's cousin. Was the Robert Warner of Petsworth parish this cousin's son? Or could any of these Warners have been younger sons of Augustine Warner? Augustine, Jr., his only known son, was at this period contributing money to the parish,¹⁴³ and made a "Generous & pious Gift" of several pieces of church silver acknowledged in the vestry book some three years after his death.¹⁴⁴ Though Warner Hall was in Abingdon parish, the Chieskake property was in this parish.

There was also a Christopher Warner in Virginia as shown by a letter to Captain Thomas Mathews of Cherry Point dated August 24, 1681, which begins, "Yours by Christopher Warner bearing date 29th July I have received." This letter from William Fitzhugh is footnoted by editor Richard Beale Davis thus: "Christopher Warner was almost surely a member of the already prominent family mentioned elsewhere in these letters though he has not been individually identified."¹⁴⁵ The name of Christopher could point to a relationship with Augustine Warner, since the father of Robert Warner of Stanhowe was named Christopher.

The evidence seems convincing that another nephew of Mary Townley Warner came to Virginia. Her sister Ann Townley married Samuel Hoyle of Barkisland in the parish of Elland, Yorkshire. He baptized a son Edward, August 1, 1641.¹⁴⁶ The records indicate that this Edward immigrated to Virginia and remained there. He appears as a headright on the March 26, 1666, list of Robert Taliaferro and Lawrence Smith.¹⁴⁷ In 1678 he is the fourth largest contributor toward the communion table cloth and other

¹⁴¹ C. G. Chamberlayne, *The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia, 1677-1793* (Richmond, 1933), p. 9.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 5, 6, 8. A Robert Warner was on the headright list of John Bennett, June 4, 1658 (Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 367).

¹⁴³ Chamberlayne, *Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Beale Davis, ed., *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents* (Chapel Hill, 1963), p. 103 for the letter, p. 104 for the footnote.

¹⁴⁶ H. Ormerod, ed., *The Parish Registers of Elland co. York, 1640-1670, and Churchwardens' Accounts, 1648-1670* (Oxford, 1917) Vols. II and III. Samuel Hoyle baptized five other children, Grace, Henry, Elizabeth, John, and Sara, between December 6, 1635, and May 16, 1650. He died in 1650 and was buried on December 24. His widow, Ann Hoyle of Barkisland, was buried September 17, 1672—two months before her brother Lawrence Townley at Stone Edge.

¹⁴⁷ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 548, prints the name as "Edwd Hoyte" but in the original Virginia Land Patents, Book 5, p. 481, as seen on microfilm, it appears as "Edw Hoyle."

appurtenances for the Petsworth parish church.¹⁴⁸ He married Ann Debnam, stepdaughter of Charles Grymes, as shown by a deed in King George County June 28, 1726, from their son Samuel Hoyle to Samuel Skinker.¹⁴⁹

The Reverend Charles Grymes married Katherine Debnam, widow of William Debnam (d. by 1657).¹⁵⁰ By the Debnam marriage Katherine had, besides a son William, three daughters, to whom their stepfather Charles Grymes bequeathed land as shown by deeds in Essex and King George, namely, Katherine who married Robert Taliaferro (partner of Lawrence

¹⁴⁸ Chamberlayne, *Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Deed Book No. 1, p. 360. The deed shows that the land being conveyed was part of a grant to Charles Grymes September 4, 1654, by him bequeathed to his "daughter-in-law," i.e., stepdaughter, Ann Debnam, who married Edward Hoyle; Samuel Hoyle, the grantor, being son and heir. One of the witnesses to this deed was a John Warner.

¹⁵⁰ Proof in York County Deeds, etc., 1657-1662. A court record of November 28, 1657, refers to a dispute between William Debnam, son and heir of William Debnam, and Christopher Calthorpe concerning a title of land in the New Poquoson, said to have been held by the father for twenty years. The same dispute is before the court June 24, 1658, and it is now added that the case is being pressed by Charles Grymes, the plaintiff's guardian; and the next day at court there is this entry concerning another matter: "Mr. Charles Grymes as Intermarrying with the Relict of William Debnam Dced this Day petitioned the Court for Satisfaccon of two men Servants due to the said Dced: ts Estate from Thomas Benisters Estate." On a list of bills of William Allin in 1657 we find the name of William Debnam (spelled "Debnamy") and the statement that he was out of York County at the Severn River. Presumably he died in Gloucester County.

Charles Grymes of Virginia is said to be the same as the Charles Grime of Ightham, Kent, stated by *Alumni Cantabrigienses* to have matriculated at Pembroke in 1631 at age 19 (thus born about 1612) and to have probably been the son of the John Grime who matriculated at Trinity in 1595. This John Grime was the son of Robert Grime, yeoman, and was born at Horning, Norfolk; he transferred to Caius 1596/7 at age 17 (thus born about 1580) and after receiving his degrees was ordained priest at Norwich in 1605; following service in other parishes in Cambridge and Kent, he was rector of Ightham, Kent, from 1616 to 1644. The aforesaid John Grime left a will which he made "beinge in reasonable health," on August 21, 1643, and which was probated March 22, 1644/5 (PRO, London 192/ C/ 4648). He made bequests to the poor of Ightham and Rainham, Kent, where he was vicar at the time of the birth of Charles Grime. Charles is the only son mentioned in the will. To him he bequeaths both property and money, as well as to his daughters Elizabeth Grime, Anne Grime, and Sarah Dawling, wife of Ralph Dawling, gent., and to Sarah, the daughter of Ralph and Sarah Dawling, whom for some reason he calls "neice" rather than granddaughter. Anne Grime is named sole executrix. No reference is made to the whereabouts of Charles; perhaps, since he was not made executor, he was already in Virginia or planning to take a charge there, where he is supposed to have been by 1644—if, as we suppose, he was identical with the Reverend Charles Grymes of the Colony. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, (p. 254) gives Ralph Dawbigg as a headright of Charles Grymes in a grant of October 18, 1653, in Virginia. This looks like another link, since "Dawbigg" could easily be an error for "Dawling" by the same kind of scribal slip that gives us "Townby" for "Townley," suggesting that the Reverend Charles Grymes brought over some of his Kent relatives to Virginia.

Horning, the birthplace of John Grime, is quite near Hoveton St. John, and he could very well have known the Warner family there, and especially William Warner, clerk, who was ordained the same year as he in Norwich, and Thomas Warner, who was a contemporary at Caius and had the same tutor there.

There is even evidence that there was intermarriage between the Grymes (Gryme, Grime, Grimes) and Warner families in Norfolk. Margaret Warner of Stanhowe, generosa, married Humphrey Grymes, gent., August 13, 1618 (Phillimore, *Norfolk Marriages*, Vol. XII). She and her brother, Robert Warner of Stanhowe, were grandchildren of William Warner of Hoveton St. John, gent. Pedigrees in Sayer's *Eynsford Families 1550-1700* (Norfolk Genealogy, Vol. IV, 1972)

Smith in a grant of 1666), Ann who married Edward Hoyle, and Mary. Whom did Mary marry?¹⁵¹

The widow Katherine Debnam married Charles Grymes in 1658 and must have been, though not young, the mother of the John Grymes who married Alice Townley, if he was born in 1660, as stated. Thus, when Ann Debnam married Edward Hoyle, it would have been a case of John Grymes's half-sister marrying his wife's cousin. Christ Church Parish in Middlesex County, where John and Alice Grymes resided, was the scene of the marriage of Edward Hoyle's son Samuel to Elizabeth Elliott October 23, 1705; and the first child of this marriage was a daughter Ann, baptized December 22, 1706.¹⁵²

We now see that the ramifications of the Townleys of Stone Edge into Virginia were far greater than we suspected when we learned of Mary Townley's marriage to Augustine Warner of Norwich, gentleman.

Some memory of their origins and early history lingered on among the Townleys descended from John Townley, the Virginia immigrant. On

suggest that Humphrey Grymes was the son of George Gryme, eldest son of Thomas Gryme of Foulsham, Suffield and Antingham, gent. (buried October 12, 1591), and his wife Amphilicia, daughter of Robert Themelthorpe (Thymblethorpe) of Tunstead and Worstead, gent. Thomas Gryme had five sons—George, Thomas, John, Martin, and Robert. It is very possible that the fifth son, Robert, was the father of John Grime, clerk, born at Horning, and thus grandfather of the Reverend Charles Grymes of Virginia.

Pedigrees of the Gryme and Thymblethorpe families are in the Harleian, *Visitation of Norfolk* 1563, 1589, 1613. In medieval times the Themelthorpes were at Foulsham and Themelthorpe, not far to the northeast of Hoe. The Gryme family was seated at Trimmingham: Thomas Gryme was the son of Robert Gryme of Trimmingham, gent. Trimmingham is on the coast of northeast Norfolk; and not far to the south are Suffield, Antingham, Tunstead, Worstead, and Horning. This Gryme family bore as arms *Azure, 3 cross taus or.*

¹⁵¹ Did she marry Lawrence Smith? He named a son William and another Charles. His wife's name was Mary. Mary Debnam's father was William and her stepfather Charles. William Debnam's land was close to Lawrence Smith on Mobjack Bay. There is this further evidence from Essex County Deeds, etc., 1692-1695, pp. 38 ff.: On August 9, 1692, John Smith, gent., of Ware parish, Gloucester Co., and Elizabeth his wife sold to John Taliaferro of St. Marie's parish, Essex Co., 300 acres in St. Marie's taken up by Charles Grymes and bequeathed in his will of November 11, 1661, to Mary Debnam. John Smith must have been Lawrence Smith's eldest son who married Elizabeth Cox and lived in Ware Parish and was brother-in-law to John Taliaferro by Taliaferro's marriage to Sarah Smith. The deed does not tell how John Smith came into possession of the land being conveyed, but if, as suggested, Mary Debnam was John Smith's mother, then the land could have come to him through her.

There is a question whether Lawrence Smith was married before he came to Virginia. In tracing the history of the Lawrence Smith born at Stonirakes in 1629, we came across a marriage in the Burnley registers of a Lawrence Smith to a Mary Hitchon on September 28, 1651. It is doubtful that this was the Lawrence Smith of Stonirakes. Both a Lawrence Smith of Botten and a Lawrence Smith of Burnley baptized a daughter Mary the following year, and either of these could have been the husband of Mary Hitchon.

¹⁵² Elizabeth was widow of Samuel Hoyle of King George County in 1734; her son Edward became administrator. According to Mr. George H. S. King, the records show that Samuel and Elizabeth Hoyle had, besides Edward, two daughters Frances and Susanna, and a son Samuel whose son Samuel, Jr., died in King George County in 1788, after which the name Hoyle became extinct in this line.

January 1, 1896, John Buckner Townley (1823-1899) noted in his family Bible that it was rumored that his branch "came with Gov. Berkeley to Va. where my grandfather was born in Essex Co. though domiciled in King and Queen Co. where they raised a family of 7 children—John Townley who settled and died in Lynchburg, Va. Mann Townley who 1st settled in Albemarle Co. and ultimately moved to Kentucky where he died. Buckner Townley my (JBT Sr.) father settled in Albemarle Co. Va. in the Town of Charlottesville and ultimately died near Red Hill Station VMRR, North Garden district Albemarle Co. Va., where I (JBT Sr.) now reside."¹⁵³

Let us compare this account with the history reconstructed from wills, deeds, and other records. John Buckner Townley's grandfather John Townley left a will, made July 18, 1787, and probated in Essex County September 17, 1792, in which he names his seven children — Mann, John, Buckner, Sarah, Mary, Ann, and Joannah—the three sons mentioned in the Bible note, and four daughters. The land on which he lived in Essex extended over into King and Queen. His brother James lived on adjoining land, and we learn from a deed of March 16, 1772, by which James sold a piece of his land, that it had come to him by the will of his father John Townley.¹⁵⁴ The land on which the two brothers dwelt had been bought by their father in three purchases of tracts between the Dragon and Bestland Swamps, on record in Essex County.¹⁵⁵ At the time of the first purchase, May 17, 1743, he is designated as of Stratton Major Parish in King and Queen, which means that he was living in the region of the old grant and not in that region of King and Queen (i.e., St. Stephen's parish) which borders on Essex. But when he makes his next two purchases, July 15, 1743, and April 16, 1745, he is designated as of South Farnham parish in Essex. Before he made these purchases he had married Sarah Edmondson, daughter of James Edmondson of South Farnham Parish nearby, whose will of August 19, 1741, probated in Essex September 15, 1741, mentions her as Sarah Townley. According to the Bible note, his son John was born in Essex but domiciled in King and Queen, which is entirely possible, since the land lay in both counties, and furthermore the birth may have taken place at the Edmondson home. His son James seems to have been named after his wife's father. This John Townley who married Sarah Edmondson must have been the grandson of the immigrant, and

¹⁵³ My husband and I saw this Bible note in May 1970 at Red Hill in the old home, called "Stoneleigh," occupied by John Buckner Townley's granddaughter Mrs. Nellie Townley Bouton.

¹⁵⁴ Essex County Deed Book 30, p. 515.

¹⁵⁵ Deed Book 23, pp. 21, 65, 241.

perhaps his father was still living in Stratton Major Parish on a piece of the old Arrakeco grant at the time of the Dragon Swamp purchases. The name of the immigrant's son in question is not known, unless he was the John Townley of the 1704 quitrents.¹⁵⁶ As for the John Townley who was married to Sarah Edmondson and who made the purchases of tracts on the Dragon Swamp, he is known to have occupied a seat in the Stratton Major Parish church at least as early as December 11, 1767, when he and his wife were assigned Pew 7 in the New Church, near to the old Townley grant, and as late as November 14, 1770, he was mentioned in the vestry book;¹⁵⁷ and his will was made and probated in King and Queen, evidently, for it is not in the Essex records (unfortunately all the King and Queen court records were destroyed during the Civil War). It is a question whether the wife referred to in the assignment of seats at the New Church in 1767 was Sarah Edmondson, for she may have died before her mother Judith Allaman Edmondson made her will March 6, 1753, which fails to mention her. A Mildred Townley is mentioned in the will of John Crockford of King and Queen in 1757 as his daughter.¹⁵⁸ Was she the wife of John Townley? Or was she the wife of William Townley, possibly John's brother, who in 1752 and 1753 was plaintiff in several debt cases before the Essex court?¹⁵⁹ John Townley had either never left Stratton Major Parish or had returned there before 1767, leaving his sons in occupancy of the Dragon Swamp property; his son James was definitely living on this land in 1761, for on August 17 of that year he was awarded 215 lbs. of tobacco for attending Essex court five days and "three times coming and returning ten miles from King & Queen County" as witness for William Estes against R. T. Haile.¹⁶⁰ The Townley land extending over from Essex into King and Queen was approximately ten miles from Tappahannock, the seat of the Essex County court; and if James lived on the King and Queen side, so also might his brother John have "domiciled" there, as the Bible note has it.

¹⁵⁶ Wertenbaker, *Planters of Colonial Virginia*, p. 229.

¹⁵⁷ C. G. Chamberlayne, *The Vestry Book of Stratton Major Parish, King and Queen County, Virginia, 1729-1783* (Richmond, 1931), pp. 168, 184.

¹⁵⁸ Beverley Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts; King and Queen County . . .* (Richmond, 1938-1948), XIV, 32.

¹⁵⁹ Essex Orders, No. 18, pp. 121 ff., 135, 198, 210, 254 ff., 361; No. 19, pp. 21, 241. Perhaps this is the William Townley on the tax list of New Hanover County, North Carolina, St. James Parish, in 1762, and otherwise in the court records, who administers the estate of his son *Bucknar* in 1784. This distinctive name of his son points to kinship with the Virginia Townley line where the Buckner name is also used.

¹⁶⁰ Essex Orders, 1759-1761, p. 361.

The wills of John and James Townley were recorded in Essex County where the bulk of the Townley land lay. John married Sarah Mann, daughter of Joseph and Mary Mann who lived on adjoining property, part of which today bears the name "Mannsfield." The Mann family also was connected with the Edmondsons through the marriage of John Mann, Sarah's brother, to Judith Edmondson, a cousin of Sarah's husband. The names of four of the seven children of John and Sarah Mann Townley—Mann, John, Sarah, and Mary—were taken from the names of their parents and themselves; remoter kindred may have accounted for the other three—Buckner, Ann, and Joannah.¹⁶¹ John Buckner Townley of Red Hill in his Bible note was correct about the later history of Mann, John, and Buckner, the three sons of John and Sarah Mann Townley.

James Townley married Ann Collier, daughter of William and Frances Collier of King and Queen, members of the Stratton Major Parish church. His will names his children, William, John, James, Frances, Sarah, and Ann, all of whom are named after their parents or grandparents.¹⁶²

John and James Townley, the sons of John and Sarah Edmondson Townley, may have had a brother Robert. A Robert Townley is credited in 1782 with 350 acres of land in King and Queen.¹⁶³ It is an interesting question whether these acres were a part of the original Arrakeco grant, and whether they came to him by inheritance from John Townley of King and Queen, whose son he may have been—one indication being that he named a son John and a daughter Judith, which was his grandmother's name if he was John and Sarah Edmondson Townley's son. Robert Townley's second wife was Jane Anderson of King and Queen whom he married in Christ Church Middlesex, December 29, 1781, after the closing of the Stratton Major church in consequence of the disturbances of the Revolution. That she was his second wife is clear from the fact that the 1783 tax list attributes to him, in addition to his new wife, six children—Ann, Frances, Judith, Richard, Beverly, and John.¹⁶⁴ Robert Townley had died by 1810 when

¹⁶¹ Named in will, made July 8, 1787, recorded September 17, 1792, Essex Wills No. 14, pp. 328 ff. Mann married (1) Nancy Clarkson, (2) Elizabeth Foster; John married Elizabeth Ball; Buckner married Frances Biggers; Sarah married Charles Howerton; Mary married James Messick (?); Ann married William Guthrie; Joannah married Samuel Boulware.

¹⁶² Will made June 2, 1785, recorded October 17, 1785, Essex Wills No. 13, pp. 525 ff. William and James died unmarried, and Ann (Nancy) was unmarried at the time of her brother William's will in 1807. John married Lucy Johnson; Sarah married Joseph Mann, Jr.; Frances married Roger Shackelford.

¹⁶³ Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts: King and Queen County*, IV, 30.

¹⁶⁴ Ann Waller Reddy, "King and Queen County, Virginia [Personal Tax List, 1783]," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, XCI (1957), 1091-1095.

Jane Townley is listed in the King and Queen census as head of the household with one male under ten. During the Revolution he was a sergeant.¹⁶⁵

Though lacking the details which research can supply, the John Buckner Townley Bible note of 1896 has proved to be substantially true. Another reminiscence that was passed on by another grandson of John Townley of Essex to his descendants was that they were related to George Washington. This grandson, Melecue James Townley (1811-1892), son of John and Elizabeth Ball Townley, told his son many times about this kinship. The story came to be interpreted to mean that the kinship was through Elizabeth Ball, because George Washington's mother was Mary Ball. A present-day descendant, Mrs. Peggy Carswell Peacock of Houston, Texas, was much puzzled by the story as she had found through research that there was absolutely no connection between Elizabeth Ball and Mary Ball, and was about to conclude that her great-uncle (son of Melecue James Townley), from whose papers the story came to her, was not too reliable, since he had been taken in by the Townley Estate swindle. The mystery was solved for her when she read my previous article which shows that the connection with George Washington is actually through the Townley family. Melecue James Townley's father John Townley (1766-1844) probably knew what the relationship was. He was a boy at the start of the Revolution, a young man when Washington became president, and was acting with his brother Mann as an executor of his father's estate when Washington was re-elected for his second term in 1792. The Townleys had lived in the same general region for over a hundred years since their immigrant ancestor had come in, and then, when Mann, John, and Buckner moved away from their home territory after the sale of their father's land, the family traditions which they carried with them became modified, as one might expect.

Finally, what were the conditions in Norfolk and Lancashire which encouraged Augustine Warner and the Townleys, members of the gentry, to leave their ancient homeland for the wilds of Virginia? Aside from the inducements offered by the merchant class in Norwich to open up new markets, there was plague, the Thirty Years War, poverty, special taxation brought on by the war and in Norwich also by the plague, and, in Warner's

¹⁶⁵ John H. Gwathmey, *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution; Soldiers, Sailors, Marines, 1775-1783* (Richmond, 1938), p. 779. According to the same source, James Townley also was a soldier. According to the Essex Public Service Claims, Commissioner's Book II, p. 159 (in Virginia State Library, Archives), James supplied the army 24½ gallons of brandy in 1780, and John in 1781 supplied 225 lbs. of beef.

case, there was no family seat to inherit when at seventeen, the age of decision as to schooling for a profession or apprenticeship for a trade, he set out on the Virginia adventure. After several years he must have decided that opportunities were greater in Virginia than in Norwich, and he took his Townley wife back there to establish himself in the New World, where his inherited abilities made him a leader in colonization, government, and commerce. As to the Townleys, in addition to the influence of the Warners already established in Virginia, there was the important factor of the English Civil War. That struggle obviously touched the Townleys of Stone Edge. Not only was a relative, Charles Towneley of Towneley Hall, slain at Marston Moor on the side of the King in 1644 and his estate sequestered and declared forfeit in 1651 (though recovered after the Restoration); and not only were the estates of other Townleys affected, as for instance Barnside (recovered some generations later); but also at least one brother-in-law of Mary Townley Warner, Thomas Riley of Chatburn, was in 1646 forced to bear a fine of £50 and take the National Covenant and Negative Oath "for delinquency in wearing a sword for his defense against the fury of the soldiers on either side," though he declared he never left his home.¹⁶⁶ Right in St. Bartholomew's, the Townley family church, there occurred a violent episode indicative of the times. We read in the preface of the Colne parish registers as edited by Ecroyd, in connection with an account of the record-keeping: "Thomas Warriner continued, in a scholarly and legible hand, the entries until 1645, when, according to Dr. Walker, the author of 'Sufferings of the Clergy,' he was, in the time of divine service, dragged out of the desk by two Parliamentary soldiers who pursued him down the aisle and owned that they had intended to fire upon him, had not some of the congregation restrained them. He fled into Yorkshire where he is supposed to have died as he never returned to his charge in Colne."¹⁶⁷ Under such circumstances it is easy to understand why, at Towneley Hall, Richard Towneley, son of the Charles who fell at Marston Moor, stayed quietly at home studying meteorology and astronomy (he contributed notes used by Isaac Newton in the *Principia*) and his brother Christopher, having married the widow of Richard Townley of Carr Hall, stayed quietly at the Hall transcribing family and other Lancashire documents to such an extent that he came to be known as "the Transcriber." And so it is not surprising that Lawrence Townley may not

¹⁶⁶ *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, etc., Domestic 1643-1660, Part II* (London, 1890), April 27, 1646.

¹⁶⁷ Ecroyd, *Registers of the Parish Church of Colne in the County of Lancaster*, p. vii.

have cared to venture from Stone Edge to the church in Colne to have his son John christened in 1649, the year of the execution of King Charles I, and may even have taken his family to safer quarters. The comparative peace and prosperity of the Warners in Virginia must have seemed appealing in Stone Edge at the period when Robert and Lawrence and John Townley would have been leaving England. Not that Virginia was free from Indian troubles and political turmoil: Bacon's Rebellion of 1676, in which Jamestown was set on fire and Warner Hall was occupied and robbed by the rebel forces while John Townley was in charge, was in effect an aftermath of the Civil War in England.