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A visitation of the county of Kent : begun anno Dni. MDCLXIII, finished...

Relevance: ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

Main Author: Bysshe, Edward, Sir.

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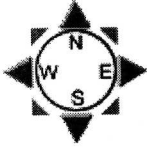
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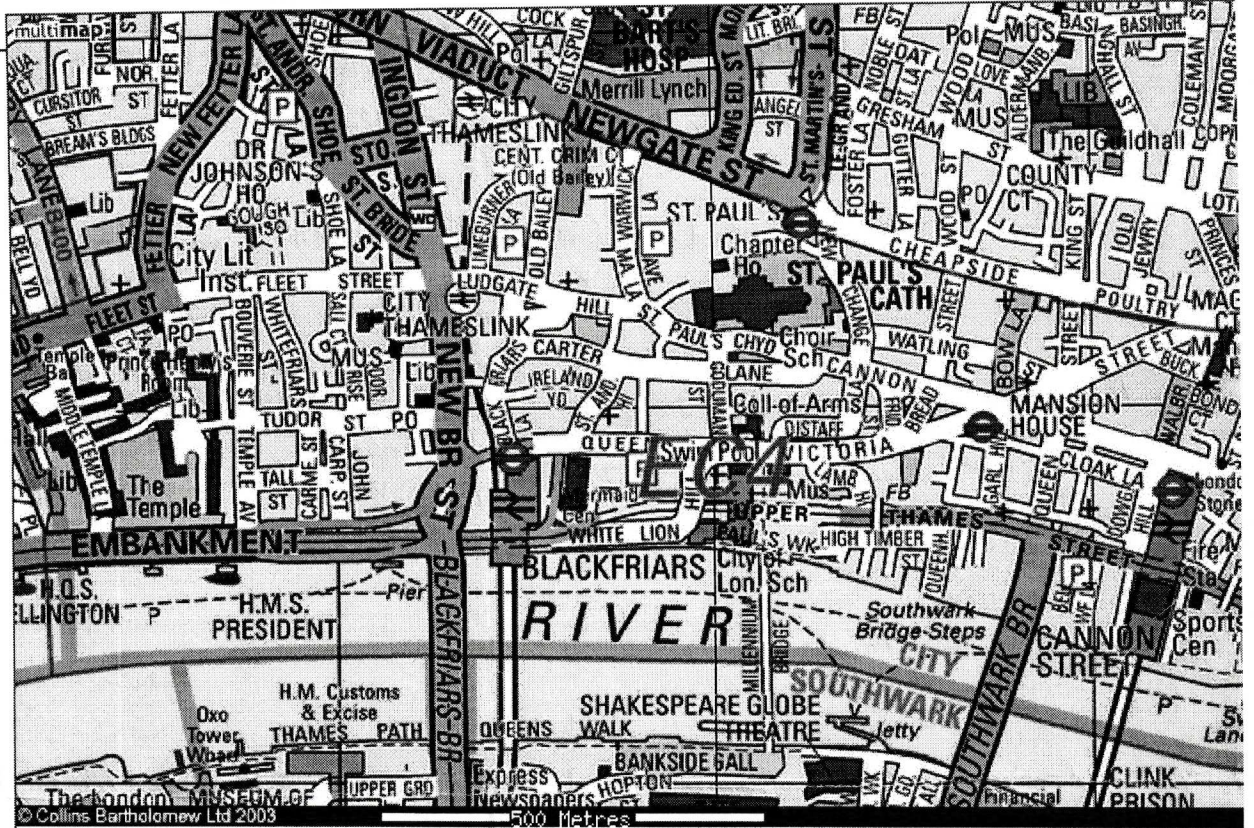
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weather

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5 day forecast

Sir George J. Armytage, Bart. F.S.A.(E) "A visitation of the County of Kent begun anno dni. MDCLXIII finished anno dni. MDCLXVIII. London The Harleian Society 54 (1906)

Visitation was done by Sir Edward Bysshe K^t Clarenceux King of Armes. page 7 Baker of Patrishorne [D. 18, 31.] [Add. Ms. 5507, 132^b]

Vide Ware (Edited by W.C. Metcalfe, 1883, p 5) ¹⁶⁸³ p. 103 for the Arms. in Hasted's handwriting.

William Baker of Cranborne = Kath: daughter of Robert Bathurst of Goudhurst, Ar.
in Con. Kent, gent.

Anne da of Step. Seave 1st wife s.p. = Joyce da. of John Jones of Alkham = Kent 2. wife = Edward Baker of Patrishorne = Con. Kent, gt. 1663 = Margaret da of John Swann 3rd wife = Elizabeth = wife of Geo Wood Chapman = Jane da of ... Surge

John son = Amy daughter of John Duncumb of Great Brighthelm in Con. Bucks Ar

2 Thomas

Susan ux Robert Smith of Goudhurst

EDWARD BAKER

p. 29 Anne Bargrave, da of Capt Richard Bargrave of Patrishorne, Ar = Leonard Brome, Alderman of Canterbury, 1663
- Isack, son & heir
- Elizabeth

p. 1365
Charles Slingsby of York, armiger. Matric 20.12.1577 St Ed. Hall, aged 16
BA The Queen's 5.6.1581 MA 27.6.1583 B.D. 25.1.1591/2
% 22.11.1561; Rector of Rothbury 1584; brother of Guilford.
Francis Slingsby 1st son of Francis of York city, militiaman Trinity College matric
20.6.1628, aged 16. BA 5.2.1628/9; nephew of above, brother of Henry 1628
Sir Guilford Slingsby, son of armiger; matric Queens 23.3.1581/2 aged 16
8th son of Sir Francis Glenon; % 7.10.1565; Comptroller of the navy in the time of
Charles I, knighted 23.7.1603; brother of Charles; father of Guilford
Guilford Slingsby M.A. St Andrews. M.A. Oxon. 24.11.1629; MP for York 1634
Sec to earl of Straford; Lieut. of Ordnance Office, vice-adm of New York

Ludowick Wemyss. Fellow of Queen's Alumni Ox (3)
Camb. 1616. A.D. 1621 D.P. per letters
Regius 1624; M.A. Ox. 12.8.1645; pres. of Westminster 1631; rector & vicar
of Gednos (Lincs) 1622; rector of Fimmore (Oxon) 1632; of Churchthorpe
(Herts) 1639; of Mansone (Essex) 1642 until sequestered = 1645 by the House
of Commons; buried at St. Andrew Holborn 15.10.1659

(Alumni Oxonienses 2)
Munster 26.1.1643 aged 31
Henry Slingsby son of Francis of York Matric Trinity Coll 20.6.1628 aged 14
BA 4.2.1629/30; M.A. 1.7.1633; brother of Francis 1628.
Henry Slingsby, son of W. Urban of London, militiaman. Matric Exeter Coll
5.6.1635 aged 14; master of the mint at the time of Charles II
Sir Henry Slingsby of Red Horse (baronet) son of Thomas. Matric Oxon.
13.10.1710 aged 17; Sec. BT. (father died 12.11.1716) M.P. for Knaresborough - 8 parishes
for 5.1714 until his death 18.1.1763
Thomas Slingsby BA 9.7.1568. Perhaps eldest brother of Charles & Guilford.
died 1581 aged 21.
Thomas Slingsby created M.A. 1.11.1642 (son of Sir Henry); a col. - the Royal Artillery
formed at Knaresborough 11.2.1670

Will of Sir Guilford Slingsby or Slingsby, Controller of
His Majesty's ship 29/4/1631 PROB 11/159
Catebury.
Records of the Prerogative Court of
PCC & related Probate Jurisdiction: will registers.
St John Quire Numbers 1-68 (1 will of mayful the cat ref.)
Image 439/384 PDF 1.2 396 K 2 pp



Navy Comptroller c. 1546 - 1639

Introduction
Clerk of the Crown in Chancery
Clerks of the Privy Council
Clerks of the Privy Seal
Clerks of the Signet
Commissioners
Commissioners of Bankrupts c.
1720-1831
Comptroller of Accounts

Custodes Rotulorum
Exchequer: Receivers of Land
Revenues 1554-1832
Justices in Eyre
Kings Proctor
Masters of Request
Navy Clerk of the Acts
Navy Comptroller
Navy Surveyor

Navy Surveyor of Marine
Victuals
Navy Treasurers
Officers of the Mint
Officers of the Ordnance
Officers of the Green Cloth
Paymaster of Forces
Paymaster of Pensions
Prince Frederick Household
Prince George Household

Princess Augusta Household
Princess Caroline Household
Queen Adelaide Household
Queen Charlotte Household
Queen Caroline Household
Queen Victoria Household
Vice Admirals
Wards

Navy Comptroller c. 1546-1639

This office had come into existence by 1546 when the crown granted a salary by letters patent under the great seal. Thereafter the crown granted the office itself in this fashion. Tenure was for life until 1639 and during pleasure subsequently. The patent salary, originally 100 marks, was fixed at £50 in 1561. For a list of subsequent holders of the office, see *Navy Board Officials 1660-1832*, comp. J.M. Collinge (1978), p. 22).

Provisional list compiled by J C
Sainty January 2003

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Abbreviations

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PRO

References

C 66

Chancery patent rolls

1201-2001 5618 rolls + volumes

C 142

Chancery inquisitions post mortem:
series II, and other inquisition, Henry VII & Charles I, ~1485 - ~1649

CPR

Calendar of Patent Rolls

preserved in the Public Record Office DA

DA25.C9 Ref

Chronological list of Comptrollers

By 1546 Broke, William

Gt. of salary 24 Apr. 1546 (Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, xxi(1), 359 (10)); surr. by 12 Dec. 1561 (CPR 1560-63, p. 302).

1561 Broke, William; Holstock, William

Gt. in surv. 12 Dec. 1561 (CPR 1560-63, p. 302); Holstock, sole survivor, surr. 29 Oct. 1580 (ibid.).

1580 Holstock, William; Borough, William

Gt. in surv. 5 Nov. 1580 (CPR 1578-80, p. 272(2155)); Holstock d. 28 Oct. 1589 (History of Parliament 1558-1603, ii, 331); Borough d. by 24 Dec. 1598 (C 66/1499, gt. to Palmer).

1598 Palmer, Sir Henry (1), Kt.

Gt. 24 Dec. 1598 (C 66/1499); d. 24 Nov. 1611 (DNB).

1611 Slingsby, Sir Guilford, Kt.

Gt. in rev. after Sir Henry Palmer (1) 10 Mar. 1604 (C 66/1621); succeeded 24 Nov. 1611 (d. of same); d. 29 Apr. 1631 (C 142/728 no. 7).

1631 Palmer, Sir Henry (2), Kt.

Gt. in rev. after Sir Henry Palmer (1) and Guilford Slingsby 20 Aug. 1611 (C 66/1924 no. 14); succeeded 29 Apr. 1631 (d. of Slingsby); vacated by

12 Dec. 1639 (gt. to Palmer and Carteret).

1639 Palmer, Sir Henry (2), Kt.; **Carteret**, George
Gt. in surv. 12 Dec. 1639 (C 66/2862 no. 16).



The Royal Navy under James I

M. Oppenheim

The English Historical Review, Vol. 7, No. 27. (Jul., 1892), pp. 471-496.

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The Royal Navy under James I

ON 24 March 1602-3 the weapon forged by Henry VIII and wielded by Elizabeth fell into the feeble hand of James Stewart. Elizabeth left England supreme at sea; the Royal Navy bequeathed by the queen to her successor was by far the finest fleet of men-of-war then afloat, for it was not until the close of the sixteenth century that Spain and Holland commenced to build ships for purely fighting purposes.¹ The men who manned it were renowned for hardihood, daring, and smart seamanship; and its organisation as controlled by the great seamen of her reign was more efficient and smoother in its working than any other of the departments of state.² It is fortunately not necessary for me to attempt yet another estimate of the political capacity of Elizabeth, but the student of the naval history of that time cannot but be impressed by the foresight with which, from the first days of her accession to the hour of her death, she recognised that the enemies of England were to be fought at sea, and that the right arm of England was its maritime strength—a doctrine which is a commonplace now, but which was then being only slowly evolved in minds even yet dazzled by memories of invasions of France. Notwithstanding her parsimony—and her parsimony emphasises the fact—she expended money—for her lavishly—on the navy all through her reign, while the military and other services of the crown were remorselessly starved. Sooner or later the naval authorities obtained the greater part of their requirements, in striking contrast to the fortune of other officials, who thought, and whose contemporaries probably thought, their needs of equal or more importance. Even in 1558 the days were in reality long past when Spanish fleets were to be feared, and when the Bay of Biscay could be proudly called ‘the Spanish Sea;’ but it was due to Elizabeth’s sagacity that the weapon which was to slay the Goliath threatening European civilisation was at once recognised and consistently used. For centuries the defence of England had depended on the mail-clad horseman and the yeoman archer; the supremacy even of the Channel, often hardly

¹ Raleigh, ‘Discourse of Ships,’ *Works*, ed. 1751.

² Monson says that in 1599 a fleet was prepared for sea in twelve days, and ‘the queen was never more dreaded abroad for anything she ever did.’

contested, had been only occasionally gained. Elizabeth was the first of English sovereigns throughout the whole of whose reign the English flag flew supreme and triumphant in the English Channel. That she was aided by the legacy of a fleet, by the helplessness of France, by changing economic conditions at home and the revolt of the United Provinces abroad, may have made her task easier, but these things do not detract from the praise due to her discernment. It will be seen that James I took an even keener personal interest in the navy than did Elizabeth, but the lack of controlling capacity, so disastrously shown in other affairs, was equally fatal to naval administration. The naval records of his reign are but a sorry collection of relations of frauds, embezzlements, commissions of inquiry, and feeble palliatives.

The first wish of the new monarch was to obtain peace with Spain, a desire for which modern historians have unanimously praised him, although it may be at least a matter for debate whether the continuance of the war until Spain was bled to death would not have been ethically justifiable, politically expedient, and commercially profitable. On 23 June 1603 a proclamation was issued recalling all vessels which had been sent out with hostile intent, and thus ending the lucrative privateering speculations which had so long provided occupation and profit for English sailors and merchants. The last important prize captured by the Queen's ships was the 'St. Valentine,' a Portuguese carrack taken by Sir R. Leveson in 1602, and its cargo was sold in 1604 for upwards of 26,000*l*.³

In a previous paper⁴ I have remarked the improvements in building and equipment attributed to Elizabethan shipwrights and seamen, chief among which I should place the increase of length and decrease of height above water, due to Sir John Hawkins. But the greater demand for faster and more seaworthy ships had not yet produced models which satisfied the more critical of sixteenth-century experts. Shipbuilding was not yet a science and seemed in some respects to have even retrograded during the previous half-century; in the coloured drawings by Anthony Anthony of Henry VIII's ships,⁵ which are obviously meant to be faithful representations of their general appearance and outline, we see that the hulls of the smaller vessels are of the flush-decked, corvette type, such as are not again met with till the eighteenth century. The subsequent tendency to overload ships, however small, with forecastle and poop superstructures, although it can be explained by the necessity for providing accommodation for larger crews and longer voyages than

³ *Add. MSS.* 5752, f. 136.

⁴ *ENG. HIST. REVIEW*, July 1891.

⁵ *Add. MSS.* 22047. There are existing drawings of fifteenth-century vessels which are more seaworthy and modern in appearance than those of the two succeeding centuries.

were before known, can scarcely be considered an improvement on the earlier models. Captain George Waymouth, who appears to have been considered an authority on the theory and practice of shipbuilding and navigation, and who was several times called upon to report independently on the workmanship displayed on the royal ships, was very severe on his professional contemporaries, and writes, 'Yet could I never see two ships builded of the like proportion by the best and most skilful shipwrights, though they have many times undertaken the same . . . because they trust rather to their judgment than their art, and to their eye than to their scale and compass.'⁶ He says that they are too high out of the water, crank, and cannot carry their canvas or work their guns in a seaway; that they will not steer, and sometimes 'their sides are not of equal proportion the one to the other.'⁷ Waymouth, among other improvements, suggested a turret on the upper deck, moving on a swivel and armed with 'murtherers.' In another paper he says, 'The shipwrights of England and Christendom build ships only by uncertain and traditional precepts, and by deceiving aim of their eye,' and the resulting vessels 'cannot bear sail nor steer readily . . . for want of art in proportioning of the mould and fitting of the masts and tackling.'⁸

It must, however, be borne in mind that for at least a quarter of a century English men-of-war had outsailed their antagonists, had weathered gales and fought actions, just as successfully as though they had been built on the most scientific modern principles. Waymouth himself was not successful as a commander at sea; perhaps he knew too much. Raleigh, in his 'Observations on the Navy,'⁹ addressed to Prince Henry, says that there are six principal things required in a man-of-war, viz. that she should be strongly built, swift, stout-sided, carry out her guns in all weathers, hull and try well,¹⁰ and that she should stay well. None of these things did the king's ships do satisfactorily, and 'it were also behoofeful that his majesty's ships were not so overpestered and clogged with great ordnance . . . so that much of it serves to no better use but only to labour and overcharge the ship's sides.' As a practical illustration of the shipwrights' loose methods of calculation it may be mentioned that when the 'Prince Royal,' the largest vessel of the reign, was built, Baker, Pett, and Bright estimated that 775 loads of timber would be required, while 1,627 loads were actually used, and the increase in her cost above the original computation made was 5,908l.¹¹ These laments did not lead to any great improvements in construction. Only a few of the vessels were in any way

⁶ *Add. MSS.* 19889; *The Jewell of Artes*, 1604, f. 135 *et seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Harl. MSS.* 309-51.

⁹ *Works*, ed. 1751.

¹⁰ Lie to in a gale, showing little or no canvas.

¹¹ *Add. MSS.* 9294, Nov. 1610.

sheathed; in 1624 Dutch men-of-war could literally sail round English ones,¹² and their crankness was only imperfectly remedied by furring or girdling,¹³ a method, says the writer of the 'Nomenclator Navalis,'¹⁴ which is 'a loss to owners and disgrace to builders, and deserves punishment . . . In all the world there are not so many furred as in England.' How slow was the advance may be inferred from the fact that in 1635 the 'Merhonour,' launched in 1589 and rebuilt in 1613, was still regarded as one of the fastest sailers in the navy.

An onlooker¹⁵ says that the English were 'good sailors and better pirates.' Whatever their quality as seamen, or still doubtful maritime morality, no greater care was taken now to preserve their health or improve their morals than had formerly been the case. It is true that the first article in every commission laid stress on the performance of divine service at least twice a day, while the singing of psalms at a change of watch was an old custom, but such humanising details as the punctual payment of wages,¹⁶ a supply of eatable provisions, hospitals for the sick, and suitable clothes had not yet recommended themselves to the naval authorities as modes either of obtaining men or of keeping them in the service. Raleigh writes, 'They go with as great a grudging to serve in his majesty's ships as if it were to be slaves in the galleys.' James I made little use of the navy beyond fitting out the Algiers expedition in 1621, and commissioning a few ships year by year for service in the narrow seas; but for these few vessels it was found equally difficult to obtain men and to retain them when caught now that the incitements of Spanish prizes were wanting, while the mortality afloat was equal to the worst days of Elizabeth. The only occasion when a large number of men were required was for the fleet prepared in 1625, two months before the death of James, and then the navy commissioners write to Buckingham that 'the pressed men run away as fast as we send them down.'¹⁷ Captain Christian, of the 'Bonaventure,' almost a new ship, serving on the east coast in 1623, writes to the commissioners of 'the weak and I may truly say miserable state of this ship . . . Of 160 men there are but 70 persons of all sorts that at present is either fit or able to do the least labour in the ship.'¹⁸ There was also 'a great infection and mortality' on board the 'Garland.' Captain Christian complains too of the quality of the men pressed. 'Of all the whole company when they are at the best there are not 20 helmsmen and but three that can heave a lead.'

¹² *S.P., Dom., Jas. I*, cl. 83, 84.

¹³ Whole or partial external double planking.

¹⁴ *Harl. MSS.* 2301.

¹⁵ Paul Hentzner.

¹⁶ On 20 July 1613 a warrant was issued to pay wages owing since 1608.

¹⁷ *Add. MSS.* 9302, f. 9.

¹⁸ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I*, cl. 20.

These instances belong to the end of the reign, but matters had not changed; they had only continued. In 1608 it was said that 'the navy is for the greatest part manned with aged, impotent, vagrant, lewd, and disorderly companions; it is become a ragged regiment . . . of common rogues.'¹⁹ In the Algiers fleet one ship put ashore ninety-two sick men at Malaga at one time. A hospital ship accompanied this expedition, but its use is not mentioned, although we may infer that if a man-of-war still had ninety-two men ill enough to be sent ashore the hospital ship must have been previously filled; but statistics of sickness and death are everywhere rarely referred to in comparison with salutes, state visits, and other affairs of personal dignity. Although the sailor was not properly fed and paid, even if he behaved well, he suffered sufficiently severe penalties for bad conduct. Flogging was so common that 'some sailors do believe in good earnest that they shall never have a fair wind until the poor boys be duly . . . whipped every Monday morning.' Ducking, keelhauling, tongue-scraping, and tying up with weights hung round the neck 'till heart and back be ready to break' were ordinary punishments. 'These will tame the most rude and savage people in the world,' says Monson. If for the fourth time a sailor was detected asleep on watch²⁰ he was tied to the bowsprit with a biscuit, a can of beer, and a knife, 'and so to hang and choose whether he would cut himself down and fall into the sea or hang still and starve.'²¹ Small wonder the men 'abhorred'²² the employment of the crown, and that in 1625 the shipkeepers at Chatham included weavers, barbers, tailors, bakers, shoemakers, &c., 'most of whom had never been to sea.'²³

The disorganisation of a service commonly presses most hardly on its weaker members; those of higher rank have usually sufficient influence to enable them to preserve their rights or, if they are unscrupulous, to obtain unlicensed gains in the general scramble. Nottingham was still at the head of the navy as Lord High Admiral, a post he retained till 1618. Englishmen will always remember him with respect as the commander of 1588, but a perusal of the various papers relating to the naval administration of this period compels one to conclude that while always ready to do his duty *en grand seigneur*, to command fleets, and to accept responsibility and decide when referred to, he took but a fingertip interest in those details of which successful organisation consists, while his implicit confidence in his subordinates was a disastrous weakness. During the lifetime of Hawkins and under the keen supervision of the queen and her

¹⁹ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, xl. f. 70.*

²⁰ Probably on 'look-out' is meant, still the most serious offence of which he can be guilty.

²¹ 'A Dialogical Discourse of Marine Affairs,' by Nathaniel Boteler, *Harl. MSS.* 1341. Partly printed in 1685, but of this period.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, clxxxii. 29.*

ministers this neglect mattered little, but from 1596 onwards the conduct of the navy office degenerated rapidly. Neither Langford nor Greville, who in turn succeeded Hawkins, was treasurer of the navy long enough to do much good or harm, although signs were not wanting during the closing years of Elizabeth's life that the able control which had made the navy so terrible to England's foes was relaxing. But the appointment in 1604 of Sir Robert Mansell was most unfortunate. Mansell, who was an indifferent seaman and an incapable and dishonest administrator, and whose only claim to the place was his favour with Nottingham, remained in office till 1618, and the greater portion of this paper is practically a record of his unfitness for his important charge.

Mansell's own delinquencies will be more fully treated subsequently, but both he and Nottingham dealt liberally with officers employed at sea or in executive work ashore. Nottingham himself obtained, in 1609 and 1611, two pensions from James I, during the supremacy of the Howard faction with the king, amounting together to 2,700*l.* a year; and it is characteristic of James that the larger of these pensions, of 1,700*l.* a year, was granted while the commission of 1608 was sitting, and when its disclosures must have been well known. When Mansell went to sea he gave himself, as treasurer and rear-admiral, thirty shillings a day, although Sir Fulke Greville, when discharging the same functions in 1599, received only sixteen and eightpence a day. Admirals were appointed for the north, south, east, and west coasts, for the narrow seas, and for Ireland, all at liberal rates of pay; in one year when only seven ships were in commission there were three admirals and four vice-admirals serving, 'so that the navy was like an army of generals and colonels.'²⁴ In 1602, with twenty-six vessels at sea, the pay of the superior officers was less than during any one of the four or five years before the storm burst on Mansell and Nottingham in 1618. Again, 'we find . . . that these admirals and vice-admirals with their twenty shillings and ten shillings per diem, together with the allowance of their retinue and other advantages, are . . . so contented on land that they cannot brook the seas, and get captains under them as substitutes in their absence.'²⁵ Travelling expenses were liberally allowed, and even some of the inferior officers were generously permitted to benefit by the stream of wealth circulating among the higher navy officials. The cost of piloting the thirteen ships which took the Princess Elizabeth over to Flushing was 208*l.*, and thereon it is remarked that the whole piloting charges for 286 ships during the last five years of Elizabeth did not amount to more. The comptroller of the navy, when he went from London to Chatham, charged 9*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* for travelling expenses, and the surveyor required 19*l.* 16*s.* for the same journey,

²⁴ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, cxiii. 101.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

'it being the duty of his place,' they indignantly annotate,²⁶ while even his deputy takes 8*l.* or 10*l.* when he goes. Mansell himself was almost sublime: he afterwards claimed 10,000*l.* for travelling expenses during his term of office.²⁷ New posts were freely created and equally freely paid. Besides the various admirals who did nothing there were a captain-general and two vice-admirals of the narrow seas, a storekeeper at Woolwich at 54*l.* a year, while 'the store not worth forty shillings,' and a surveyor of tonnage, whose duty it was to survey merchant ships of 100 tons and upwards, claiming the bounty of five shillings a ton, and who was accused on all sides of embezzling half the amount paid by the crown to the merchants.

When Mansell resigned he sent in to the commissioners of 1618 only an uncertified abstract of his payments for the preceding five years; they, 'being noways vouched or subscribed by the officers, we can give no satisfaction of the state of his accounts, being only his own assertions,'²⁸ and the complaint fairly generalises Mansell's system of financial control even where not tainted with absolute theft. Notwithstanding his defiance of the abortive orders for inquiry issued in 1613, and his consequent temporary imprisonment, he was sufficiently in favour three years later to receive a present of 10,000*l.* from the king on the occasion of his marriage.²⁹ Proved dishonesty or incapacity barred no one from the favour of James I, provided the culprit was sufficiently good-looking or had influential friends; and although the evidence laid before the commission of 1608, and the commissioners' report thereon, should have amply sufficed to send Mansell to the Tower, his ascendancy with Nottingham enabled him to continue in office for a further ten years. Soon after his appointment he and Sir John Trevor, the surveyor of the navy, took steps to provide all the requisite stores themselves, thus making large gains on the articles sold by them to the king. Not only was timber ordered three or four times over for the same purpose,³⁰ but on that item alone Mansel was accused of making a fraudulent profit of 5,000*l.* in some four years, and, in conjunction with Sir John Trevor, of obtaining upwards of 7,000*l.* during the same time by the differences between the prices paid for pitch, tar, masts, &c., and those charged to the crown.³¹ He, Pett, and Trevor were joint owners of a ship, built of government materials and furnished with government stores, which was hired to the king as a transport to go to Spain when Nottingham went there as ambassador in 1605, and for which the State paid, but 'the same ship was at that time employed in a merchant's voyage, and so entered in the custom-house books.'³² Hawkins had introduced the practice of paying over money at once to merchants supplying the various requisites for the navy on de-

²⁶ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I.* ²⁷ *Ibid.* cxvi. 86. ²⁸ *Ibid.* ciii. 104. ²⁹ *Ibid.* lxxxix. 33.

³⁰ *Ibid.* xli. f. 17.

³¹ *Ibid.* xl. 87.

³² *Cott. MSS. Julius, F iii. f. 15.*

duction of threepence in the pound, an allowance they were well pleased to make in view of the prompt payment, while he had to wait long for his accounts to be settled. Mansell still deducted the threepence, but did not pay. He stopped sixpence a month from the seamen's wages for the Chatham chest, 'but falls presently into raging passions and pangs when they call for it.'³³ But Mansell was by no means the only one of the superior officers who helped himself out of this fund. Charges of embezzlement, in its crudest forms, were made against him in that he certified for more wages than were actually paid—1,000*l.* in one year alone—and that he retained the proceeds of such government stores as were sold;³⁴ and it must be remembered that these accusations were not anonymous attacks, but charges deliberately formulated, which he never dared to face. It may be truer to say that he was indifferent; it is possible that a portion of his ill-earned fortune went in purchasing immunity. And it is an argument in favour of this view that his dismissal from office did not destroy his influence at court; he was chosen to command the expensive and resultless expedition to Algiers in 1621, and his subsequent disgrace was due to causes independent of his failure as a seaman or his dishonesty as an administrator.

Norreys, writing to Sir John Coke about the navy in 1603, says, 'To say truth the whole body is so corrupted as there is no sound part almost from the head to the foot; the great ones feed on the less and enforce them to steal both for themselves and their commanders.'³⁵ Abuses unknown during the lifetime of Hawkins had sprung into existence shortly after his death: delay in paying off ships, to the discontent of the men and extra expense of the government, combinations between captains, pursers, and victuallers to return false musters, and the practice of selling appointments to inferior posts were all, according to reliable evidence, begun about 1597 or 1598.³⁶ Under James 'the chief officers bear themselves insolently, depending on powerful friends at court,' and 'the shipwrights and others are ordered, commanded, and countermanded in their work by chief officers who know nothing about it, so that the meanest merchantman is better rigged and canvassed than the royal ships.' The insolence and ignorance complained of showed conditions very different from those which had obtained under the iron hand of Elizabeth. In 1608 the scandal caused by these and other circumstances was so great as to necessitate inquiry whether the determining cause was the contrivance of Sir Robert Cotton or other influences; a commission was issued to Nottingham, Northampton, Zouch, Wotton, Sir Julius Caesar, Cotton, and others, of

³³ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, xli. f. 25.*

³⁴ *Ibid. cxii. 101.*

³⁵ *Coke MSS. Cal. Hist. MSS. Com. Report, xii, App. pt. i. 41.*

³⁶ *Cott. MSS. Julius, F iii. ff. 98, 249, 250, 252.*

whom only Nottingham was an experienced seaman, and he never attended their meetings.³⁷ The sittings of the commission extended from May 1608 till June 1609; they commenced with an 'elegant' speech from the earl of Northampton, they compiled a voluminous report, and the only punishment the culprits experienced was that of suffering 'an oration' from James, in which he trusted that the guilty persons would behave better in future, and with that patient and saintly hope the proceedings ended. How some of his hearers must have longed for one hour of Elizabeth!

Among the malpractices examined into at some length by the commissioners was the sale and purchase of places already referred to. Hugh Lidyard was made clerk of the checque at Woolwich by Sir John Trevor, for which he was to pay Trevor 20*l.* yearly and a hogshead of wine; another witness deposes 'that of late years the general way of preferment is by money, and few that he knoweth . . . come freely to their places.' Pursers paid from 70*l.* to 120*l.* for their posts, boatswains 20*l.* and cooks 30*l.* Naturally, under such circumstances, 'the officers put in and keep in whom they list, though they be never so unfit, and put out whom they list, though never so fit, and woe be to him that taketh exception to any man, though he be never so unruly . . . It breaketh the hearts of them that are worthy.' It was equally natural that men who had paid heavily for their employments were unscrupulous in recouping themselves. 'The captains being for the most part poor gentlemen, did mend their fortunes by combining with the pursers,' who were in league with the victuallers, to send in returns of more men than were on board the ships; boatswains and gunners sold their stores, shipwrights stole timber, and captains sheltered or took bribes from pirates, or turned their vessels into merchantmen to enable owners of goods to evade payment of customs.

James I had every reason to check sharply the waste going on, for the crown debt, which was only 400,000*l.* at his accession, had mounted to 1,000,000*l.* in 1608, while the deficit in revenue was 70,000*l.* a year.³⁸ But 'an oration' in broad Scotch from the lips of the conceited pedant staggering under the weight of the Tudor crown did not prove an effective method of reform. The old knaveries continued even as though James had not made a speech. In 1613 Cotton attempted, through the intervention of Northampton and Rochester, to obtain another inquiry; but his efforts failed, owing to the influence of Nottingham and the intrigues of Mansell. In 1618 the naval administration was worse than ever, and other departments were equally corrupt; 'the household was one mass of

³⁷ The report of the commissioners will be found in *S.P., Dom., Jas. I.*, xli.; the sworn depositions on which that report was based are preserved in *Cott. MSS. Julius*, F iii. The evidence in question is of value for to-day, and as long as official human nature is liable to temptation, and the volume is well worth printing.

³⁸ Gardiner, *History of England*, cab. ed. ii. 11.

peculation and extravagance.' ³⁹ Even now Cranfield, who was the moving spirit in the endeavour to purify the public services, might have failed had it not been that Buckingham desired to himself occupy the post of Lord High Admiral. Nottingham at last retired with a gratuity of 3,000*l.* and another pension of 1,000*l.* a year, while Mansell was succeeded by Sir William Russell, a merchant of the Muscovia Company, who paid him for his place, and who was wealthy enough to subsequently advance 30,000*l.* towards fitting out the Cadiz expedition in 1625.⁴⁰ It is probable that, from his lack of technical knowledge, Russell's direction, if more honest than Mansell's, would have been as unsuccessful had he been entrusted with absolute control; but the plan was now adopted of appointing navy commissioners for five years, responsible only to the lord high admiral, but with absolute charge under him, and who reduced the four principal officers of the navy to the position of mere chief clerks. Immediate benefit was obtained from the reform; the fleet and dockyards were kept in repair, theft was checked, and two new ships a year were built in five consecutive years, all for less money than Mansell had squandered in doing nothing efficiently. Buckingham himself appears to have not only given his subordinates a loyal support but to have been honestly anxious to obtain the best men for the service, and to render officers and sailors contented; the chronic emptiness, however, of the treasury, for which he was largely answerable, made his endeavours in this last direction of less avail.

The new commissioners, on commencing their duties, sent in a report of the state of affairs they found existing in the various naval departments; ⁴¹ all the frauds of 1608 were still flourishing, with some new ones due to the lapse of time. Places were still sold, and at such high prices that the buyers 'profess openly that they cannot live except they may steal;' the yearly cost of the navy had of late been some 53,000*l.* a year, 'that could not keep it from decay.' For building a new ship in place of the 'Bonaventure' 5,700*l.* had been allowed, but, although 1,700*l.* had been paid on account of it, no vessel had been commenced, and though this same ship 'was broken up above seven years past, yet the king hath paid 63*l.* yearly for keeping her.' Further, 'the "Advantage" was burnt about five years since, and yet keepeth at the charge of 104*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*; the "Charles" was disposed of in Scotland two years since, and costeth 60*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* for keeping.' For repairing the 'Merhonour,' 'Defiance,' 'Vanguard,' and 'Dreadnought' 23,500*l.* had been paid, 'for which eight new ships might have been built, as the accounts of the East India Company do prove; yet all this while the king's ships decayed, and if the "Merhonour" were repaired she was left so imperfect that before her finishing she begins again to

³⁹ Gardiner, *History of England*, cab. ed. iii. 200.

⁴⁰ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I.* clxxxii. 28.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* c. and ci. 3.

decay.' In nine years 108,000*l.* had been charged, for cordage, and the commissioners express their intention of reducing the expenditure on this item by two-thirds. At a later date some of the commissioners themselves did not escape suspicion. In 1623 Sir John Coke, who was a leading member, wrote to Conway that all went well until the Algiers voyage, but that he then suspected some of his colleagues were selling their own wares to the government, although they denied the accusation when he openly taxed them with so doing, and 'ever since I carried a watchful eye over them and employed fit persons to discover their dealings.'⁴² A man like Coke was not likely to be popular even among those with whom he was associated, still less with the gang whose deceits and illicit gains he had greatly helped to terminate. A year later he appealed for protection against Sir Guilford Slingsby, who had threatened that, unless he was restored to office by Lady Day, Coke should not outlive that date.⁴³ Slingsby had been comptroller of the navy, a post to which he was reappointed by Charles I, and wherein he again gave evidence of his peculiar qualifications for the exercise of authority over others. But there is no doubt that the administration of the commissioners was pure enough compared with that of Mansell; their failures were due to causes they were unable to deal with, such as want of money and the bad treatment of the men; they could raise wages, but they were powerless to insure punctual payment of the promised sums. At the close of their first five years of office they sent in a certificate of the work done by them.⁴⁴ They say that whereas they found in 1618 twenty-three serviceable and ten unserviceable ships, of altogether 15,670 tons, four decayed galleys, and four hoys, costing 53,000*l.* a year, they have now thirty-five serviceable vessels, of 19,339 tons, besides the hoys and galleys, and the expense has been little more than 30,000*l.* a year, including the charges for building ten new ships. The yearly expenditure on the navy throughout the reign, exclusive of the victualling expenses, was—⁴⁵

<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
1603-4 45,595	1614-15 41,000 ⁴⁷
1604-5 32,630	1615-16 41,000
1605-6 28,967	1616-17 41,000
1606-7 19,592	1617-18 41,000
1607-8 30,430	1618-19 31,783
1608-9 30,077	1619-20 29,896
1609-10 43,992	1620-21 29,688
1610-11 30,536	1621-22 30,765
1611-12 35,845	1622-23 30,442
1612-13 18,000 ⁴⁶	1623-24 29,981
1613-14 —	1624-25 29,703

⁴² *S. P., Dom., Jas. I.* cli. 35. ⁴³ *Ibid.* clx. 43. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* clvi. 12.

⁴⁵ *Lans. MSS.* 142, f. 278; *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I.* c.; *ibid.* clvi. 12, clxiii. 39. The cost of victualling varied between 6,000*l.* and 16,000*l.* a year.

⁴⁶ For the half-year only. ⁴⁷ Average for this and the following three years.

Piracy, though still a school for seamanship, was no longer the flourishing business it had been under Elizabeth; the trade, to use a modern phrase, was 'cut up.' Spanish commerce was almost destroyed in the northern latitudes, and the Dutch was well able to protect itself, while new competitors were found in the Mediterranean rovers who hovered round the English coasts and even stretched out into the North Atlantic, and in the fast-sailing Dunkirk privateers who swarmed in the Channel. In 1605 Hannibal Vivian writes from the west, 'Let it not offend you that I inform you from time to time of the piracies and depredations daily committed on this coast.' However repugnant piracy may have been to some of the officials it commended itself to many of the inhabitants of the western counties; out of one pirate crew, thirty-five in number, seventeen belonged to Dartmouth and Kingswear, and the mayor and others of Plymouth were accused of buying the stolen goods and favouring the escape of the men. The government appeared helpless; if they sent ships to sea the captains 'pretend to pursue, and when well away in some distant port write up that a leak had been sprung, obtain warrants to repair in port, and so remain for the captain's benefit,' or sometimes even took the pirates' goods on board and sheltered the criminals themselves. If any of the corsairs were caught the general opinion among them that they were only liable to a little 'lazy imprisonment' was usually borne out by results. Ireland was said to be 'the nursery and storehouse of pirates,'⁴⁸ for, besides providing its own quota of sea-rovers, it offered the hospitality of its ports to those vessels requiring repair belonging to the Barbary corsairs.⁴⁹ In 1616 the weakness of the crown was shown by a warrant being granted to two London merchants to prepare a ship to go pirate-hunting, with permission to retain for themselves three-fourths of the goods seized,⁵⁰ there being about this year a fleet of thirty Turkish ships in the Atlantic, and another Salleeman had recently been captured in the Thames.⁵¹ The inhabitants of Swanwhich (*i.e.* Swanage) seem to have been especially nervous, since they petition for a block-house, 'the Turks being grown exceedingly audacious.' Matters grew even worse towards the close of the reign. Some Weymouth merchants desired to fit out ships of their own to deal with the incubus terrorising commerce, but permission was refused, mainly because it was injurious to the lord high admiral's profits and 'dishonourable to the king.' Others, however, of the Weymouth tradesmen dealt with the robbers, and the local admiralty officers were supposed to connive at the traffic.⁵²

⁴⁸ *Cott. MSS. Otho*, E viii. f. 316.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* f. 323.

⁵⁰ *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I*, lxxxvi. 101. At this time the navy was costing 53,000*l.* a year—more than Elizabeth spent during many of the years England was at war.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* xc. 24.

⁵² *Ibid.* cli. 21, 1623.

The Lizard light was objected to, because 'it will conduct pirates,' and it reads strangely now that it was forbidden at the instance of the Trinity House. The Newfoundland Company, in asking for assistance, say that since 1612 damage to the amount of 40,000*l.* has been committed by the marauders, and that over 1,000 men have been forced or persuaded to join them.⁵³ One of the freebooters was admiral of a large pirate fleet. In 1624 the navy commissioners were desired to certify how many men-of-war would be required to clear the southern and western coasts, just as they had frequently before been required 'to certify;' the process seldom proceeded further.

That 'merchantmen dare hardly sail' was scarcely a condition of things conducive to commercial enterprise. Little can be said about the merchant marine for these years, the returns of available ships, so frequently occurring among the papers relating to Elizabeth's reign, being entirely absent for this period. But all the notices of trade met with are invariably characterised by lamentation; the Dutch were said to be obtaining the carrying trade, owing to the greater cheapness with which their vessels were built and worked, the difference in their favour being as much as one-third of the English owner's demand for freight. In 1620 it was stated that the number of London-owned ships had fallen to one-half of that of former years, and, as accounting for part of the decrease, we have a return for 1618 of vessels belonging to the river but lately sold for want of employment.⁵⁴ The list in question shows an enormous depreciation in value, since none of them can have been very old:—

—	Tons	Guns	Cost	Sold for	—	Tons	Guns	Cost	Sold for
'Neptune'	500	30	£ 5,000	£ 1,500	'Industry'	350	26	£ 4,500	£ 2,000
'Paragon'	280	24	3,200	1,000	'Clement and Job'	300	24	3,600	1,000
'Martha'	250	20	2,400	500					

The building price here almost certainly does not include the cost of ordnance, while it is probable that the sale price does, and it will be noticed that these merchantmen are nearly as strongly armed as men-of-war. Complaints came from all quarters; the Muscovy Company had employment for only two instead of seventeen ships, as in former days, and the Norway trade was 'in pawn to the Dutch;' the Levant Company found its trade destroyed by piracy; the greater portion of the Newcastle coal traffic was carried on in foreign bottoms, and the fisheries in English waters were entirely in the hands of the Hollanders, who were reputed to make a profit of 1,000,000*l.* a year from that which under a stronger sovereign would have been held for England.⁵⁵ During this reign the most

⁵³ *State Papers, Col. Mar.* 1620.

⁵⁴ *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I.* civ. 65.

⁵⁵ *Harl. Misc.* iii. 232 et seq. ed. 1809.

flourishing association was the East India Company, although its profits were not so large as were those of its Dutch rival;⁵⁶ in twenty years it had despatched eighty-six ships, of which eleven had been seized by the Dutch and fourteen had been wrecked or worn out, and the estimation in which it was held is shown by its being more heavily assessed towards the expenses of the Algiers expedition than was any other company. This association attempted, in 1613, to start iron and shipbuilding works near Cork, but the hostility of the natives forced them to discontinue the enterprise. The largest merchantman built during the reign of James, the 'Trade's Increase,' of 1,100 tons, was constructed for the East India Company. It, with a smaller ship, the 'Peppercorn,' of 250 tons, was launched in January 1609-10, and there are some curious notes by the captain of the 'Peppercorn' describing the event.⁵⁷ On Saturday, 30 Dec., the king came down to name the two ships, but every attempt to launch them failed, and continued efforts on the Sunday 'God made fruitless that day.' On 1 Jan. the 'Peppercorn' was launched, and it was only then found that the dock-head was too narrow to let the 'Trade's Increase' pass. On the Wednesday, however, she was got clear, and the captain of the 'Peppercorn' complains that 'on this ship was all the company's pride set; she was altogether regarded, tended, and followed, while the other, the "Peppercorn," was left in manner desolate.' The 'Trade's Increase' was wrecked in 1613 during her first voyage. The hire of merchantmen taken up for government service was still two shillings a month per ton, and the bonus of five shillings a ton on vessels of 100 tons and upwards, suitable for fighting purposes, ceased in 1624, only to be renewed early in the next reign for vessels of 200 tons and upwards.

The following list comprises all the men-of-war of the Royal Navy existing at the accession of James I, with the dates, in some instances absent or only approximately correct, of their building and rebuilding, compiled from diverse sources. Both the number and names vary slightly in different papers. It should be remarked that the term 'rebuilt' appears to have been used with little exactness, and was applied to more or less extensive repairs or to a process which left hardly an old timber in the ship. It is only where the charges for repairs are expressed and the cost per ton can be calculated that the extent of renewal can be estimated. Here such dates are only given where a distinct statement that a ship was 'rebuilt' has been found.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ The Dutch Company is said to have distributed, in twenty-one years, dividends of 30,000,000 florins on a capital of some 6,000,000 florins (Irving, *Commerce of India*).

⁵⁷ *Eg. MSS.* 2100.

⁵⁸ The 'Assurance' is not named in the last Elizabethan lists, but she is referred to in State Papers of preceding years, occurs in the first navy list of James in 1603,

—	Built	Rebuilt	—	Built	Rebuilt
'Elizabeth' . . .	1558	—	'Vanguard' . . .	1587	1619
'Triumph' . . .	1561	—	'Swiftsure' . . .	1574	1608
'White Bear' . . .	1564	1589	'Swallow' . . .	—	—
'Victory' ⁵⁹ . . .	—	—	'Foresight' . . .	—	—
'Merhonour' . . .	1589	1613	'Crane' . . .	1589	1610
'Ark Royal' . . .	1586	1608	'Adventure' . . .	1594	—
'St. Matthew' ⁶⁰ . . .	—	—	'Quittance' . . .	1589	1605
'St. Andrew' ⁶⁰ . . .	—	—	'Answer' . . .	1589	1604
'Due Repulse' . . .	1596	1610	'Tremontane' . . .	1586	—
'Garland' . . .	1589	—	'Advantage' . . .	1589	—
'Warspite' . . .	1596	—	'Charles' . . .	1587	—
'Mary Rose' . . .	1555	1589	'Moon' . . .	1586	1602
'Hope' . . .	1558	1602	'Advice' . . .	1587	1612
'Bonaventure' . . .	1561	1587	'Spy' . . .	1586	—
'Lion' . . .	1582	1609	'Merlin' . . .	—	1615
'Nonpareil' . . .	1585	1602	'Sun' . . .	1586	—
'Defiance' . . .	1589	1613	'George,' hoy . . .	—	—
'Rainbow' . . .	1587	—	'Primrose,' hoy . . .	—	1612
'Dreadnought' . . .	—	1613	'Scout' . . .	1577	—
'Antelope' . . .	1558	—	4 galleys . . .	—	—

The ships added to the fleet between 1603 and 1625 were—⁶¹

—	Built	Tons	Burthen	Guns	Keel length	Beam	Depth
					feet	feet	feet
'Nonsuch' . . .	1603	636	—	38	88	34	15
'Prince' . . .	1610	1,200	—	55	115	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
'Phoenix' ⁶² . . .	1612	250	—	20	70	24	11
'Convertive' ⁶³ . . .	1616	500	—	30	—	—	—
'Rainbow' . . .	1618	650	—	40	102	35	14
'Antelope' . . .	1618	450	—	34	92	32	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
'Constant Reforma- tion' . . .	1619	752	564	42	106	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	15
'Happy Entrance' . . .	1619	582	437	32	96	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	14
'Victory' . . .	1620	875	656	42	108	35 $\frac{1}{4}$	17
'Garland' . . .	1620	683	512	34	93	33	16
'Swiftsure' . . .	1621	887	650	42	106	36 $\frac{5}{8}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
'Bonaventure' . . .	1621	675	506	34	98	33	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
'St. George' . . .	1622	895	671	42	110	37	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
'St. Andrew' . . .	1622	895	671	42	110	37	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
'Triumph' . . .	1623	922	692	42	110	37	17
'Mary Rose' . . .	1623	394	288	26	83	27	13
'Seven Stars' . . .	— ⁶⁴	140	—	14	60	20	9
'Charles' . . .	— ⁶⁴	140	—	14	—	—	—
'Desire' . . .	— ⁶⁴	80	—	6	66	16	6

and is stated to have been rebuilt in that year. The 'Achates,' 'Tide,' and 'Cynet,' small vessels, are mentioned in some lists.

⁵⁹ I have previously (ENG. HIST. REV. vi. 481) classed the 'Victory' among the vessels built between 1562 and 1574; the earliest reference to her that I have been able to find is in Baeshe's victualling accounts for January 1562-3 (*Harl. MSS.* 167, 1). She was then at Portsmouth. In February 1558-9 the 'Peter,' of 800 tons, was 'in new making' at Woolwich; in the fleet list of Henry VIII the 'Peter' is said to be of 600 tons, while the 'Victory,' though called in every Elizabethan one an 800-ton ship, was calculated, in the more exact measurement of 1602, as of 555 net and 694 gross measurement. We may take it, therefore, that the two vessels were of about the same size. Seeing that the 'Peter' was rebuilt in 1559; that her name never recurs in any navy list, nor in any of the numerous papers relating to the navy; that there is no trace of the construction of the 'Victory,' whereas the cost or various details relating to other large ships are directly or incidentally referred to; that there are some other instances of the name of a ship having been changed after rebuilding—I suggest the possibility

Out of these nineteen vessels Mansell, who held office for fourteen of the twenty-two years under review, had furnished at the most six, and perhaps only four, of the ships on this list, and two of them were mere pinnaces.

In 1603 the king had resolved to have three ships built, but the 'Nonsuch' was the only accession to the strength of the navy. Although no new vessels were then constructed for some years, James took sufficient pride in his fleet to be eager to show it to visitors; in 1606 he ordered all the available vessels 'to be rigged and put in warlike order,' preparatory to a visit from himself and the king of Denmark, which took place in August. In 1608 the 'Ark Royal,' Nottingham's flagship in 1588, was rebuilt, and her name, which should have lived in popular memory with that of the 'Golden Hind,' changed to the 'Ann Royal,' in honour of the commonplace queen. She was rechristened by Sir Oliver Cromwell. The 'Swiftsure,' rebuilt and renamed the 'Speedwell' in the same year, is noteworthy as being the first English man-of-war lost by misadventure at sea since the 'Mary Rose' foundered at Spithead in 1545. She went ashore near Flushing in November 1624, a mischance which her captain—Chudleigh—attributed to a drunken pilot.⁶⁵ He at any rate lost all control over his crew, whose discipline seems to have been quite unequal to the sudden strain of an unexpected accident.

It was probably due to the express desire of James that on 20 Oct. 1608 the keel was laid of the 'Prince Royal,' of 1,200 tons, the largest ship yet designed for the navy. Under the new rules of measurement in force in 1632, she was certified as of 1,035 net, and 1,330 gross tonnage. Her construction was assigned to Phineas Pett, and many intrigues, reaching even the court, centred round her. The other shipwrights were both jealous and critical, and openly expressed their disapprobation both of the material used and the manner in which it was employed. In 1609 Baker, now an old man of seventy-nine years, but still in active

that the 'Peter' became the first 'Victory' of the English navy. But it may be that the 'lesser new ship' of 1561, which I considered, but not on conclusive evidence, to be probably the 'Bonaventure,' was really the 'Victory.'

⁶⁰ Captured at Cadiz in 1596.

⁶¹ *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I*, cxxxiii. 70; *ibid.* clviii. 54; *ibid. Chas. I*, xiii. 56; *Add. MSS.* 9294, f. 505; *ibid.* 9295, Pett's autobiog.; *ibid.* 9297, f. 359. As usual all these dimensions, especially tonnage, differ somewhat in the papers quoted.

⁶² Built as a yacht for Prince Henry.

⁶³ This was the 'Destiny,' built for Sir Walter Raleigh before his last voyage, and afterwards bought or confiscated into the navy.

⁶⁴ The 'Seven Stars' and 'Desire' between 1611 and 1618, and the 'Charles' between 1618 and 1622. Two other third-rates, the 'Mercury' and the 'Spy,' were built in 1620 by Phineas Pett, who went as captain of one of them, for some London merchants to go with the Algiers fleet. By a warrant dated August 1622 they were directed to be taken into the navy, but their names do not appear in any list of James or Charles.

⁶⁵ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I*, clxxiv. 56.

employment, Bright, Stevens, and some other shipwrights, with Waymouth as an unofficial expert, were ordered to report on the execution of the work. Pett did not like Waymouth, whom he describes in his autobiography as 'great kilcow Waymouth' and 'a great braggadocio, a vain and idle fellow.' Baker, and perhaps some of the others, must have been chosen on the governmental principle of setting personal enemies to inspect each other's performances, seeing that he had not long before stated on oath that he thought both the Petts 'simple' and quite unfit to be entrusted with the production of a large ship.⁶⁶ Pett, naturally, had little love for Baker, although he had years before attempted to be friendly with the veteran, ascribing all his knowledge of his art, 'if I have any,' to the elder man;⁶⁷ but the system which made it to each man's pecuniary interest to obtain as many ships as possible to build and repair, and to exert all his personal influence to that end, converted the dockyards into nests of intrigue. Pett was protected by Nottingham and Mansell, and 'he is reported to be their right hand, and they cannot do without him,' said Bright, another of Pett's competitors, and who was therefore chosen to sit in judgment upon him. Nottingham, Suffolk, and Worcester were then appointed to make further inquiry, and their report being satisfactory, and therefore displeasing to Northampton, the latter desired another investigation, which the king acceded to by appointing a day when he would examine the vessel and hear the conflicting evidence himself. He and Prince Henry came to Woolwich on 8 May 1609, and after a long day of scrutiny and discussion Pett emerged triumphant from the ordeal. Time, however, was on the side of the objectors. The 'Prince Royal' was never subjected to any serious work, but in 1621 the commissioners wrote to Buckingham that she was then only fit for show, that she cost in the first instance 20,000*l.* and would require another 6,000*l.* to make her fit for service, and that she was built of decaying timber and green unseasoned stuff.⁶⁸ These were the very points on which Baker and his fellows had insisted, and on which they had been defeated in 1609. She attracted universal attention when building; the king, the prince of Wales, Princess Elizabeth, and the French ambassador came several times to visit her when approaching completion, and 'nobles, gentry, and citizens from all parts of the country round' resorted to Woolwich. An attempt to launch her was made on 24 Sept. 1610, the whole of the royal family being present, but, as in the case of the 'Trade's Increase,' the dock-head was too narrow to permit her to pass. A second essay was more successful. The 'Prince' was the first

⁶⁶ *Cott. MSS. Julius*, F iii. f. 293.

⁶⁷ Letter, Pett to Baker, 10 April 1603; *Cott. MSS. Otho*, E vii. f. 155.

⁶⁸ *Coke MSS. Cal.* i. 114.

three-decker built for the English navy; ⁶⁹ she was gorgeously decorated, according to the taste of the time, with carvings, and 'curious paintings the like which was never in any ship before,' and 'she was double-planked, a charge which was not formerly thought upon, and all the butt-heads were double-bolted with iron bolts.' ⁷⁰

Perhaps as the result of Cotton's efforts in 1613 to procure further inquiry into the naval administration several of the old ships were rebuilt about that time, but, as the commissioners subsequently remarked, at prices which would have more than provided new ones in their stead. It was not until the navy commission took control, in 1618, that the systematic production of new ships was commenced. It will be seen from the preceding list that from that date they carried out for five years their expressed intention of adding two ships a year to the navy. They also made certain recommendations to be kept in view by themselves and their successors.⁷¹ The fleet was to average thirty sea-going ships, and building was to be confined to Deptford, where two vessels could be worked upon simultaneously. The length of keel was to be treble the breadth, 'but not to draw above sixteen feet, because deeper ships are seldom good sailers;' besides, 'they must be somewhat snug-built, without double galleries and too lofty upper works, which overcharge many ships and make them loom fair but not work well at sea.' It is no reproach to the commissioners, who could but act on the best professional advice obtainable, to have to remark that their ships were nearly as crank as their predecessors, and all required to be furred or girdled to make them at all trustworthy in a seaway; and, at a later date, even the smaller stern galleries they were provided with excited much adverse criticism. They continue, 'For strengthening the ship we subscribe to the new manner of building—1st, making three orlops, whereof the lowest, being placed two feet under water, strengtheneth the ship though her sides be shot through; 2nd, to carry this orlop end to end; 3rd, the second or main deck to be sufficiently high to work guns in all weathers.' Cooking galleys were to be placed in the fore-castle, as the weights carried at each end with a comparatively empty midship section caused 'hogging,' besides wasting valuable stowage space and producing other inconveniences. The lower ports were now to be at least four and a half feet above the water-line. Most of the commissioners' ships were built with three decks, but with only quarter-deck and round-house, instead of the half-deck, fore-

* In the literal but not later sense of 'three-decker.' She had three decks but only two full batteries. In 1634 the authorities of the Trinity House, who, through a long series of years, appear to have always chosen the wrong view, wrote, 'The art or wit of man cannot build a ship fit for service with three tier of ordnance.' Three years later the first 'three-decker' was afloat.

⁷⁰ *Add. MSS.* 9294, Nov. 1610.

⁷¹ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, ci. 4.*

castle and spar-decks before customary. Bad as they were they seem to have been steadier than their predecessors.

An undated paper calendared under 1627, but which from its arguments in favour of a third deck—a question finally closed long before 1627—I think belongs rather to this period, gives us some particulars relating to the internal arrangements of a man-of-war. The lowest deck was to carry the bread and other store rooms, the cables and officers' cabins, besides the greater part of the crew who were also to be berthed upon it. The second deck was to be laid $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 feet above this, and in a ship like the 'Lion' was to be pierced for nine ports a side and four chase-ports fore and aft. The ports were to be at least two feet three inches square, 'and that there be built between every two ports hanging cabins to fold up to the decks for the lodging of men.' Otherwise this deck was to be kept clear instead of being hampered by the cables stowed upon it in two-decked ships. Readers desirous of technical details relating to the position and dimensions of floor, timbers, riders, butts, carlings, clamps, foot and chain waling, standing and running rigging, &c., will find much exact information in the State Papers of the next reign dealing with the surveys taken of most of the new and old ships in 1626 and 1627.

It was ordered that the 'Elizabeth' and the 'Triumph' should be sold, the 'Quittance' and 'Tremontane' broken up, while the hulls of the 'Garland' and 'Mary Rose' were to be used to wharf a proposed new dock at Chatham. The 'Bonaventure,' 'Advantage,' and 'Charles' had long ceased to exist, and the 'St. Andrew' and 'St. Matthew' had been given to Sir John Leigh in 1604 as being then no longer serviceable. The Elizabethan 'Victory' is not mentioned in any list subsequent to that of 1607, although her repairs in 1609 cost 4,071*l.*, which is the last time she is even indirectly referred to; I am unable to say how or when she passed out of the service, but, as it was at first intended to call the 'Prince' the 'Victory,' it must have been very shortly after 1609. The four galleys were a source of constant expense, one or the other being in continual need of repair, rebuilding, or shed protection from the weather. They were never used, and in 1629, having 'been long laid aside as useless vessels,' were ordered to be sold. The new 'Antelope' and 'Rainbow' of 1618 were not claimed by the commissioners as due to their initiative, although both must have been completed after their entry into office. The 'Happy Entrance' and 'Constant Reformation' were launched in the presence of the king at Deptford, and were named by him with intent to commemorate Buckingham's accession to his post and the good effects to be expected from it. In 1624 no new vessels were built, and the last navy list of James I is as follows:—⁷²

⁷² *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, clxi. 68.* The classification is that of the State Paper.

First rank	Second rank	Third rank	Fourth rank
'Prince'	'Due Repulse'	'Dreadnought'	'Phoenix'
'Bear'	'Warspite'	'Antelope'	'Seven Stars'
'Merhonour'	'Victory'	'Speedwell'	'Charles'
'Anne Royal'	'Assurance'	'Adventure'	'Desire'
	'Nonsuch'	'Convertive'	
	'Defiance'	'Happy Entrance'	
	'Lion'	'Bonaventure'	
	'Vanguard'	'Garland'	
	'Rainbow'	'Mary Rose'	
	'Constant Reformation'		
	'Swiftsure'		
	'St. George'		
	'St. Andrew'		
	'Triumph'		

There were also the four galleys and some hoys; eleven of the vessels were noted as needing more or less substantial repairs, and most of the old ones were broken-backed. The ten new ships cost 6*l.* a ton for the larger and 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the smaller ones, against 16*l.* a ton under Mansell's improvident management;⁷³ but it is likely that these prices are for the hulls alone, and, according to another statement, the 'St. George' and the 'St. Andrew' cost 8,959*l.* 10*s.* each;⁷⁴ Burrell's contracts for 1619 were at the rates of 8*l.* and 7*l.* 10*s.* a ton.⁷⁵ No alteration was made in the way of calculating tonnage until 1628.

There is little to be said about any improvements in rigging or canvas during this period. Top-gallant masts and sails were said to have been introduced during the reign of Elizabeth, but no official mention is made of them till 1618; the earliest reference to them, as actually existing, that I have found is in the inventory of the rigging of the 'Hector' and her consorts, fitted out for the East India Company in 1600.⁷⁶ Fore and aft sails are still absent; studding sails and booms are spoken of in the 'Nomenclator Navalis,'⁷⁷ but are not alluded to in any naval document. It may be of interest to quote from the same manuscript the rules governing the proportions of masts and yards.

Mainmast	3 times four-fifths of the beam
Foremast	four-fifths of mainmast
Bowsprit	" "
Mizzen-mast	one-half of mainmast
Topmasts	half the length of lower masts

⁷³ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, clviii. 56.*

⁷⁴ *Add. MSS. 9297, f. 258.*

⁷⁵ *S.P., Dom., Jas. I, cviii. 58.*

⁷⁶ Stevens, *Dawn of Trade to the East Indies.*

⁷⁷ *Harl. MSS. 2301.* About 1625 or earlier, and by Sir Hen. Manwayring. It was printed in 1644 under the title of *The Sea-man's Dictionary*. There is another MS. copy among the State Papers (*S.P. Dom., Chas. I, cxxvii.*) called, *A Brief Abstract . . . of all Parts and Things belonging to a Ship*. The three versions differ but little from each other.

Mainyard	five-sixths of length of keel
Foreyard	four-fifths of mainyard
Topyard	three-sevenths of mainyard
Cross-jack yard	four-fifths of mainyard
Spritsail yard	" "

Baker, Pett, and Burrell were the three chief shipwrights of the reign; Stevens, Adye, Bright, Clay, Greaves, and Maryott were less known men. Baker died on 31 Aug. 1613, at the age of eighty-three. As a boy and man he had seen the rise of the English navy, and had himself largely helped by his skill to produce the type of ship which was found sufficient for that age. That during the whole of his long life he appears, so far as existing records show, to have quarrelled with, or spoken ill of, equals, inferiors, and superiors may be charitably attributed rather to the unfortunate conditions governing a shipwright's position than to any natural bent of character.⁷⁸ The ships built by him represented sound and honest work; he died in harness while in charge of the repairs of the 'Merhonour,' which had been made under his superintendence twenty-four years previously, and he was long remembered as 'the famous artist of his time.' Pett had been favoured by Nottingham and Mansell, but does not appear to have experienced the same partiality from the commissioners. They chiefly employed Burrell, who had previously been master shipwright to the East India Company, for their ships, but during the next reign Pett came again into favour, and was made a principal officer and commissioner for the navy shortly after Burrell's death in 1630. The master shipwrights received two shillings a day and lodging money, but Baker had extra payments of three shillings a day and a pension of 40*l.* a year, which he had enjoyed since building the 'Merhonour.' Bright had an additional three shillings and eightpence a day, of which one shilling and eightpence had been given to his predecessor, Chapman, for good service in building the 'Ark Royal,' and had descended to him. Pett had also a payment of three shillings a day, of which one shilling had been retained in the family since it had been first granted to his father in the second year of Mary's reign.⁷⁹ Probably the orthodox scale of wages would not alone have retained these men in the royal service, and the pensions were used to make their posts more valuable.

Chatham and Deptford were still the chief dockyards, the latter containing the principal building slips; little mention is made of Portsmouth until the next reign. In 1618 the commissioners recommended that a new dock should be constructed at Chatham, 330 feet long and 36 feet broad, at a cost of 2,000*l.*, the expenses of

⁷⁸ The writings or utterances of other shipwrights which have come down to us show them to have been in no way superior to Baker in these respects.

⁷⁹ *Add. MSS.* 9299, f. 48.

sending ships to and fro between Chatham and Deptford being very great, amounting sometimes to some hundreds of pounds for a single vessel. This suggestion apparently fell through for lack of money. The dockyards shared the disorganisation of the other departments; notwithstanding the exposures of 1608 ten years later the storehouses at Deptford were said to be 'full of rotten wood and bad cordage,' the scales were light by one pound in the cwt., and while bad materials were knowingly received the good were sold to boatswains and other officers at low prices. In 1624 Chatham yard remained uninclosed, so that strangers came and took away timber, nails, or any portable article. In 1604 the stores at Deptford included 210 masts, 322 loads of timber, 41,000 feet of plank, 171 cables, 499 hawsers, 15 serviceable and 28 unserviceable anchors, 24 compasses, 40 bolts of canvas, 24,000 tree-nails, and many other articles down to 'a decayed pitch-pot,' and it is likely that they were larger in number and better in quality at this date than at any time during the succeeding twenty years.⁸⁰ The value of Deptford dockyard, house, and ground was estimated at 5,000*l.* and the average yearly charge at 765*l.*; it was at one time proposed to remove the whole plant to Chatham.⁸¹ The expenses at Chatham during 1622 were—⁸²

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Jan.—March. Ordinary	652	4	3½	Extraordinary	631	2	4½
Mar.—June „	666	17	1	„	669	5	3¼
June—Sept. „	766	2	5	„	829	10	8½
Sept.—Christmas „				„	787	19	9¼

The 'ordinary' charges embraced those for ship-keepers and inferior officers attached to ships lying up, Upnor Castle, clerical work, rents, watchmen, clerks, storekeepers, and the superior officers. The 'extraordinary' were for shipwrights, 61 in number, carpenters, joiners, caulkers, pump-makers, sawyers, sail-makers, and bricklayers. Wages were, per day: shipwrights, from 1*s.* 2*d.* to 2*s.*; caulkers, 7*d.* to 2*s.*; carpenters, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.*; pump-makers, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*; joiners, 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*; sail-makers, 1*s.* 8*d.*; sawyers, 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*; bricklayers, 10*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*; and labourers, 8*d.* or 9*d.* All these men, except the labourers, had lodging money, varying from 5*s.* 4*d.* in the case of the master shipwrights⁸³ to so small a sum as 2*d.*

The armament of ships was still very heavy for their tonnage, and accounted in some measure for their rolling proclivities and the impossibility of obtaining a comparatively steady gun platform. Sometimes it was necessary to dismount some of the guns. 'The "Dreadnought" carries 36; yet four of them for seven years have

⁸⁰ *Add. MSS.* 9297, f. 25.

⁸¹ *Cott. MSS. Otho*, E vii. ff. 219, 220.

⁸² *State Papers, Dom.*, *Jas. I*, cxxxvi., and *Add. MSS.* 9294, f. 260.

⁸³ Probably per week.

been buried in her ballast, as some are also in the "Answer," and other ships.' ⁸⁴ This stowage of the guns strained the vessel dangerously and caused leaks, and, as gravel ballast was still employed, an injury was a very serious matter from the difficulty in reaching the damaged part. From a paper which gives a detailed list of the guns belonging to each ship of the fleet I quote those of the new 'Victory'—two cannon, two demi-cannon, sixteen culverins, twelve demi-culverins, four sakers, two falcons, and four fowlers. Of these we may suppose that cannon, demi-cannon, and culverins were carried on the middle, or main, deck, the remainder being divided between upper deck, half-deck, quarter-deck, and forecastle.⁸⁵ The lowest or orlop deck, recently introduced, was of course not used as a battery. The price of ordnance was from 12*l.* to 15*l.* a ton, and the manufacture was still retained in a few hands, its exportation without license being forbidden. In 1619 orders were issued that casting was to be confined to Sussex and Kent, that guns were to be landed at or shipped from the Tower wharf only, and that East Smithfield was to be the one market-place for their sale or purchase. They could be proved only in Ratcliff Fields, and all pieces were to have on them at least two letters of the founder's name, with the year and the weight of the gun. The founders had to give bond for 1,000*l.* as a surety against illegal exportation, and once a year to send in a report of the number and description of guns cast and to whom they had been sold.⁸⁶ These precautions were not unneeded, but did not prevent the secret sale to foreign buyers any more than similar restrictions had availed during the reign of Elizabeth. The royal forts themselves were turned into marts for this and other unlawful transactions. Upnor Castle is described as 'a staple of stolen goods, a den of thieves, a vent for the transport of ordnance.' The person holding the post of 'king's gun-founder,' Thomas Browne, was accused of transgressing largely.⁸⁷ The method was to require payment beforehand, the purchaser taking the risk of seizure, and the guns were then shipped under protection of a warrant authorising them to be sent to London, but once at sea they went to the continent instead of the river.

A few stone shot were still carried, and the price of iron shot varied between 10*l.* and 13*l.* a ton,⁸⁸ and its expenditure in saluting was liberal. It was only about this time that gunners were directed to fire blank charges in these marks of respect, an order which was for long disregarded. Attempts were made to check the too lavish use of munition for salutes, the amount of which depended mainly

⁸⁴ *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I.*, cix. 139, i.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* cxxxiii. 70, 1622.

⁸⁶ *State Papers, Dom., Eliz.* ccxxxvii. f. 119. Although calendared under Elizabeth many of the papers in this volume are copies of documents relating to the reigns of James I and Charles I. See also Lower (M.A.), *Contributions to Literature*, for an article on the Kent and Sussex gun foundries.

⁸⁷ *Cott. MSS. Otho, E vii.* f. 78.

⁸⁸ *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I.*, cxxviii. 94.

on the goodwill of the officers and the stores of the ship. Gunners were ordered not to shoot without the captain's permission, and they were forbidden to fire at 'drinkings and feastings.' They were further directed to 'salute no passengers with more than one piece, or three at the most, except the person be of quality and the occasion very great, and that for volleys of honour no bullets be spent;' and the captain was not to fail to lock up the powder room if he went ashore. These regulations were not very effective. In 1628 the fleet lying at Plymouth 'shot away 100*l.* of powder in one day in drinking healths.'⁸⁹ Another writer says that salutes should be 'always of an odd number, but no particular number.' An even number signified the death of the captain, master, or master gunner at sea during the voyage. Of a kindred nature to the love of display by noise was that of display by flags. The 'Prince' was supplied with eight flags, five ancients, and fifty-seven pennants: these, however, were of some use in assisting in the primitive system of signalling now being attempted on the principle of placing differently coloured flags in various parts of the rigging.

One great alteration was made during this reign in the manning of men-of-war. It had always been customary to place soldiers in the proportion of one-third of the total complement on board vessels equipped for service. This practice no longer obtained; in 1619 the commissioners write, 'Indeed, till the year '88 soldiers and mariners were then usually divided, but that and later experience hath taught us instead of freshwater soldiers (as they call them) to employ only seamen.'⁹⁰ The crew as a whole was not reduced, ships being heavily armed and the spars of a man-of-war being equal to those of a merchantman of much greater tonnage. We have the 'station list' of the 'Speedwell,' of thirty guns, which gives the following division of duties: 18 gunners and 48 men for the battery, 50 small arms men, 50 to work the ship and man the tops, 4 in the powder room, 4 carpenters, 3 trumpeters, 3 surgeons and mate, 4 stewards, 3 cooks, and 3 boys. Nearly one-third of a crew were officers or non-combatants. It will be noticed from this list that the vessel was only prepared to fire one broadside at a time, and that the arrangements implied plenty of sea room and a stand-off fight. At this time English seamen shrank from boarding; memories of the enormous Spanish galleons, with their crews of hundreds of men, and the tactics which had defeated them, were too fresh in the mind of the English sailor to permit him to have that confidence in his ships and himself which he subsequently obtained. I have already mentioned that when this ship, the 'Speedwell,' was lost there was an utter absence of subordination among the crew, but this lack of discipline appears to have been

⁸⁹ Yonge's *Diary*, Cam. Soc.

⁹⁰ *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I*, cix. 139, i.

more or less present at all times. In 1625, when we were at war with Spain, the 'Happy Entrance,' 'Garland,' and 'Nonsuch' were left lying in the Downs with no officers and only a few men on board, because it was the Christmas holidays and everyone was on shore merrymaking.⁹¹ At an earlier date Coke wrote that ships rode in the Downs or put into port while the captains went to London, or hardly ever came on board, and the men ran away.⁹²

Seamen's wages fluctuated between ten and fourteen shillings a month, the latter being the rate at the death of James I, and the pay of the officers had been raised in 1618. Not only was it difficult to keep the men on board the ships, but the expensive and wasteful system of impressment made the eventual outlay even heavier. In 1624 an estimate was drawn up of the expenses for fitting out a fleet of 12 men-of-war; 3,000 men were required, of which number the river was to supply 800 at press and conduct money of 2s. 6d. a man, the remaining 2,200 being obtained from 'remote places' at a cost of 8s. a man. At their discharge 1s. and 7s. a man conduct money respectively for the river and country districts would again have to be paid.⁹³

Fortunately the services of the navy were never needed in earnest during the reign of James. How it would have broken down under the direction of Mansell may be inferred from the steady decrease in the number of seaworthy ships, and the increasing disorganisation of every department, during each year of his retention of office. The administration of the commissioners was both competent and honest, but the grievous results of Mansell's treasurership were too plainly shown during the earlier years of the succeeding reign, when fleets were once more sent to sea. Ships might be replaced and open peculation checked, but the deeper moral wounds caused by fourteen years of license among the higher officials and fourteen years of heartless chicanery suffered by those more lowly placed were not so readily healed, and bore their fruits for long afterwards in the habitual dishonesty of minor officials and workmen, in the disloyalty and half-heartedness of the seamen, and, later, in the shameless knaveries which disgraced the Navy Office at the close of the century, and many of which had their origin under Mansell's rule. The commissioners were hampered in their efforts by want of money, an embarrassment of which Mansell had little to complain. Nor can the king be absolved from the responsibility of permitting Mansell's misdeeds. He knew at least as early as 1608 of the iniquities daily occurring in every branch of the service, but he contented himself with making 'an oration;' he was ready enough to act as an impromptu arbiter on technical details, to superintend launches, to visit the ships, and to give them euphuistic

⁹¹ *Add. MSS.* 9302, f. 9.

⁹² *Coke MSS. Cal.* i. 105.

⁹³ *State Papers, Dom., Jas. I,* clxxv. 85.

names, but that portion of his kingly office which involved protecting the helpless and punishing the guilty was sufficiently satisfied by 'an oration.' And had not Buckingham desired to be lord high admiral we have no reason to suppose that James I would have seen any cause for interference merely on behalf of seamen who were starved and robbed, or of the English people whose chief defence was being destroyed and whose money went to enrich a ring of rogues. So far had the traditions of Plantagenet and Tudor kingliness degenerated into Stewart 'kingcraft.'

M. OPPENHEIM.



The Royal Navy under Charles I: Part III -- The Administration

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The Royal Navy under Charles I

PART III.—THE ADMINISTRATION.

THE system, inaugurated in 1618, of governing the navy by commissioners acting under the lord high admiral remained in force until February 28, when the four principal officers resumed control under Buckingham. Although the commissioners' direction was of course, both in ability and honesty, immeasurably superior to that of Mansell, they cannot be said to have risen to any great excellence of administration. In October 1627 Charles, in writing to the duke, apologised for the slowness with which supplies were furnished, 'the cause whereof is . . . the slow proceedings of the commissioners of the navy (which all commissioners are liable to).'¹ If king and minister were both of this opinion, it would account for the supersession which so soon followed. After Buckingham's murder the post of lord high admiral was put into commission, and the new lords of the admiralty were even more reliant on the capacity of the principal officers than had been their predecessors; but they appear to have been also more suspicious of them than the commissioners were. Of Buckingham it may be said that, had he possessed less power, he would have made a better chief. In the ten years he held office he practically doubled the effective of the navy, for the commissioners could have done little without his aid. So far as the emptiness of the treasury would allow he enlarged and repaired docks and storehouses, and, if he did not discover, he was one of the first to appreciate the naval importance of Portsmouth.² He provided for the home manufacture of cordage by inducing Dutchmen to settle here and teach Englishmen their art, and was the builder of the first rope-houses attached to English dockyards. He reintroduced lieutenants and corporals on board ship, and was the first administrator who began systematic naval and gunnery instruction in the service.

¹ Halliwell's *Royal Letters*, ii. 277.

² Portsmouth was largely used during the earlier years of the reign of Henry VIII, but lost its pre-eminence when Deptford, Woolwich, and Chatham were founded. It is curious that one of the first recognitions of its value as a permanent naval station should have come from Philip II (*State Papers, Domestic, Mary*, vi. 16).

Unfortunately for his memory, he must be judged not as head of the navy but as the all-powerful minister, and in that sense history has pronounced its verdict.³

Since 1618 the duties of the treasurer of the navy had become, and remained in the future, almost entirely financial. His salary was increased from 1630 by the grant of the poundage of threepence on all payments made by him, including wages, instead of, as before, only on those to merchants supplying stores, as well as a house at Deptford and other advantages, and in 1634 his fixed fee was raised from 270*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to 645*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*⁴ He even received the poundage on the salaries of the other three officers, and they were continually petitioning for an advance in their rate of pay, which had remained unaltered since their posts were created by Henry VIII. It is suggestive to find that, among their reasons for the requested increase, they mention that before the reforms of 1618 they had an allowance of 60*l.* a year from the treasurer and victualler for passing their accounts,⁵ and that the surveyor and comptroller estimated the total annual value of their perquisites before that date at 384*l.* and 430*l.* respectively. This included the allowance from the treasurer and victualler, commissions given by officers on appointment, and dividends divided among them from the sale of old stores.⁶ In 1637 they appear to have been promised that if they could obtain their augmentation without going to the royal coffers for it they were welcome to whatever they could get. Accordingly they point out that in this year they had prevented fraudulent overcharge on the part of owners of hired merchantmen to the extent of 1,374*l.*, and they therefore desired to divide the whole of this sum.⁷ What advantage this would be to the crown they omitted to say. They were exceptionally unlucky, seeing that most officials had only to petition in order to receive. In one case 20*l.* a year was taken off the salaries of the masters attendant, but, when these complained, they had each 40*l.* a year added and with less work. Their ill fortune was, perhaps, due to the disfavour with which the lords of the admiralty seem to have usually viewed them, and it was not until the era of the long parliament, when, from motives of fear, all wages were raised, that they shared in the general increase. None of these officers was of any historic interest.

³ It is difficult to apportion the credit for the reforms which followed 1618 between the commissioners and Buckingham. Nicholas (*State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, ccxli. 85, 86) gives it to Buckingham; but Nicholas was his private secretary, and we know that the duke had no grasp of detail. On the other hand he wrote after the duke's death, when he had nothing more to hope from him, and it is certain that the commissioners could not have stood for twenty-four hours against the vested interests they attacked without Buckingham's consistent support.

⁴ Add. MSS. 9301, f. 110.

⁵ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, ccxiv. 9.

⁶ *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, ccxxxvii. f. 138.

⁷ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, ccclxxii. 21.

For two and a half years, between 1627 and 1629, Sir Sackville Crowe was treasurer, but he, to put as favourable a construction as possible on what happened, got his accounts into confusion to the extent of 1,500*l*.⁸ Before and after Crowe Sir Wm. Russell was sole treasurer till 1639, then for two years with the younger Vane, and again, in 1642, by himself till August, after which Vane alone was reappointed. Russell was a mere man of affairs, who confined himself to his accounts, and seems never to have ventured an opinion on anything outside them. Kenrick Edisbury, at first paymaster, and from December 1632 surveyor of the navy, and perhaps the most observant and energetic of the chief officers, held the latter post till his death in 1638, when he was succeeded by Wm. Batten, who was appointed 'during pleasure,' instead of by patent for life, as in preceding cases.⁹ Sir Guilford Slingsby had been comptroller of the navy under Mansell, and was again given the same office in February 1628 by Charles. The main incidents of his second tenure which have come down to us relate to his assaults on his inferiors and his quarrels with his brother officers. Immediately after his appointment John Wells, the storekeeper of the navy, petitioned that, although the other officers had allotted him lodgings in the navy office, Slingsby, to accommodate his family and servants, 'hath violently taken his lodgings from him.'¹⁰ In 1629 his colleagues complained to the lords commissioners that he had felled with a pocket pistol, and otherwise maltreated, the man in charge of the navy office, and kept him out of the house, notwithstanding their wish to reinstate him.¹¹ Slingsby died in 1632, and Sir H. Palmer succeeded him. The most notable event in Palmer's official career was his excuse for selling government cordage and pocketing the proceeds—'because his predecessors had done the like.' He subsequently amended this defence by saying that he had spent the money on naval necessaries.¹² Till 1628 William Burrell was in charge of all ship-building and repairs, and in 1629 Burrell and Phin. Pett were made assistants to the principal officers. Burrell died in 1630, and from January 1631 Pett became himself a principal officer, being three months junior to Sir Kenelm Digby, who had been appointed in the previous October. Neither

⁸ It will be remembered that during his treasurership he helped himself to 3,000*l*. from the Chatham chest, and that the money was still owing in 1644. After his dismissal from office Crowe was ambassador of the Levant Company at Constantinople, and, in 1646, nearly ruined that company by, on the one hand, quarrelling with the Porte, and on the other imprisoning the members and agents of the association. When he returned in 1648 he was sent to the Tower, but seems to have escaped scatheless.

⁹ By an order of 13 Feb. 1637 no place in the navy or ordnance offices was henceforth to be granted for life, but only during pleasure. Edisbury's real name was Wilkinson (see Hasted, *History of Kent*, i. 20 note, ed. Drake, London, 1886).

¹⁰ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, cxxxv. 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.* clii. 51.

¹² Add. MSS. 9301, ff. 121, 133.

Digby nor Pett had any defined duties, and in Digby's case the position seems to have been almost entirely honorary, although at one time he was treating with Mervyn for the latter's command in the Channel. Mervyn asked 5,000*l.*, his arrears of pay, to his rights in which Digby would presumably succeed, and the 3,000*l.* he had given for his admiralship of the narrow seas.¹³ It would be a matter of some interest to know to whom that 3,000*l.* was paid, but there had been obviously no secrecy in the transaction.

After Buckingham's death the lords commissioners met twice a week, sometimes at Wallingford House and sometimes in the council chamber at Whitehall. In April 1638 the child duke of York was made lord high admiral for life, and Northumberland his acting substitute during the king's pleasure; the navy, therefore, ceased to be governed by commission from that date. In 1628 the principal officers met at St. Martin's Lane, but in March 1630 some rooms were taken for them in a house in Mincing Lane at a rental of 30*l.* a year.¹⁴ Thenceforward expenses incurred in relation to that house appear in many of the accounts; it cost 150*l.* for furnishing, twelve months' beer there 13*l.* 8*s.*,¹⁵ yearly water rate 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, but only 3*s.* 6*d.* for Christmas gratuities. Although in 1628 the chief officers had been reinstated in a portion of their former authority, they by no means escaped the control of, and occasionally severe censure from, the lords of the admiralty. Sometimes my lords considered that their sympathies ran rather with their subordinates than with the king's interests, and, as most of them had been suspended for acts similar to those they were called upon to condemn in minor officials, the charge was not unfounded.¹⁶ In the fleet of 1637 embezzlement of stores by the boatswains had been very general. There was nothing unusual in this, but the resolve of the lords commissioners to punish the guilty persons appeared to strike the principal officers as both unusual and unfair. Their pleas on behalf of these men provoked the commissioners to write, 'We observe that you are more apt to intercede for those that are most faulty than to certify what you find against other boatswains . . . it is time by due punishment to break up this custom of the boatswains' exorbitant wasting of his majesty's stores, the continuance whereof so long with impunity hath, it seems, made the officers think it almost lawful.'¹⁷ On another occasion they were told, 'If you were as careful of his majesty's service as

¹³ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, clxxiii. 6. Mervyn to Nicholas.

¹⁴ Add. MSS. 9297, f. 178.

¹⁵ The price of beer at this time was about 1*l.* 10*s.* a tun.

¹⁶ In 1634 Palmer, the comptroller, Denis Fleming, clerk of the acts, Phin. Pett, another principal officer, and several storekeepers and masters attendant had all been suspended for selling government stores for their own profit.

¹⁷ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, cccliii. f. 88.

you are to cast all such unfitting troubles on us, you would gain much more reputation and esteem to yourselves;'¹⁸ and, once again, reference was made to their 'supine negligence.' While they were exposed to these snubs from their superiors one of their inferiors certainly, and others probably, expressed opinions of them with the same frankness. They complained to the lords that Francis Brooke, storekeeper at Portsmouth, 'used many base words of ourselves, calling us loggerheads.' Perhaps the admiralty agreed with him; at any rate I do not find that Brooke was reprimanded, so that the only consolation left to them was their salaries.

Observers who acquitted the principal officers of intentional fraud accused them of incompetence, although they doubtless possessed the amount of intellect considered sufficient for permanent officials. They were said not to know where their respective duties began or ended, but the conditions under which they worked were not favourable to success in management. Each one kept his books at his own residence, and neither sufficient time nor assistance was allowed for the various duties of inspection or bookkeeping which fell to him. Moreover they were compelled to purchase stores from persons holding patents for the sale of special articles, such as iron, canvas, &c., a necessity sufficient to account for any depth of badness in the supply. Whether the confusion was due to neglect or overwork, the effect on the lower ranks of naval employés was the same. From the first year of the reign we have a continuous record of carelessness and fraud, which neither commissioners nor lords commissioners seem to have been able to stamp out. In 1625, on board the ships at sea, pursers charged on the full number of men supposed to be mustered and shared the profits made on those absent with their captains, while gunners and boatswains each kept from two to five servants who were rated as seamen, but who were boys and landsmen, and whose wages were retained by the officers. When the vessels were laid up the ship-keepers were usually drunk or absent. Captain Joshua Downing one night rowed down the Medway, and 'might have gone on board all ships but three and done any mischief;' and 'in these twenty years last past all the navy hath not bred five able sailors nor two able gunners.'¹⁹ Fifteen years later matters were as bad. John Holland, then paymaster of the navy, wrote that the ship-keepers and apprentice servants of the officers were coachmen, tailors, gardeners, &c., and that the apprentices were dismissed at the end of their term as ignorant as when they joined.²⁰ Robberies were frequent. 'Generally the

¹⁸ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, cccliii. f. 55.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* xiii. 70, 1625, *i.e.* by the system of servants and apprentices. It was not until 1647 that the ship-keepers in the Medway were ordered to strike the bell on board every half-hour through the night (Add. MSS. 9306, f. 103).

²⁰ *Discourse of the Navy* (Add. MSS. 9335).

watchman is the thief and the ship-keeper the cabin-breaker ;' but the ship and dockyard officers dared not prosecute, because such a course would have called attention to their own delinquencies.²¹ Downing's experience did not evoke much attention, since, in the following year, it was reported from Chatham. 'There are divers that are upon the king's majesty's charges both for victuals and wages, but give no attendance nor do no service ; neither can we take any muster of any man but just at dinner time, for no longer than they are tied by the teeth are they to be kept on board,'²² this being in the full stress of war time. When captains were turning their men-of-war into cargo boats, to enable merchants to defraud the customs,²³ we need not be surprised that their inferior officers allowed themselves license in theft, and the references to carpenters, gunners, boatswains, and pursers about the sale of stores entrusted to them are innumerable. That fortunes were made from 'chips' taken out of the dockyards is well known. 'The infinite abuse and prejudice the king has in all or most of his yards under colour of chips is intolerable ;'²⁴ again, 'a great quantity of wood is carried away by workmen when they go to breakfast, at dinner time, and at night under colour of, chips ; they cut up good timber and call it chips ;'²⁵ and in some yards the shipwrights built huts in which to store their plunder. In one case a lighter containing 8,000 tree-nails, said to be made from chips, but more probably stolen from Deptford yard, was seized, and the destined receiver was found to be one of the government shipwrights who also owned a private ship-building yard. Some of the dockyard employés converted the storehouses into lodgings for themselves and their families, and this abuse continued until the parliamentary navy committee made a clean sweep of them.²⁶

Of all the subordinate officials the pursers, as in later times, were the most acquisitive, having the greatest opportunities. Most places in the navy were for sale, but theirs were considered so profitable that they were eagerly sought. In 1626 Nicholas was informed that a person, lately mayor of Rochester, would give him 100*l.* for the appointment to the 'Anne Royal,' or 60*l.* for either of two others. As the ex-mayor could only sell again the eventual holder must have anticipated a handsome income. One article on which he made it was the beer ; the brewer delivered this by beer measure, but the purser served it out by wine measure, pocketing the value of the difference.²⁷ Sometimes he was a pluralist. One man was cook of the 'Bear' and purser of the 'George,' and ex-

²¹ *Discourse of the Navy* (Add. MSS. 9335.)

²² *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, xxvii. 69.

²³ *Ibid.* cli. 33.

²⁴ *Ibid.* cclx. 29. Edisbury to Nicholas.

²⁵ *Ibid.* cclxiii. 19.

²⁶ Add. MSS. 9306, f. 119.

²⁷ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, xxiii. 120, 1626. Ten years later Northumberland made the same complaint. There had been no reform.

cuted both places by deputy. Of course they, like the others, sold their stores ashore. But one of their particular sources of profit was the men's clothes. In 1623 wearing apparel was first ordered to be provided for the men, and to be sold to them at cost price, subject to a commission of one shilling in the pound for the purser. In 1628 it was being sold, when obtained, at 1*l.* 7*s.* a suit, to be deducted from the wages, but, as occurred with other naval requisites, the contractors frequently refused to supply it without prepayment. By 1636 the commissions had increased. The merchant had to pay two shillings in the pound for entering the clothes on board; the paymaster and purser took each a further shilling on all articles sold, and of course the unfortunate sailor had to meet all these extra and illegal perquisites, the result being that 'the men had rather starve than buy them.' The original purpose of the supply was 'to avoyde nastie beastlyness by contynuall wearinge of one suite of clothes, and therebie boddilie diseases and unwholesome ill smells in every ship.' The whole of the clothes served out during the earlier years of the reign was not a quantity likely to have much improved the unpleasantly suggestive conditions of this passage.

In 1641 Northumberland, as lord high admiral, took the business in hand, and issued stringent regulations which forbade the sailor to purchase more than fifty shillings' worth a year, at fixed prices, and reduced the commission to sixpence in the pound, which was to be paid to the purser by the vendor.²⁸ When, as rarely happened, a purser was honest, he seems to have been assaulted and persecuted by his captain, and his position on board rendered unbearable. Perhaps the key to the situation is to be found in their petition of 1639, when many of the pursers asked for increased pay, saying, 'We know not how to subsist in our places without the continuance of what has ever been tolerated, or else the grant of a competent salary.'²⁹ Corroborating this plea we have Holland's opinion that wages were too low, 'most of them being for want thereof necessitated . . . either to live knaves or die beggars, and sometimes both.' It was however a sign of the times that when in 1640, Thomas Smith, Northumberland's secretary, took 40*l.* for an appointment, he found himself exposed to the taunts of his equals and had to defend himself by asserting that he never bargained, but 'what men voluntarily give me my conscience assures me that I may take as mere gratuities.' It was still no crime but was reaching the stage which precedes legal condemnation. There is no trace of the sale of places during the Commonwealth, but the custom was reintroduced with the other fashions of the Restoration.

Neither in their sense of honour nor in the extent of their professional knowledge did the navy captains of this generation

²⁸ *Ibid.* cccclxxx. 36.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ccccxxix. 33.

favourably impress their superiors. In August 1630 Mervyn, who was commanding in the Channel, wrote to Nicholas that he had captains who knew neither how to command nor how to obey, and a month later he requested that John Mennes should be given a ship, so that he might at least have one captain who had 'passed his a b c.' Men of such calibre usually owed their position to, and obtained other advantages from, court influence and family connexions. Of one man who received 3,000*l.* as his 3 per cent. commission on carrying treasure to Dunkirk we read, 'You may see what a brother or friend in the bedchamber doth.' Another captain, his men said, was 'fearful in oaths,' plundered merchantmen, and threatened to kill any one who complained of him; his crew refused to sail, because 'for his blasphemous swearing they feared the ship would sink under them.' Others were questioned for beating officers and men, but in no case does any punishment appear to have followed. Another form of fraud which came into existence now, and lasted till the present century, was the forging and uttering of seamen's tickets. The tickets were practically promises to pay wages due, and in the state of the royal treasury were only saleable at a heavy discount. Not only did the captains and pursers forge tickets in the names of men who had never existed, but civilians carried on a brisk trade in such articles, and, when Crowe was navy treasurer, they were 'such good merchandize that a penniless wag made out a ticket for Ball, a dog . . . and sold it with a letter of attorney to a man who lodged seamen.'³⁰

When the civil war commenced most of the non-combatant employés of the admiralty remained, like the officers and men, in the service of the parliament, which took control by means of committees, whose members were constantly being changed. Subordinate to the parliamentary committee was a board called the commissioners of navy and customs, whose work was chiefly financial, and the functions of the principal officers, except the treasurer's, were performed by another body known as the commissioners of the navy. The earl of Warwick was their lord high admiral, appointed in 1642, in place of Northumberland, and he resigned in April 1645, to be again appointed on 29 May 1648,

³⁰ It must not, however, be supposed that naval morality was worse during the reigns of James and Charles than subsequently. Leaving the eighteenth century out of consideration it was said that at the beginning of this one the annual public loss from fraud and embezzlement ran into millions, a sum which may well have almost drawn the shades of Mansell and hundreds of other pettifogging seventeenth-century navy thieves back to earth. I take the great difference to have been that at the later date, whether from higher principle or want of opportunity, the combatant branches of the service were honest, the theft and jobbery being confined to the admiralty, navy board, and dockyard establishments. Lord St. Vincent said of the navy board that it was 'the curse of the navy,' and the methods of the dockyards may be gauged from the fact that while the (present) 'Victory' cost 97,400*l.* to build, 113,600*l.* were in fifteen years expended on her repairs. Of the Admiralty nothing need be said.

when the news of the Rainsborow outbreak was received. In one matter the parliament found itself better off than the previous administration, for the question of timber had for years been a difficulty, the royal forests having deteriorated from various causes. Now, in spite of increased requirements, it was obtained more easily by the process of seizing the timber on delinquents' estates. In 1632 a report was made on the condition of the forests, when that of Dean was said to be 'wasted and ruined,' the New Forest was 'so decayed' that there were not 2,000 serviceable trees in it; there were not more in Waltham Forest and hardly 400 in East Bere.³¹ Much of this wreck was due to lavish grants made by James and Charles to private individuals, and a further cause was the open theft which went on, sufficient wood to build ships being sometimes taken away without any attempt at concealment. Still, in 1633, there were 166,000 trees left in the Forest of Dean of an average value of twenty shillings a tree.³²

John Browne, who held the appointment of 'king's gunfounder' under James I, continued in that office during the whole of this reign. The price of ordnance in 1625 was from 13*l.* to 14*l.* a ton, and did not afterwards materially vary. Many complaints were made about the excessive solidity and weight of naval guns, which caused much of the straining and rolling at sea, and they were so unnecessarily strong that when sold abroad the new owners rebored them for larger shot. In 1626 Browne was granted a reward of 200*l.* for casting lighter guns which had withstood a double proof; but, notwithstanding this encouragement, he, like every one else dealing with the crown, suffered in his purse. By June 1628 upwards of 11,000*l.* was due to him, and Evelyn, the powder contractor, had 2,400*l.* owing to him, and had refused to furnish anything more for three months past. Coke thereupon suggested to Buckingham that Evelyn should be compelled to resume his supplies, 'but till the ceasing of parliament holds it best not to urge him too much,' which throws an interesting side light on general history.³³ Notwithstanding these straits and the requirements of his fleets, Charles did not neglect his glorious heritage in the crown jewels which were pawned to the Dutch, and Burlamacchi was directed to sell 4,000 tons of ordnance abroad and redeem the treasures. As an appropriate part of the transaction Browne found himself obliged to export in Dutch vessels, as they were provided with convoy. In 1632 there were in store 81 brass and 147 iron pieces, presumably the reserve behind those in the ships and forts, and 207,000 round and 3,000 cross-bar shot. Stone shot are no longer mentioned.³⁴ The allowance for a second-rate was three lasts of powder, six cwt. of match, 970 round, 100 cross-bar, 70 double cross-

³¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, cccxix. 114.

³² *Ibid.* ccxlv. 19.

³³ *Ibid.* cviii. 18.

³⁴ *Ibid.* cccxvii. 1.

bar shot, and 2,000 rounds for small arms.³⁵ The musket trade had been gained from us by Holland since the preceding reign, and now Sweden was underselling English founders of big guns; in 1634 Browne, in petitioning the king for payment, said that he had paid 1,200*l.* for a license to export ordnance, but that the Swedes were now selling at half-price. This Swedish manufacture was really worked by Dutch capitalists, and within twenty years the price of English ordnance in the Low Countries had fallen from 36*l.* to 14*l.* a ton. For the proper equipment of the fleet, exclusive of castles and forts, 96 lasts of powder were required in 1635, but in that year only 94 were in store for all purposes; between 1628 and 1635 there had been no powder in Southsea Castle, and doubtless many less important positions were equally ill furnished. Perhaps the crown could not supply the forts, because too busy in private trade, the sale of gunpowder to merchants and others being a royal monopoly. A handsome profit was made on it, the cost being 7½*d.* per lb. and the selling price 1*s.* 6*d.* In 1637 the year's gains on this article came to 14,786*l.*³⁶ The ordnance office had already obtained that evil pre-eminence in sloth and incapacity it has never since lost, and its situation in 1638 was that of 'the surveyor sick, the clerk restrained of his liberty, one of his clerks absent, the clerk of the deliveries out of town and his clerk absent, the master gunner dead, the yeoman of the ordnance never present, nor any of the gunners attendant, and the stores for ordnance empty.'³⁷ Outcries, such as we have been also used to hear in this generation, against their delays in serving the ships with guns and ammunition, were loud and continuous, and in 1639 it was proposed to return to the original arrangement made by Henry VIII and allow the naval authorities to supply themselves with these necessaries. It is an illustration of the meditative and weighty caution with which official wisdom can be trusted to move onward from change to change that it was not until a few years ago that the alteration suggested in 1639 was made. Finally we read that 'the accountant nor other officers keep no books, and the ancient officers and clerks are averse to all new propositions which meet their inveterate frauds and defects.'³⁸ The parliamentary leaders seen at first to have doubted how far Browne was to be trusted, since on 30 Dec. 1645 it was ordered that his works, which had been managed by deputies, should be given back to him.

Besides producing dangerous international friction the matter of saluting was a cover for theft and an excuse for waste at home. The lord high admiral seems to have been the only person whose reception was according to distinct forms, and for him the royal

³⁵ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, cclxix. 67.

³⁶ *Ibid.* cclxxvi. 160 and ccccxlii. 12.

³⁷ *Ibid.* cccxcvii. 37.

³⁸ *Ibid.* cccclxxvi. 115.

standard was to fly at the main, yards to be manned, and on his approach within musket shot of the ship the trumpets were to cease and 'all who carry whistles are to whistle his welcome three times, and in the intervals the crew to cheer.'³⁹ Butler notices the fondness of the English for making a noise as a mark of deference, and the expenditure of powder in this way was described as the 'main excuse of gunners' frauds,' and as causing the waste of at least a thousand barrels of powder a year. Every one stood closely on his honour in the matter of salutes, and in 1631 Pennington was fired on from Pendennis Castle for not striking his flag. No occurrence was of too little consequence to be thus signalled; in one gunner's accounts we find: 'One faucon when the master's wife went ashore. . . . One minion the master commanded to be shot off to a ship his father was in. . . . We shot two faucons in healths and three when Master Newton went ashore.' Of another gunner it was remarked: 'He cannot write, yet presents the account here enclosed, in which you see the king's powder spent in salutations of ketches and oyster boats. . . . I shall shortly send far greater and fouler examples of powder purloined by the last.'⁴⁰ The hired merchantmen in the royal pay had as much self-respect on this question as men-of-war, and saluted towns on entering and leaving harbour, the captain's brother, and 'the captain's friends for their farewell' in orthodox service fashion. The large ones had, in some respects, the advantage of the smaller men-of-war, since the captain of one of the latter, in accounting for his consumption of ammunition, said that ordinary traders 'scorned to strike to a whelp,' and he had to force them to their duty. The result of all this firing was that in the two and a half years ending on 30 June 1627 out of 653 lasts of powder issued to the various forts there had been 300 used in saluting.⁴¹ Nor were these proceedings devoid of danger, since the repeated orders that guns should be fired with blank charges were still disregarded, and there are several instances mentioned of persons on shore being struck from vessels saluting at sea. The admirals were equally sensitive about their dignity, and when Lindsey commanded the fleet of 1635 the question of his flags appeared to weigh most on his mind. On 1 May he complained that he had not enough flags and was not furnished with a standard; the next day he repeats his wants, adding that he would like a kitchen ship, and a week afterwards he thinks himself 'a little maimed,' still lacking the standard.

Among foreign powers the Dutch were the chief victims to the

³⁹ Butler's *Dialogical Discourse*, &c. Of course the guns would be going all the time. This form of reception appears to have been that given also to the king or to a general commanding an expedition.

⁴⁰ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, liii. 40. Heydon to Nicholas.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* lxxxviii. 27.

requirements of maritime decorum, here complicated by the dispute about the dominion of the narrow seas. In July 1626 the captain of Deal Castle fired at a Dutchman which came into the roads with colours flying, and made the master pay ten shillings, the cost of the shot. In his report of the affair he says, 'The rather did I it because I have heard it imputed that we have lost the jurisdiction of the narrow seas.' Six years later a man-of-war having been sent to Calais to fetch the body of Sir Isaac Wake, her captain had the audacity to force the French to strike their colours to him.⁴² When Lindsey went to sea in 1635 his instructions ran that his 'principal care' was to make foreign fleets perform their 'duty and homage,' and, if they refused, to make them answer for their 'high contempt.'⁴³ Remembering the state of Lindsey's fleet, not only in the absence of the standard which he deplored so sadly, but in more urgent essentials, such as men, provisions, and stores, it was perhaps fortunate that Richelieu evaded the trial, and that the Dutch were content—for the time—to salute all day long if Charles so pleased. Northumberland, the next year, was told to insist on foreign ships yielding homage in Calais and other harbours if out of range of the forts.⁴⁴ Wiser than his master, if he did more than look into the French ports he did nothing to provoke a collision. Moreover Northumberland may have felt that he was hardly in a situation to enforce compliance. Lindsey mentioned in his journal that in two days eleven ships lost masts and topmasts with only 'strong winds' blowing, but had not thought the circumstance deserved comment, although his vice-admiral, the old Elizabethan seaman Sir William Monson, was not so reticent. Northumberland's fleet was equally ill found, and on his return he charged the principal officers with giving him ships leaky and out of repair, fitted with defective masts and yards and bad cordage; some, he said, were too old to be worth repairing, and the new ones required girdling to make them fit for sea.⁴⁵ What the earl thought of his men and stores has been already related. However, English captains continued to carry matters with a high hand, and, in 1637, Stradling meeting a Dutch squadron which did not salute with sufficient promptness, reported: 'The captain of the rear-admiral I have taken out of his ship and sent to Plymouth.' As time wore on the Dutch, seeing that Charles had enough to occupy his attention at home, became more independent, and in 1639 they were searching English ships and taking Spaniards out of them, a change from their former submissive attitude.

⁴² *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, cexx. 25. M. de Kermaingant (*Le Droit des Gens Maritime . . . au Commencement du XVII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1892) suggests that the real origin of the English claim to the lordship of the narrow seas is to be found in the possession by our early kings of both shores of the Channel.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 2 May 1635.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* cccxvii. 102.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* cccxxvi. 13 and cccxxxviii. 39.

A precarious source of crown revenue was that obtained from the prize tenths. In the two years ending with May 1626 seventy-three vessels had been taken and proceeded against in the admiralty court, and Bristol paid 7,604*l.* between 1628 and 1631. It was not until the civil war that the crew of a ship belonging to the state had any fixed proportion of the proceeds, but by a council order of October 1626 'a competent reward' was to be given to the captors. On the other side seventy-seven vessels, of 100 tons and upwards, were taken by the enemy between 1625 and 1628, so that the balance of profit was hardly with us. In another paper we are told the, presumably net, proceeds from Spanish prizes between July 1626 and August 1639 came to 38,158*l.* 8*s.*⁴⁶ In October 1642 the parliament announced that henceforth one-third of the value of a prize was to be divided among officers and crew, in addition to wages. Its effect was undoubted, since from February 1643 to April 1649 prize goods were sold for 123,200*l.*, and this must represent an enormously higher original value.⁴⁷ However, out of this sum officers and men only got 14,465*l.*, while the two collectors, Thomas Smith and John Hall, took 4,989*l.*, Warwick 5,985*l.*, and the expenses of storage, lading and unlading, &c., were 17,000*l.* The delay and deductions in the payment of the thirds were among the chief causes of the trouble the Commonwealth experienced with the seamen in its earlier years, and in this account we see quite extraneous charges borne upon it. The treasurer of the navy took 30,000*l.* from it, Augier, the parliamentary agent in Paris, 610*l.*, the secretary and usher of the committee of foreign affairs their salaries, and it had to meet various other items which would now go under the head of secret service money. The Dutch system of rewards for captures was in working order long before ours and was liberal enough in amount. Privateers were allowed, beyond the value of the ship and goods taken, a state reward of from 8,000 to 30,000 guilders, the latter sum being given for any vessel of more than 100 lasts burden. If the enemy was sunk at sea instead of being brought into port, only half these sums were paid.

The following table, compiled from the 'Audit Office Declared Accounts' for the several years, gives the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure in round figures, as well as that of ship money, of which 1,028,702*l.* was demanded by writ, and 716,528*l.* was paid over to the navy treasurer.⁴⁸ The estimates for the ordinary are for routine, naval, and dockyard work and the Channel squadron, and do not include the cost of the expeditions of the first three years or of any of the later fleets. The amounts in the last column but one are those actually paid by Sir Wm. Russell out of tonnage

⁴⁶ *Aud. Off. Decl. Accounts*, 1699, 65.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1812, 443 A.

⁴⁸ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, ccccxviii. 102.

and poundage, anticipated revenue, and other sources. For instance, in 1625 he spent 170,000*l.*, of which he received 119,000*l.* from the exchequer, 40,000*l.* from tenths, fifteenths, and subsidies, and 'from the French king's agent' towards fitting out the 'Vanguard' 4,800*l.*⁴⁹ The last column gives the sums paid out of the ship-money receipts for the corresponding fleets; no doubt much of the balance went to clear off old debts, to pay for ship-building, as in the case of the 'Sovereign,' and other purposes:—

	Estimates for ordinary and extraordinary ⁵⁰ navy and victualing	Dockyard expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary				Cordage	Actually expended by treasurer	Paid out of ship money
		Chatham	Woolwich	Deptford	Portsmouth			
1625	28,000	—	—	—	—	—	170,000	—
1626	28,700	—	—	—	—	—	117,000	—
1627 ⁵¹	40,500	8,445	1,522	1,714	370	—	63,000	—
1628	40,800	5,860	704	3,171	359	—	110,000	—
1629	47,000	—	—	—	—	—	57,000	—
1630	34,700	4,977	185	2,141	1,460	4,805	102,000	—
1631	34,200	—	—	—	—	—	46,000	—
1632	27,900	6,700	97	1,025	1,591	4,455	21,000	—
1633	28,600	7,453	100	1,233	1,834	4,145	69,000	—
1634	31,300	—	—	—	—	—	48,000	—
1635	31,200	—	—	—	—	—	85,000	88,000
1636	15,500	5,050	625	3,029	3,000	3,265	58,000	136,000
1637	14,200	—	—	—	—	—	12,500	122,000
1638	20,300	—	—	—	—	—	22,000	109,000
1639	38,100	—	—	—	—	—	58,000	47,500
1640	38,800	—	—	—	—	—	78,000	44,500
1641	38,500	—	—	—	—	—	88,000	—
1642	28,700	—	—	—	—	—	66,000	—
13 May 1645 to 31 Dec. 1646	—	—	—	—	—	—	392,000	—
1647	—	—	—	—	—	—	178,000	—
1 Jan. 1648 to 12 May 1649	—	22,000	3,414	2,247	5,180	—	336,000	—

The disbursements during the civil war years by no means represented the naval expenses, there being always hundreds of thousands of pounds owing; the authorities, however, took care that the executive branches should be comparatively punctually paid, owners of hired ships and purveyors of stores being the principal sufferers by delay. Vane acted under an 'ordinance of both houses, of 8 Aug. 1642, concerning subsidy of tonnage and poundage,' and simply continued the forms and system used by his predecessors.⁵²

⁴⁹ Pennington and his men were paid double wages 'out of the French king's moneys' (*Aud. Off. Decl. Accounts*, 1698, 63), which throws their intense abhorrence of their work into still stronger relief.

⁵⁰ For the distinction between 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' charges see ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, vii. 492.

⁵¹ In this year the navy and ordnance offices were 251,000*l.* in arrears (*State Papers*, lxxxvii. 35).

⁵² Few historical students admire Charles I, but even such a king as he is entitled to the justice of posterity beyond that which he got from his contemporaries. Professor Hosmer (*Life of Sir H. Vane the Younger*, p. 497) says that Vane 'had created the fleet out of nothing, had given it guns and men.' He appears to think

Among the dockyards the most noticeable change is the steady increase in the use made of Portsmouth, while Woolwich was almost discarded, part of it being leased in 1633 to the East India Company

that a naval force, with its subsidiary manufactures and establishments, could be created in a few years, but, as a matter of fact, the parliament commenced the struggle infinitely better equipped at sea than on land, and it was so powerful afloat that it did not find it necessary to begin building again till 1646, when the stress of the conflict was over. If Mr. Hosmer is referring to a later period, the statement is still less accurate, since the number of men-of-war had been increased and Vane had ceased to have any special connexion, except in conjunction with others, with naval affairs. Allowing for his narrow intelligence and vacillating temperament, Charles showed more persistence and continuity of design in the conduct of the navy than in any other of his regal duties; for, although relatively weaker as regards other powers, England, as far as ships and dockyards were concerned, was stronger absolutely in 1642 than in 1625. The use made of the ship money showed that under no circumstances could Charles have been a great naval organiser; but he has at least a right to have it said that he improved the *matériel* of the navy so far as his limited views and disastrous domestic policy permitted.

Returning to Vane, Mr. Hosmer says in one place (p. 148) that the post of treasurer was worth 30,000*l.*, and in another (p. 376) 20,000*l.* a year. What Mr. Hosmer's authority (G. Sikes, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*) really writes is, 'The bare poundage, which in time of peace came to about 3,000*l.*, would have amounted to about 20,000*l.* by the year during the war with Holland.' The poundage in peace years never approached 3,000*l.*, and, as Vane ceased to be treasurer in 1650, and, from the date of his resignation, a lower scale of payment was adopted, the second part of the calculation is obviously nothing to the purpose. Whether the reduction in the treasurer's commission was due to Vane or whether he resigned on account of it we have no evidence to show, nor do vague generalities help to clear the doubt. As bearing testimony to Vane's disinterestedness Mr. Hosmer quotes Sikes to the effect that he returned half his receipts, from the date of his appointment as sole treasurer, at the time of the self-denying ordinance. Unfortunately the accounts previous to 1645 are wanting and the question must remain open, but if the probability may be judged by general tendency it must be said to be extremely unlikely, since, not content with his pay, he gave himself a commission of thirty shillings on every thousand pounds for portage, bags, wax, &c., an addition which neither his predecessors nor successors received, and which, for the nineteen months ending on 31 Dec. 1650, came to 1,005*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Moreover he was treasurer from 8 Aug. 1642 till 31 Dec. 1650, and during that time received in poundage and salary for the five and a half years for which the accounts remain the sum of 19,620*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* There is no sign in the audit office papers that he returned one penny of his legal dues, and, whoever else had to wait, he seems to have paid himself liberally and punctually. Mr. Hosmer has only indirectly noticed that parliament, when Vane resigned, settled a retiring pension on him. Sikes says, 'some inconsiderable matter without his seeking, was allotted to him by the parliament in lieu thereof' (*i.e.* of his place). The 'inconsiderable matter' was landed estate producing 1,200*l.* a year. Seeing that he held his post for only seven and a half years, that during that time he must have received at least 25,000*l.*, and that all previous treasurers had been, on occasion, dismissed without any suggestion of compensation, his disinterestedness may be questioned. When parliament voted Ireton an estate of 2,000*l.* a year he refused it on account of the poverty of the country. And Sikes's version that it was 'without his seeking' is not absolutely beyond doubt. On June 27, 1650, a petition of Vane's was referred to a committee to discuss how the treasurership was to be managed from Dec. 31 following, and 'also to consider what compensation is fit to be given to the petitioner out of that office or otherwise in consideration of his right in the said office.' It is no unjustifiable assumption to infer from this the possibility that the petition at any rate included a claim for compensation. Sikes, again, tells us that he caused his subordinate Hutchinson to succeed him, but when, on 10 Oct. 1650, the motion was before

at 100*l.* a year.⁵³ It had long been pointed out that it frequently cost a fleet as much time and trouble to get round from the Thames to Portsmouth as from that place to the Mediterranean, and under Buckingham's administration it came into favour as a rendezvous for the ships prepared for service. It possessed a graving, but no dry dock, and in 1627 the duke caused estimates to be prepared for the construction of a double dock, but his death deferred the question.⁵⁴ In 1630 Pett, Sir Thos. Aylesbury, and others were sent down to report on its capabilities, and they recommended that the men-of-war should ride in Fareham creek, at the head of the harbour, about a mile and a half from Porchester and two miles from the then dockyard, a proposal which was adopted. They did not advise the making of a dry dock, thinking the rise and fall of the tide too little, and 'there is no use of any there;' ⁵⁵ but personal interests were also in the way, the comfort and pecuniary advantages of the shipwrights being bound up with the Thames and Medway yards. From this date, however, a few ships were always stationed at Portsmouth, but it was not until January 1638 that a master shipwright was ordered to reside there permanently; before that time the shipwrights had taken the duty in turns, and the absence of a dry dock, although several times intended to have been commenced, was still causing inconvenience and expense. Russell complained that 'his majesty cannot have a pennyworth of work there done under twopence, in respect the king's yard and the ships be so far asunder for transporting materials.' The dockyard consisted chiefly of storehouses, and orders had been given that all private houses near them were to be tiled instead of thatched, they having been once already burnt down during the reign of Elizabeth. It is difficult to say what extent of ground belonged to the crown at this time. The official plan now existing gives the size of the dockyard when first formed by Henry VIII at 8 acres 1 rood. The natural suspicion with which one regards an official statement, whatever its date in the centuries, was here intensified by the exactness of the measurement and the fact that the admiralty

the house that the 'question be now put' whether Hutchinson's appointment should be made, Vane was one of the tellers for the 'Noes' and was beaten by 27 to 18. This was immediately followed by Hutchinson's nomination without a division. The incidents of Hutchinson's official career imply a much stronger and more lasting influence than that of Vane, but the only importance of the question is as affecting the trustworthiness of the latter's seventeenth century biographer. Mr. Hosmer, like all other writers on Vane, appears to quote Sikes with implicit faith, but the man evidently wrote only loosely and generally, making up in enthusiasm what he lacked in exactness; *e.g.* 'In the beginning of that expensive war he resigned the treasurership of the navy.' Hutchinson succeeded him from 1 Jan. 1650-1, and war with Holland did not occur till June 1652. There is nothing to show that Vane was not an honest administrator, but his party, fortunately, produced many others equally trustworthy.

⁵³ Add. MSS. 9302, f. 42.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 9297, f. 75.

⁵⁵ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, clxxiii. 32.

either do not know or will not say by what means it is obtained. Those suspicions were confirmed by finding—so far is the official date of 1540 from being correct—that storehouses and a dry dock, large enough to take the 'Regent,' existed in 1507. In 1523 Henry VIII added other buildings and constructed a dock capable of receiving the 'Henry Grace de Dieu.' Another cause of hesitation in the adoption of Portsmouth as a permanent naval station was the diverse opinions expressed as to the existence of the *Teredo navalis* in the harbour. This maritime pest, probably brought into northern waters from the tropics during Elizabeth's reign, played havoc with ships mostly unsheathed, and whose sheathing, when it did exist, was ill adapted to resist its ravages. In 1630 the chief shipwrights reported that 'no worm destructive to ships is bred in Portsmouth harbour;' five years later some of the same men turned round with, 'We positively conclude that there is a worm in that harbour.' The decision was still postponed till, in September 1645, a number of shipwrights were sent down, and it thenceforward rapidly grew in naval importance, although the dry dock, so often ordered, was not commenced till 1656.

Chatham had for nearly a century been the first of English dockyards, and in 1634 contained seventy-five acres, held on a lease granted for 100 years, from 1618, by Robt. Barker, lord of the manor of Chatham.⁵⁶ In March 1627 Coke, at the request of the king of Denmark, sent a Dane named Andersen there, with a letter of recommendation to the officials, desiring them to explain to him their methods of work. The request was complimentary, but Andersen could hardly have been very favourably impressed by all he saw and heard. The dockyard service was as much disorganised as the rest of the administration; the 'Assurance' had recently been repaired only by the expedient of selling fifty-four guns to pay the expenses,⁵⁷ and 7,740*l.* was owing to the shipwrights and shipkeepers there, nearly eighteen months' wages being over-due.⁵⁸ They had of course freely petitioned, but 'a letter to persuade the workmen to go on cheerfully' had quieted them for the time. One explanation of their patience may be found in the existence of a rule under which persons in the naval departments could not be proceeded against legally until permission was given by the authorities. Just before Andersen's visit work had been at a stand-still for want of materials to the value of 400*l.*, which the government could not obtain on credit, and, in April, the workmen still had fifteen months' pay due. Both the commissioners and chief officers confessed their inability in face of these difficulties, since if the men were discharged they came clamouring and threatening daily for their wages, and if kept on there were not sufficient stores

⁵⁶ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, cclxxix. 20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ccxlv. 49, January 1627.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* l. 45.

for them to work with.⁵⁹ Matters did not improve, and in 1629 Edisbury pointed out that, in addition to all this, great waste and theft existed, many families living in the dockyards, and cabins and other parts of ships being daily ransacked, and the materials stolen or used for fire wood, 'every one almost being director of his own work for want of some able, understanding man to regulate the inferiors, as it was while the commissioners had the government.'⁶⁰ This handsome testimonial to the merits of the commissioners, lately relieved, may be considered impartial, for the interests of Edisbury, then paymaster, but shortly to be himself a principal officer, were bound up with those of the officers. Another writer tells us that the master shipwrights rated their subordinates according to favour, and that they themselves were sometimes absent for one or two months at the time at their own private yards.⁶¹ In thirteen years' experience he had never known any inferior suffer for delinquency, 'although he had been convicted of divers stealths.' At the most they were suspended, and then restored, and the entries in the State Papers bear out Holland's assertions. He also tells us that Fridays, being the Rochester market days, were kept as a general holiday in the dockyard; the expenditure on ornamental carving and painting had become four times as great as formerly, because the amount was left to the master shipwrights who refused to be outdone by each other; if work was done by contract, a bill was usually sent in for 'overworkes' which exceeded the original contract amount, and, as a result, the shipwrights' houses were 'fitter for knights than men of their quality.' These houses had back doors opening into the dockyard—for obvious purposes, the writer hints.

The almost incredible financial straits of the treasury may be measured by the fact that some storehouses in Chatham yard having been damaged by a storm in January 1630 the money necessary for the repairs—only 20*l.*—had to be obtained by selling old cordage.⁶² Large sums, however, were at various times expended on maintaining, improving, and enlarging the yards. In 1629 there was spent 2,197*l.* on Portsmouth, Deptford, and Chatham,⁶³ and in 1634 there was a further estimate of 2,445*l.* for the same places for additions subsequently carried out, one of them being a brick wall round the new dock at Chatham. The barricade across the Medway at Upnor, although it had been allowed to become almost useless, was still nominally maintained. It must have been an expensive defence, since the estimate in 1635 for another, made like the earlier ones of masts, came to 2,305*l.*, besides involving a

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* cxxxviii. 66.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* cxliii. 37.

⁶¹ J. Holland, *Discourse of the Navy*.

⁶² Add. MSS. 9301, f. 135.

⁶³ *Egerton MSS.* 2541, f. 123. Deptford was chiefly used for building, and Chatham for repairing.

yearly outlay of 624*l.* to keep it in good order. An iron chain weighing twenty-eight tons, and held by eleven anchors, was recommended in its place, as costing only 1,500*l.*⁶⁴ The long parliament further enlarged the dockyards, and cared for the shipwrights spiritually as well as physically. In 1644 they ordered that a lecture should be delivered at Deptford every Wednesday morning on 'saving truths,' and the time thus occupied was not to be deducted from the men's pay.

In 1637 the stores at Woolwich, Deptford, Chatham, Portsmouth, and on board the ships in harbour comprised 1,446 tons of cables and cordage, 221 tons of anchors, 79 lasts of tar, sails made up to the value of 4,500*l.*, canvas not made up to 5,000*l.*, 167 compasses, 2,236 hammocks, 520 masts, 1,200 spars, 3,694 loads of timber, and 332,000 tree-nails.⁶⁵ This was in the full flush of the ship-money receipts, yet both cordage and timber are far below the minimum considered necessary by either principal officers or commissioners. As in later years ships lying up were dismantled, and in 1631 the lords of the admiralty ordered that, instead of sails and rigging being kept in a confused heap at Chatham, a room, with the ship's name painted on the door, should be provided for the belongings of each vessel. In 1637 Hildebrand Pruson died, he and his father having been sail-makers to the navy for sixty years. Edisbury then tried, but in vain, to persuade the lords commissioners to have the sails made at Chatham and save a fifth of their cost. So far from undertaking fresh responsibilities they desired to transfer some of those they already bore. They were at the time negotiating with Russell about an offer he had made to provide the squadron for the narrow seas by contract at 3*l.* a man per month, that rate to cover all expenses except those of repairs to the vessels.⁶⁶ They were to be nine months out of the twelve at sea, and doubtless Russell saw his way to a profit, but the proposal was not carried into effect. There were few naval improvements introduced under Charles. Deck ring-bolts for the lashing of ordnance were first supplied in 1628;⁶⁷ staysails came into use early in the reign, one of the whelps having two in 1633, and in 1639 there were forty in store at Portsmouth, but they seem to have been only fitted to the smaller classes of ships.

However badly off fleets might be in material necessities, they should have been well furnished with the æsthetic refreshment of flags, judging from the number in store. In 1626 1,280*l.* was spent in providing them, and in January 1627 there were 415 of various kinds to be had at Chatham alone, and however low in the future might fall the reserves of powder every care was taken that the men should not lack this solace. A proclamation was issued on 5 May

⁶⁴ *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, cccii. 27.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid. cccliii. f. 67.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid. cccxlvii. 85.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid. xlvi. January 20.*

1634 commanding that English and Scotch merchantmen were no longer to fly the union flag of St. George's and St. Andrew's crosses, but to each keep to its own national cross, men-of-war alone flying the union. The parliamentary committees were just as fond of flags, for in the sixteen months ending with November 1646 they spent 1,178*l.* on these articles, while sailors' hammocks for the same period cost only 777*l.* For 1647 their bill for flags was 567*l.* and for hammocks 307*l.* In February 1649 the parliament ordered that men-of-war should carry a St. George's cross on a white ground, similar to the present admiral's flag, which, although the St. George's cross had been in general use for many centuries, may be considered to be the beginning of the present naval ensign in its special form.⁶⁸

The following prices were paid for naval necessaries at various dates:—

Cordage (1625), 26 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> a ton.	Round shot (1627), 11 <i>l.</i> a ton.
" (1629), 32 <i>l.</i> a ton.	Musket shot (1627), 14 <i>l.</i> a ton.
" (1631), 30 <i>l.</i> "	Hammocks (1625), 2 <i>s.</i> each.
" (1640), " "	" (1642), 2 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> each.
Tar (1631), 8 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> a last.	Anchors (1626), 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> to 2 <i>l.</i> per cwt.
" (1635), 10 <i>l.</i> a last.	" (1631), 2 <i>l.</i> per cwt.
Rosin (1631), 13 <i>l.</i> a ton.	" (1640), 1 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> per cwt.
Train oil (1631), 20 <i>l.</i> a ton.	Beer (1635), 28 <i>s.</i> to 34 <i>s.</i> the tun.
Crooked and straight timber (1631), 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> a load.	" (1646), 38 <i>s.</i> the tun.
Knee timber (1631), 2 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> a load.	Beef in 4-lb. pieces (1635), 9 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i> the piece.
Elm " " 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> "	Pork in 2-lb. pieces (1635), 5 <i>d.</i> and 6 <i>d.</i> the piece.
" " (1640), 1 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> "	Codfish (1635), 4 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> the cwt.
" plank (1626), 1 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> "	Biscuit " 13 <i>s.</i> and 14 <i>s.</i> the cwt.
Oak " " 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> "	Seamen's clothes (1628): ⁶⁹ —
" " (1640), 3 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> "	Shirts, 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> each; caps, 2 <i>s.</i> each;
French canvas (1635), 22 <i>l.</i> a bale.	cotton breeches, 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> each;
Ipswich " (1626), 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> a bolt.	stockings, 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> a pair; canvas
" " (1635), 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> "	suits, 6 <i>s.</i> each; cotton waistcoats,
Powder (1627), 5 <i>l.</i> a barrel.	3 <i>s.</i> each.
" (1646), 4 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> a barrel.	

M. OPPENHEIM.

⁶⁸ It is possible, too, that the present navy button and cap badge may be traced back to the parliamentary *régime*. Northumberland's seal consisted merely of his arms with a background of sea and ships, and although earlier lord admirals—Southampton, Lincoln, and Buckingham—had used the anchor, none of them had combined the coronet, anchor, and wreath. Warwick's was one which differs only in the relative proportions of the details from the button and badge now in use, except that the anchor is now fouled. If it is only a coincidence it is a curious one. Popham, Blake, and Deane employed a modification of Warwick's seal, omitting the crown, and then the navy office started one of its own, consisting of three anchors, a large centre one with a smaller on each side, and 'The Seale of the Navye Office' round the edge, so that the device selected by Warwick seems, in one form or another, to have been soon widely used and continued.

⁶⁹ These prices were paid by the government; the cost to the sailor depended on the honesty of many intermediaries.

King's College London

Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives

Summary Guide

Note: The item numbers represent a subset from ISAD(G) rules (General International Standard Archival Description) promulgated by the International Council on Archives to standardise archival description world-wide. Only item numbers relevant to our specific archive are included here.

3.1 IDENTITY STATEMENT

3.1.1 Reference code: GB99 KCLMA Slingsby W L

3.1.2 Title: SLINGSBY, Lt Col William Laurence (1919-1994)

3.1.3 Dates of creation of material: 1915, 1939-1962, 1989

3.1.4 Level of description: collection level

3.1.5 Extent: 2 files

3.2 CONTEXT

3.2.2 Biographical history: Born in 1919; educated at Gordonstoun School and Royal Military College, Sandhurst; commissioned into the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, 1939; served in World War Two in Burma, 1939-1941, UK, 1941-1943, North Africa, 1943, and Italy, 1943-1944; commanded D Company, 2 Bn, Sherwood Foresters, Italy, 1944; Capt, 1946; graduated from Staff College, Camberley, 1948; Maj, 1952; Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, HQ 1 Commonwealth Div and Commonwealth Contingent, Korea, 1955-1956; graduated from French Army Staff College, Paris, 1961; Military Attaché, Algiers, 1963-1965; Staff Officer Grade 1, War Office; retired, 1968; worked as stockbroker, [1968-1971]; investment manager for an international banking group, [1972]-1986; died in 1994.

3.2.5 Provenance/source of acquisition: Placed in the Centre by the family in 1996.

3.3 CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

3.3.1 Scope and content: Papers relating to his military career, 1939-1962, principally his service in Burma, 1939-1941, UK, 1941-1943, North Africa, 1943, Italy, 1943-1944, and Korea, 1955-1956, notably including battalion orders for 2 Bn, Sherwood Foresters, 1945; German propaganda leaflets for US and Allied troops, [1944]. 'An ancient Yorkshire family', a history of the

Slingsby family, written by Slingsby in 1989.

3.3.4 Arrangement: 2 files

3.4 CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE

3.4.2 Access: Open, subject to signature of reader's undertaking form.

3.4.3 Copyright: Copies, subject to the condition of the original, may be supplied for research use only. Requests to publish original material should be submitted to the Trustees of the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, attention of the College Archivist.

3.4.4 Language: English, Italian, French

3.4.6 Finding aids: Summary guide entry on-line and due to be published in hard copy.

3.5 ALLIED MATERIALS

3.5.3 Related units of description: The Centre also holds the papers of Slingsby's father, William Ecroyd Slingsby (Ref: GB99 KCLMA Slingsby W E) and those of his uncle, Capt Henry Laurence Slingsby (Ref: GB99 KCLMA Slingsby H L).

3.6 NOTE AREA

3.6.1 Date of compilation: Nov 1996

3.6.2 Decorations: MBE

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Last modified: Wednesday, 22-Jan-1997 12:31:11 GMT

Diana [de Mol] to Ormond

Written from: Brussels? or Ghent?

Date: [March?] 1660

Shelfmark: MS. Carte 30, fol(s). 586

Document type: Holograph. Endorsed: "My Lady Diana".

Personal affairs. Prays that the Marquess will grant the writer an assignation [for payment of money due,] for Sir Arthur Slingsby, who she perceives, "resolves to quit ... Brussels, and to pursue his fortune in England".

James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond.
† 1610

1650 Exile following defeat by Cromwell

1660 Restoration. Became one of Charles II leading ministers.

† 1688.

Sir Arthur Slingsby in Geoffrey Ridsdell Smith "Without Touch of Dishonour -
The Life and Death of Sir Henry Slingsby 1602-1658"
(Kington: The Rowlandson Press; 1968).

p. 43. Chapter 4. 1634-1638
Note 3 Sir Guilford married Margaret Walters of York. They lived at Bifon
near Canterbury, and had 8 sons and 4 daughters. Of the sons,
Guilford, Robert, Walter and Arthur will figure in this story.
Margaret is the 'old Lady Slingsby' of Pepys' Diary.

Note 3 referred to on p. 36 where it is said "This same year, 1633, had also seen
the loss at sea of Harry's uncle, Sir Guilford, Comptroller of the Navy"³

p. 105 = Chapter 11 1646-1652 period
"Arthur, late a Colonel of Horse had escaped to France 'in a shallop'
hard on the heels of the sea-sick John Evelyn and was now secretary
to the Earl of Bristol who was pressing the Spanish alliance.

p. 129 Chapter 14 1657.

Arthur Slingsby put his house in the park at Brussels at the King's disposal
if he should come to meet Don Juan, the new Viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands
[Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, ed. O. Ogle, W.H. Bliss, W.D. Mackay &
F.J. Routledge Vol III p. 131. Also Eva Scott, 'Travel of the King' p. 214.]

This house was soon to figure in an alleged plot to disprove Lucy Walters'
marriage to Charles and get her son, the future Duke of Monmouth, away
from her. So she was persuaded to lodge - Arthur's house where he was to
effect the separation in as quiet a way as he could. [Calendar... III 354]

His efforts ended in a street brawl in which the mother clung screaming to
her son. Arthur was reprimanded. But on telling Charles that she had
compromising papers in her trunk she was ordered to search it. Whereupon
she threatened to put up all the King's letters to her unless her pension
was paid. [Calendar III 400-401]. Finally she agreed to let the boy 'be bred up
at instructed as the King approved' provided she could live in Brussels
in any house but Arthur's [Calendar III 356]. Soon after this he received a
baronetcy and the next year she died.

The secret Treaty of Brussels had been discussed, if not actually signed, - Arthur
Slingsby's house there. [Calendar IV 105]

p. 133
p. 166 Chap 18 1659-60
The Abbess of Jever (Mary Knatchbull) was active as a secret forwarding agent for
letters from England to Arthur.

Arthur - 2

P. 170
Arthur retired to his father's house, Bifrons, near Canterbury, since his wife, a Flemish lady, submitted a petition for a place as Lady of the Privy Chamber which had been promised her at Breda. She wrote that she had 'lost all ~~confidence~~ ^{her fortune} in the King's service as left her country in confidence her husband's faithful service would give him employment [Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, ed. N.A.E. Green, 1661-2, p. 29]. Arthur himself appealed for their son, the King's godson, to be a Page of Honour to the Queen at the next vacancy [CSPD 1663-4, p. 34]. It was probably in an endeavour to relieve his want - a seemingly chronic state with most cavaliers - that he ran a lottery. Pepys observed it. Arthur died at Bifrons in 1666 of a sudden fit of vomiting. He had been playing tennis at Whitehall a few days before. [Historical Manuscripts Commission ^{VI} Report 337b]

Sir Charles Smyth

p. 73. Chapter 8. 1644.

1

SLINGSBY GENEALOGY

-Francis SLINGSBY (↓4.8.1600,Slingsby chapel of Knaresborough church); Sir
=Elizabeth INGILBY; daughter of Sir William INGILBY of Ripley
=Mary PERCY (*1532;†1598), daughter of Sir Thomas PERCY (*1537, by execution at Tyburn) and Alianora HARBOTLE (daughter and co-heir of Sir Guichard HARBOTLE)
-Thomas (†1579, aged 28, by drowning in the River Nidd while trying to save his servant)
-3 sons (died young, or without issue)
-3 daughters (died young, or without issue)
-Henry (*1559;†12.1634);knighted in 1602 by Queen Elizabeth I; High Sheriff of Yorkshire 1611-12;¹ built Redhouse, Yorkshire; “pillar of the Church of England”
| =Frances VAVASOUR (†1611); daughter of William VAVASOUR of Weston, Yorkshire, and Elizabeth BECKWITH; papist
| -William (†1617, killed in Florence); member of Barnard’s Inn; admitted to Gray’s Inn 8.2.158¹/₂; went to Italy in 1613
| -Elizabeth
| | =28.1.159⁴/₅ at Knaresborough, Sir Thomas METCALFE (*4.12.1579;†7.1655;↓Aysgarth) of Nappa, Yorkshire; J.P.; “The Black Knight”;²
| -Mary
| | =Sir Walter BETHELL; Surveyor of the East Riding to King James I; lived at Alne; a Puritan
| -Katherine (%31.7.1584,Knaresborough); [4th daughter]
| | =1603,by licence, John FENWICK (†1658,aged 79) of Wallington Hall, Northumberland;³ knighted at Royston 18.1.160⁴/₅;⁴
| | -John (aged 3 in 1615;†2.7.1644 in battle at Marston Moor); Member of Parliament for Morpeth 1640 until disabled 1.164³/₄; colonel of Dragoons
| -Alice (†1627;↓Sandal church)
| | =1602 in Moor Monkton church, Thomas WATERTON of Walton Hall, Yorkshire
| -Anne
| -Henry “Harry” (*14.1.160¹/₂;†8.6.1658, beheaded on Tower Hill;↓Slingsby chapel); created baronet of Nova Scotia 1638;⁵
| | =7.7.1631 in Kensington church, Barbara BELASYSE (†1641,London); daughter of Thomas BELASYSE, 1st Viscount FAUCONBERG of Newstead Abbey
| | -Barbara (*1633)
| | | =Sir John TALBOT of Lacock, Wiltshire
| | -Thomas (*~1635;†~1685); 2nd baronet; High Sheriff of Yorkshire; Governor of Scarborough Castle 1670; M.P. for Knaresborough 1678
| | | =1658 Dorothy CRADOCK (↓Slingsby chapel); daughter and co-heir of George CRADOCK of Caverswall Castle, Staffordshire⁶
| | | -Henry (*~1661); 3rd baronet
| | | -Thomas; 4th baronet
| | | -three daughters
| | -Henry (†1692); Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles II; one of the first members of the Council of the Royal Society
| -Thomas (†1670); colonel in the King’s Army during the Rebellion; gallant leader; present at the siege of York 1646
| -2 sons (died young)
| -Frances
| | =Bryan STAPYLTON (†1658, Wighill, Yorkshire;↓Wighill);⁷ Receiver-General of the North for King Charles I. Of Myton-on-Swale, Yorkshire.
| -2 daughters (died young)
| -Eleanor
| | = in Moor Monkton church, Sir Arthur INGRAM of Temple Newsam, Yorkshire; one of the richest men in England

| -Elizabeth
 | | =Lord RICH, son of Lord HOLLAND; this connection facilitated the wedding of Sir Harry in Kensington church
 | -Charles; rector of Rothbury, Northumberland
 | =Elizabeth ELLIS
 | |-Thomas
 | |-Margaret
 | |-Mary
 | -**Guilford** (†1631, aged 66, drowned at sea); Sir; matriculated Queen's College, Oxford 1581; Comptroller of the Navy⁸
 | =Margaret WALTERS; daughter of William WALTERS, Alderman of York; referred to as "old Lady Slingsby" in Samuel Pepys' *Diary* for 29.1. 166⁰/₁
 | |-Guilford (*1610;†16.1.1643,in battle at Gisborough⁹;↓26.1.1643, aged 32 in York Minster);^{10,11}
 | |-Robert (*1611;†26.10.1661); created baronet of Newcells, Hertfordshire 16.3.166⁰/₁; Comptroller of the Navy; Captain of the 8th Lion's Whelp
 | |-Percy
 | |-Walter (*1618); colonel with Prince Rupert; commanded the Great Fort; fought to the bitter end in the siege of Pendennis Castle; escaped to France;¹²
 | |-George
 | |-Francis
 | |-**Arthur** (*~1623 (was 4 in 1627);†12.2.166⁵/₆, aged 41, Bifrons);¹³ knighted at Brussels 24.6.1657; created **1st baronet of Bifrons** 19.10.1657^{14,15}
 | | = a Flemish lady
 | | |-**Charles** (was under 21 in 1664); **2nd baronet of Bifrons**¹⁶; sold Bifrons 1667; was living abroad in 1669
 | | | =¹⁷ 1681 Mary (↓1.3.169³/₄¹⁸); Mrs ALDRIDGE then from 1660-1680 as Mrs LEE then from 1681-1685 as Lady SLINGSBY; well-known actress
 | | |-Peter; was living abroad in 1669
 | | |-Anne
 | | |-Mary (%26.4.1666,Patixbourne)
 | |-4 daughters and 1 more son
 | -William (*1562;↓8.1624;Slingsby chapel of Knaresborough church¹⁹); Sir;²⁰
 | =Elizabeth BOARD, daughter of Sir Stephen BOARD of Board Hill, Sussex; lived at Kippax
 | |-William (†young)
 | |-Henry "Samborne" (†1690); Master of the Mint in the reign of Charles II 1671²¹; one of the original members of the Royal Society
 | | = Ann CAGE, a daughter of Sir ___ CAGE, knight
 | | |-Henry (†1695)
 | | |-Anthony (†1697)
 | | |-Elizabeth
 | | =Adlard CAGE of Thavies Inn, Holborn
 | |-Elizabeth
 | | = John VILLIERS, elder brother of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM
 | -Francis (*1569); Sir; of Kilmore, Co. Cork; Constable of Haulbowline Castle and of the Royal Council of the Province of Munster;²²
 | =Elizabeth CUFF
 | |-Francis
 | |-Henry
 | |-Mary

└Katherine
└Anne
└Elizabeth
| = W. DODWELL; Captain
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¹ Vice-President of the Council of the North 1629.

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³ Son and heir of Sir William FENWICK of Wallington Hall and Grace FOSTER; Master of the Royal Studs to King Charles I.

⁴ Member of Parliament for Northumberland 1624-5, 1625, 1625-6, 1628-9; for Cockermouth 4-5.1640 and 1.1642-1.164³/₄ when disabled as a Royalist; restored 6.1646-12.1648

⁵ Matriculated as a Fellow Commoner of Queen's College, Cambridge 1.161⁸/₉; resided there until 1621 but did not graduate; Member of Parliament for Knaresborough 1640 (twice).

⁶ Granddaughter of Dr. John SAUNDERS who was Provost of Oriol College, Oxford from 1644-1653.

⁷ Son of Sir Robert STAPLETON (*1538) and Olive SHERRINGTON.

⁸ [PRO says he is 8th son of Thomas Slingsby of Scriven].

⁹ Killed in a skirmish with his cousin, Sir Hugh Cholmeley; he lost both legs and died. His eulogy was preached by Archbishop Bramhall (Bishop of Derry).

¹⁰ M.A. (St. Andrew's) 1628; incorporated into Oxford University 24.11.1628; Member of Parliament for Carysfoot, Ireland 1634.

¹¹ Secretary to the Earl of Strafford who made him Lieutenant of Ordnance and Vice-Admiral of Munster.

¹² Returned from France to organise a resistance movement in Cornwall; captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London; Deputy Governor of Carisbrooke Castle.

¹³ Friend and tennis partner of King Charles II. Mentioned in Pepys' *Diary*. Described by John Evelyn as a "meer shark" for his running of a lottery in the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall by permission of the King on 20.7.1664.

¹⁴ By letters patent at Bruges.

¹⁵ Comptroller of the Navy; colonel of Horse; Secretary to the Earl of Bristol.

¹⁶ The baronetcy of Bifrons became extinct on Charles' death.

¹⁷ The Public Record Office merely suggest that this lady was the wife of Sir Charles.

¹⁸ At St. Pancras' old churchyard from St. James' church.

¹⁹ A beautiful monument to him may be found in this chapel.

²⁰ Imprisoned by Spaniards in Como in 1594; served with his brother Guilford in the successful expedition against Cádiz in 1596 as Commissary of the Fleet.

²¹ Author of the motto *Decus et tutamen* found on modern English pound coins.

²² Came to England in 1648 after having lost his Connaught estate in the Rebellion. He was with his brother William on his trip to Spain.

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=Elizabeth INGILBY

=Mary PERCY (*1532; †1598)

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-3 sons (died young, or without issue)

-3 daughters (died young, or without issue)

-Henry (†12.1634); Sir

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-William (†1617, killed in Florence)

-Henry (*14.1.160^{1/2}; †8.6.1658, beheaded in the Tower of London); baronet

=Barbara BELASYSE (†1641) †

-Thomas (*~1635); Sir

=Dorothy CRADOCK of Caverswall Castle, Staffordshire (A)

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-Henry

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-2 sons (died young)

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-Mary

=Sir Walter BETHELL

-Katherine

=Sir John FREDERICK possibly Sir John FENWICK of Wallington, Northumberland

-Alice

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-Anne

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-2 daughters (died young)

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=Elizabeth ELLIS

-Thomas

-Margaret

known as Harry
pillar of the ch of England; built Redhouse, Yorkshire
Went to Italy 1613
metronalated
Harry = 9th child
elder bro. 7 elder sisters

~ Fellow - common
On. Coll Camb 1698

in Kensington Church

in Moor Monkton Church

"The Black Knight";
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

M.P. for Northumberland; Master of the Royal Stud to Charles I.

on Swale

(A) Grand-daughter of Dr John SAUNDERS, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford from 1546 till 1653

"Samborne"

- Mary
- William; Sir
- =Elizabeth BOARD
- William (died young)
- Henry (†1690); Master of the Mint
- = Ann CAGE
- Anthony
- Elizabeth
- Elizabeth = John NEVILL, elder brother of the Duke of Buckingham
- Guilford (†1633, drowned at sea); Sir; Comptroller of the Navy
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- Percy
- Walter
- George
- Francis
- Arthur (†1666, Bifrons); baronet; Comptroller of the Navy
- = a Flemish lady
- Charles; Sir
- Peter
- Anne
- Mary
- Francis; Sir
- =Elizabeth CUFF
- Francis
- Henry
- Mary
- Katherine
- Anne
- Elizabeth
- = W. DODWELL; Captain
- Henry
- Jane

Served with his brother Guilford in the successful expedition against Cadiz = 1596 as Commissioner of the Fleet.
 of Board Hill, Sussex. Lived at Kippax
 one of the original members of the Royal Society

John NEVILL, elder brother of the Duke of Buckingham
 The "Old Lady Shingsby" = Peggy's diary
 Captain of the Eagle or Tenth Lion's Whelp to guard the narrow seas
 1638 escorted the Moroccan ambassador from Portsmouth to Lisbon
 ; colonel; commanded the Great Fort; fought to the bitter end in the siege of Pendennis Castle; escaped to France; returned to Spain in 1638

Colonel of Horse; Secretary to the Earl of Bristol; Baronet 1665
 Cornwall; captured & imprisoned in the Tower of London. Deputy Governor of Castles

¹ Son of Sir Robert STAPLETON (*1538) and Olive SHERRINGTON.

† Daughter of the Hon Wm FAUCONBERG of Newburgh Priory

Shingsby of Bifrons Bt. 19. 10. 1657 donor^{extra} by ~1700

of Newells, A.A. 16. 5. 1660 / ex. 26 Oct 1661

of Scrove 22. 10. 1628 ex 1630

- Margaret
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 - = Elizabeth daughter of Robert Brooke with whom he acquired the estate
 - = Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Ferris of Beldar in Northampton
 - Walter; colonel; commanded the Great Fort; fought to the bitter end in the siege of Pendennis Castle; escaped to France;⁵
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and daughter of Sir Edward
Kendryffe of Bristol
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The Third Whelp
1636-7, the
Expedition (4
1638)

aged 22 in command
of the fleet
of - private
conveyed troops for
Edinburgh for the King
1642; declared
a delinquent -
his thro; retired
abroad after
the Siege of
Bristol.

16.1.1643, Guisborough in battle, ↓ 26.1.1643 York (Minster)
26.10. at St Mary's Axe, Lond. St. John's. Barometer became extreme.

will proved 8.1704

M.P. Gargrave (waled) 1634
Secretary to the Earl of Strafford



~~Francis~~

One is Anne (*~1572)
†~1572

Another is Catherine *~1574, serve

Lash's Eleanor * 1559, serve
†~1570 serve

SLINGSBY GENEALOGY

-Francis SLINGSBY (*1522; ↓4.8.1600, Slingsby chapel of Knaresborough church); Sir Francis Slingsby serve
 =Elizabeth INGILBY; daughter of Sir William INGILBY of Ripley
 =Mary PERCY (*1532; †1598), daughter of Sir Thomas PERCY (*1537, by execution at Tyburn) and Alianora HARBOTLE (daughter and co-heir of Sir Guichard HARBOTLE)
 †-Thomas (†1579, aged 28, by drowning in the River Nidd while trying to save his servant); B.A. (Oxon) 9.7.1568
 †-3 sons (died young, or without issue)
 †-3 daughters (died young, or without issue)
 †-Henry (*1559; †12.1634); knighted in 1602 by Queen Elizabeth I; High Sheriff of Yorkshire 1611-12;¹ built Redhouse, Yorkshire; "pillar of the Church of England"
 =Frances VAVASOUR (†1611); daughter of William VAVASOUR of Weston, Yorkshire, and Elizabeth BECKWITH; papist
 †-William (†1617, killed in Florence); member of Barnard's Inn; admitted to Gray's Inn 8.2.158¹/₂; went to Italy in 1613 * 1595
 †-Elizabeth (b. 17.10.1581, Knaresborough)
 =28.1.159¹/₅ at Knaresborough, Sir Thomas METCALFE (*4.12.1579; †7.1655; ↓Aysgarth) of Nappa, Yorkshire; J.P.; "The Black Knight";²
 †-Mary (b. 158~) (*1580)
 =Sir Walter BETHELL; Surveyor of the East Riding to King James I; lived at Alne; a Puritan
 †-Katherine (%31.7.1584, Knaresborough); [4th daughter] †1616 They have 13 7. 1584
 =1603, by licence, John FENWICK (†1658, aged 79) of Wallington Hall, Northumberland;³ knighted at Royston 18.1.160⁴/₅;⁴
 †-John (aged 3 in 1615; †2.7.1644 in battle at Marston Moor); Member of Parliament for Morpeth 1640 until disabled 1.164³/₄; colonel of Dragoons
 †-Alice (†1627; ↓Sandal church)
 =1602 in Moor Monkton church, Thomas WATERTON of Walton Hall, Yorkshire
 †-Anne (†1622; ↓1572)
 2 †-Henry "Harry" (*14.1.160¹/₂; †8.6.1658, beheaded on Tower Hill; ↓Slingsby chapel); created baronet of Nova Scotia 1638;⁵
 =7.7.1631 in Kensington church, Barbara BELASYSE (†1641, London); daughter of Thomas BELASYSE, 1st Viscount FAUCONBERG of Newstead Abbey
 †-Barbara (*1633)
 =Sir John TALBOT of Lacock, Wiltshire
 †-Thomas (*~1635; †~1685); 2nd baronet; High Sheriff of Yorkshire; Governor of Scarborough Castle 1670; M.P. for Knaresborough 1678
 =1658 Dorothy CRADOCK (↓Slingsby chapel); daughter and co-heir of George CRADOCK of Caverswall Castle, Staffordshire⁶
 †-Henry (*~1661); 3rd baronet
 †-Thomas; 4th baronet
 †-three daughters
 †-Henry (†1692); Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles II; one of the first members of the Council of the Royal Society
 3 †-Thomas (↓11.2.1670, Knaresborough); colonel in the King's Army during the Rebellion; present at the siege of York 1646; created M.A.(Oxon) 1.11.1642 * 1595
 †-2 sons († young)
 †-Frances
 =Bryan STAPYLTON (†1658, Wighill, Yorkshire; ↓Wighill);⁷ Receiver-General of the North for King Charles I. Of Myton-on-Swale, Yorkshire.
 †-2 daughters († young)
 †-Eleanor (*~1551, Nottingham; †>1576)
 = in Moor Monkton church, Sir Arthur INGRAM of Temple Newsam, Yorkshire; one of the richest men in England

They have ~1530

They have 1560

in service
17.12.1634
↓28.12.1634
Slingsby chapel
Knaresborough

*1565

They have 1600

They have 1609

1622

should be *1601
25.5 1647
25.5 1647
eye 16 of 1647

have 2 names the elder 1622-42
page 1642-55
1655-160
1660-160

the younger
Elderst son was
names

-Henry; matriculated Trinity College, Oxford 20.6.1628, aged 14; B.A. 4.2.16²⁹/₃₀; M.A. 1.7.1633
 -Mary
 -Katherine (*1603 Kilmore, Co. Cork)
 -Anne (*1608, Kilmore, Co. Cork)
 -Elizabeth (*17.10.1581 Knaresborough) +1603, Kilmore
 | = W. DODWELL; Captain
 | -Henry
 -Jane

They tried all
 children were
 born in jail
 yet

- ¹ Vice-President of the Council of the North 1629. Chief Forester of the Park & Forest of Knarston.
- ² Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
- ³ Son and heir of Sir William FENWICK of Wallington Hall and Grace FOSTER; Master of the Royal Studs to King Charles I.
- ⁴ Member of Parliament for Northumberland 1624-5, 1625-6, 1628-9; for Cockermouth 4-5.1640 and 1.1642-1.164³/₄ when disabled as a Royalist; restored 6.1646-12.1648
- ⁵ Matriculated as a Fellow Commoner of Queen's College, Cambridge 1.161⁸/₉; resided there until 1621 but did not graduate; Member of Parliament for Knaresborough 1640 (twice).
- ⁶ Granddaughter of Dr. John SAUNDERS who was Provost of Oriel College, Oxford from 1644-1653.
- ⁷ Son of Sir Robert STAPLETON (*1538) and Olive SHERRINGTON.
- ⁸ B.D.(Oxon.) 25.1.159¹/₂; armiger.
- ⁹ [PRO says he is 8th son of Thomas Slingsby of Scriven].
- ¹⁰ Referred to as "Old Lady Slingsby" in Samuel Pepys' *Diary* for 29.1. 166⁰/₁.
- ¹¹ Killed in a skirmish with his cousin, Sir Hugh Cholmeley; he lost both legs and died. His eulogy was preached by Archbishop Bramhall (Bishop of Derry).
- ¹² M.A. (St. Andrew's) 1628; incorporated into Oxford University 24.11.1628; Member of Parliament for Carysfoot, Ireland 1634.
- ¹³ Secretary to the Earl of Strafford who made him Lieutenant of Ordnance and Vice-Admiral of Munster.
- ¹⁴ The 8th Lion's Whelp was a square-rigged, three-masted vessel of 162 tons built hastily in 1628 of cheap timber. It carried 14 guns and 60 men and in 1642 was fit for 2 years.
- ¹⁵ Returned from France to organise a resistance movement in Cornwall; captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London; Deputy Governor of Carisbrooke Castle.
- ¹⁶ Friend and tennis partner of King Charles II. Mentioned in Pepys' *Diary*. Described by John Evelyn as a "meer shark" for his running of a lottery in the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall by permission of the King on 20.7.1664.
- ¹⁷ By letters patent at Bruges.
- ¹⁸ Comptroller of the Navy; colonel of Horse; Secretary to the Earl of Bristol.
- ¹⁹ The baronetcy of Bifrons became extinct on Charles' death.
- ²⁰ The Public Record Office merely suggest that this lady was the wife of Sir Charles.
- ²¹ At St. Pancras' old churchyard from St. James' church.
- ²² A beautiful monument to him may be found in this chapel.
- ²³ Imprisoned by Spaniards in Como in 1594; served with his brother Guilford in the successful expedition against Cádiz in 1596 as Commissary of the Fleet.
- ²⁴ Author of the motto *Decus et tutamen* found on modern English pound coins.
- ²⁵ Came to England in 1648 after having lost his Connaught estate in the Rebellion. He was with his brother William on his trip to Spain.

SLINGSBY GENEALOGY

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 - Thomas; 4th baronet
 - three daughters
 - |-Henry (†1692); Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles II; one of the first members of the Council of the Royal Society
 - |-Thomas (†1670); colonel in the King’s Army during the Rebellion; gallant leader; present at the siege of York 1646
 - |-2 sons (died young)
 - |-Frances
 - =Bryan STAPYLTON (†1658, Wighill, Yorkshire;↓Wighill);⁷ Receiver-General of the North for King Charles I. Of Myton-on-Swale, Yorkshire.
 - |-2 daughters (died young)
 - |-Eleanor
 - = in Moor Monkton church, Sir Arthur INGRAM of Temple Newsam, Yorkshire; one of the richest men in England

|-Katherine
|-Anne
|-Elizabeth
| = W. DODWELL; Captain
| -Henry
|-Jane

¹ Vice-President of the Council of the North 1629.

² Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

³ Son and heir of Sir William FENWICK of Wallington Hall and Grace FOSTER; Master of the Royal Studs to King Charles I.

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SLINGSBY GENEALOGY

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=Elizabeth INGILBY

=Mary PERCY (*1532; †1598)

-Thomas (*1581, by drowning)

-3 sons (died young, or without issue)

-3 daughters (died young, or without issue)

-Henry (†12.1634); Sir; built Redhouse, Yorkshire; "pillar of the Church of England"; *high sheriff of Yorkshire*

=Frances VAVASOUR (†1611); daughter of William VAVASOUR and Elizabeth BECKWITH; papist

-William (†1617, killed in Florence); went to Italy in 1613

-Elizabeth

=28.1.1594^{1/5} at Knaresborough, Sir Thomas METCALFE (*4.12.1579; †7.1.1655; ↓Aysgarth) of Nappa, Yorkshire; J.P.; "The Black Knight";¹

-Mary

=Sir Walter BETHELL; Surveyor of the East Riding to King James I; lived at Alne; a Puritan

-Katherine *1603, by name (†1658, aged 70);*

=Sir John FENWICK of Wallington Hall, Northumberland; M.P. for Northumberland; Master of the Royal Studs to King Charles I

-Alice (†1627; ↓Sandal church)

=1602 in Moor Monkton church, Thomas WATERTON of Walton Hall, Yorkshire

-Anne

-Henry "Harry" (*14.1.1601^{1/2}; †8.6.1658, beheaded on Tower Hill); baronet;²

=in Kensington church, Barbara BELASYSE (†1641); daughter of the 1st Viscount FAUCONBERG of Newstead Abbey

-Thomas (*~1635); Sir *†~1685*

=1658 Dorothy CRADOCK of Caverswall Castle, Staffordshire³

-Henry (*~1661)

-Henry, a gentleman of the privy chamber to Charles II

-Barbara

=Sir John TALBOT of Lacock, Wiltshire

-Thomas

-2 sons (died young)

-Frances

=Bryan STAPYLTON (†1658, Wighill, Yorkshire; ↓Wighill);⁴ Receiver-General of the North for King Charles I. Of Myton-on-Swale, Yorkshire.

-2 daughters (died young)

-Eleanor

= in Moor Monkton church, Sir Arthur INGRAM of Temple Newsam, Yorkshire; one of the richest men in England

-Charles; rector of Rothbury, Northumberland

=Elizabeth ELLIS

-Thomas

* Son address of Sir William Fenwick of Fenwick and Wallington Hall and Grace FOSTER

knights 1602

of Weston, Yorkshire

1611-12; vice-president of the council of the north 1629;

*4th daughter
to 31.7.1584,
Knaresborough*

knights at Royston 18.1.1604/5

1620-5, 1625, 1625-6, 1628-9

John (aged 3 = 1615); M.P. for Morpeth 1640 until disabled 1.1644, Col. of Dragoons.

† 2.7.1644, in battle of Marston Moor

disabled as a Royalist

1.1644; restored 6.1646 until

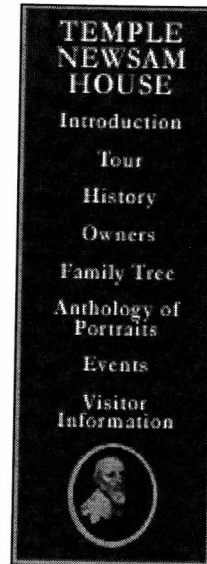
again excluded 12.1648

*Created baronet 9.6.1628
Fenwick*

7.7.1631

*To whom
does this
refer?*

for Cockerham 1640-42



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**Sir Arthur Ingram (C1565/70-1642)
by George Geldorp (fl 1610-1653),
84 X 57 1/2 (213 X 146)**



This portrait (and a 19th century copy) are the only surviving images of the great financier who rose from relatively humble origins to become one of the wealthiest men in the country and the owner of the most extensive estates in Yorkshire. His fortune was based on his

Controllership of the Customs for the port of London and later his position as Secretary of the Council of the North. From these he was able to take advantage of farming the royal monopolies and taxes, equipping expeditions to the New World, and speculating in property. However, on becoming Cofferer to the King's household in 1615 he found himself blackballed from court on account of his lowly birth and sharp business practices.

Thereafter he concentrated his interests in the North, building new mansions on the site of the former Archbishop's Palace in York and at Sheriff Hutton (1619), at New Park (1640), and purchasing Temple Newsam

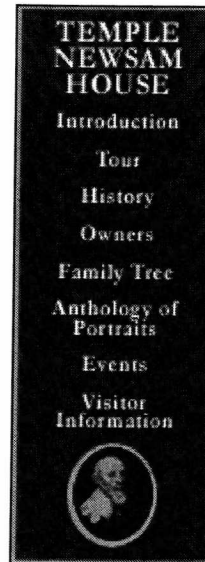
from the Duke of Lennox for £12,000 (1622).

The archives reveal various payments made to Geldorp between November 1638 and January 1639 amounting to over £40 which must be connected with this portrait. These include 10/6d for 'hooks to hang up the great picture'. Four days after Sir Arthur's death in 1642 a footman, Nobbs, was paid 6d to 'go with my Mr draught of his picture & his clothes to Mr Geldorp' and this posthumous sketch is mentioned in the various Temple Newsam inventories until c1721.

Temple Newsam 18.2/83

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**Sir Thomas Ingram (1614-1672).
School of Sir Peter Lely (1618-
1680), 53 1/2 X 37 1/2 (136 X 95)**

The portrait is mentioned in the Temple Newsam inventories since 1688 and appears to have hung in the Blue Striped Dressing Room since c1862 whither it was returned in 1990 Sir Thomas was the younger son of Sir Arthur Ingram the elder by his second wife Alice Ferrets. King James 1 attended his christening and he remained a staunch royalist all his life, becoming MP for Thirsk 1640-45. During the Commonwealth he was imprisoned briefly but compounded and was fined £2,933.



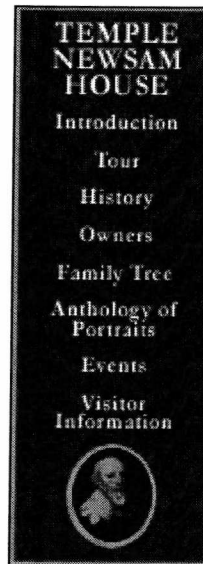
His reward at the Restoration was his appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in whose robes he is depicted here (although seated on a surprisingly humble rush-bottomed chair). On his marriage in 1637 to Frances Bellasyse, daughter of Viscount Fauconberg of Newburgh Priory, he was given the estate at Sheriff Hutton by his father which he retained until its sale c1663. He, his wife and daughter (qv) are buried in

Westminster Abbey.

Temple Newsam 18.3/83

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Lady Bennet (nee Elizabeth Ingram) (c1605-1636). British School, early 17th century, 46 1/2 X 39 1/4 (118 X 100)

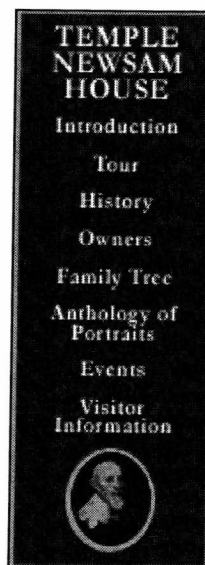


The picture was recorded in the various Temple Newsam inventories between 1688 and 1902, the compiler in 1750 describing it as by 'Seoust' (probably Gerard Soest). Lady Bennet was the daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram the elder and married Sir Simon Bennet of Beckhampton c1620. Her costume, and the luxuriously upholstered armchair on which she sits, suggests a date in the 1620s. A portrait of her husband is at Hatfield and one of her mother-in-law, Mary, Lady Bennet, was also recorded in the Temple Newsam inventories between 1688 and 1902 and is now in a private collection in West Yorkshire.

Earl of Halifax.

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Lady Rich (?) (nee Elizabeth Ingram c1625-1661). British School, early 17th century, 47 X 38 (119 X 96.5)

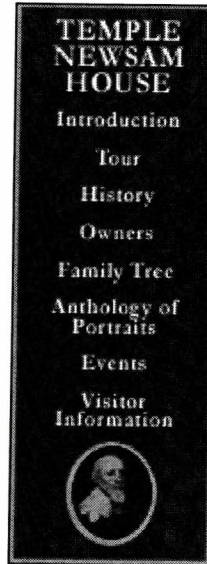


The identity of the sitter is by no means certain. For a number of years it was thought to represent Essex, wife of the first Viscount Irwin, but this is now disproved. Alternatively she may be Lady Rich, the eldest daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram the younger a portrait of whom is described in two of the early Temple Newsam inventories. She married Robert, Lord Rich and Kensington in 1641 as his second wife, and became Countess Holland on her husband's succession in 1649.

Temple Newsam.

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Henry, first Viscount Irwin (1641-1666). School of Sir Peter Lely, 47 X 38 (119 X 96.5)

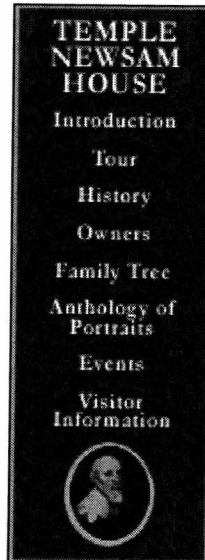


This picture (which may be a posthumous likeness) was probably commissioned by the sitter's wife (qv) as a pendant to her own portrait (fig 7). The style of costume in both pictures suggests a date in the 1670s, some years after her husband's death. Henry was the fourth but second surviving son of Sir Arthur Ingram the Younger and became the owner of Temple Newsam on the death of his brother Thomas Ingram (qv) in 1660

Immediately prior to his marriage the following year to Essex, daughter of Edward Montagu, second Earl of Manchester, he was created Viscount Irwin or Irvine of Scotland (although the family had no known connection with the northern kingdom). His extravagant lifestyle led to debts of nearly £12,000 by the time of his unexpected death in 1666.

Temple Newsam 22.89/48.

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**Essex, Viscountess Irwin (nee Lady Essex Montagu) (c1643-1677).
School of Sir Peter Lely, 49 X 40
(124.5 X 101.5)**

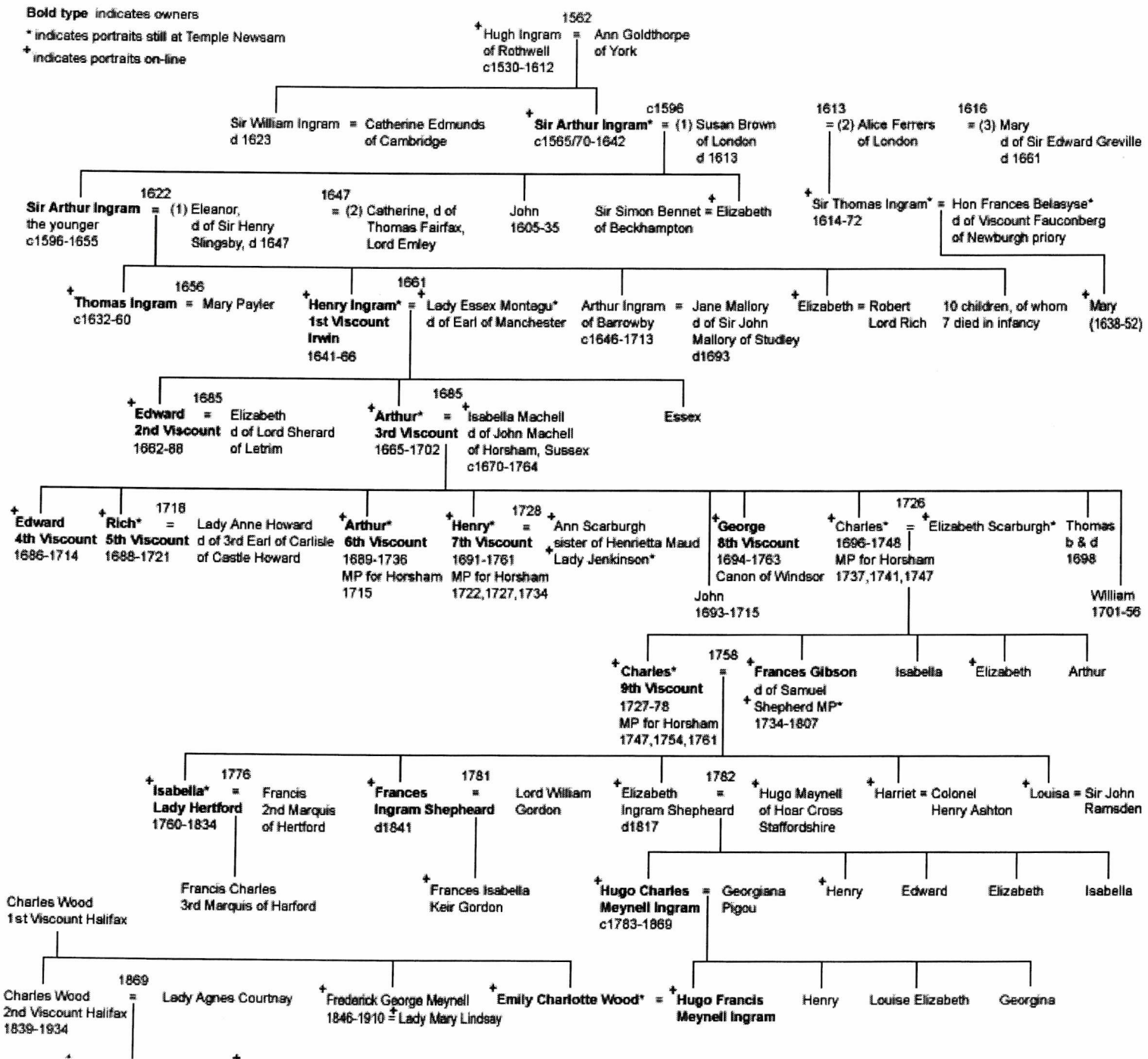


This portrait was probably commissioned in the 1670s at the same time as that of her husband Lord Irwin and is evidently by the same artist. Essex was the daughter of Edward, second Earl of Manchester by his third wife Essex, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheke.

Her husband Henry was elevated to the peerage as first Lord Irwin shortly before their marriage in 1660 probably in part as a reward for her father's adherence to the royalist cause. At her husband's death in 1666 the estate was left with considerable debts which were partly offset by letting Temple Newsam for a number of years and by a sale of many of its furnishings.

Temple Newsam 22.57/48

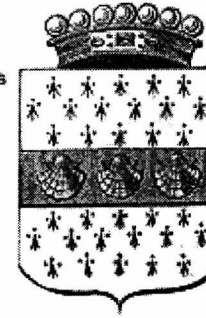
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There are large numbers of Ingrams in America who claim descent from Sir Arthur. They may well be descendants of the Hon John Ingram (b1693) the fifth son of Arthur, 3rd Viscount Irwin and Isabella Viscountess Irwin. Traditionally he is said to have been disinherited because he married a Quaker and later settled in the Colonies. The records describe him as apparently 'dead' in 1715. There have not yet been any conclusive pedigrees linking any Americans with this line of descent but they may well exist.

Please note: we are unable to respond to enquiries or undertake research in connection with geneological matters.

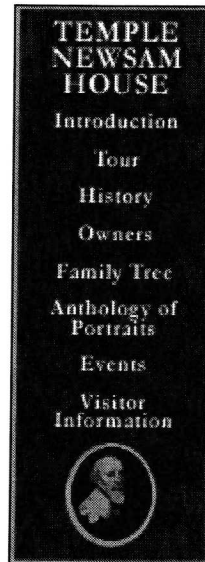
Arms: Ermine, on a Fess Gules three Escallops Argent.



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Temple Newsam - Ingram Family Tree



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Thomas Ingram (1632-1660) by Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680), 28 1/2 X 20 (72.5 X 50)

The portrait has been at Temple Newsam since the first surviving picture inventory of 1688, apart from a short sojourn at Stapleford Park, Leics, during the lifetime of the sitter's sister-in-law, Elizabeth second Viscountess Irwin.



He was the first surviving son of Sir Arthur Ingram the younger and inherited Temple Newsam on the death of his father in 1655. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Watkinson Paylor of Thoraby, Yorkshire, who died in childbirth the following year.

Earl of Halifax

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No. 1 REPORT OF A.D. INGRAM, 1254 NORWOOD AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; M.C. INGRAM, SALEMN, WEST VIRGINIA; W.C. PENNOCK, 5428 VINE STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA., AND LESLIE H. WHIPP, 1311 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, TOUCHING UPON THE MATTERS OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE INGRAM ESTATE IN ENGLAND.

In reading this report, it is supplemental to a former report made in June, 1913, with reference to the same matter.

We suppose that the average amount of curiosity will be attached with this reading as is the case with most matters of this kind, viz; the results, therefore, we will write the portion which interests most of you in the first part of this report, although it comes in an awkward position, being that the balance of our report leads up to what follows:

We have two opinions of attorneys which we hired in London, England, and from the opinion that I quote verbatim. The first opinion was written March 5 1914 and the second March 9, 1914:

"Dear Sir:

I have looked up two points as arranged. As to the first point - it is provided by 3 & 4 William IV, Cap. 6 Section 18 that the power to bar estates tail given by the Act shall not apply to tenants of estates tail who under 34 & 35 Henry VIII Cap. 20 are restrained from barring their estates.

By 34 and 35 Henry VIII. Cap. 20 it was provided that 'no feigned recovery by assent of parties against any tenant in tail of any lands given by the Crowns whereof the reversion shall be in the King shall bind heir heirs in tail "This Statute applys only in the tail or case of grant made by a Crown as Recompense for services and not to a grant made from motives of Affection.

It would seem however in the case covered by Henry VIII there is no right to bar the entail whether or not the grantee is expressly restrained from so doing.

As regards the second point - it seems that in order that the title of the true owner may be barred by adverse possession of a series of trespassers, the possession by them must be continuous but if continuous it is immaterial whether they claim through one another or independently.

The interval between the periods of possession of trespasser prior to the acquisition by one of them of a good title against the original owner, but no such interval will restore the title of the original owner after that title has once been barred.

If there are any further points you would like me to consider I shall be pleased to deal with them.

Yours truly,"

SUPPLEMENTAL OPINION

"Dear Sir:

Re Entailed Estates of the Ingram Family.

We have carefully considered the position of the descendants of the late JOHN INGRAM with reference to the above estate.

It would seem that on the death of the eldest brother of John Ingram without leaving male issue John Ingram became entitled to the property, under the then existing settlement, either as tenant in tail or as tenant for life with remainder to his first and other sons in tail. John Ingram at the date of becoming so entitled, had left England for America and it seems to have been assumed by his family that he was dead. In fact it appears from the recitals in the Act of Parliament,

a copy of which you produced to us that the Probate of his will had been granted to certain executors thereby appointed. However, this may be it seems certain that the Charles Ingram, John Ingram's youngest brother, and his descendants have retained possession of it ever since. under the law as it existed at the time of Charles Ingram entering into the possession of the estates, 20 years possession by Charles Ingram and his descendants was sufficient (at any rate if in the absence of concealed fraud) to operate as a bar to any successful attempt by JOHN INGRAM to gain possession though of course, if JOHN INGRAM was the only tenant for life the rights of the eldest son would not be barred until 20 years after the death of John Ingram with an extension of time in the case of such son, being a minor or a non compos mentis at the death of the father.

When there has been sufficient length of adverse possession to bar the rights of the tenant entail, all the descendants, all such tenant entail are by English law deemed to be barred also, unless the entail was itself incapable of being barred, that is to say, unless the entail was either (A) created by Act of Parliament and expressly made incapable of being barred or (B) created by the Crown on the grant of land in return for services -- the reversion being in the Crown.

We understand that it cannot be ascertained that the entail of the estates in question was created by either of the aforesaid methods. If however it should subsequently be found that the entail was created by method (A) we think that the descendants of John Ingram would probably succeed in possessing themselves of the estates.

If created by (B) we think that there would be some prospects of success. The case would be however very doubtful owing to the strong dislike of the Courts to eject those who have been in possession of land for generations.

It is by no means unlikely that the Courts would defeat the action by presuming that a dispensation was obtained from the crown, giving power to dis-entail.

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If the entail was not created by method (A) or (B) that is to say, if it was created by a Deed of Settlement executed by an absolute owner we think that the right of John Ingram and his descendants have been long since barred.

Now, although there is a suggestion that the brothers of JOHN INGRAM were aware that he was not dead, there is really no evidence of this fact and even if such fact could be proved, we do not think that it would amount to concealed fraud as the term is used in English law, for the reason, viz; that nothing done by the brothers of John Ingram prevented him from becoming aware of his rights or induced him to abstain from taking possession of the property.

If John Ingram's brothers had written to him informing him that a son had been born to her elder brother and by so doing had induced him naturally to think that he could have no interests in the estates, no doubt the brother so writing could not if he subsequently took possession of the estates have relied upon such possessions as to bar John Ingram's rights, but no such case is suggested here and in order to succeed on any such grounds in recovering the estates it would be necessary that the most absolute proof should be afforded, and even then we do not think that the fraud would prevent the present holders of the estates from relying upon their possession of 160 years or more as a bar to any action.

In the result we can only advise that unless the entail was created by one of the methods (A) or (B) above mentioned, no further expense should be incurred in prosecuting the claim.

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We regret exceedingly that we cannot give a more favorable opinion, because it is obvious that we have devoted great time and care to the accumulation of all such evidence as it is possible to obtain. If we may say so, we have admired exceedingly the very exhaustive and able manner in which the case was presented to us.

Of course, the opinion above expressed does not apply to "Titles of Honour." No time can bar the right of a male descendant of JOHN INGRAM to claim the title of Viscount Irwin and the Baronetcy, both of which become extinct on the supposed death of Charles Ingram in 1778 without male issue. The cost of reviving the titles would be very considerable since all matters of pedigree would have to be strictly proved and probably the titles will not be considered worth the amount that it would cost of recovering them.

we remain, yours faithfully,"

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Previous to procuring these opinions, we made a secureless endeavor to reach a solicitor that would not be influenced in any manner by the prominence of the people, the relation of church and state and no political biases or prejudice, and that were in no manner connected with any of the parties now in the possession of this vast estate. Therefore, we feel that the opinion above is the best that we could secure, and are men of reputation and standing in the community. We hesitate to give you the name of these attorneys, for the reason, that there are many people connected with the estate in America, and we are sorry to state that a few have shown no regard to business principles, in their endeavor to circumvent the efforts that we personally made by their forwarding instructions, letters, inquiries and things of that nature which hampered us greatly in these endeavors hence, we decided that it was best to avoid a repetition of this and purposely have left out the names of firm of attorneys that gave these opinions. In addition to what is herein written in this opinion, the solicitor personally attended with us a consultation, with a barrister of high standing in London, and there heard rehearsed practically what is here written in this opinion.

In order that we may understand the portion of the opinion, the following history of the Ingram Family will aid you in arriving at some of the conclusions drawn by English counsel which history is verified by most exhaustive search that we made in order to substantiate all that is said herein, and will help you to fully substantiate the conclusion:

-INGRAM, VISCOUNT OF IRVINE.-

The Founder of this noble family was: -

1. Hugh Ingram, a wealthy citizen and merchant, in London, who dies, leaving a large fortune to his two sons, by his wife Anna Galthorp. These were:

- a. Sir William Ingram LL.D., Secretary to council of the North, and who dies leaving issue.
- b. Arthur ----- . 0 . -----

2. Arthur Ingram, the second son, made an extensive purchase in Yorkshire, particularly the manor of Temple Newsam, on the River Aire, 2 miles below Leeds from the Duke of Lennox, that Manor having been granted by King Henry VIII to Matthew, 4th Earl of Lennox. He served the office of King James I, and was representative in Parliament for the city of York. He married, first Susan, daughter of Richard Brown, of London and had issue

1. Sir Arthur.

2. John Ingram, who dies without issue. He married first Anna, daughter and heiress of William Calverly of Eccleshill; secondly, Dorothy, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Fairfax.

3. Daughter ----- married to Sir Simeon Bennet, Bart. He married, secondly, Alice Ferrers, daughter of a citizen of London, by whom he had a son:

Sir Thomas Ingram of Sheriff Hutton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a Privy Councillor to King Charles II, who married the Honorable Francis Belasyse, daughter of Viscount Fauconberg, and had a daughter, Mary.

He married thirdly, Mary, Daughter of Sir Ed, Grevile of Milcote, in Warwickshire, by whom he had a son, Lionel, who died young.

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Sir Arthur Ingram of Temple Newsam, the eldest son, served the office of Sheriff of the County of York in the sixth of King Charles the I. He married firstly Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Redhouse, Bart., and his issue:

1. Thomas, who married Mary, daughter of Watkinson Payler, without surviving issue.
2. Henry.

3. Arthur Ingram of Barrowsby: He was alive 1712. He married Jane, daughter of Sir John Mallory of Studley Royal. She died August. They had a son Thomas, who died. He married Frances, daughter of John Nicholson of York, M. D., and by her, who married secondly John Wood, Esq; had Arthur Thomas and Frances.

(1) Elizabeth, married to Robert, Lord Rich afterward Earl of Warwick and Holland, without surviving issue.

(2) Anne, married to Henry, 4th son of Sir Thomas Stapleton of Wighill. He married secondly, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Viscount Fairfax of Emily relict of Robert Stapleton Esq., and Sir Matthew Bonyton, Bart., and by her who afterwards married William Wickham Esq., had a daughter Catherine, married to Sir Charles Nevile of Amber, near Lincoln, Knight.

Henry Ingram of Temple Newsam, eldest surviving son, was baptized at Stratford -le-Bow, 20th June, 1616; was created a peer of Scotland by the title of Viscount of Irvine and Lord Ingram, by patent, dated 23rd May 1661, with limitation to the heirs male of his body.

His Lordship married Lady Essex Montagu, daughter of Ed. Earl of Manchester, by whom he had issue:

(1) Edward, Second Viscount of Irvine

(2) Arthur, 3rd Viscount of Irvine.

Edward 2nd Viscount of Irvine, succeeded his father 1666; he married Elizabeth, daughter of Bennet, Lord Sherard; and by her, who took to her second husband the Hon. John Noel, had an only daughter.

Catherine, who dies 6th November 1688 in her 2nd year.

Arthur, 3rd Viscount of Irvine, succeeded his brother 1688, and was chosen member of Parliament for the County of York, 1701. He married Isabel, eldest daughter of John Machel of Hills, in Sussex, M. P. for Horsham, and by her had issue:

1. Edward Machel, 4th Viscount of Irvine.
2. Richard, 5th Viscount of Irvine.
3. Arthur, 6th Viscount of Irvine.
4. *Henry, 7th Viscount of Irvine.

5. *Hon. John Ingram, born April 1693, died unmarried*

6. George 8th Viscount of Irvine.
7. Hon. Charles Ingram
8. Hon. Thomas Ingram, born 9th of Feb. 1697, died in May 1698, unmarried.

Edward Machel, 4th Viscount of Irvine, born 26th December 1686, succeeded his father; was Lord-Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire; and died of the small-pox at London. Of him Thoresby said, "Whose excellent genius and noble qualifications surpass what my dull pen dare pretend to express." His next brother,

Richard, 5th Viscount of Irvine, born 6th January 1686, was in 1715 appointed Governor of Hull, and Colonel of the Life Guards, he had command of the First Regiment of Dragoon Guards conferred upon him 13th of December, 1717; was appointed Governor of Barbados, 1720; he married Lady Anne Howard, 3rd daughter of Charles, 3rd Earl of Carlisle, but by her, who married secondly, Colonel James Douglas, had no issue.

His next brother,

Arthur, 6th Viscount of Irvine, born 21st December, 1689, was elected Member of Parliament for Horsham 1715; succeeded to the title 1721, and voted at the keenly contested election for a representative peer of Scotland, 5th of March 1721, when his vote was objected to as he was a member of the House of Commons, and the Viscountess of Dowager was understood to be pregnant.

Henry, 7th Viscount of Irvine, born 14th of May 1691; was elected member of Parliament for Horsham, at the general election, 1722, 1727 and 1734. A new writ was issued 1727, on his being appointed Commissary-General of stores at Gibraltar, and was re-elected; another, in 1735, on his being appointed commissary of stores and provisions at Minorca and he was re-elected; a third in 1736, on his becoming a peer.

George, 8th Viscount of Irvine, born 19th of November 1694, was bred to the church; appointed chaplain to the House of Commons; installed Canon of Windsor, and Presendary of Westminster; succeeded to the title, 1761; and died without issue 14th of April 1763, in the 69th year of his age, being succeeded by his nephew, Charles Ingram, son of his next brother.

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The Hon. Charles Ingram, who was born 8th of April 1696. He had a company in the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards 1737; was appointed Adjutant General of the forces in April 1743; elected member of Parliament for Horsham, in room of his uncle, 1736; re-chosen at the General Election 1741 and 1747; and died leaving a son.

Charles, 9th Viscount of Irvine, who was elected member of Parliament for Horsham in the room of his father, 1748; re-chosen at General Election 1754 and 1761; and was appointed one of the grooms of the bed-chamber of George; Prince of Wales, 1756; and continued in that office after his accession to the throne. He resigned it, 1763, on succeeding to the title, when a new writ was issued for Horsham. His Lordship was chosen one of the 16 representatives of the Scottish peerage at the General Election 1768; and died at Temple Newsam without male issue, whereby the title became extinct, after it had been possessed by nine individuals, in the period of 117 years making the small average of 13 years to each. His Lordship married in 1756 Miss Shepherd, a lady possessed of a very great fortune. She died at Temple Newsam, in the 74th year of her age, much regretted. Her charities were as extensive as her rank was elevated; and by her death the poor of the surrounding villages lost a munificent benefactress. They had 5 daughters.

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(1) Hon. Isabella Anne Ingram Shepherd, married 19th May 1776 to Francis Seymour Conway, Marquis of Hereford, K.G. The King was pleased to grant to them, 18th December 1807, his royal license and authority, that they might in compliance with an injunction contained in the Last Will and Testament of her father, Charles, Viscount of Irvine, bearing date 16th June 1777, take and use the surname of Ingram, before their present surnames of Seymour and also write the surname of Ingram before all titles of honor, and the said Marquis also bear the arms of Ingram, quarterly, with those of Seymour and Conway, they have issue.

(2) Hon. Frances Ingram Shepherd, married 6th March 1781 to Lord William Gordon second son of Cosmo George, 3rd Duke of Gordon. Without issue.

(3) Hon. Elizabeth Ingram Shepherd, married August 2nd, 1782 to Hugo Meynell, younger of Bradley, in the county of Derby, who died without issue.

(4) Hon. Harriett Ingram Shepherd, married 16th Sept. 1789, to Col. Henry Harvey Ashton, and had issue. Going out with his regiment to the East Indies, he was, at the Cape of 'Good Hope' called out two days successively for having said that two of his officers had behaved illiberally towards an inferior officer who had complained of their conduct. He was by the 2nd challenge shot through the body on the first fire, (Major Allen) but did not fall, nor was it perceived that he was wounded. He then after having with the utmost composure deliberately leveled his pistol with steady aim, to show that it was in his power to return the fire, nobly withdrew it across his breast, declared he was wounded, and as he believed, mortally, and therefore should not return the fire; for that it should not be said of him that the last act in his life was an act of revenge. He died.

(5) Hon. Louisa Susan Ingram Shepherd, married at London, 5th of June 1787, to Sir John Ramsden of Bryon, in the Country of York, Bart.

ARMS. ERMINE, OR ON A FESS. GULES, THREE SCALLOPS.

CRESTS. A cock, proper.

SUPPORTERS. Dexter, a Griffin, proper; sinister, an antelope, proper, horned, maned, tufted, and unguled, or gorged with ducal coronet, gules.

MOTTO. "MAGNANIMOUS ESTO."

To make the above story more complete, we have attached hereto and included herewith the family tree down to the date of the last issue of the Ingram family in England, which is verified by the above and foregoing history. We have omitted to trace down each member of the family of Ingram in America from John Ingram, which we have at hand, because of the added expense of following this matter out, which of course is in the interest of all of you.

Therefore you will note from the foregoing opinions and from the family tree and family history of the Ingram Estate, that the last Ingram in America, Charles Ingram, was the last of the male issue who had possession of the vast estate belonging to the Ingram heirs. Immediately upon his death, which was 18th of June, 1778, since said time people who have no legal right or interest of said estate, either by descent or by virtue of being legatee under the Will which created the estate of John Ingram, have had any right, title, interest or other than the possession of the said estate and Temple Newsam, hence this opinion is given by the attorney, wherein it is recited 'relying upon their possession of 160 years or more as a bar to any action.' I trust that you will make a careful examination of the family tree, family history, and the opinion of these attorneys, and determine for yourselves the conclusion at which they have arrived with reference to the limitation and of an action, as we were verbally informed that the Courts of England will assume anything, death, Act of Parliament, unprobated Will, or any other thing to defeat foreigners (as you all are) from getting in possession of English property. Therefore, there was only one thing to be done by us after receiving the information, and that was to make investigation as to how Arthur Ingram procured these vast properties. We at once began to search for his derivative title and found such as to corroborate our belief that the estates had been granted to Arthur Ingram by the King for service rendered, as it is recited in many places even in secular newspapers, monthly periodicals, club publications, of the close relation between the King and your ancestor. In our searches it took us back to 1600, this being about the time that Sir Arthur was supposed to have taken possession of this property. During that period, we found many title papers, some of which had to be gathered out of parchments that were in rolls 80 feet long that had been in vaults since 1600, portions of which had never been unwrapped or untied since they were placed in there in 1600. These writings were legible but mostly written in Old English and Latin, hence we were at a daily terrific expense of calling out these writings and calling upon experts who are delving into these ancient papers daily to translate them for us, which they could do in ten minutes that would take us a day, hence, it was apparent that we then could conserve the interest of all concerned by placing this investigation in hands of competent abstractors who could dig this up for us. Hence, it was useless to be waiting around London, Leeds and old church places while this investigation was going on, hence this early return to America.

You will notice further by the opinion of the attorney, that the titles of Honor quoted in the last paragraph has reference to the English title to which the John Ingram heirs are entitled, which at the present time is held by one of the "Wood" heirs by special Royal license given in 1893, this title having been held four times since the death of Charles, by Royal license under Act of Parliament.

This title of honor means more to an Englishman than both clothing or estates, and should every other endeavor on our part fail to pry these heirs loose from the possessions of which they are so assiduously clinging, that it may be a way of compelling them to divide their interest with us in these vast estates. This, however, is in addition to the very probable condition that now exists with reference to the exceptions mentioned in the opinion of the attorneys which are marked (A) and (B), so we have a possible threefold upon this estate at the present time.

The next inquiry that was of very interest to us was to know whether or not any other estates in addition to the Temple Newsam estate were intact and to verify this, we got a copy of the Will of Emily Charlotte, portions of which I will copy in this opinion for your benefit. I now quote some of the things that are mentioned in it:

"I devise all my real estate of freehold tenure situated in and about Temple Newsam, Leeds, Holbeck Halifax Heath Warnfield all to Stanley Sheriff Hutton Lilling and Baron Le Street in the County of York, other than my estate of Hatfield, to the Honorable Edward Frederick Lindy Wood, sons of my brother Charles Lindley for his life with the remainder of the issue of the first and other sons of the said Edward Frederick Lindley successively accordingly to seniority in tail male with the remainder other estates mentioned in the Wills which are situated at Hoar Cross and at Willough-Bridge, also estates in Stafford and Laughton, also an estate of Doncaster, all of which have come down successively through the Ingram estate and are now intact."

Except that two years prior to the death of Charlotte she deeded to her brother two vast estates there, of which are as large as the Temple Newsam, which also descended through the Ingram heirs.

In addition to this by looking at your family tree, you find that Arthur Lord Ingram, second son and brother of Edward Lord Ingram, to which Third Viscount Irvine married one Isabella who was his daughter and co-heiress of John Machel. We find that John Machel died in 1763, and by his Last Will and Testament which we also procured, which was proved August 4, 1704, we find that John Machel left all his property to the Ingram Heirs, of which John T., the fifth son, and in his Will there is left a vast estate in the same manner as Arthur left his in favor of the Ingram heirs, of which John was the fifth son and from whose will I quote the following:

"And for default of said issue (being the male issue of Henry Ingram Fourth son of Sir Arthur) I give and devise all and singular the said premises with their appurtenances unto my grandson, The Hon. John Ingram, Esq., fifth son of the said Lord Viscount Erwin, deceased for and during the term of his natural life without impeachment, of for any manner of waste and form and after the determination of that estate I give and devise the same premises to the said Joseph Lee Samuel Blount and John Wicker their heires and assignes for and during the natural life of the said John Ingram upon trust only for preserving the contingent uses and estates herein after limited from being barred or destroyed and for that end to make entries as the case shall required, but that the said Joseph Lee Samuel Blount and John Wicker their heires and assignes shall not convert the rents issues or profitees thereof to their own use and from immediately after the death of the said John Ingram, I give and devise all the said mannors, messuages, lands tenementes titles hereditamentes and premises with appurtenances unto the first son of the body of the said John Ingram, lawfully to be begotten and to the heirs male of the body of such first son lawfully to be begotten and for default of such issue then to the second son of the body of said John Ingram lawfully to be begotten and to the heires male of the body of such second son lawfully to be begotten and for default of such issue then to the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and all and every other the son and sons of the body of the said John Ingram family lawfully to be begotten severally or successively one after another in order and course as they and every one of them shall be in seniority of age and priority of birth and to the several and respective heires males of the bodies of all and every such son and sons lawfully issuing the elder of such sons and the heires male of his body being always preferred before the younger of such sons and heires male of their bodies."

Corroborating the fact that John Ingram was living at the time of the making and probating of this Will, which further corroborates the Will of his eldest brother, Edward Machel, which recital from the Will of Edward Machel is as follows:

"And for default of such issue male or ye body of ye Henry Ingram I give and devise ye all premises and every part thereof charged and charge-able as is aforesaid to my brother, ye Hon. John Ingram, Esq. for and during ye term of his natural life without impeachment of or for any manner of waste and with such farther powers and authorities as are hereinafter expressed and from and after ye determination of ye estate I give and devise ye same primises to ye aforesaid the Woraley Junr and Arthur Ingram of Knottingley and their heirs during ye natural life of ye s I John Ingram in trust to support ye conting estate hereinafter devised to ye sons of ye s I John Ingram from being defeated and destroyed and for ye purpose to make entry and bring actions as occasion shall require but nevertheless to permit ye s I John Ingram and he assigns during their life to receive and take ye rents issues and profits thereof to his and their use and uses. And from and immediately after his decease I give and devise ye same premises and every part thereof to ye first son of ye body of ye s I John Ingram lawfully to be begotten and of ye body of such first son lawfully issuing. And for default of such issue I give and devise ye same premises to ye second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and all and every other ye son and sons of ye body of ye s I John Ingram lawfully to be begotten severally successively and in rem

West End of Gallery Beginning from the Door.

1. Landscape ruins of Rome Joli
2. Descent from the cross of gold panel Albert Durer
3. Portrait of Lady Gordon Sir Joshua Reynolds
4. Landscape (pillars with trees in foreground) Claude Lorraine
5. Infant Savior and St. John the Baptist Vandyke

North Side of Gallery

1. Full length portrait Richard Lord Holland Vandyke
2. Landscape - Ponte St. Angelo (in chimney piece) Panini
3. Full length portrait - Sir Arthur Ingram Friend of Lord Stafford and Builder of Temple Newsome
4. Landscape small (ships) Van Der Valde
5. Full length portrait of Charles 9th and Last Viscount Irwin
6. Figure of woman and cupids flying Polemberg
7. Children bathing in sea (heads) Rubens
8. Isabella Ingram Machioness of Hertford
(full length) Sir Joshue Reynolds
9. Women bathing - landscape Polemberg
10. Full length portrait of Price of Orange Mirevelt
11. Roman bayhs in chimney piece
12. St. John Baptist preaching (large) Guido
13. Landscape ships (companion to 4) Vandervelde
14. Group of women dressing (companion to 9) Polemberg
15. Cupids dancing in circle Rottenhamer

Miss Ingram's Room

Portraits of 5 Miss Ingrams Wilson

Blue Dressing Room - Portrait of Sir Ingram in Chimney Piece

Gallery Passage Original sketch of Strafford (head) Vandyke

Staircase Henriette Duchess of Orleans with portrait
in her hands Lebrum

Great Hall Portrait of William and Mary full length

Bed Room, Red Portraits of Price George & Anne 3/4 length

Mrs. Meyness's Sitting Room

Holy Family, Infant Savior, & St. John Vandyke

Darnley Room Confirmation of young Prince Lucius Crannack

The fact and further to show that the property, although for more than 400 years changing from one family to another is still intact and by consulting some of the shops selling art work in London, we find this collection of paintings scarcely could be valued, as most all the works of art are the original and not copies, and all is still hanging in the art gallery of the Temple Newsam proper.

On our arrival in London, we set about to located the records we still needed to complete the history of the Ingram family and in order to complete the connection with the Ingram family in America and in England.

There is no question but what the Ingrams are of Scotch descent and there is much history in the best libraries in England which verifies this belief.

We also made every endeavor to locate the Leathem family, to see if they could find John's wife or some connection between the two families, to ascertain if possible if they had any record of the departure of Susan Leathan to America. We found a family tree which seems to be original stock of the Leathams in and about Leeds. Mr. W. C. Pennock has this family tree, if any of you are interested in it.

Another fact is that the Leathams were all Quakers, and at about the time John departed for America, the Quakers were being persecuted by the English Church throughout England and many of the Quakers were in prison, their lands being forfeited and the most unjust prosecution given. It, therefore, seems feasible that the fact that many of the records in America are traceable through the Quaker church; that probably this is the reason for the departure of John to America, at or about the same time that Susan Letham came to America, but even to this time, we are not satisfied that we have absolutely found the Susan Leatham, although we worked for almost three weeks attempting to trace the Leatham family and history of the Ingram Family, in order to find the positive proof of the departure of John to America.

We visited York, all the houses of record in London, the Cathedral at Chichester and at Caterbury, where we located some of these Wills, and made a trip to Horsham where you will notice by the family tree that the father of John Machell had his estate called the "Hills." We saw the old mansion and saw this estate also, and it is impossible at this writing to give you the full details of the amount of work that we did upon this estate. Suffice it to say, that from the day that we landed until the day that we departed we only wasted what could be called one day and that was when we were trying to get in touch with some attorneys and depended upon interests which we had no control, to furnish us with the proper credentials.

We used every available source of information, and we could have spent 60 days more time in seeking out these various lines of research, but when it was apparent that our right to recover depends upon the matters and things as set forth by the attorneys in England, we thought it useless to spend further time and money in making further research along the lines suggested.

Our opinion is that if these estates descended from the King, by granting for services rendered, the way to recover them is easier than we had ever anticipated. If they are not, then without question you are entitled to the Ingram "title." This means nothing to us as the people, and there are few that would give a thing even a sixpence for the title, yet our value upon it is not the controlling force in this matter, for when we contemplate that an Englishman counts his title of greater value and means more to him among his fellows than any other thing, and without doubt, the Ingram heirs in America are entitled to the title, it is a means toward an end in our opinion to break these people loose from a part of this estate if we agree to give to them the title to which you are entitled.

We have tried to cover briefly anything and everything of interest and if we have omitted anything, if you will write personally to anyone of the undersigned, we will be glad to give you full information. We have done what we think was best and our judgment up to the present time has not been changed with reference to any of the things undertaken and sought to be accomplished for the end to which we are all striving.

Respectfully submitted,

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~1548 Temple Mearns, son of Hugh Ingram & Anne Jordan

~1570 ↓ Whitkirk, Yorkshire

Arthur Ingram (* ~1598; † 4.7.1655) of Temple Mearns son of Robert Ingram

= Eleanor Shipshy (* ~1616; † 25.5.1647), St Giles - in the Fields, London

- Arthur (* ~1637; † 3.6.1638) of Beddome d. of Henry Shipshy (* ~1574)

The Diary of John Evelyn ed. E. S. de Beer
Oxford: Clarendon Press (1955)

Vol II Kalenderium, 1620 - 1649 p. 560 note 2

re Mr Asth: Shingsby, who came out of England Inognito.

~1623-1666 Brother of Sir Robert Shingsby (DNB)

On 7 August Sir Edward Nicholas acknowledges the receipt of a letter brought to him by
Shingsby from Ormond (Caste, Original letters Vol I p. 295)

He is probably the Shingsby who was secretary to Lord Bristol in Brussels - 1656 and 1657.

Created baronet 1657; soon after tried to remove the future Duke of Marlborough from
Mrs Barkow. Married a Flemish lady and owned Bifrons estate.

After the Restoration he ran letters (GE Cockayne, Baronetage, Vol 3 p. 17)
Cal. Clarendon S.P. 3;

[James Butler ^{2nd Earl of}
^{1st Duke of} Ormond, 1610-85]

The Electronic Calendar of the Caste papers, 1660-87

James Edmund King 29/5/1991
Alice Catherine 3/7/2000

Charles Meyer and Thomas Welsh that the said sum of £7000 will be insufficient to pay the expences of the said works and he has requested to have further advances of money made to him to enable him to carry on the said works which the said Charles Knyvett Frederick Charles Meyer and Thomas Welsh have agreed to make Now it is agreed between the said parties and the said Alexander Robertson does engage to complete the said works with all the alterations and additions which have or shall be made by the direction of the said John Nash or which have or shall become necessary from any reason whatever in a good and workmanlike manner on or before the first day of January 1820 as aforesaid And that when the said work shall be fully completed the sum of money to be paid to him the said Alexander Robertson in addition to the said sum of £7000 shall be ascertained fixed and settled by the said John Nash but in case the said Charles Knyvett Frederick Charles Meyer and Thomas Welsh shall not be satisfied with the sum to be fixed by the said John Nash then the said sum of money so to be paid to the said Alexander Robertson as aforesaid (in addition to the said sum of £7000) shall be ascertained fixed and settled by William Ayrtton of James Street Buckingham Gate Esquire the said Charles Knyvett and Thomas Welsh and the said Alexander Robertson doth agree to be satisfied with such sum of money and to receive the same in full of all demands and to give an absolute Release to the said Charles Knyvett Frederick Charles Meyer and Thomas Welsh and also to all the Members of the Regents Harmonic Institution and to allow in account all advances that have been or may be made over the said sum of £7000. In consideration whereof the said Charles Knyvett Frederick Charles Meyer and Thomas Welsh have this day advanced the said Alexander Robertson the sum of Six hundred pounds in addition to the aforesaid sum of £7200 for the purposes aforesaid and they do hereby agree to make further advances if necessary such advances not to exceed £500.

Witness
M. C. Burney
Chas. Knyvett
F. C. Meyer
Thomas Welsh
Alex. Robertson

Sir Arthur Slingsby

Sir Arthur Slingsby, who purchased the Jacobean house Bifrons, near Canterbury, in 1662, was descended of a younger branch of the Slingsbys of Scriven in Yorkshire and was created a baronet at Brussels in 1657. Born about 1623, he was a son of Sir Guildford Slingsby (1565-1631), by his wife Margaret, daughter of William Watters, Lord Mayor of York in 1620. He married "a Flemish lady" and was buried 12 February 1665/6 at Patricbourne in his fortysecond year. His widow was living on 28 April 1666.

Sir Arthur's will confirms Dugdales 'Visitation of Yorkshire' (The Genealogist, NS, vol. 26 p. 178) that they had two sons and two daughters; Charles (the second and last baronet), Peter Francis, Anne Charlotte (born in 1662, baptised 4 Jan. 1664 at Patricbourne, Kent) and Mary (born postumously and baptised 26 April 1666 at Patricbourne). Anne married Edward Nightingale, de jure fifth baronet (1658-1723).

The elder son, then Sir Charles Slingsby Bt, sold Bifrons in 1677 to Thomas Baker, a London merchant, after which nothing is known of him. It is conjectured that he may have been the husband of Dame Mary Slingsby "who was buried 1st March 1693/4 at St. Pancras, Middlesex from St. James' ". The Dictionary of National Biography states that this lady was Mrs. Aldridge, afterwards Mrs. Lee, afterwards Lady Slingsby, and as Mrs. Lee from 1660 to 1680 and as Lady Slingsby from 1681 to 1685 was a well-known actress.

The will of Sir Arthur is given in full as not only does it contain a wealth of detail but illustrates how valuable an estate owners will can be to a local historian.

Sir Arthur Caley (1614/15-?) was the son of Edward Caley of Brompton in Pickering, Yorkshire, by his wife Anne, daughter of William Watters, of Cundall, Yorkshire (Dugdales 'Visitation of Yorkshire' in 'The Genealogist', NS, Vol. 29 p. 154). This William Watters is doubtless identical with the William Watters, of Stubbing House in Gilstead, Yorkshire, who was the maternal grandfather of Sir Arthur Slingsby. However, 'Yorkshire Pedigrees' (Harleian Society, vol. 96 p. 444) states that Mary Watters and not Anne Watters was the mother of Sir Arthur Caley.

Sir Arthur Slingsby's "worthy kinsman Robert Walter Esquire" is probably either his uncle or his uncle's son Robert Watters (sic). His uncle was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1660 and great grandfather of Richard Robinson, created Lord Rokeby in 1722. ('Yorkshire Pedigrees' pages 444 and 445). Sir Arthur's elder brother Francis Slingsby was of St. Martins in the Fields (will proved 1670 PCC 141 Penn).

For further information on this family please see 'Blackmansbury' vol. 1 No. 2 (page 19).

Copy of the will of Sir Arthur Slingsby (PCC 51 Mico)

In the name of God Amen. I Sir Arthur Slingsby of Bifrons in the County of Kent, Knight and Barronett doe make this my last will and testament in manner and forme following, vizt I doe give and bequeath to my worthy Kinsman Sir Arthur Caley knight and to my deare brother Francis Slingsby Esquire And to my worthy kinsman Robert Walter Esquire and to their heires All my mannors houses lands Tenements and hereditaments whatsoever whereof I have any estate eyther in possession or reversion upon trust