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ADMIRAL ROBERT FAIRFAX



L I F E
OF
ROBERT FAIRFAX OF STEETON

VICE-ADMIRAL, ALDERMAN, AND MEMBER FOR YORK

A.D. 1666—1725

Compiled from Original Letters and other Documents

BY

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF THE GREAT LORD FAIRFAX'

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1885

LONDON
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TO
GUY THOMAS FAIRFAX
(of Steeton and Bilbrough)

THIS RECORD
OF THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF HIS WORTHY ANCESTOR
COMPILED FROM HIS FAMILY PAPERS
IS DEDICATED BY
HIS AFFECTIONATE COUSIN AND TRUSTEE

THE AUTHOR

21 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.
June 1885

P R E F A C E.

IN the muniment room of the Fairfax family at Newton Kyme there were several boxes in which had been buried, for many scores of years, the whole story of the life of a distinguished naval officer. There were also letters of his aunt, of his grandfather, and of more remote ancestors. Sir William Fairfax of Steeton was a valiant champion of the Parliament, of whose prowess I have given some account in my life of the great Lord Fairfax. Mouldering in the old boxes there were five letters from Sir William to his wife in London, written during the Civil War. One was hastily scribbled off on a half sheet of an old letter, on the battle-field of Marston Moor. Another was from the leaguer before Liverpool, within a week of the writer's glorious death, when raising the siege of Montgomery Castle. There was a bundle of letters from his daughter Lady Lister to her mother, written from London during the Protectorate, which are curious. One of them mentions a ball at the French Ambassador's, and other gaieties, at a period when the vulgar belief is that all such frivolities were eschewed. There was also a bundle of letters from Sir William's

son Thomas (who was a general in Queen Anne's reign) to his nephew the sailor.

The great mass of documents preserved in these old boxes relates to the sailor Robert Fairfax, afterwards an Admiral, on the Council of the Admiralty, Alderman, Lord Mayor, and member for York, and eventually head of the family and owner of Steeton, Bilbrough, and Newton Kyme. There are his letters to his mother from the time of his first going to sea in the merchant service in 1681, as a boy of fifteen, to his becoming a lieutenant in the navy and being engaged in the relief of Londonderry in 1689. There is his journal from 1698 to 1708, which includes the operations under Sir George Rooke at Copenhagen, the successful cutting-out expedition at Granville, the Great Storm of November 1703, the operations at Barcelona in 1704, the taking of Gibraltar, the battle of Malaga, the siege of Barcelona in 1705, and the expedition of Lord Rivers. There is his Order Book from 1694 to 1706, with the orders of the different admirals under whom Captain Fairfax served—Rooke, Leake, Shovel, Benbow, Byng, Dilkes, Berkeley, Churchill, Aylmer, Hopson, &c. There is his Letter Book while commander-in-chief at the Nore and at Spithead in 1708. There is a large correspondence with Mr. Burchett, the Secretary of the Admiralty, with Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir John Leake, and younger officers. There are the printed instructions for a captain, orders as to scales of pay, provisions, and clothing, arrangements respecting signals, minutes of courts-martial, commissions, correspondence, and warrants of various

kinds. These documents supply very complete materials for the naval career of Robert Fairfax.

When he retired from active employment afloat, he became an alderman of York and a member for the city. Among the documents in these old boxes there are lists of the poll, petitions to Parliament relating the irregular proceedings at the elections, and numerous letters from electioneering partisans. The period they cover is from 1712 to 1717. There are also bundles of letters relating to the purchase of an estate, management of trusts, settlement of boundaries, and other private affairs.

Here, then, buried in these boxes, and gradually mouldering away from damp and age, was the life story of a man who had played an active part in his generation, and had played it well. He had seen much service, had held honourable positions both afloat and on shore, and had acquitted himself worthily.

This question arose: Were these materials for a distinguished officer's life-story to be thrown aside, to be left for another century in their worm-eaten receptacles, until they finally rotted away with age? The question caused me to hesitate and reflect. I remembered the saying of a great writer, 'There has rarely passed a life of which a faithful narrative would not be useful.' I thought that there was a great deal in the life of Admiral Fairfax which would be of general interest, and much that is curious and worth preserving from a literary point of view.

The other alternative was to read through the mass

of documents, make selections and extracts, and from them to prepare a biographical narrative. It was this alternative that I adopted, and the result, such as it is, will now be submitted to the public.

In the ninth chapter I have inserted an interesting document by that Brian Fairfax who took the message to General Monk at Coldstream, which brought about the Restoration.¹ It is in the form of a letter to his sons, and contains accounts of his father and mother, of his wife's family, and of his own career. He was secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, equerry to Charles II. until his death,² and afterwards to William III.

I have to thank Mr. Stephen Martin-Leake of Marshalls for his kindness in allowing me to inspect the logs and order books of Admiral Sir John Leake, and to peruse the interesting manuscript autobiography of his ancestor Captain Martin, Sir John Leake's brother-in-law and flag captain. The latter document is well worthy of publication.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

¹ I have the manuscript of the *Iter Boreale*, by Brian Fairfax. But it has already been published in the *Fairfax Correspondence*.

² The manuscript was sold at Mr. Bruce's sale in May 1870, and bought by Mr. E. Hailstone of Walton Hall.

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LIFE

OF

ADMIRAL ROBERT FAIRFAX.

CHAPTER I.

STEETON IN THE OLDEN TIME.

ON the great north road, between Tadcaster and York, a glimpse may be had of a distant farmstead, about half a mile away over the fields. There stands what is left of one of the oldest mansions in England, for it was not always a farmhouse. Once it was the cherished home of an illustrious family which flourished there for many generations. We may derive a fairly correct idea of Steeton Hall, as it was in the olden time, from the vestiges that remain, and with the help of old records.¹

After the battle of Towton,² which was fought at a distance of five miles south-west from Steeton, there

¹ *Steeton* is a corruption of *Stive-ton*, *stive* meaning a fish-pond. The list of persons liable to the capitation tax in Yorkshire in the time of Richard II. (that same tax which caused the rebellion of Wat Tyler in Kent) shows that in those days there was a hamlet at Steeton with about forty inhabitants. Now there is only a farmhouse. The Rolls of the Collectors of the Poll Tax in the West Riding in 1379 (2 R. II.) were printed in the *Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society's Journal* in 1881 (Part xxvi.) All the laity, male and female, over the age of sixteen were liable.

² A descendant of Sir Guy Fairfax, Admiral Hawke, was created Baron Hawke of *Towton*.

was a truce to the Wars of the Roses, and men began to return to peaceful occupations. It was then that Sir Guy Fairfax built his moated house at Steeton, with its courtyard, and chapel consecrated by Archbishop Rotherham in 1477. Guy was a notable man in his day, younger son of that family of Fairfax¹ which had long been seated at Walton near Thorparch, and was even then of great antiquity. He had warmly espoused the popular, which was at the same time the legitimate, and also the winning side in the Wars of the Roses. He was so ardent a Yorkist that he received permission to bear a white rose on the shoulder of the lion in his coat-of-arms. Educated at Gray's Inn, he became a King's Serjeant in 1463, and a judge of the King's Bench in 1477. He was also Recorder of York, Chief Justice of Lancaster, administrator of the wills of numerous friends, a commissioner of array, and altogether an active and influential personage in his generation. He was represented, in a picture which was in existence at York in 1640, as a man with sanguine complexion. His marriage with Isabella Ryther, who was a granddaughter of Chief Justice Gascoigne, probably had some bearing on his success at the bar. Sir Guy Fairfax of Steeton died in 1495, leaving behind him the character of an able lawyer and a conscientious judge.

While Guy Fairfax was founding the line of Steeton and building a home for himself in Yorkshire, his brother Nicholas was winning distinction in distant

¹ *Fax* or *Vex* is the Saxon word for hair, and is used in King Alfred's edition of *Bede*, and in the Saxon Bible. *Stella crinita* (a planet) becomes in Saxon *peaxeb ꝛeooppa*, which Matthew Paris turns into a 'vexed star.' 'So,' says Thoresby, 'this family had their name of Fairfax from their beautiful golden hair.' Camden says, 'that ancient and famous family, from their fair hair, have the name of Fairfax.'

wars. He was the first sailor of his family, and a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem—that band of self-denying warriors which for a time stemmed the advance of the conquering Turks, standing almost alone—the vanguard of Europe's chivalry. Nicholas Fairfax came out to Rhodes in 1484 with Sir John Kendall, who was the Turcopolier or Chief of the English 'language.'

In 1524 Sultan Solyman laid siege to Rhodes with an immense army, and the Christian chivalry was mustered for its defence under the Grand Master L'Isle Adam. The knights were but a handful. They wore a black surcoat over their armour, and over that a narrow scarlet dalmatic, with a white cross embroidered on the breast. The English 'language' manned the bastion of St. Nicholas, and were all killed to a man, after performing prodigies of valour. Fra Nicholas Fairfax was an old man, grown grey in the service of his order. He had fought manfully with his brethren until the week before the final assault, when he was ordered by the Grand Master to cut his way through the Turkish fleet in a small galley, and bring succour and provisions from Candia. This appeared impossible, but men performed apparent impossibilities in those days. The old knight reached Candia, and brought back help which enabled Rhodes to hold out a while longer. At length the little garrison was overwhelmed, and the remnant under L'Isle Adam retired to Candia in two ships. Both were commanded by Englishmen. Sir William Weston had the great karack, and the 'Pearl of the Sea' was entrusted to Fra Nicholas Fairfax, 'uomo multo spiritoso e prudente,' as Jacomo Bosio calls him. But Fra Nicholas was now well stricken in years. One more great service was he

destined to perform, defeating six large Turkish galleys in his 'Pearl of the Sea,' and then he died as he had lived. He was not destined to survive long enough to see the revival of the prosperity of his order, but died in 1529 at a good old age. The Island of Malta was granted to the Knights, and they began to build their beautiful city of Valetta in March 1530.

All Europe envied the bright fame of having fought at Rhodes by the side of L'Isle Adam. Proud was the household at Steeton of their hero-sailor. His portrait, in stained glass, adorned the old chapel and is still preserved in the family. It is fitting that the deeds of the seaman Nicholas should be recorded in this place, because the following pages will be mainly devoted to a narrative of the life-story of another sailor of the same stock.

The grandson of Sir Guy Fairfax married so great an heiress,¹ and acquired such broad acres in other ways, that, on his death, in 1557, he was able to found two families. His eldest son, Thomas, received Denton, in distant Wharfedale, Nunappleton, three miles south-east of Steeton, and property in York. He was grandfather and great-grandfather of the two Parliamentary generals, Lords Fairfax. The younger son, Gabriel, inherited Steeton and Bilbrough,² with the lordship of Bolton Percy. So the wealthy Sir William Fairfax made his will, and was carried to his grave, by the side of his dear wife in St. Nicholas choir of Bolton Percy Church, by fourteen poor men of the surrounding villages in black gowns, lighted by fourteen torches.

¹ Isabel Thwaites, heiress of Denton and other manors in the West Riding, and of Bishophill in York.

² Sir William Fairfax had purchased the manor of Bilbrough in 1556.

The inventory of the contents of Steeton Hall, which was made after the death of Sir William Fairfax in 1557, gives us precise knowledge of the different chambers, and of their furniture, with the estimated value of each article.¹ In the hall there were a screen with arms of Fairfax and eight quarterings painted upon it, hangings of buckram and say, a buffet, a great table covered with rich carpeting, another table and cupboard, high-back chairs, and stained glass in the windows. The hall opened upon an adjoining parlour, in which the old knight died, and this led to the gallery. There were four other rooms downstairs, including the great parlour, and we also learn that the bed-chambers upstairs had special names, such as the Ryder Chamber, the St. George Chamber, and the Indermar Chamber. All these contained splendid four-post beds with rich hangings. In the gallery there was a bed with hangings of 'dornex,'² and a tester of satin and 'burges.' The south chamber bed had a tester of red and black velvet, and that in the great parlour was hung with flowered blue damask, while the room was adorned with arras. In the high study there was a garnish of pewter vessels, and the books were in three oaken chests. Here again the walls were hung with tapestry. The plate consisted of a silver-gilt bowl weighing thirty ounces, a great parcel-gilt cup and cover of fifty-eight ounces, four smaller silver cups and covers, silver-gilt salt-cellars, chased pieces of gold work, a silver punch bowl, a great parcel-gilt ale tankard, and silver dishes. The buttery, brewery, and kitchen were well stored with napkins, table-cloths, towels, and other linen, and utensils of all kinds. The live stock consisted of sixteen horses and mares, besides foals, ten cows, six bulls,

¹ See Appendix A.

² "Dornick," a kind of linen cloth.

twenty-six calves, a herd of oxen, sixty-six wethers, sixty-seven rams, seventy-two ewes, a hundred lambs, and fifteen pigs.¹

To this fair inheritance Gabriel Fairfax succeeded, in addition to some 2,000 acres of good land; no bad provision for a younger brother. Dying in 1581, he was succeeded by his eldest son, another Sir William Fairfax, who had been knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1562. He had married Mabel, a daughter of Sir Henry Curwen, whose brother gave shelter to Mary Queen of Scots at Workington, his home on the Solway Firth, when she fled from Scotland. A fine portrait of this stately lady was painted, and hung in the hall at Steeton, which is still preserved by the family. Mabel Fairfax is here represented as a lady with a small head and pale face, in a stiff ruff, in a sitting posture, with a richly embroidered glove in her hand.

As soon as Sir William Fairfax succeeded to Steeton Hall, he undertook extensive additions and repairs which were in progress from 1594 to 1597, and in the meanwhile he lived in the house of his cousin, Sir Thomas Fairfax, at Nunappleton. When completed, the house formed three sides of a courtyard, with the chapel on the east front. A handsome gatehouse, with a porter's lodge, formed the south side of the court. Over the gateway there was a stone slab with the arms of Fairfax, having a white rose on the lion's shoulder, quarterly with the arms of Malbis, a baldrequin, and two angels as supporters.² The building was surmounted by a

¹ The appraised value of the live stock is interesting. Cows were worth 1*l.* a piece, bulls the same; the value of 26 calves was 6*l.*, of 100 sheep 9*l.*, a mare and her foal are valued at 2*l.*, a piebald horse 18*s.*, a grey horse 2*l.*, a black horse 2*l.* 6*s.*, 15 pigs 2*l.* 10*s.*, 72 ewes 12*l.* In the laithe there were 80 quarters of wheat and rye, valued at 28*l.*

² Preserved at Bilbrough.

stone helmet and the crest of Malbis,¹ a hind's head erased, which stood out against the sky. In the chapel there was a gallery over the west door, a richly carved wooden chancel screen, and a very fine perpendicular east window filled with stained glass, chiefly heraldic. Here were emblazoned, in bright colours, the arms of Percy and Lucy, of Beaumont, Neville, Hastings, Scrope, Ryther, Manners, Aske, Fitzwilliam, Hungate, and Fairfax. Beneath the arms was the figure of Sir Nicholas Fairfax, the Knight of Rhodes, in complete armour, with a long black gown descending from his shoulders to the ground, and embroidered with the cross of his order. He holds a spear in his right hand, and his left rests on a shield with the arms of Fairfax.² The glass was all intact in 1663. In this chapel many members of the Fairfax family were baptized.

Leaving the chapel on the right, in approaching from the gatehouse, a visitor found himself in front of a long stone façade with two storeys of mullioned windows, and a porch in the centre. Sir William Fairfax completed his improvements by placing a large and richly carved slab over the hall door. On it was a shield with the arms of Fairfax and Thwaites quarterly impaling those of Curwen, his wife's family. On one side is a scroll with the Fairfax motto 'Fare Faceto,' and the words 'Anno Eliz., 37;' on the other the Curwen motto 'Si je n'estoy,' and the year '1595.'³ Sir William also filled several windows with coats of arms in stained glass: Fairfax impaling Ryther, Manners,

¹ Preserved at Bilbrough. In very early times a Fairfax had married the heiress of Malbis, and the family had since quartered the Malbis arms, and often used the Malbis crest.

² See Appendix A.

³ This stone is now fixed in the wall of Bilbrough Hall, over the hall door.

Gower; and the arms of Mauleverer, Fitzwilliam, and others. The family antiquaries, Charles and Brian Fairfax, made careful note of all these things in 1614 and again in 1663.

There was a moat round the house, and several fishponds well stocked with carp and tench. Flower gardens extended along the moat, with trees and shrubs, and an avenue of ancient elms led to the York road. The home farm was a mile to the south-west, a pleasant walk across the fields. It was called Low Moor, the buildings being on the banks of Catterton Drain, a stream shaded by willows which falls into the Wharfe at Bolton Percy. Such was the home where Sir William and Lady Fairfax passed the last years of their honoured lives, and hither Sir William's body was brought, after his awfully sudden death in his cousin's house at Finningley, on July 7, 1603. His wife Mabel survived until 1624. Their bodies rest together in Bolton Percy Church.

Sir Philip Fairfax of Steeton, the son and heir of this worthy couple, was a gay courtier and a spendthrift. He got heavily into debt to his cousin Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, and this led to acrimonious disputes between the two branches of the family, and to much unhappiness. It was due to the efforts of Lord Sheffield,¹ who was President of the North from 1602 to 1619, residing in the manor house at York, that these differences were amicably settled. His lordship's two daughters, Mary and Frances, were married to the two cousins, Ferdinando, son of Sir Thomas (afterwards first lord) Fairfax of Denton, and Sir Philip Fairfax of Steeton. These marriages took place in the year 1607, when Sir Philip gave up to his cousin the lordship of Bolton Percy and the manor of Bilbrough, receiving in

¹ Created Earl of Mulgrave in 1626, died in 1646.

exchange the smaller manor of Newton Kyme, or 'Newton in the Willows,' as it was then more commonly called.¹ Thus the debts were cancelled. But Sir Philip did not live long in his wedded state. He died, at the early age of twenty-seven, in July 1613, and his wife followed him two years afterwards. They left behind them two sons, Edmund and William, born respectively in 1609 and 1610, and a daughter, Ursula, all baptized in Steeton Chapel.

The orphan children at Steeton were brought up under the care of their good old grandmother, Mabel, Lady Fairfax.² On reaching man's estate, Edmund remained at home, while William embraced the career of arms, and must have seen much active service, judging from the high position he at once attained when the Parliamentary army was first formed under the Earl of Essex. There is some reason for thinking that he served in the abortive expedition to the Isle of Rhé, under the Duke of Buckingham. William was married in 1629, when only nineteen, to Frances, the daughter of Sir Thomas Chaloner of Guisborough, in Cleveland, who was the same age. These Chaloners had been distinguished for two generations. The grandfather of Frances was first Clerk of the Council in the time of Henry VIII., a poet and statesman. He was ambassador to Germany, accompanied Charles V. in his expedition to Algiers, and was knighted by the Protector Somerset

¹ In the year 1602 the manors and estates of Newton Kyme and Toulston were conveyed by Lord Burleigh to Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton. In the thirteenth century, Newton belonged to the Lincolnshire family of Kyme, passing through heiresses to the Umfravilles, Burdons, and Talboys. William Talboys suffered attainder in 1461.

² Sir Ferdinando and Lady Mary Fairfax appear to have been living at Steeton from 1617 to 1619, for their two youngest children were born there, and baptized in Steeton Chapel. Lady Mary died at Steeton in June 1619.

on the battle-field of Musselborough. Her father was a poet and naturalist, and was Governor to Henry Prince of Wales. Ursula Fairfax, the sister of William, married her brother's wife's brother, James Chaloner, a member of the Long Parliament, and one of the King's judges. He was afterwards Commissioner of the Isle of Man, and wrote a history of the island, but fortunately died in the year of the Restoration. The love letters of Ursula and James Chaloner have been preserved.

As a reward for services, the record of which is lost, William Fairfax was knighted at some time previous to 1640.

By the death of his elder brother Edmund in 1636,¹ Sir William Fairfax succeeded to Steeton and Newton Kyme. He was a tall soldier-like man, with stern features disfigured by a large mole at the corner of one eye, but with a warm, affectionate heart. A man of high honour and unflinching resolve, brave as a lion, yet courteous and gentle. His wife was a good and true woman. Of Sir William there is a large full-length portrait, and a miniature by Cooper, in possession of the family, and a half length belonging to Lord Lyttleton at Hagley. Of his wife no picture has been preserved.

It was not until 1640 that Sir William and Lady Fairfax came to make their permanent home in the old house at Steeton, but they had visited Yorkshire every year since 1630, and had lived for some time in the small manor house at Toulston, in the parish of Newton Kyme.² Their eldest son, William, had been

¹ Edmund Fairfax had married Sarah, daughter of Sir William Irwin, and had one child, Mary, who died in infancy.

² There is a letter from Sir William Fairfax to Mr. Robert Barwick, dated at Normanby, in Lincolnshire (the seat of his grandfather, the Earl of Mulgrave), on December 9, 1640. It appears to be about the sale of Toulston to Barwick.—*American Coll.*, p. 23.

baptized at St. Mary's, Bishophill, in York, on March 10, 1630. Thomas, their second son, was born at Toulston, and baptized at Newton Kyme on August 22, 1633, by their good cousin the rector, Henry Fairfax. They also had two daughters, Catharine¹ and Isabella. To these were added a daughter Mary, born at Steeton in July 1640, and another named Philadelphia, who died in infancy.

Sir William at once entered upon the duties of an active country gentleman. He wrote to his uncle, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax,² from Steeton on July 25, 1641, saying, 'Since I am resolved to settle myself in this county, I cannot but think it my duty to do it the best service I can, and, therefore, if your lordship think fit to get me put in commission for the West Riding, I shall endeavour to perform what I am able.' He also accepted the command of a company of the Yorkshire trained bands.

Only for a short ten months was Sir William to remain in peace with his wife and children at Steeton. The misguided King was about to plunge the country into all the miseries of a civil war, and it became every man's duty to choose sides according to the dictates of his conscience. The Fairfaxes were true, true as steel, and with them no sign of hesitation appeared. They drew their swords, sorrowfully but resolutely, in the grand old cause which was represented by the Parliament of England. In their eyes there was no allegiance due to a King who excited civil dissensions with the object of destroying the institutions he was sworn to

¹ Catharine was also born at Toulston, and baptized at Newton Kyme on October 16, 1634.

² Lord Fairfax had married his mother's sister, both being daughters of the Earl of Mulgrave.

defend and to protect. If Charles would return to his Parliament and be guided by it, all would be well; if not, he was no rightful King.

The formal declaration was made at York on May 9, 1642. Charles summoned the country gentlemen of Yorkshire, denounced the Parliament, and called upon them to raise troops for him. The meeting split into two parties. The High Sheriff, Mr. Hutton, with Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir William Fairfax, and others met at the Deanery and signed a reply to the King's speech. They besought His Majesty to trust entirely to his Parliament. Charles rejected their prayer, plunged the unhappy country into a devastating war, and paid the penalty.

Sir William Fairfax returned to Steeton and sadly prepared for that struggle which the King had made inevitable. The happy home was broken up. The wife and daughters, those loved ones whom he was never to see again in this life, were sent for safety to London, to the house of his sister, Mrs. Chaloner, near Charing Cross. Lady Barwick, a dear friend at Toulston,¹ near Newton Kyme, took charge of the two little boys, William and Thomas, then aged twelve and nine respectively. Sir William left Steeton in charge of servants, raised a regiment among his tenantry, and

¹ Toulston was bought by Lord Fairfax at the same time as Newton Kyme, from which it is only a mile distant. It was sold to Sir Robert Barwick, the Recorder of Doncaster, who was knighted by Charles I. in 1641, and died in 1660. His wife, Lady Barwick, was Ursula, daughter of Walter Strickland, and sister of Sir William Strickland, Bart. Their son Robert was born in 1633, and was just the same age as the second son of Sir William Fairfax, who was his playfellow. Robert Barwick succeeded his father in 1660, but was unfortunately drowned in the Wharfe on June 16, 1666. He was unmarried. Lady Barwick died on October 4, 1682, aged eighty-one. The eventual heiress of Toulston was her daughter Frances, who married Henry, the fourth Lord Fairfax.

marched to join the army of the Parliament, of which the Earl of Essex had received command. He was at once appointed a colonel of one of the infantry regiments, which was stationed in the left centre at the battle of Edgehill. Other regiments were commanded by his relations, Sir William Constable, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir Henry Cholmley. This bloody, but indecisive action, was fought on October 23, 1642, and Sir William behaved with extraordinary gallantry. He continued to serve with Essex for the next two months, but when the news came that his uncle, Lord Fairfax, and his cousin, Sir Thomas, were at length in arms, he felt that his proper place was at their sides. He hurried to Selby, and threw in his lot with his county, being foremost at the storming of Leeds and in the attack on Wakefield.

After the crushing defeat at Adwalton the Fairfaxes retreated into Hull, where they were besieged by the Marquis of Newcastle. Hull was the *Torres Vedras* of the Parliament. When Newcastle raised the siege the cause was virtually won. Fresh heart was instilled into the Parliamentary forces, and great efforts were made to oppose the hitherto successful progress of Newcastle. With this view Sir William Fairfax was despatched into Norfolk, to have an interview with the Earl of Manchester, and urge him to advance into the Midland counties. Five of the letters which Sir William wrote to his wife have been preserved. Tattered, and scarcely legible, they still bear testimony to his affectionate anxiety for his family, as well as to his resolute persistence in the cause for which he had reluctantly drawn his sword. The first was written from Boston, in Lincolnshire, when he was on his way to the headquarters of the Earl of Manchester.

For my dear wife the lady Fairfax att Mr. James Challoner's¹ house, in Queen's Street neare the Flower de luce Tavern—this :

My dear hartt,—I cannot omitt any occasion to let thee know where and how I am. I writt to thee last week and the week before butt I heard he thatt caried the former letters was slaine att Northampton by Prince Rupert's forces, yett I hope they came late to your hands, for he left them with the Mare of thatt towne. I am now at Boston and intend, God willing, to be at Linn tomorrow with my Lord of Manchester, being sent from Sir Thomas to desire him to march towards Newcastle's army which is now att Chesterfield in Darbyshire.² If we can draw these forces thither, we make no question butt to roote the enemy, which God send we may, for Thomas's partt and mine we rest nether night nor day, nor will willingly till we have done God some good service against his and our enimyces. Let not anybody know I writt to thee only lett my lady Sheffield know, if she will write you will send her letter. You may direct yours to Major Bland³ att Lester, and he will send them to me. I shall be very glad to hear from thee. I left our army at Melton Mowbray in Lestershire, and intend to return with all speed to itt. If you let my sister know I writt, remember my love to her, and to Mall Peefers. Tell my wife Lambert how she may write to me, so with my blessing to my children I rest thy dear and loving husband

WILL FAIRFAX.

From Boston the 20th Nov. 1643.

In the end of January 1644, Sir Thomas Fairfax, accompanied by his cousin Sir William, marched from Manchester to relieve Nantwich. On the 28th a battle was fought, in which the Royalist army under Lord Byron was entirely defeated, the success of the day

¹ Her brother.

² The Marquis of Newcastle raised the siege of Hull in the end of October.

³ Michael Bland is in the Army List of 1642, as one of the captains in Sir William Fairfax's regiment.

being secured by an opportune and very gallant flanking charge led by Sir William Fairfax. The siege of Nantwich was raised, and the troops returned to Manchester in February, whence Sir William wrote the following letter, full of anxious solicitude for his wife's welfare.

*To my deare wife the lady Fairfax att her house by Chering
Cross this—*

My dear Hartt,—I was never so much troubled in my life concerning thee as now, for I never heard one word from thee since Collonel Bright came from London. What the reason is I know not. God of his mercy send all be well with you. Here came a man of Sir Thomas Witherington's from London, that tels me he heard that you were in labor when he came from London, which trubbles me very much, having not heard one word of the truth of thy estate. Dear Hart, let me beg one word or two from thee by this bearer—Major Copley, who will return sudenly. God doth daily heap his mercyes upon us, for since our great victory at Nantwich ¹ we have forced Cheshire of all the petty garisons that did hinder the country from rising with us. It is now in such a condition that, if they be active, they may raise a sufficient strenth to defend themselves from any enemy. This day we received letters from Collonel Lambertt, (who is now at Bradford with 600 foot and 8 troops of horse,) that the enemy having gathered all the strength which the Marquis of Newcastle left behind him in Yorkshire, fell upon Bradford yeasterday being the 20th of this month and were soundly beaten for their paines, we having taken Sir John Girlington ² and divers other officers of quality with above 100 comon solders prisoners. The enemy being 4,000 horse and foot and comanded by Jack Belases ³ who escaped very narrowly. This God was pleased to add to the rest of his miracles, His

Sir John Meldrum is now before Newark and makes no question butt to take itt.

¹ On January 28, 1644 (N.S.)

² Sir John Girlington was drowned in 1644, in a retreat after a sortie from Newark Castle.

³ John Bellasis was a cousin of the Fairfaxes, his grandmother, Ursula, having been a sister of the first Lord Fairfax. In January 1644 he was created Baron Bellasis of Worlaby.

name be ever praised for it. I believe we shall presently march into Yorkshire and joyn our forces with my Lord's. I make no question but you have heard of the defeat my Lord's forces gave the enemy in the East Riding not long since, so with my prayers to God for thee and the children I rest thy dear and loving husband

WILL FAIRFAX.

From Manchester the 23rd of Feb. 1643 (O.S.)

In consequence of news from the besiegers of Newark, Sir Thomas Fairfax marched from Manchester into Derbyshire in February 1644, accompanied by his cousin; and the following letter relates the cause of the serious illness with which Sir William Fairfax was seized at this juncture. We also get a pleasant glimpse at his ministering angels, young Englishwomen who were true to their country, and as brave as they were kind and hospitable. The Booths came of a very ancient family in Cheshire and Lancashire. Old Sir George Booth had been created a baronet in 1611, and survived until 1652. His son William was dead, leaving two children, George¹ and Catherine; and the young ladies whose praises are recorded by Sir William Fairfax were Sir George's daughters Alice, Susan, and Elizabeth, and his grandchild Catherine.²

¹ George succeeded his grandfather as second Baronet in 1652. The family had been for the Parliament; but, like Lord Fairfax, Sir George Booth saw the necessity for the restoration in 1659. He headed a rising in Cheshire, was taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower. But on the arrival of Charles II. he was rewarded with a grant of money by Parliament, and created Lord Delamere of Dunham Massie. Dying in 1684, his son Henry opposed the proceedings of Charles II. and his brother, and espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange. The second Lord Delamere was created Earl of Warrington in 1690. The title of Lord Delamere became extinct in 1770.

² Of these young ladies, Alice married George Vernon, Esq., of Heslinton, in Cheshire; Susan to Sir William Brereton, the commander for the Parliament in Cheshire; Elizabeth to Lord Byron; and Catherine to Sir John Jackson, of Hickleton, in Yorkshire.

*For my deare wife the Lady Frances Fairfax, at Whitehall,
over against Charing Cross—this*

My dear Harte,—I much feare the news of my sickness will reach your ears before this letter comes to your hands to certifie you of my recovery which I thank my good God for. I gather strength every day I thank God. My disease was a desperate fever occasioned by a cold taken as folows. There was some leters came from Newark to Sir Thomas Fairfax to certify him of their distres. They came in the night, when we were all in bed, and he sent to me he must ether come to me or I must come to him. He had that day one of the sorest fits of the stone that ever I saw. So I got up and putt on a few cloths, thinking he had a fire in his chamber, but there was none, so sitting advising so long, I gott cold, butt it did not show itself till we had marcht two days into Darbyshire. There I fell into a burning fever, I being far from any phisition, and amongst the enemy. In this case I was forst to ride 22 miles to Manchester, where I met with a good phisition who, by God's help, did abate the rage of the fever, and then I was advised to go for halfe a dozen miles outt of the towne. I was invited by Sir George Booth who hath divers sisters,¹ so religious and every way so good that I must confess I never mett with so many good women together in all my life. They all attend me as if I were a prince. When the Irish were masters of this country they sent away their old father out of danger, and fortified their house, and kept a garison in it, and maintained it against all their force. I wonder much that Mr. White pays not the other 50, but I will right to him a rallying leter. You must excuse me to all my friends, for I have much adoe to write this to thee. I can, I thank God, walk three or fower times about my chamber, and then I am very weary. Butt, I thank God, I gather strength every day, so that I hope ere long I shall be able to go to my command. I know the news of the great victory that my Lord Fairfax hath obtained since the meeting with his sone will be with you before this letter.² God did not think me worthy to partake of that great

¹ His grandfather was still alive. Three of the ladies were George Booth's aunts, one was his sister.

² At Selby on April 11, 1644, when John Bellasis was taken prisoner.

honor, indeed I was far unworthy of it, so I submit to God's good pleasure and remain thy dear and loving husband till death.

WILL FAIRFAX.

From Dunham,¹ the 16th of April, 1644.

I received yesterday two or three of thy letters. They had been long a coming.

Sir William's cousin John Sheffield and old Sir George Booth married sisters, daughters of Chief Justice Anderson, which made some connection between the invalid and his host.

Although the illness of Sir William Fairfax kept him under the care of his fair nurses at Dunham Massie, and he was, as he puts it, held unworthy to take part in the victory at Selby, he was sufficiently recovered to command a brigade at Marston Moor in the following July. He had indeed joined the besieging army before York in May, and was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with Newcastle, on the terms of a surrender early in June. At the battle of Marston Moor he commanded an infantry brigade of about 3,000 men, which was stationed on the right of the Parliamentary line of battle. When the conflict began, he beat off the enemy from a hedge in his front, captured three pieces of their ordnance, and gallantly led his men forward. But on emerging from the lanes they were received with a terrific cross fire from Newcastle's white coats, so that, as Sir Thomas Fairfax bore witness, there was more slaughter here than on any other part of the field. The men wavered, and just then a large body of their own cavalry, routed by Sir William King, galloped over them in wild disorder. Sir William Fairfax escaped unhurt, and saw the fortunes of the day retrieved ;

¹ Dunham Massie, the seat of Sir George Booth, Bart.

but he also saw his kinsmen and friends fall thick around him. His cousin and namesake, William Fairfax, the major of Lambert's regiment, fell covered with wounds, of which he died at York, leaving all his worldly goods to his 'much honored and dear father : ' 'my temporal estate,' he adds, 'consisteth wholly of my horse, armes, and apparel, and arrearages of pay.'¹ Young Charles Fairfax, brother of Sir Thomas, also received a mortal wound.

Sir William's first thought was to relieve the anxiety of his wife, and he wrote a few hurried lines on the fly-leaf of an old letter, in time for the messenger who was sent off to London with news of the great victory, on the following day. Marston Moor is only six miles from Steeton, so that he could describe the position of the battle-field by reference to that of a friend's house, which was well known to Lady Fairfax. Some others probably sent off similar hurried scrawls, but this is, so far as I am aware, the only private letter written on the battle-field of Marston Moor which has been preserved.

*For my dear wife the Lady Frances Fairfax at her house near
Charingcross—this*

My dear Hart,—I know when you hear of our great battle with Prince Rupert you will be very fearfull of me ; therefore I write to satisfie thee that God hath allso, at this time, preserved me from any hurt atall. We have beaten Prince Rupert to some tune, and routed all his army and taken his ordnance. We have killed above a thousand of his men, but whatt prisoners I know nott yet, but there is very many. The battle was fought in Marston Fields, not far from Quinton Ludston's house, the hour at five o'clock in the afternoon. I cannot stay the messenger, so thatt you must excuse me to all my friends, and

¹ Will proved by Sir Robert Barwick on November 12, 1645.

tell them I had not any paper but this, and itt was a piece of a letter. Sir Thomas Fairfax is wounded in the face, but not much worse. Collonell Lambert is very well, but most of his officers killed and hurtt. My service to my Lady Sheffield and my wife Lambertt, and all the rest of my friends. Tom Smith is slaine, so I rest, thy dear husband,

WILL FAIRFAX.

From Marston the 13th of July, 1644,
the day after the battle.

My cousin Charles Fairfax¹ is very sore wounded.

Soon after the battle Sir William Fairfax was detached, with a body of Yorkshire horse, to join Sir John Meldrum in the siege of Liverpool; while Sir William Brereton invested the Royalist garrison at Chester. The victory of Marston Moor had restored peace to Yorkshire, and his letter from before Liverpool, the last he ever wrote, is full of plans for the return of his wife and daughters to their old home at Steeton, and for sending his little sons to school.

*For my dear wife the Lady Fairfax at her house near Charin-
cross—this*

My deare Harte,—I was no sooner come to Yorke butt my Lord dispatched me into this country, where I live at a great charge. Sir William Constable was dispatched for this service, but Sir John Meldrum writting my Lord word that the soldyers would not be commanded by him, therefore he desired I might be sentt to him. The imployment is honorable for I have the command of 2,000 horse, and I thank God they have done very good service since they came hither, and I hope will continue in doing so. We are now before Liverpool, and by God's assistance we make no doubt butt to be masters of it, in a short time. As for the enemy we have beaten them out of the field into their holds. The Prince's army is reduced to a very small

¹ Brother of General Sir Thomas Fairfax. He died three or four days afterwards at Marston, aged thirty.

number and whatt strength they have are all beaten into Wales. The Prince has deserted the north, so that there is hopes we shall live quietly this winter. I would very gladly have you at home if you could conveniently come, butt be not too hasty for there are three servants sick in the house, whereof Francis is one. But I hope they are all on the mending hand. I dearest not trust your sonnes at home, for fear of the sickness. They are as yett at Toulston with my Lady Barwick¹ who I know will have a great care of them. I have given order to Frank to gett all the money he can possibly and send itt to you. If you come down I would have you make a visett to Mr. Sergeant Wilde, to give thanks for his favour, and desire him give order to the sequestrators to keepe your house for you. Your boyes, I intend, shall goe to scoole to a place they call Cuckowld,² where I hear there is a good Scoole Master. I hear my man Francis is recovered and the rest of my servants. I hope you may transport yourself and your goods with safety to Steeton. You may tell my Lady Peterborow,³ though I was commanded away in haste, yet I put her business into Collonell Lambert's hands, who will give an account of it and then I will write to her Ladyship, as also Sir Thomas Wharton's business. I am commanded to march upon Monday next, to beat the enemy out of Warall, a place in Cheshire, for Sir William Brereton either will not or cannot, and though I do itt, I am confident he will have the honor of itt, yett that shall not discourage me from doing what service I can for the public. Sir Thomas Fairfax is badly shot through the

¹ Ursula, daughter of Walter Strickland, and sister of Sir William Strickland, Bart., married Sir Robert Barwick, Recorder of Doncaster, who was knighted by Charles I. in 1641. He bought Toulston, in the parish of Newton Kyme, and died there in 1660. They had a son, Robert Barwick, born in 1633, who was drowned in the Wharfe on June 16, 1666, and buried at Newton Kyme, a daughter and eventual heiress, Frances, married to Henry, the fourth Lord Fairfax, and a daughter Ursula, who died in 1655, aged fourteen.

Lady Barwick died on October 4, 1682, aged eighty-one.

There were monuments in Newton Kyme Church to Sir Robert and Lady Barwick, their son Robert, and daughter Ursula, copied by Torre, but all now destroyed.

² Coxwold? Here Brian Fairfax was also at school.

³ Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, and wife of John Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough.

shoulder. The wound is nott so dangerous as the fever that follows itt, yett I hope he will recover itt; so desiring your prayers, and my blessing to my daughters I reſte thy dear and loving husband,

WILL FAIRFAX.

From the leager att Liverpool, the 7th of September, 1644.

When this letter was written, Sir William had already received orders to march southwards. In ten days more he crowned an honourable and loyal life with a glorious death. Sir Thomas Middleton, who was commanding for the Parliament in Shropshire, had intercepted the whole of the gunpowder which the Royalists were sending from Bristol for the use of the garrisons in Chester and Liverpool. He deposited it, with a suitable force, in Montgomery Castle, remaining outside with his cavalry. This was a serious blow to the Royalists, and Lord Byron, collecting the remains of Prince Rupert's horse and of the infantry sent over from Ireland by Lord Ormond, laid siege to Montgomery Castle, with the determination of recovering the powder. Middleton appealed for support to the Parliamentary commanders in Cheshire and Lancashire, and his call was promptly answered.

Sir John Meldrum and Sir William Fairfax, with 3,000 men, arrived before Montgomery Castle on September 17, Lord Byron retreating to the slope of a mountain on one side, with his besieging troops, which numbered 5,000 men. Next day the Royalists came down into the plain, and attacked the relieving force with great resolution. Byron's pikemen advanced with desperate bravery; but Sir William Fairfax led his men again and again to the charge. At last, when a third time they wavered and fell back, he dashed single-handed into the thick of the enemy's ranks, his good

sword flashing right and left, and the plumes of his beaver waving like a beacon amidst the hostile pikes and steel caps. It was a deed worthy of Arthur's fabled knights, and it won the battle. The sight of their gallant chief, thus surrounded by his enemies, aroused the spirit of the Yorkshire yeomen. Again they charged furiously upon that terrible line of pikes, resolved to rescue their beloved commander or to die. This final charge was decisive. The Royalists broke and fled in all directions, and Montgomery Castle was relieved. But Sir William Fairfax was literally covered with wounds,¹ more than one of which was mortal.

Sir William Fairfax lingered for sixteen hours, and died covered with glory. With his last breath he asked Sir William Brereton to tell the Parliament that he thought his life well bestowed in its service, and to desire them to have a care of his wife and children. Sir William Fairfax wore a gold bracelet and a diamond ring, which the surgeons wanted to take as perquisites. This was not allowed. The memorials, with letters of condolence, were sent to Lady Fairfax by her husband's companions-in-arms, Sir John Meldrum, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir William Brereton. She replied that 'She grieved not that he died in the cause, but that he died so soon that he could do no more for it.'

¹ The *Weekly Intelligencer* says he had twelve or thirteen wounds, Vicars says fifteen, Whitelocke eleven.

CHAPTER II.

THE WIDOW AND HER CHILDREN.

LADY FAIRFAX and her children received much sympathy in their bereavement. She could not bear at first to go to Steeton, as had been arranged by her husband. The loss was too recent, the memories were too fresh. She went to Normanby, the seat of her husband's grandfather, the Earl of Mulgrave, in Lincolnshire. Two years afterwards she removed to Steeton Hall, that place having been left to her for her life, and she continued to live there until her death, which took place nearly fifty years afterwards. Sir Thomas Fairfax advanced money for her immediate necessities, and the Parliament, mindful of the great services of her husband, voted her a sum of 1,500*l.* on January 11, 1647.¹ She brought up her daughters at home with much care and solicitude; while the two boys, William and Thomas, were probably sent to the school at Coxwold which their father mentioned in his last letter. Until the Restoration, she had for her neighbours at Bolton Percy the excellent rector, Henry Fairfax, and his two sons, Henry and Brian; while the great General Lord Fairfax, her husband's companion in arms, rested on his laurels at Nunappleton. Lady Fairfax was very fond of her garden, and of the home farm at Low Moor;

¹ *Whitelocke's Memorials*, p. 234.

and in the management of her son's estate she was a notable woman of business. When her two boys grew up, they both took service in the army of the Lord Protector. There is a portrait of William, a pale, delicate-looking young man, in armour. Thomas served in the expedition to Jamaica in 1655, when he was in his twenty-third year.

Lady Fairfax's eldest daughter Catherine was the first to leave Steeton. She was married to Sir Martin Lister, a son of Sir William Lister of Thornton, by Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Bellasis, of Newburgh, and brother-in-law to General Lambert. Lady Lister was not a very interesting person, but her picture at Hagley shows that she was pretty. Some of her letters to her mother have been preserved, which were written from London during the time of the Protectorate, when she was from twenty-two to twenty-eight years of age. They are full of family troubles and passing gossip, yet they are not altogether without interest, for they more than hint at balls, and even plays, at a time when it is generally supposed that such things were altogether banished from the England of Cromwell and the Puritans :—

*For The Lady Fairfax at Steeton in Yorkshire to bee left att
Tadcaster. post pd.*

Dear Mother,—This post I received two of yours, wherein I find you had not that from my husband and I, and one inclosed to Sir Walter Vavasour.¹ I am sorry Gisborough should not hold right because we were too confident, and therefore sought for no other place until it was too late. I have been very ill

¹ Son of Sir Walter Vavasour, of Hazlewood, in Yorkshire, who raised a regiment of horse for Charles I. The son, here mentioned, married Jane, daughter of Sir Jordan Crossland (the Royalist governor of Helmsley Castle, when Sir Thomas Fairfax was badly wounded in 1644), but died childless in February 1713.

this week of a faintness of my spirits that I have not sometimes been able to speak. This day I am beginning a course of physick, for today I was let blood. I fear if I take not care in time I shall go into a consumption. One sight of you would recover me. I long for lady day more than any thing in the world. I hope after that you will have thoughts of coming. My husband is well and our business has some life in it yet to be done without a parliament. Pray God send it that I may have an end of all my troubles. My brother Kit¹ is still in prison, plays least in sight, his wife is still with me and begins to recover, but may thank him for her illness. My Lady Lister² never answered my husband's letter, but last Saturday he went to Wimbledon, where all the entertainment he had was his mother bobd him, as she calls it, at every word, and scarce asked for me, but not atall for my poor unhappy sister. Martin snapt her up that she grew pritty civil, though not kind, before he came away. But nobody desird him to stay all night though it rained, but my Lord. So he came home at night, which I was glad of. He presents his duty to you. We have no news besides. I am not able to write more than that I am dearest mother your most obt. child

K. LISTER.

Jan. 12th.

My husband's and my service to my sister Fairfax. Pray tell Mrs. Skipton that we will send her handkerchief by Mrs. Jenkison.

For the Lady Fairfax at Steeton, post paid—Leave this with the Poustmaster of Tadcaster, Yorkshire.

Dearest Mother,—My last was something short by reason of my husband's sudden falling ill, which indeed surprised me mightily. It was on Saturday night last, and yet he continues ill. But I thank God much better now. He is going into a course of physick. The Lord send it may do him good. Just

¹ Christopher Lister, her husband's brother. He married Winifred, daughter of Sir Richard Fletcher, Knight, of Cockermonth (widow of two previous husbands), and had a daughter Anne.

² Widow of Sir William Lister, of Thornton. She was a daughter of Sir Henry Bellasis, of Newburgh.

now I received one from you with one to Mrs. Harvey, who yesterday sent me this inclosed to send to you before she had one from you. My Aunt Haly denies all her rogerly, but that shall not serve her turn. I intend a further bout with her. Neether he nor she ever came or sent to look after me since you went. But I am as well pleased as not, to want the love of such base people. Dear Mother your kind expressions is more to me than all that others can do, and whether we have this place or not, we are resolved to live upon what we have in Yorkshire. I long for the time, for I am sure I shall never be fully content until then. Martin presents his duty. As soon as he goes abroad he will not fail to get you a commission to take guns. Yesterday the man that plotted burning Whitehall was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and the match with Jack Mordant¹ and Carey² is concluded. She fasts all lent on purpose to be a fit match for him. Att Easter my Lord Protector's younger daughter is to be married to my Lord Warwick's grandchild and heir. Savill and his Lady are still as kind as ever; but as a secret I tell you the match is likely to break between Mall Fairfax³ and her lover. The truth is neither shee nor father nor mother like him. I shall go tomorrow to see Sir Thomas Witherington.⁴ There continues still great emulation between our great sister and the other great courtiers.⁵ 'Tis not possible for two suns to shine in one firmament. The 25th of this month I am for Ham there to stay till I come to you; where I shall value one day at the Low Moor⁶

¹ Second son of the first Earl of Peterborough, who constantly plotted for the restoration of Charles II. He was created Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon in 1659, and died in 1675. He was father of the great Earl of Peterborough.

² Elizabeth, sole heiress of Thomas Carey, second son of Robert, Earl of Monmouth. She married John Mordaunt, Viscount Avalon, and bore him five sons and three daughters.

³ Only child of Thomas, third Lord Fairfax. She married the Duke of Buckingham, September 15, 1657.

⁴ Speaker in Cromwell's Parliament. He married Frances, sister of the third Lord Fairfax, who died in 1649, leaving four daughters. Sir Thomas died in 1664.

⁵ She probably alludes to Mrs. Lambert, her husband's sister, and a great lady at the Protector's Court.

⁶ The Low Moor was the home-farm at Steeton.

more than all the balls and fine things here : though to night I am to goe to one at the French Ambassador's and a play. I may be a little vain now, but when once I get from it, hang me when I return to stay by it. I am extremely sensible of your solitary life, and in the midst of all my mirth it makes me dull, my dear Mother. Be as cheerful as you can. I hope your garden will keep you employed this spring time. I wish you joy of young Arthur.¹ As God help me Madam I doubt he will never be soe good a knight of his hands as Arthur of Britain. My brother Tom's² Colonel is come home soe weak he was not able to stand, to speak to the Protector.³ He came of such a sudden my brother had not time to write two words after he knew of his coming away and here I send it you. You see what he resolves but they say there will not be a great while any opportunity for him to come. There goes ships presently if you please to write to him if you think fit to divert him. My kind love I desire to my sister and Blackaller and all that love dear Mother your most obedient daughter,

KATH LISTER.

Thursday, Lon : the 20 of Feb. (1656) ?

For the Lady Fairfax at Steeton in Yorkshire, to be left at Tadcaster, post pd.

Dear Mother,—I am too sensible of the happiness I shall enjoy to be with you, to be trobled at the maner of my jorney. It is not out of pride that I seemed to be concerned about it, for with my husband I could come in a wheel barrow to you with comfort. But I confess the consideration of leaving him here in a hundred troubles of which I knew not what would become, and then to have no creature but my ugly man and pitiful

¹ The fourth child of her brother William was named Arthur, born about this time. He died in infancy.

² Thomas Fairfax, born 1633, served in the army of the Protector in Jamaica and in Ireland. 1694 Colonel on the Irish establishment, 1696 Brigadier-General, Major-General, and Governor of Limerick under Queen Anne. Died at Dublin, March 11, 1712.

³ Colonel Venables, who came home from Jamaica without leave, on the ground of sickness, and was sent to the Tower for his pains.

strangers, would have made me sad. But my Martin tells me if I can stay a week more for him, than I intended, he would come with me on horse back, which I beg your pardon that I condescend to his desires being it will be much more convenient for me. I cannot speak yet to the Lieutenant. My uncle Holly says he saw him since and that he says my brother is very well and willing to stay there now. I know not how to believe him, therefore I speak with him if possible myself. I hear nothing what they will do about discoveries. The High Court of Justice sits on Tuesday. Divers are to be tried, but I cannot tell in particular none of their faults till they be tried. Only they say they were in a plot lately and had commissions from Charles Stuart to raise men. In my last I gave you an account of Charles Smith. He is well. My Lady Mulgrave¹ holds her journey on Monday. We have not the plague at all in London, but only a new disease which, in plain English, is an old cold, which kills many but it lessens every week 100. I have not heard anything of Mr. Blackaller this term. I am glad of it, for I should not know, upon your account, how to be civil to him, and upon my own I think I am little obliged to it. Poor Martha Grace her child is dead, and my old Lord Warwick, and many others of our slight acquaintance. I writ you a long letter last post which I wish you have received, for they play the rogue very much here at the post house and make letters miscarry. It is a general complaint. The weather begins to be a little warm which is great comfort to me. I fear I am inclined to a palsy, or else it is melancholy cold vapours that comes from the spleen, that sometimes numbs my tongue and all one side for an hour, and then goes away again. I have all the diseases of a horse and yet I live, which I desire to do for no other reason than to expres myself dear Mother your most obedient daughter,

KATH LISTER.

May 21 (1656 ?).

Martin presents his duty to you.

¹ Lady Eliz. Cranfield, daughter of Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, and wife of Edmund Sheffield, second Earl of Mulgrave. She was mother of Queen Anne's Duke of Buckinghamshire.

*For the Lady Fairfax att Steeton in Yorkshire, to bee left at
Tudcaster—post pd.*

Dear Mother,—I have received yours when I am glad to hear you have received two of mine at once, that you may see I neglect not writing, though I am so unhappy not to have them delivered. I find the expressions of your kindness in every particular, that you are satisfied with my fondness in desiring to stay for my husband. Truly I would rather come than stay if that were not the occasion, yet I hope to begin my journey within 10 days or less. I am certain by the next I can say more, I have another letter from my brother Tom. I find he is willing enough to stay. I think truly as things are with you 'tis fittest for him; for he lives as well as any there, and writes that the general is more his friend than he was that died,¹ so that in my mind I see no reason why you should trouble yourself about him. But he has done a simple and an ill-natured thing to my husband, which I will not lett him know as long as I can conceal it, because I know he will take it ill; which is, when my brother was in towne he owed 50 pounds or more to my husband, besides he was ingaged for him for many things, or he could not have gone out of towne. So my brother left a letter of attorney with my husband, to receive his pay, and when he got it to pay himself and the debts for which he stood bound. My husband could never get yet but 20 pound, which he paid to the tailor. Now my brother, seeing he had not received it, has made void the letter of attorney that Martin has, and given 2 others to 2 strangers. Now it may be at last they may get the money, but my husband will lose his owne, for hee has nothing to show for it. I am more vexed at what my husband will think of him than for the loss of the money, though at this time it is something in our purse. When I see you I will discourse more at large of these things. In the mean time I am very sorry for the troble that is fallen on you concerning the high ways. It is a sad thing that people will swear themselves to the Devill for so small a matter. I hope you will find some redress by my Lord Fairfax, I will tell him of it when I see him.

¹ At Jamaica, General Fortescue died in October 1655, and was succeeded by General Sedgwick.

I went the other day and my Lady Fairfax looks as if shee would eat me, but I take no notice and goe the seldomer. The Court of Justice has done nothing as yett. We have no other news but what I writ in my last: 'tis late that I must end with saying I am your most obedient daughter,

KATH LISTER.

May 29, 1656.

For The Lady Fairfax att Steeton, in Yorkshire, to be left at Tadcaster—post pd.

Dear Mother,—I have this day received yours of two sheets of paper, but without a date, so that I know not how long it has been coming, but come when it will it is very welcome to me when it brings me from you so much kindness. No doubt it would be a great happiness to us to come to you, but my poor Martin is so weak that though now he is come home, not able to stir nor speak having been but at Chelsea to take the air, so that in this condition it is not possible for him to travel. The doctors still let him have nothing but milk, and he grows weaker, but I fancy he coughs less, and though some think it best to prepare me for the worst, by telling me they think he will not live, yett I cannot think he will die. Pray God I flatter not myself too much, but it cannot enter into my thoughts. For my Lord Duke¹ I have often such good words from him, that one would think it impossible to go back from, in that particular, though I have no effect from it yett. His wife is gone to Tunbridge. I writ you word in a letter which it seems has miscaried that my Lord Mulgrave went every day to Court, and that the King is very kind to him. My Lord Lichfield² comes sometimes, but not very often, to see me. My Lord Roberts³ is

¹ Duke of Buckingham, married to Mary, daughter of Lord Fairfax.

² Charles Stuart, son of George, Lord D'Aubigny, who was slain at Edgehill, was created Earl of Lichfield in December 1645. He succeeded his cousin as Duke of Richmond on August 14, 1668, and died in 1672 at Elsinore, where he was ambassador.

³ John, second Lord Roberts of Truro, though he fought for the Parliament, was well received by Charles II., and appointed Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1679 he was created Viscount Bodmin and Earl of Radnor. He died in 1685.

made Deputy of Ireland, and Charles Smith¹ is going over with him to make himself a fortune. I give you a thousand thanks for your maid. I hope she will have no reason to complain of my usage. If she doe it will be more than any servant ever did yett of me except Duke. I hope I shall never have such a one as him again. I saw my sister Fairfax² today and told her, her boy was well, and of her husband's kindness to you. I confes my sister Bell³ has reson to complain I have not writ to her, but my ocasions have been something extraordinary, I have had two letters from her since I came from Steeton, but Betty Robison has one every week. But I do but say this by the by, but to my knowledge I have not forgot to remember me to her in any letter. If I did I was either in troble or haste, and soe forgot cerimony, but I will not doe it now therefore pray remember my kind love to her. I would write but it is late and Martin very ill tonight, soe I must subscribe mee yr most obedient child,

KATH LISTER.

July 27, 1660.

Lady Lister's husband died very soon after the date of this last letter, and soon afterwards she was married to Sir Charles Lyttleton, of Hagley. Her second husband was appointed Deputy-Governor of Jamaica in 1662; and he went out to the West Indies, accompanied by his wife. She died there, with her infant son Henry, on January 26, 1663. She was buried under a monument in a church which was entirely destroyed by an earthquake in 1692.

The next daughter of Lady Fairfax of Steeton was Isabella, the 'sister Bel' of Lady Lister's letters. She was married to Nathaniel Bladen, Esq., of Hemsworth,

¹ Lord Roberts married Isabella, daughter of Sir John Smith, Knight, of Kent.

² Wife of her brother, William Fairfax.

³ Isabella, born in 1637. She married Nathaniel Bladen, of Hemsworth, and died in 1691. She was the mother of Colonel Martin Bladen, and of Elizabeth, Mrs. Hawke, mother of Admiral Lord Hawke.

a barrister, and son of Dr. Thomas Bladen, Dean of Ardfert, by Sarah, daughter of the second Lord Blayney, who was slain in 1646, fighting against O'Neale in Monaghan. Mrs. Bladen had six children. Her eldest son William was baptized in Steeton Chapel on March 21, 1672, and afterwards settled in Maryland. The second, Martin Bladen, was a person of some distinction, of whom more presently. Of Mrs. Bladen's daughters, Elizabeth was the wife, first of Colonel Ruthven, and secondly of Edward Hawke, Esq.,¹ and mother of Admiral Lord Hawke.² Isabella married Mr. Hammond, of Scarthingwell,³ while Catherine remained single and kept house for her uncle, General Thomas Fairfax, in his old age.

William Fairfax, the eldest son of Sir William and Lady Fairfax, was born in March 1630. After serving for a short time in Cromwell's army, he married Catherine, daughter of Robert Stapleton, the heir of Wighill, in 1652. As his mother had Steeton for her life, he had to find a home elsewhere, and he naturally fixed upon the little manor house at Newton Kyme, which had special attractions both for himself and his wife. Her home at Wighill was only two miles from Newton, on the other side of the river Wharfe. Newton was also but a short mile from Toulston, where William Fairfax had passed much of his boyhood, and where Lady Barwick, who had been a second mother to him, still lived with his playfellow Robert Barwick. The

¹ Son of a London merchant who had been born in Cornwall. Edward Hawke retired to Bocking, in Norfolk, where he died, aged fifty, in 1718.

² Born in 1705.

³ Lord Hawke, in 1738, married the daughter of Walter Brooke. Her mother was the heiress of the Hammonds of Scarthingwell, Towton, and Saxton. Her mother's brother had married Lord Hawke's aunt, Isabella Bladen (Captain Burrows, in his life of Hawke, calls her Catherine Maria Frances Bladen, p. 119).

father of Catherine Fairfax had died at the age of thirty-three, in 1635, and at the time of her marriage, her grandmother, Mrs. Mary Stapleton, daughter of Sir John Foster of Bamborough, lived at Wighill,¹ with her grandson Miles and his wife Mary, the heiress of Sir Ingram Hopton, of Armley. The young couple had an only child, Catherine. Mrs. Fairfax had another brother, Henry, married in 1663 to Anne, daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram, of Temple Newsam. Her mother, Catherine, the daughter of Viscount Fairfax of Gilling Castle, married three husbands after the death of her father. The second husband was Sir Matthew Boynton, who died in 1646, the third was the son of a rich old London merchant, Sir Arthur Ingram, who had built a magnificent house at Temple Newsam, and the fourth was William Wickham, Esq., second son of the Archdeacon of York, and young enough to be her son. She only had one child who grew up, besides her Stapleton children, namely, Katherine, daughter of Sir A. Ingram. On her marriage with Sir Matthew Boynton, her Stapleton children went to live with their grandmother at Wighill, a house with four large towers and copper domes, standing in a deer park.² Here Catherine was brought up by the old lady, with her brothers and sisters. At the time of her marriage, her mother was Lady Ingram, living in great state at Temple Newsam. Catherine Fairfax's sisters were Isabel Stapleton, married to Colonel Matthew Boynton, who was slain at Wigan in 1651; Mary Stapleton, married to Walter Moyle, Esq.,

¹ She possessed Wighill for her life, just as Lady Fairfax had Steeton for her life.

² This old house, built by Sir Robert Stapleton in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was pulled down by General Chetwynd Stapleton in 1790. He built a new house on a different site, and eventually sold Wighill to Mr. Fountayne Wilson.

of Twyford Abbey, near Hammersmith; and Catherine Ingram, the wife of Sir Christopher Neville, of Auber, in Lincolnshire.

William and Catherine Fairfax, in a married life of twenty years, had twelve children, but only five survived their infancy. The eldest was a daughter named Frances, who was born at Newton Kyme on December 5, 1653, and lived to be an old maid of seventy. The next three died when they were babies, including the little Arthur mentioned in one of Lady Lister's letters. Thomas, the sixth child, born in 1659, lived to be ten, and was buried at Bolton Percy on April 27, 1669. Henry also died a baby, as did Ann and Isabella. The two sons, William and Robert, and the three daughters, Frances, Elizabeth, and Alatheia, grew up. On June 16, 1673, the father, William Fairfax, died and was buried at Newton Kyme, at the age of forty-three, leaving a widow and five children.¹ The life of Robert Fairfax,

¹ The following letter from an aunt of Mrs. Fairfax belongs to this time:—

These for my deare Neece Mrs. Fairfax at Newton.

(Written about 1670.)

Dear Neece,—If I weer capable to serve you or doe you a favour as I am ready to embrace yours, I should with all reallyty doe itt, and shall be glad to have any occasion offered that I may returne my gratitude for the favour of my nephew Fairfax his galloway, if it be not a troble to him to desire it for soe long a time, as I doubt it may be near a fortnight before the return of itt, but being my dear boys must goe which although not without some conflict to my hart I submit to, it being by my sonne¹ upon whom they must depend, thought the best way for their future good both as to their learning and their breeding. Yet my age and weak condition makes me not likely to see them againe and therefore, deer neece, I cannot overcome myself as I ought, but hope in God's blessed protection and providence for their safety. The pertixt is that they must be att London the . . . of the month. Therefore I intend they begin their journey upon Saterdag next that they may take easy journeys this hot season and have some rest there, before they go further. Therefore desire my nephew

¹ Charles, fifth Viscount Fairfax of Gilling, who died in 1711.

who was one of those children, forms the subject of the following pages.

will send his galloway on Thursday or Friday at the farthest. Itt shall be well fed and carefully brought back and I hope safe delivered to him again. The coach . . . cannot . . . makes me trouble you thus, and hering my niece Stapleton had a galloway made me first address to her. I hope to see you shortly who am

Your affectionate Aunt

A. FAIRFAX.¹

Aug. 7.

¹ Apparently Alathea, daughter of Sir Phillip Howard, and widow of the second Viscount Fairfax of Gilling, uncle of Mrs. Fairfax. She became a widow in 1641, and died in 1677. She had five sons.

CHAPTER III.

BOYHOOD OF ROBERT FAIRFAX.

ROBERT FAIRFAX, the younger son of William Fairfax by Catherine, the sister of Sir Miles Stapleton of Wighill, and grandson of Sir William Fairfax, who met a glorious death before Montgomery Castle, was born at Newton Kyme, and baptized in Steeton Chapel on February 23, 1666. His godfather was his father's old playfellow, Robert Barwick, of Toulston, who was drowned while bathing in the river Wharfe a few months afterwards. The baptismal service was performed by Dr. Tobias Wickham, then Rector of Bolton Percy and Dean of York. Robert's elder brother William was a year his senior. His sister Frances was eleven years older than Robert, while Elizabeth and Alatheia were a few years younger. The three sisters were known as Frank, Betty, and Thea; the brothers were Will and Robin among their relations.

Robin was only in his sixth year when the funeral of the great Lord Fairfax, the patriot general, took place at Bilbrough in November 1671. He can scarcely have remembered it; and his own father died about eighteen months afterwards, when he was seven. All the recollections of his childhood were gathered round his beloved mother, a gentle, delicate lady, with a pale, rather melancholy face and dark hair, whose portrait

is now at Bilbrough. Besides his brother and sisters, there were playfellows at Toulston, the children of Henry, the fourth Lord Fairfax, and of Frances Barwick, the heiress. Thomas, afterwards fifth Lord Fairfax, was eight years older than Robert, and Henry was six years older. But the youngest brother, Barwick Fairfax, was his own age, and there were two little girls at Toulston, Anne and Mary. Lady Fairfax had become somewhat severe and imperious in her old age, and the visits to Steeton were not looked forward to with so much pleasure, but it was a great treat to spend the day at Wighill with cousin Dorothy, the young wife of Robert Stapleton¹ who succeeded to Wighill in 1673. The Rector of Newton Kyme was the Rev. Thomas Clapham, and the family chaplain was Mr. Topham, who also did the duty at Bilbrough.

The parish of Newton consisted of the two manors of Toulston and Newton Kyme, being 1,370 acres of rich meadow land, woods, and willow garths, and low pastures along the river banks called 'Ings.' It is a few miles below Thorparch, on the right bank of the river Wharfe, which winds round two sides of it. The extensive willow garths gave rise to its old name of 'Newton in the Willows.' In Domesday Book Newton and Toulston are said to belong to Osbert de Arcubus, whose heiress married Adam de Bruce. In 1260 William de Kyme, and in 1316 Simon de Kyme, were lords of the manor, which they held of the Bruces.

¹ Dorothy, the wife of Robert Stapleton of Wighill, was another daughter of Henry, the fourth Lord Fairfax. She was mistress of Wighill from 1673 to 1675. Her second husband was Bennet Sherard, by whom she was mother of the second Earl of Harborough. She lived to the age of ninety, receiving a jointure of 200*l.* a year from the Wighill estate. After Dorothy went away the place was uninhabited, her husband's successor, Henry Stapleton, always living in London.

An old mass of masonry in the garden is still pointed out as the ruins of Kyme Castle. From the Kymes the manors passed, by marriages, through the Umfravilles and Burdons, to Sir Walter de Talboys, who held them in 1418, and in 1444 his son Walter died possessed of them. But Walter's son William was a Lancastrian, and suffered attainder in 1461, after the battle of Towton. It was in the year 1602 that Lord Burleigh conveyed the manor and estate of Newton Kyme to Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton (the first lord), and in 1609 Sir Thomas again conveyed them to Sir Philip Fairfax of Steeton, whose descendants possessed Newton Kyme for 275 years.¹

There was originally a small manor house close to the church at Newton Kyme, with a cheerful view of the rich meadows and the woods crowning Smaw's Hill on one side, and of the bright green 'Ings' stretching away to the river banks on the other. The little ivy-covered church, dedicated to St. Andrew, is of Perpendicular architecture with Early English sedilias in the chancel wall, and some parts possibly of the fourteenth century. Here there was once a monument to Henry Talboys, lord of the manor, and others in memory of members of the Barwick family, all since destroyed.²

Close beside the manor house stood the rectory, which was inhabited from 1630 to 1641 by the Rev. Henry Fairfax, younger son of the first Lord, and afterwards Rector of Bolton Percy. He was married to

¹ The Fairfaxes were descended from the Talboys and Kymes, ancient Lords of Newton Kyme. Sir William Fairfax's mother, Lady Frances Sheffield, was a daughter of the Earl of Mulgrave by Ursula, daughter of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt. Sir Robert's grandmother was Maud, daughter of Sir Robert Talboys of Newton Kyme, and so descended from the Burdons, Umfravilles, and Kymes.

² *Torre MSS.*

Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Cholmley of Roxby, and during all the time of the Civil War this worthy couple made their house at Newton Kyme a refuge and sanctuary to their friends and relations on both sides. Their son Brian Fairfax was born there on October 6, 1630; an antiquary, a poet, and a courtier, of whom more hereafter. After Henry Fairfax left Newton Kyme, the little rectory was occupied for many years by the Rev. Thomas Clapham, and afterwards by the Rev. Nicholas Rymer. One of the young ladies at Toulston, named Frances, disobliged her father, the fourth Lord Fairfax,¹ by marrying humble Mr. Rymer against his wishes, and establishing herself in the rectory.

In the quiet but most charming little manor house at Newton Kyme young Robert Fairfax passed the first years of his life. In the summer he made hay with his brother and sisters, in his mother's rich pasture fields; in the winter he found amusement on the frozen floods of the 'Ings.' Mr. Clapham taught him the first rudiments of learning, and his mother instilled into him the principles of religion. But he appears to have been of a roving disposition, and was no doubt fonder of the boat moored to a stake at the end of the garden than of his books at the rectory.

For some reason of this kind, backed probably by an ardent wish on his own part, his mother was induced to consent that her second son should go to sea. It

¹ Lord Fairfax thus wrote to his son Henry at Toulston:—'I would have you in my name to command my daughter Frances, as she ever expects my blessing or to see my face, to forbear conversing with Mr. Rymer. He talks to me of a contract, I expect she should renounce it so far as it be one, and never to proceed further to marry him. In this I expect as her father to be obeyed, and let me know her answer. Pray send her answer back by Mr. Banks immediately.'—*Fairfax Letters*, published at Albany (New York) by E. D. Neill, 1868.

was usual, in those days, for a sailor to learn his profession on board a merchant ship before seeking employment in the King's service, and this was the course adopted in the case of young Robert Fairfax. He was then a strong healthy lad of fifteen, tall for his age, and with fair waving hair. His mother had an aunt who was married to Sir Henry Cholmley, and Dorothy Cholmley had married Nicholas Bushell of Ruswarpe, near Whitby. It was this connection between the Cholmleys and the Bushells, who were shipowners and sea captains, which influenced the selection of Robert's first ship.

The Cholmley and Bushell connection goes back to the period of the Civil War. In 1642 Sir Hugh Cholmley held Scarborough Castle for the Parliament. But in the end of March 1643 he began to communicate secretly with the Queen, who had landed at Burlington, offering to surrender his trust to the Royalists. He accordingly received a commission to hold Scarborough for the King, but he remembered that he had some valuable property in Hull, which would be seized, as he thought, when his treason became known to Sir John Hotham, the Parliamentary governor. So he sent his cousin, Captain Brown Bushell, to Hull in a small ship, but Hotham, rendered doubly suspicious by his own intended treason, detained him for some time and then sent him empty away. Sir Hugh then informed the garrison of Scarborough that they were holding the place for the King, and once more set out for York, bent on some new intrigue. As soon as his back was turned, his cousins Brown and Henry Bushell again corrupted the garrison, regained the castle without bloodshed, and declared for the Parliament. Sir Hugh was expelled the House and impeached for high treason.

But notwithstanding all this complicated treason, the Bushells, once more, delivered up Scarborough to the Royalists, and reconciled themselves to Sir Hugh, who became governor for the King. Brown Bushell again went over to the Parliament, and commanded a ship in Admiral Batten's fleet. One change more. Bushell mutinied at the Downs in 1648, and handed over his ship to Charles Stuart. At last his end came. He was arrested and executed on March 29, 1651. From all this it appears that the Bushells were guided more by self-interest than by political principle. In this way they thrived. Robert Bushell became a considerable shipowner during the reign of Charles II., and lived in a good house at Ruswarpe, close to Whitby, in an agreeable situation on the banks of the Esk. His son, Captain Bushell, commanded a ship called the 'Mary,' trading from London to the Mediterranean; and he had cousins established in business at Limehouse.

It was arranged that young Robert Fairfax should be sent to London, be placed under the care of Captain Bushell, and embark for his first voyage on board the good ship 'Mary.' He made the journey to town on a galloway, attended by a lad from Steeton named George Stead. Mrs. Fairfax had a faithful friend in London, who had been her maid.

Good Mrs. Marser¹ was now a widow, living with her daughter over Mrs. Raper's apothecary shop, the sign of the 'Pestle and Mortar,' in Tothill Street, West-

¹ Or Mercer? Possibly the Mrs. Mercer of *Pepys' Diary*. Christopher Mercer was the gunner appointed to the 'Foresight' by Sir John Narborough in 1688. He had been seven years gunner's mate on board the 'James' galley under Shovel. He was very kind and civil to a volunteer on board the 'Foresight' named Samuel Jackson, who wrote in his praise to Pepys.—*Pepys' Life and Cor.* ii., p. 132. Mr. John Jackson was Pepys' sister's son, and his heir: probably a brother of this Samuel.

minster. Thither Robin and his servant wended their way; and there, with faithful Mrs. Marser and her daughter, the young sailor made his headquarters whenever he came home from sea. Mrs. Marser got him all things needful for his outfit, and at the age of fifteen Robert Fairfax commenced his sea life, in November 1681. Here is the first letter he wrote to his mother:—

November the 15th, 1681.

Yours I reseved, Deare Mother, with ye 2 chests and 10s. which you said my Lady Stapleton sent me. Pray give her many thanks for it. We are now gone down from London, and soe coming up in ye boat I do get this opportunity to writ to you. Wee ly for nothing but a fair wind, soe this will be ye last you can expect from me this voyage, soe I desire you not to truble yourself for me, and I hope by the blessing of God we shall meet when we come back again. Pray give my deare love to my brother and sisters and all yt ever ask for me. Pray pardon my shortness for I am in great haste, for I rest, dear Mother, your ever deutyfull son

RO. FAIRFAX.

The first voyage to the Mediterranean was performed without accident, and with a due acquisition of knowledge and experience. Of discomforts and hardships, though the usual share no doubt had to be borne, we hear nothing. Robert had become attached to his captain, and was unwilling to sail without him on the second voyage, as we learn from the next letter:—

Sept. ye 16, 1682.

Deare Mother,—I writ to you about ten days since and never had any answer, which makes me think that you have not reseved it. I have expected one ever since, and now wee are just ready to go away; but I hear that our master is not to goe with us, but that the mate is to goe master which I am very sorry for. My master's father hath writ for to hinder him. We go in great danger of ye Turks, for we have wars with the Tripolese.

If I goe without my master goe, it will be much against my will. I desire you to send an answer so soone as you get this, and I hop we may stay till I get it. Pray give my love to my deare brother and sisters, soe I rest your ever deutyfull son, dear Mother,

R. F.

I will take care of your shuger.

The answer came in due time, Captain Bushell did not leave after all, and the following letter is Robin's farewell before sailing on his second voyage:—

Sept. ye 24, 1682.

Deare Mother,—I reseed your letter with my Master's, which I sent to him. I never see him since, so that I doe not know what he saith to it. I do believe yt my Master will go with us for wee are now at Gravesend waiting, only upon him. I never see Mrs. Marser, because wee came, the day after, downe from Blackwall. When I see him I suppose I shall heare what hee saith and if he say I shall come down. I will write you word. I should be very glad to be one small time, if it were never soe little, to enjoy my friends, but it doth most rejoyce me when I heare yt you are all well, soe no more at present. But soe I rest, wishing you a mery Christmas for I doe suppose it will be that time before we come home agane. Your ever deutyfull sone

Age 16½.

RO. FAIRFAX.

The second voyage of Robert Fairfax was prolonged for three years, during which time his ship was trading from port to port in the Mediterranean. He visited the ports of Italy, Spain, and Barbary, and the service was not without danger from Algerine and Tripolese pirates. For many years, indeed ever since the expedition of Sir Robert Maunsell, the Barbary States had preyed upon English commerce, and, when called to account, had agreed to treaties which they had perfidiously broken as soon as our men-of-war were out of sight. In the days of the great Protector, his fleet under Admiral

Blake had forced a peace on the piratical States, and had maintained it; but, on the return of the Stuarts, their depredations were commenced anew. Between 1667 and 1672 three squadrons were successively sent to the Mediterranean under Sir J. Allen, Sir John Kempthorne, and Sir Edward Spragge. Kempthorne, in the 'Mary Rose,' engaged and disabled seven large Algerine corsairs. A print of this action was engraved by Hollar. Spragge burnt as many piratical frigates, and forced the Dey of Algiers to sign a treaty on December 9, 1670, but it was broken a few months after it was made.

In 1673 Captain Narborough, the same gallant officer who had commanded the expedition to the Pacific in 1670-71, was sent to the Mediterranean in command of the 'Fairfax' (60), and brought home a large fleet of merchant ships in safety, for which service he was knighted. In the following year he hoisted his flag on board the 'Henrietta,' and again proceeded to the Mediterranean to chastise the piratical outrages of the Dey of Tripoli. Sir John Narborough had on board his ship a young lad who had a glorious destiny before him. Cloudesley Shovel's parents were so poor that they were obliged to apprentice him to a shoemaker, and he was only ten when he first entered as a cabin-boy on board one of Narborough's ships. His first act of heroism was to swim through the line of the enemy's fire with despatches in his mouth. When Narborough came before Tripoli in 1674, young Shovel volunteered to destroy the enemy's ships under the guns of their forts. He went in command of the boats of the fleet, and his gallant enterprise was completely successful. The town of Tripoli was bombarded, and the Dey was forced, not only to sign a treaty, but to surrender the

culprits who had preyed upon British commerce. Similar success was obtained against the Algerines, and Sir John Narborough returned home in 1677. Cloudesley Shovel had been rewarded with the command of the 'Sapphire,' and he continued to do good service in protecting merchant ships, and in assisting at the defence of Tangiers against the Moors. In 1682 Admiral Herbert took command of the Mediterranean Station, and once more forced the Algerines to come to terms. In the following year Charles II. resolved to abandon Tangiers¹ as being too expensive, and Lord Dartmouth was sent out to destroy the fortifications and withdraw the garrison. Mr. Pepys, who had just been reappointed to his old place of Secretary to the Admiralty, also came out in Dartmouth's fleet, and was at Cadiz and Seville in March and April 1684, while Dartmouth and Herbert were engaged in the work of demolition at Tangiers.

These incessant operations against the piratical Barbary States show the real necessity that existed for protecting English merchantmen, and the dangers that surrounded the business of trading in the Mediterranean in those days. Trading voyages were made possible through the gallantry of our Narboroughs and Shovels, but they were not free from peril. The following two letters were written by young Fairfax, from the Mediterranean, during this time.

*These for His Honoured Mother Mrs. Katherine Fairfax at
Newton near Tadcaster, to be left with the Post Master of
Tadcaster, Yorkshire.*

February ye 27th, 1685.

My Dear Mother,—Wee being now arrived at Cales near ye Straits mouth, I am glad of this opportunity to let you know

¹ He had received it in 1662, as part of the dowry of Queen Catherine of Braganza.

that I am att present in good helth blessed be God, and I hope and wish with all my heart that these may find you all so. We heard strange news yesterday, which came in by a Fleming's ship, that our King was dead, which trubles me much if it be so. There will be, it is thought, a great distraction here in ye Straits as well as with you. When I doe knoe the certainty of this news I shall knoe whether it will bee convenient for me to come home or no. I wish I could knoe your minde. You may get Mrs. Marser to inquire what ships is coming to Lisbon or Cales, and direct yours for me, on board the ' Mary ' of London, Capt. Bushall Comr. My time is now short and the ship is for sailing, soe noe more, but my deare love to all, soe I rest dear Mother your deutyfull son,

Charles II.
died Feb. 6,
1685.

RO. FAX.

*These to my ever honored Friend Mrs. Marser, at Mrs. Raper's.
An Apothecary's att ye Morter and Pestle in Tuttle Street
Westminster, London.*

Mediterenian Sea, June ye 5th, 1685.

Honoured Friend Mrs. Marser,—Being now at sea, come from Algiers, and meeting with a Scotch ship bound for England, I would not miss this opportunity again to let you know I am at present in good health though not satisfied in mind because of my long absence. I would be very glad to hear from my Mother, that I might know her mind what she would advise me, to come home or stay out any longer. I must beg your pardon, being in great haste and ye ship for departing. Pray when you write to my Mother send this, which will be something of a satisfaction, though I could not write to her by reason of the directions. We are now bound for Cales, having at present a fair wind. I hope we shall be there in a short time, and there I do hope we shall get a freight home, for I am tired of this corn trade, it being hard voyages. I have 2 chests of Florence wines, 2 barrels of anchovies, which I bought at Leghorn and have had them a long time. I doe often wish them at home. I must perforce be shorter than I would be, and doe pray you to give my duty to my dear Mother and love to all with you and all I know, so I remain your ever obedient friend,

Age 19½.

R. FAX.

In December 1685 Robert Fairfax returned home, and thus completed his four years' apprenticeship in the merchant service. He was now anxious to obtain a commission in the navy, having reached his twentieth year. But he had been long away from England, and he intended first to enjoy the pleasures of home, and of society in London. On his arrival he received the news that his brother William had married a young lady named Susanna Coates, of no very exalted lineage, and had gone to live in Craven, his wife's country. William Fairfax was only twenty-one, and his marriage was a disagreeable surprise to the young sailor.

Dec. 16th, 1685.

Age 19
and
10 months.

Dear Mother,—I reseved my sisters with a great deal of satisfaction to my mind, for it is the first I have had from you this two years, though I have writ near twenty from the several places I have been at. I writ to you at my first arrival in England, but I hear it did miscarry. I had writ again before now but that I was in expectation of an answer. I am hartely glad to hear you are all well and spetially yourself in whom alone consists my happiness. So soon as ever I got here I went up to the other end of the town and enquired at every place where I thought I could knoe how you did: first at Mrs. Crabtrees, whom I knew to be a correspondent of my sisters and she gave me ample satisfaction of all, and told me the newes of my brother's¹ marriage which I very much wondered at, because I left him in a quite contrary mind to any such thing. But I hear it is by your consent, and therefore I conclude it is well. Tomorrow I hope our ship will be delivered but how long it will be before we get our pay I know not yet. I have been as good a husband as I possibly could, for we have had troublesome voyages since I see you, that has worn me much clothes, but blessed be God I have kept myself in whole clothes and clean during the voyage, and never wanted moneys in my pocket except it were very rare. I have so much pay due to me as I

¹ William Fairfax. He was baptized in Steeton Chapel by the Rev. Tobias Wickham, on November 21, 1664, being a year older than Robert. He was twenty-one when he married Miss Susanna Coates.

hope will put me a genteel sewt on my back, and moneys in my pocket to bring me down something like what I am born. I return you many thanks for your kind remembrance of me with the three guineas our Captain's father¹ writ about. But I did not reseve them of him. Our Captain has told me two or three times of the forty shillings I had of him for your sugar at Lisbon when we were imprisoned. You know I lost it all, but pray let me know whether you have returned it to his father or no, and if he can demand it I will pay it here. I was with all my friends the other day who did reseve me very kindly, and likewise my uncle Fairfax.² I am sorry you lost so much of your wine, for it was as good as any we brought out of ye Straits. I have hear on board a small present of raisins in the sun for you, with some anchovies and wother small things which I did desire to send by Friday carrier, but our ship is not yet cleared at the Custom House and I cannot as yet get it on shore, but when I send it I will write as to my coming down to you. As yet I cannot resolve you but you may be sure I will make it as short as I can, for this is a chargeable place, and besides I do much long to enjoy your company once more. I find here since I come strange alterations which I am sorry for, and especially the late deceased King which I know would be a great affliction to you all; but God Almighty is still the overruling power if we do but truly trust in him, which to do I beseech him to assist us by his grace, and to defend us from the hands of so many bloodthirsty people as are now in the nation. Pray give my love to my brother and sisters, and tell him when you see him I wish him much joy, for I suppose he lives not with you. I hear my sister's name was Coates, before, which is a name I never knew nor heard of, to be anything of a suitable family to match with, but I never was I confess a great searcher of pedigrees. I give my sister many thanks for her letter which I got yesterday. So I conclude, dear Mother, begging your blessing and prayers for me, which I doe believe I have not wanted in my absence, no more, dear Mother, your ever deutl son,

RO. FAIRFAX.

¹ Robert Bushell of Ruswarpe, near Whitby.

² General Thomas Fairfax, born 1633, died 1712. He was Governor of Limerick, and lived latterly at Dublin.

Robert Fairfax passed several happy months with his mother and sisters at Newton Kyme, visited his captain's family, the Bushells, at Whitby, and afterwards saw something of society in London, where he had many friends and relations. He also took an official part in the obsequies of his cousin's husband, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. On the death of his friend Charles II., the Duke had retired to his Yorkshire estates, and passed the time in fox hunting and hospitality. A chill, caught in the hunting field, brought on fever and ague, of which he died, after three days' illness, in the house of one of his tenants at Kirby Moorside. He was just about to be removed to his house at Bishophill, in York, and his friend Mr. Brian Fairfax had actually gone to prepare the rooms for him, when the news of his death arrived. It took place on April 16, 1687. Brian Fairfax said of him: 'His estate was his own. He had often lost it for the King, and might now be allowed to enjoy it himself. If he was *sui profusus* he never was *alieni appetens*. If he was extravagant in spending, he was just in paying his debts, and at his death charged them on his estate, leaving much more than enough to pay them.' In the following two letters Robert Fairfax gives some account of the Duke's funeral, at which he was one of the pall bearers.

Wallingford House, June 7th, 1687.

Aged 20.

My Dear Mother,—I am now, blessed be God, got to London. We got to Hatfield on Saturday night last, and laid there all night and the next day, and about nine at night we set forward for London according as order was sent, and got into Westminster where we carried the corpse to the Parliament House, I being one that carried, upstairs through the House of Lords into ye Prince's Chamber where he now lies in State, and is to be buried today. I came back againe through Tadcaster where

the corpse lay all night, so I came and laid at Newton once more, but could not be merry, wanting the happy enjoyment of your company.¹ I hear Wm. Allen is in town yett, and Sir Roger Strickland, but have not seen him yett. Pray, dear Mother, lett me hear all you doe when you reseave this, for it will be a great satisfaction to me now, being voyd of your company. It will be long ere you get this, being now in the west, but pray if you get it there give my hartly service to all, wishing dear love to brother and sisters. After this I will inform you farder, for I can know nothing yet. The tokens you sent I can but find one of them. Pray let me know the sum and I will give it my Aunt and Uncle Bladen. My cousins and Bess Slack, Mrs. Marsers and her daughter give their services to you, pray mine to all so I rest, dear Mother, him who is bound ever to be your deutyfull son,

One I have
of Mrs.
Crabtree,
I think ye
wother was
to Mrs.
Marsers.

RO. FAIRFAX.

Tuttle Street, June ye 18th, 1687.

My dear Mother,—Just before dinner I reseaved your letter, being very glad to hear you were got well home to your little house again, which of all places in England I think the most pleasant. I thank you, good Mother, for your letter which I reseaved sooner than I could expect. The Duke laid in greater state than the late King, and buried with great splendour. I was one of the mourners that went before the corpse in long cloaks, and have very good mourning given me: cloth of 18s. a yard, with sword belt, stockings, gloves, and cravat, with two white dimity waistcoats, which is better for me than crape. Allen is here yet, and I do believe I may have my old place again, but Sir Roger Strickland is gone to sea. Long since my relations here advised me to remain some small time and endeavour with them for better Qrs. I found your token that was directed to Mrs. Marsers the wother to Mrs. Crabtree, which they both have. The other day I resaved the 10 pound of Mr. Genter who is gone out of town. You may inform little Ann that I gave her son a letter with great charge to answer it, and

Aged 20.

¹ Mrs. Fairfax and her daughters appear to have been paying a visit to William Fairfax, in Craven.

told him all she bid me. He said he had writ, and would be sure to answer the last. Not long since I see him and he was well. I was yesterday morning at cousin T. Fairfax where we were merry and played for almost an hour at foys. As to my sister Frank's letter I do believe my Aunt did resave, for I had a box of fisk of my Aunt which I carried to Mrs. Crabtree to send her. I laid at cousin Bennets last night, who do both give their services to you, and are extraordinary kind to me. They are now at law with Mr. Henslow who is much rendered to have been very knavish to them. Sir Thomas Mauleverer¹ is not dead yet, but as I hear today rather better. Dear Mother I have a small present about to prepare for you, which I do not knoe whether it will be acceptable or noe. But you shall not knoe what it is till I direct you where to send for it. Pray my love to sister Frank with thanks to her for her kind token which remain in the same paper; also to the wother three. I pray remember me to all the naborhood rich and poor. Mrs. Marser and her daughter give their service to you. I called at Sir Watkinson Taylor's² and delivered your letter, but he did not present me. I delivered my uncle's letter to Mr. Peapes, whoe gives me small encouragement, because I have not served the King before, therefore now I see my Aunt Boynton's error in her advice, and noe more at present, dear Mother, but remaine your ever deutifull son,

ROBERT FAIRFAX.

Pray give my love to my brother and his wife, when next you write, and all there, with my duty to my grandmother. Service to Mr. Top³ and wife.

In the autumn of 1687 his relations, especially his uncle, Tom Fairfax, and his aunts Bladen and Boynton, were very urgent that Robert should resume active employment. He was to use all his interest to obtain a commission in the Royal Navy, but if this could not be

¹ Husband of his cousin, Miss Stapleton.

² His mother's cousin.

³ Mr. Topham, chaplain to his mother, and preaching minister of Bilbrough.

he must return to the merchant service. Uncle Tom gave him a letter of introduction to Mr. Samuel Pepys, the Secretary to the Navy, but he received small encouragement from that worthy, 'because he had not served the King before.' Probably the patronage was in the King's own hands, or was only entrusted to Roman Catholics on whom he could fully rely. Mr. Pepys' discouraging answer by no means caused Robert Fairfax to despond. He continued his efforts to get employed, and made all the friends he could. Meanwhile he was troubled by the gossiping propensities of his sisters, and the following letter is intended to warn those young ladies not to be so ready in carrying tales to their old grandmother at Steeton :—

November 6th, 1687.

My dear Mother,—I am very sorry to hear the news I hear tonight of my uncle Bladen.¹ He has had a letter from my grandmother, being an account of his being fled from hence and absconding himself in Appleton House; wherein she writes that John Rennison² was the first raiser of the report, and brought it to your house, and that two of my sisters, which of them it was I do not know, being at Steeton, told my grandmother and put her into a great fright. Now my uncle is very much displeased, though I told him my sisters could not possibly be so ungrateful, much more my sister Betty,³ who he hath been so kind to, and on that he hath spoke so kindly of her. It must be ignorance in them to relate such a thing, not knowing any certainty. Of it he saith he must use humanity to all people, and never expect any civility. Pray let my sisters know they must be cautious how they say anything at Steeton, for a hundred to one it is made twice as much of as it is. I love my sisters so much that I am concerned that they should be so

Age 21 and
9 months.

¹ Nathaniel Bladen, of Hemsworth, barrister-at-law, married Isabella Fairfax.

² A farmer at Bilbrough.

³ Elizabeth Fairfax was baptized at Steeton Chapel, February 21, 1670. She married Thomas Spencer, Esq., of Bramley Grange.

indiscreet as be seen in such a thing as this. They must be very cautious as times are now, for the world is apt to take ill before ill meant. Pray tell my sisters not to be apt to relate any idle story again that they hear, for them that use it never want truble. But I must say it is a faculty our country is much indowed with. Dear Mother I have received your letter, but am afraid you have not received mine with that locket for sister Frank.¹ Please let me know if you have since. Tomorrow I am going down about my navigation again. We are in hope some ships will go out . . . or otherwise I must do it again after the old way. Uncle Henslow has been in town this week, and being ill makes him stay longer than they expected. We were discoursing the business about him and my cousin Bennet, and he urged it as much as he could, that he cannot make him give pay any more than 700*l.*, to give that interest for ever. It is not yet agreed upon. Good Mrs. Marser and her daughter give their service to you. Mrs. Marser has been very ill in her tisik. Pray my love to my sisters and brother when you see him, and believe me to be ever, dear Mother, your deuitifull son,

RO. FAIRFAX.

London.

¹ Frances Fairfax was born at Newton Kyme in December 1653, buried there July 22, 1723. Her brother put up a marble tablet to her memory. She was aged seventy.

CHAPTER IV.

A VOLUNTEER IN THE NAVY OF JAMES II.

WHILE actively seeking for employment, Robert Fairfax devoted several months to the study of navigation and mathematics. Greenwich Observatory, founded in 1676, had only been in existence for twelve years, and Flamsteed, the first Astronomer-Royal, though hard at work, had not yet published his chart of the variation of the compass. The science of navigation was still in its infancy, but there was, nevertheless, much for a young sailor to learn. The best instructor, in those days, was considered to be Mr. John Colson, who lived in Marsh Yard, in Wapping, a little beyond the Hermitage Stairs. So to Wapping Robin Fairfax betook himself, and hired a lodging to be near his work. Mr. Colson had recently edited the third edition of the 'Mariner's Magazine stor'd with the Mathematical Arts,' a portly folio which had originally been published by Captain Samuel Sturmy of Bristol, in 1667. This work describes the instruments then in use, and contains chapters on the method of calculating by dead reckoning, and by observation of heavenly bodies, the principles of gunnery, dialling, use of the globes, seamanship, laws relating to shipping, and tables of logarithms. A thorough knowledge of its contents, combined with the verbal instruction of Mr. Colson, must have made Robert Fairfax as accom-

plished a navigator as his service afloat had taught him to be a practical sailor. He worked steadily at Wapping for several weeks; and his copy of Sturmy's 'Mariner's Magazine' was afterwards his constant companion at sea. It is still preserved by his descendants. He also possessed Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' and Richard Eden's 'Historie of Travayle,' a very rare old book. So that his mind was well stored with knowledge of the achievements of the great seamen of former ages.

But during this period of study the young sailor by no means denied himself all diversion. For instance, he went out fox hunting with King James II., and says that 'he wished many a time when he rode by him that he might have had the privilege to have uttered his mind to his Majesty.' It is interesting to find this anxiety for the poor King, who then only had a few more months to reign, stirring the heart of this youthful subject, whose relations were staunch Whigs. One wonders what the lad had it in his mind to say. No doubt he had heard James's proceedings discussed in no friendly spirit, and the end of his career predicted. He would gladly, perhaps, have warned him of what was in all men's mouths, yet kept from the King by his Popish courtiers. But this could not be, so he hunted the fox, drank the royal ale, and held his peace. The following letter refers to the studies at Wapping, and describes the day with King James's foxhounds.

Wapping, Dec. 6th, 1687.

Age 21 and
10 months.

My dear Mother,—I reseved yours the other day which was very acceptable to me, but am sorry to hear you have your cold you speak of, and of my sister Frank being ill, for I am certain I have so great a respect for you and yours that it would at any time be a great truble to me to hear that any of you should be ill. Colds is a thing that few or none iscapes this year, it is such uncertain weather and unhelthfull. I am sorry for poor

Thea's¹ great loss. I wish it laid in my power to serve any of them. I am sure my love is so great for them all that I should not be backward. My uncle Bladen is for the country now, against Christmas. I would have my sister Betty² to meet him so soon as she hears of him, for I do assure you he has a kindness for her. He told me that he had ordered my cousin Jackson,³ when he was in the country, to bring a young gentleman acquainted with her, if it cost him a great deal of moneys he would be at the charge of it. He is a gentleman of a pretty estate, and I do believe he will do what he can in it when he comes down. I wish they had all as good husbands as I could wish them, and that they were settled in this trublesum world. I do not slip any opportunity for my own advantage, but am daily endeavouring to do what I can in it. But I do assure you this is a very hard world to get a living in. My uncle Fairfax writ a letter to my Aunt Bladen, most of it signifying how much he and my Aunt Boynton was concerned that I had got no employ. I writ to him to give him thanks, and let him understand my condition. I just now come to my lodgings from my study, which I do think to sit close at this week, and one or two more. It is a difficult study but very necessary for my calling. I had the honour, on Thursday last, to hunt with the King, which was a great diversion to me. The Duchess of Buckingham's Gentleman of Horse⁴ lent me a horse. I wished many a time, when I rode by him, that I might but have had the privilege to have uttered my mind to him. We hunted the fox, and the King rides very hard as any one almost in the field. He got two falls, but received no harm. After hunting, the King and his nobles drink a cup of wine and eat a piece of bread under any old hedge, and after the King I assure you I had the honour to do the same out of his gilt cups. After that we go to the house where the King takes coach, and eat some

¹ His youngest sister Alathea, born in 1672, and then aged fifteen. She was buried at Newton Kyme in 1744, aged seventy-two.

² His sister Elizabeth, baptized at Steeton Chapel on February 21, 1670. Then aged seventeen. She married Thomas Spencer, Esq., of Attercliffe, near Sheffield, and Bramley Grange, near Rotherham, and had a son William. Her husband died in 1703.

³ Rev. Christopher Jackson, rector of St. Crux, at York.

⁴ Mr. Kniveton.

hot soft beef and burnt ale. The place is about 5 or 6 miles out of town. I am loath to put you to the charge of a shirt or two, for my staying longer on shore than I did expect hath worn them pretty near and having so few, ye last you sent me was ¹

Young Robert's persevering attempts to make friends at Court at last enabled him to secure a position in the Royal Navy. In January 1688 he rode, with some friends, as far as Highgate, to meet his kinsman, Lord Fairfax of Gilling, and escort him into London. His object is frankly stated to his mother, 'to make as many friends as he can.' The great man who most effectually befriended him was his distant kinsman, the venerable Lord Bellasis of Worlaby.² The old warrior called him cousin, and asked kindly after his mother. Above all he gave him a letter of introduction to Sir Roger Strickland, who commanded the fleet. This Lord Bellasis was the Jack Bellasis mentioned in one of Sir William Fairfax's letters to his wife.³ He fought steadily on the Royalist side down to the final surrender of Newark. At the Restoration he was made Governor of Tangiers, and Captain of the King's Guard of Gentlemen Pensioners. On the accession of James II. he became a Lord of the Treasury, so that he was a person of importance, and well able to befriend a young kinsman.

Sir Roger Strickland, to whom Robert Fairfax was thus opportunely introduced, was a Roman Catholic, and came of the old Sizergh stock. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant for the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1688. Entering the navy at the Restoration, Strickland served throughout the Dutch war, and was captain of the

¹ The rest torn off.

² Lord Bellasis was a great grandson of Ursula Fairfax.

³ See p. 15.

'Plymouth' in the battle of Solebay, retaking the 'Hervey,' a very gallant piece of work, for which he was knighted at the peace. In 1678, in command of the 'Mary,' he captured a large Algerine corsair of forty guns. He was now Rear-Admiral of England, flying a jack at the mizen, and high in the favour of James II., who had appointed him to command the fleet. Young Fairfax, armed with the letter from Lord Bellasis, made a favourable impression on the Admiral, and he was appointed a volunteer on board the flagship, with a good prospect of soon obtaining a commission. Thus he entered the Royal Navy in January 1688.

January 26th, 1688.

My dear Mother,—I reserved yours, being much to my satisfaction not only to hear of your own health, but also to rejoice with my Brother and his little female,¹ which I suppose he is pleased at, though it be somewhat to the contrary of his expectations. I could wish myself to be with him for one week, to see the great banquetts and congratulations the Craven gentry would present one withal, at the birth of such a bouncing girl as you give me an account of. Last night my uncle Bladen, and cousin Charles Fairfax,² and Mr. Knyveton, Gentleman of Horse to the late Duke of Buckingham, and myself went out towards Highgate to meet my Lord Fairfax of Gilling,³ where I also saw Sir Wattle Taylor.⁴ We attended them as far as the Black Swan and so parted. I hold it very convenient for me to make all the

Age 22.

¹ William Fairfax had three daughters, Frances, Susanna, and Anne, but they all died young. He died in July 1694.

² Son of Colonel Charles Fairfax, a younger son of the first Lord Fairfax. This Charles was born at Menston in 1645, and was a naval officer. He served in the great battle with the Dutch on June 3, 1665, under Lawson, and afterwards in the Mediterranean. The third Lord left him some land at Clifford. He died in 1694, at the house of his sister, Mrs. Wormley, at Riccall.

³ Charles, fifth Viscount Fairfax of Gilling, died in 1711. He was a first cousin to Robert's mother.

⁴ Sir Watkinson Taylor married Margaret, daughter of the first Viscount Fairfax.

interest of any friend I can. He took our attendance very kindly, and told me he hoped to see me when we might have a little more time. I have several good friends now in order to my preferment, about the court. I was the other day with my Lord Bellasis to desire his letter, who is extraordinary kind, and gave me it to Sir Roger Strickland, and it did me a great favor, he being a man now in so much request. I am very often with Sir Roger, and met him the other night in the Queen's drawing room. He told me I might go on board when I pleased, but he is every day in expectation of either sailing orders or another ship, which makes me stay to see what he concludes upon.

Now, dear Mother, I am sorry to be the messenger of this news to you, but must beg of you not to be afflicted therewith. My Aunt Boynton¹ died the 16th of this month and Mrs. Marser is so ill that she could not write, but when she is better she desires to give a larger account. This was a thing which could not but be expected, therefore dear Mother let it not trouble you. I will write to my Lord Fairfax according to your advice. When I was with Lord Bellasis I had a great deal of discourse with him, and he calls me cousin and asked kindly of you. I have paid Mrs. Raper the 4th. I doe desire to present you shortly with the coco nut. My cousin Henslow do live in the country with her father. This term comes on the business between cousin Bennet and him. As it proceeds you shall have a further account. Pray give my love to sister Frank and the rest, and to brother when you write, for they are all much loved dear Mother by your deutyfull son,

RO. FAIRFAX.

Good night, dear Mother, I am going to supper with Uncle Bladen.

If you please you may send me two or three necks of fine cloth, to come over my shirt collar. About a foot deep they are used.

¹ Isabel Stapleton, his mother's sister, married Colonel Matthew Boynton, a younger son of Sir Matthew Boynton, who had married Isabel's mother as his second wife. Colonel Boynton was slain at Wigan in 1651. They had two daughters, Katherine, wife of the Earl of Tyrconnell, and Isabella, wife of the Earl of Rosecommon. The latter died in 1721. There is a portrait of 'Aunt Boynton' with her sister-in-law, Miss Boynton, among the Fairfax family pictures.

Downs, March ye 31st, 1688.

My dear Mother,—I writ to you not very long since but am Age 22.
not very certain whether you received it. I have got one from
you which was and ever must be a great rejoicing to me to hear
of your health and all ye rest with you. I hear by my Aunt
Bladen that my sister is come to London. I am sore that she
should be one day there and I should not see her. We lie here
still in a constant expectation of a remove into another ship, but
ye time is very uncertain. If I see we continue here I do desire
to ask Sir Roger leave to goe to London. He is a very worthy
gentleman and very kinde to me, and makes me often dine with
him, so that when we get the other ship I hope to be settled in
a very good way. Lieutenant Wickham¹ is to goe with us in
ye next ship. I thank God I carry myself so amongst all ye
officers that I gain most of their good words. Now, dear Mother,
I can make you no requital for all your charges and so many
kindnesses but give you my real love and duty with a 1000
thanks. I hope you have got your little present I sent you by
something of Mrs. Crabtree's. We have had much wind and
bad weather here this month, which it is commonly attended
with in most parts of the world both by sea and land, but I hope
you will have a fine seasonable spring. I could wish myself
with you in it, with all my heart, for I do think there is no place
in the world so pleasant as your soil in the spring time. I writ
to my Lady to Steeton but know not ²
she got it or not, wherein I returned t
and Mrs. Topham pray when you have
lett them know it; I cannot tell you a
being I am so far from London but
had a letter yt Sir Tho Slingsby ³ is

¹ Henry Wickham was the son of Dr. Tobias Wickham, the Dean of York and rector of Bolton Percy, who christened Robert Fairfax and his brother William. Henry Wickham was born in 1665, was page to James II., and became a lieutenant in the navy, but he was dismissed by William III. and imprisoned for some time. He had property at Heslington, near York, and died in 1735; buried in York Minster. His son Henry was Rector of Guiseley, and his descendants are Wm. Wickham of Binsted Wyck, in Hamphshire, and Wm. W. Wickham, of Chesnut Grove, in Yorkshire.

² The paper torn.

³ Son of the ill-fated Sir Henry Slingsby. Sir Thomas, the second Baronet, of Scriven, near Knaresborough, was M.P. for Scarborough in 1685, and Constable of Scarborough Castle, 1670.

when you see my brother or write to
 Dear Love to him for I do declare I do
 all my heart and do wish him all ye
 can be in ye world : my love to your
 forgetting all ye naburhud
 uncle has met ear now she
 young ladys yt I have ever since
 for them yt I fears
 now dr Mother
 for in so doing you
 ye hart of

In April 1688 the young volunteer got leave of absence for a short time because his sister Frank had come to town, and the two passed a few happy days together in Mrs. Marsers's lodgings, over the sign of the 'Pestle and Mortar,' in Tothill Street, Westminster.

Westminster, April 14th, 1688.

My dear Mother,—I received your letter last night with the news of my Lord's death,¹ which is a thing we long have expected to hear, for I think it strange being so infirm as he was said to be, could hold out so long. Truly he was a man whose memory must ever be esteemed by me. I am now with my sister whose company is very exceptable to me. I was very uneasy, when I heard she was in town, not to be with her. I do believe I may stay in town about a fortnight longer or little more. We do still expect to have the other ship, so that I hope Sir Roger may come up before I return down. I am glad my Grandmother got my letter and you yours, for I writ them from Deal. I am sorry to hear you have so backward a spring. I now send you your nut, but am vexed yt it is done so badly and

¹ Henry, fourth Lord Fairfax, died in April 1688, aged fifty-seven. He succeeded his cousin, the great general, in November 1671. The funeral was on April 16 at Denton. Thoresby, the antiquary, was present and said, 'There was the greatest appearance of the nobility and gentry that ever I had seen. The poor wept abundantly, a good evidence of his charity. I waited upon the Lord Thomas, his son, and his uncle, Brian Fairfax, a gentleman of great accomplishments and reading.'—*Diary* i., p. 187.

contrary to my directions, but being out of town I hope you will except the will for the deed. I give you my hearty thanks for my shirts and the cheese which I hear is come to town. I am loth to be so chargeable to you, for I know how it is with you, but God willing after some time in the King's service I hope I shall have better preferment. I do suppose my brother is in concern for his girl's being ill, to satisfy him with them of that sex I should not care how many of them live, but I do not at all desire that we should have an heir out of that family. I have acquainted my sister with that you desire. She gives you her duty and I hope she will find good by Dr. Lister.¹ She tells me Thea is a very good girl, and that she could not have left you with any satisfaction but that Thea is so careful of you. I assure you, dear Mother, I am very glad to hear it, and ever must love her the better for it. I am certain if they consider it, none of us all can ever requite what you have already done for us. Pray give my love to my sisters, and many thanks for their kind letters. Mrs. Betty is so complaisant that I shall never be able to answer it. They neither of them desire an answer but Mrs. Bett, so I now write to her. Mrs. Marser and her daughter give their service to you, so Dear Mother I cannot at present do any more but my love to my brother and the young Lord² when you have opportunity with all that ask of me, so I remain your ever dutyfull son,

RO. FAIRFAX.

We have had your oysters and drunk all your healths with my cousin Harys, to whom pray give my humble service. I take it extreme kind.

¹ Dr. Martin Lister was a second cousin of Sir Martin Lister, who married Catherine Fairfax. Born in 1638, he was of St. John's College, Cambridge. He practised as a physician in York from 1670 to 1683, when he came to London. M.D. of Oxford 1683. He was physician in ordinary to Queen Anne and 'Primarius Medicus.' He died in 1712. Dr. Martin Lister was an eminent naturalist. By his wife Anne, daughter of Thomas Parkinson, of Carlton, in Craven, he had several children, but there are no descendants.

Dr. Lister published his *Journey to Paris*, 1698.

² Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, son of Henry, fourth Lord, by Frances, heiress of Sir R. Barwick of Toulston. He was born at Bolton Percy on May 7, 1654. Colonel of Horse Guards 1688; Brigadier-General 1701; M.P. for Yorkshire 1688 to 1707. Died 1710, aged fifty-six.

Dear Mother,—My brother and self sat talking of you and the rest at home till between twelve and one last night, after he got your letter. We were both glad to find you all in so good health, which I pray God continue. My brother and I have great satisfaction in being together, and I shall be very glad if he may not be removed till I leave London, which I fear will not be till hot weather, for the Doctor would see if it may not make me worse again. He has just now gone out of the room, found me writing this to you, and brought with him his only son who is really a very fine boy. My cousin Bennet's husband sat a good while with me last night. He seems a good obliging sort of man. George Stead you will please to tell his mother was with me last night. I believe he is very well to live in this town, looks well and has handsome clothes. He was with me an hour or two. I made him eat and drink something, and he will write to his mother next week. He tells me he and she agreed he should write but once a quarter, because letters are so chargeable. My brother and I both hope you will pull down those two outhouses that the poor people died out of, then let you for a stable being just in the high way to your house. It will be very ugly we think. Mrs. Andrews hath spent best part of a day with me, and appeared so transported to see me as I have not seen the like this great while. She looks pretty well and in good clothes, told me all the story of her life since we parted. I see my cousin Mary Oldburgh. She is well and will be with me this Easter week. I think she is like my Lady Mauleverer.¹ She tells me she is flourishing. I have sent you your bill. I shall be glad if you like your things. Black laced tippets are yet much worn, only very small short ends, to set like a little hancercher. Plain muslin lining is all they wear with silk clothes, either coloured or black, so you may wear it very well with yours, and black and gold knots and fittings be very fashionable. I have not seen anything but musling with all the fine colored clothes since I came to Town. I have room for no more. Your obedient daughter,

FR. FAIRFAX.

¹ Catherine, daughter of Sir Miles Stapleton, and niece of Mrs. Fairfax, married Sir T. Mauleverer.

Thames Mouth, May 31st, 1688.

Age 22.

My dear Mother,—I humbly beg your pardon that I have so long delayed writing to you, but the reason was I did desire to give you the full account of the proceedings of our voyage. We have had three several ships defined us, besides this we are now in, and none of them has taken effect. For now the purpose of the Queen Dowager's voyage is over for this year, whom we were to have carried, but yet we do expect to have another ship ere long, for Sir Roger is sent for to London by the King, so we do expect shortly to hear the event of it. I am very sorry I cannot be with my sister, being so near me, and I am afraid she will be gone before I can get to town, though I do believe it will not be long first. Dear Mother I should be mighty happy to have if it were ever so little of your company, but cannot tell how to expect it before I have been some voyage. However I still trust to the providence of the good God, who has by his mercy hitherto preserved me, will so order it that I shall once more have the happiness of being with you in your little pleasant seat. I am sure nothing in this world can make me more happy than to be with so kind a mother as I must ever acknowledge you have been to me. I am sensible, dear Mother, you have been always diligent in providing both for my body and soul, and have discharged your duty in giving me good instruction, which I pray God give me his grace to follow, and I do not doubt to be happy both here and in the world to come with you. I cannot tell what to add more at present, but will write more at large how affairs goe with me in my next. I hope you will be pleased to pardon any fault you find in my negligence, and be so kind as let me know it. Now pray my love to my dear brother and sisters, not forgetting any that ask of me, so dear Mother I rest, begging your blessing and prayers for him who must ever be your dewtyfull son,

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

My love to my good friend Aunt Stapleton.

The fleet, under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, had been assembled in the Thames on account of the threatening preparations of the Prince of Orange in Holland. His intentions were not avowed, but it was

becoming more and more apparent that he was meditating a descent on the English coast. The instructions to Sir Roger Strickland, dated August 22, 1688, which were signed by the King and countersigned by Mr. Pepys, show that there was no longer any doubt of the destination of the Dutch fleet. The Admiral was directed to keep two ships cruising off Orford-ness, two others between the Goodwin and Calais, to bring the earliest news of the course taken by the Dutch, and some 'Barking smacks' were ordered to be in attendance on the scouting ships that intelligence might be sent with the greatest possible rapidity. On the receipt of certain news that the hostile armament was at sea, the English fleet was to get under weigh and follow closely, commencing hostilities as soon as any descent was attempted on the English coast. At that time, Sir Roger Strickland's squadron consisted of twenty-six ships, and thirty-five more were under orders to be fitted out and to join him with all possible speed.

But Sir Roger found that the ships were very badly manned, while the great majority of the officers held popular opinions, and were loyal to their country rather than to their King. The complement of men was partially made up by drafts of soldiers, and a council of officers advised that the fleet should be anchored at the Gunfleet. King James at once saw that such a position was not at all adapted for his object, while in an easterly wind it would render his fleet useless. He, therefore, rejected the advice, and, on August 27, ordered the Admiral to proceed to the Downs, continuing under sail all day, and anchoring at night.¹

¹ These orders were determined upon in a consultation held on the previous day in the King's closet at Windsor Castle; at which James II. presided. The following experts, who had been summoned from London, were his advisers on this occasion—Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Secretary Pepys,

Sir Roger Strickland consequently took the fleet to the Downs, whence Robert Fairfax wrote the following letter to his mother from on board the flagship 'Mary,' a third-rate of 60 guns, with a complement of 365 men.

Downes, August 30th, 1688.¹

My dear Mother,—I received yours ye 26th of this instaut, which was a pleasure to me, as it always is, to know how affairs goes with you all, and I give you many thanks for letting me know so many particulars. I am glad you have got my sister home again. I do not question but she, with the rest of them, will be comfort to you, duly considering all trubles you have undergone for us all. I am certain I am particularly satisfied in it. We are now in the Downes, and do expect to sail a little way today or tomorrow. Now there is discourse of wars with Holland, but we have no certainty of it yet. I write you this to let you know beforehand, lest some sudden report might surprise you. If you do hear that we fight them, pray let me beg of you not to be too much concerned, for we must expect these things to afflict us while we are in this troublesome world, and no doubt but the Almighty Providence will order all things for the best, for the good of our soules either in life or death. All that I desire is the peace of my soule with God, and I fear not what the enemy can do unto me. Now, dear Mother, I fear this may make you sad, but do not think that we are yet going to war, for be sure so soon as such a thing happens I will take an opportunity to let you know of it. We have a fine fleet here and live well, if we have but the virtue of true content. About a week ago I writ to my Lord of Gilling² and desired him to move it to Sir Roger to get me a commission now that more ships are fitting out. I have the happiness of hearing from good Mrs. Marser who is very kind in sending me all your letters. You tell me of your neighbours wishing me in your

Sir John Berry, three Elder Brothers of the Trinity House, namely, Captains Atkinson, Mudd, and Rutter, and Captain John Clements.

¹ The King's instructions to Strickland, signed by Pepys, are dated August 22, 1688.—*Burchett*, p. 408.

² Viscount Fairfax of Gilling, his cousin.

field, and I am certain I could as heartily wish myself with you, for nothing could be more satisfactory to me than that, being so great an admirer of the country as I am. If I was with you I should be as forward for the harvest work as ever I was, I so much delight in it. I am obliged to my brother for his kindness in inquiring of me. I am certain there is no love lost by me, for I do dearly affect him and all my sisters. I wish I were to partake of his pleasure he is to have in sitting in your grounds, but I hope in God to come home one of these days with a badge of my calling, being a boat, and carry you upon the water. Now at present I know not what to add more, but begin your prayers to the Almighty God for me. I remain, wishing you all much health and happiness, dear Mother, your ever dutifull son,

ROBERT FAIRFAX.

Pray my love to dear brother and sisters, and tell sister Frank I am glad she got well home, and so will I hope the air of your place keep her.

The fleet remained at the Downs for about a week, but when, on September 2, Sir Roger had news that the Dutch, with three Admirals' flags and their topsails loose upon the windward tide, were off Goree, the King ordered him to retire to the Nore. The Admiral was so zealous a Papist that he quite outstripped his master, and his proceedings, especially in having priests on board to say mass, threatened to cause a serious mutiny. Even James was struck by the fatuous imprudence of such conduct at such a time, and in the beginning of October Sir Roger Strickland was superseded. He followed James into exile, and we hear of him no more.

Strickland was succeeded, as Admiral of the Fleet, by Lord Dartmouth,¹ who received his instructions on

¹ George Legge, first Lord Dartmouth, went to sea at the age of seventeen, under the care of Sir Edward Spragge. He commanded the

October 1, 1688, and hoisted his flag on board the 'Resolution.' He was ordered to destroy and disable the Dutch ships wherever he should find them, and he had large discretionary powers. Many of the English ships were still being fitted out at the various ports. When all were assembled, the fleet would have consisted of sixty-one vessels, of which thirty-eight were line-of-battle ships. Lord Dartmouth called a council of war, and he then found that the great majority of the captains were in favour of remaining at the Nore. Sir William Jennings and a few others, who were faithful to King James, wanted to go over to the coast of Holland and meet the enemy's fleet. The majority prevailed, and James's fate was sealed. The success of the Revolution was due to the patriotic neutrality of the Navy. The Dutch fleet, commanded by the English Admiral Herbert, with the Prince of Orange on board, passed the Nore, where the British ships were lying with their topmasts struck and topsail yards on deck. William landed in Torbay, with 14,352 men, on November 5, 1688.

The English fleet then got under weigh, and sighted the Dutch in Torbay, a few days afterwards. After giving their future allies an opportunity of seeing what their strength would have enabled them to do if they had seen fit to treat the Dutch as enemies, the ships returned to the Downs, where Sir William Jennings and

'Pembroke' in 1667, the 'Fairfax' in 1671, and the 'Royal Catherine' in 1672. In the Dutch wars he was wounded. In 1673 he was made Governor of Portsmouth, in 1677 Master of the Ordnance, and in 1682 he was created Lord Dartmouth. In that year he was sent out in command of the English fleet to demolish the fortifications of Tangiers and withdraw the garrison. James II. made him Constable of the Tower. William III. deprived him of all his employments, and he was committed to the Tower, where he died in 1691, aged forty-three. His son was created Earl of Dartmouth in 1710.

other Popish officers were dismissed. The rest drew up and submitted a loyal address to William and Mary. Soon afterwards the fleet was dispersed to the various yards, some of the ships to be laid up, others to be cleaned and refitted.

CHAPTER V.

THE NAVY OF THE REVOLUTION.

THE Governments of the Commonwealth and of the Protector Oliver raised the navy of England to a high state of efficiency, and their Admirals, Blake, Montagu, Deane, and Lawson, caused the British flag to be respected in every sea. The men of the school of Blake sustained the honour of their country even through the corrupt and degraded period of the restored Stuarts, and they were seconded by the administrative ability of Pepys. It seems desirable to review the condition of the naval service in its various branches at the period of the Revolution, before we turn our attention to the stirring events at sea with which Robert Fairfax was concerned during the wars of William III. and of Queen Anne.

Down to the time of Henry VIII. there was no Royal Navy, but only a sea militia, consisting primarily of the ships which the Cinque Ports were bound to furnish at forty days' notice. Henry constituted an Admiralty and a Navy Board, and founded the Trinity House on Deptford Strand. He also established dockyards at Portsmouth, Deptford, Woolwich, and Chatham. The head of the navy was the Lord High Admiral, with naval advisers and a secretary. This office was placed in commission for the first time in 1628, and since then

it has always been performed by Lords Commissioners, except from 1660 to 1673, when James Duke of York was Lord High Admiral; from 1684 to 1688, when the office was personally executed by the Sovereigns; from 1702 to 1708, when Prince George of Denmark was Lord High Admiral, and afterwards the Earl of Pembroke for a year; and in 1827, when the experiment was tried for the last time, and failed, under the Duke of Clarence. The Admiralty Office was at Whitehall Palace from 1660 to 1674, when Derby House, in Canon Row, was bought. There it remained until 1684, when the office was in Mr. Pepys' house in York Buildings, until his dismissal at the Revolution. From 1689 to 1695 it was in a house in Duke Street, when it was moved to Wallingford House, on the site of the present Admiralty. The existing building was completed in 1725.

While the Admiralty superintended and controlled all the different departments, and made all promotions and appointments, the civil branches were entrusted to Commissioners known collectively as the Navy Board, whose offices were originally on Tower Hill, and afterwards in Crutched Friars, Seething Lane.¹ The Board consisted of a Treasurer, whose duty it was to receive the sums granted for the navy from the Treasury, and to pay all naval charges by warrant from the principal officers. The Comptroller had the duty of controlling all payments of wages, of knowing the market rates of stores, and of examining and auditing accounts. The Surveyor had to know the state of all stores, see deficiencies supplied, survey the hulls and rigging of ships, and estimate the cost of repairs. The duty of the Clerk of the Acts was to record all contracts, bills, warrants, and other business transacted in the various

¹ In 1780 they moved to Somerset House.

departments. Two other Commissioners had control over the accounts of the victuallers and storekeepers, and two resided at Portsmouth and Chatham, and had charge of the dockyards. The salary of the Treasurer was 2,000*l.*, and of the other Commissioners 500*l.* a year, and they held their offices by patent under the Great Seal.¹ There were six dockyards, at Chatham, Deptford, Woolwich, Portsmouth, Sheerness, and Plymouth, where the ships were laid up, and which were fitted with docks, wharves, and storehouses for cables, rigging, blocks, and spars. There was also a small Government yard at Harwich.

Mr. Pepys assures us that when he ceased to be Secretary of the Admiralty in 1679, the navy fell into a most deplorable state of inefficiency, and that this condition of affairs continued until he was reinstated in 1684. His statement is that in 1678 the navy consisted of eighty-three ships of all rates, of which seventy-six were in commission, while the rest were in good repair, and that thirty 'capital' ships were being built. When he returned to office in 1684 there were only twenty four ships in commission, the cost of repairing the rest was estimated at 120,000*l.*, and the stores in hand were not worth 3,000*l.* The thirty ships that were on the stocks in 1679 had been allowed to rot, and the rotten places were so patched with planks and canvas that they resembled a fleet coming into harbour after a battle. The holds were never aired or cleaned, the rain sank through the seams in the absence of scuppers, the ports had no tackles and were never opened, and Mr. Pepys himself gathered toadstools on board the ships, the size of his fist. When timbers were found to be rotten, they were merely patched with a bit of plank or canvas

¹ The total cost of the civil branch of the navy was then 21,550*l.*

over them. Yet during the whole five years, from 1679 to 1684, the Navy Board had annually received 400,000*l.* Charles II. did little or nothing to remedy this state of affairs, and the decay of the navy was allowed to grow until his death.

On the accession of James II., who personally assumed the office of Lord High Admiral, Mr. Pepys submitted a 'proposition.' He reported that, with economy and good management, 400,000*l.* a year would defray all ordinary charges of the navy, and keep ships repaired and docked at the rate of one third every year. He estimated the cost of extraordinary repairs at 220,000*l.*, and promised that all should be completed by 1688. A new Navy Board was appointed by James II. on April 17, 1686, under whose auspices Mr. Pepys' proposition was to be carried out. The former Treasurer, Lord Falkland, retained his very lucrative place. The other Commissioners were Sir Anthony Deane, Sir John Berry, Mr. Hewer, Mr. St. Michel, Sir John Narborough,¹ and Mr. Phineas Pett, the shipbuilder.

The new Navy Board proceeded to inquire into the sources of the evil they had to contend with. At first they hoped to secure the soundness of the ships by the removal of a few timbers, but worse defects were discovered as the work proceeded. It had long been necessary to contract for oak timber at Dantzig, Riga,

¹ Sir John Narborough, after doing good service on the Navy Board, hoisted his flag on board the 'Foresight' in command of a small squadron cruising in the channel, in the spring of 1688. Weighing anchor one morning the small bower cable broke. It was blowing hard, and his officers tried to dissuade him from trying to recover the anchor. But he refused to leave it behind. He worked to windward all day, got up to the buoy, and recovered the anchor at 6 P.M. At 3 A.M. next morning, May 26, he died, and was buried at sea. His widow married Sir Cloudesley Shovel, one of his most trusty officers in his Mediterranean service against the Barbary States; and his two sons thus found an affectionate stepfather.

sixth-rates, twenty fire-ships, and nine yachts and ketches, manned by 12,303 men. This was the fleet with which the Government of William and Mary began the long war with France.

A first-rate man-of-war in the time of William and Mary was a ship of 1,700 tons, 146 feet long by $47\frac{1}{2}$ feet extreme beam, and a draught of 22 feet. Such a ship was the 'Britannia,' built at Chatham by Sir Phineas Pett, in the year 1682. Her armament consisted of twenty-eight 78-pounders, twenty-six 51-pounders, twenty-eight 38-pounders, fourteen 9-pounders or sakers, and four 16-pounders, a total of 100 guns, with a complement of 710 men. This was the largest ship in the navy. The cost of building her was 21,000*l.*, or, including rigging and equipment, 33,390*l.* A second-rate, such as the 'Kent,' was 124 feet by 40 feet, with a draught of 18 feet, and 1,464 tons. She carried twenty-six 63-pounders, twenty-six 41-pounders, twenty-six 20-pounders, and ten sakers. The cost of turning out a second-rate was about 25,000*l.* A third-rate was 120 feet long by 36 feet, and 1,000 tons; a fourth-rate 105 feet long by 32 feet, and 532 tons. A third-rate cost 15,000*l.*, and a fourth-rate 9,000*l.* The long boats were 36, pinnaces 33, and skiffs 27 feet long.

Sails were made of hammacoes, Vittery, Ipswich, Suffolk noyalls, and Hollands duck. The square sails consisted of courses, topsails, topgallant sails on each mast, steering sails on the fore and main, and spritsail and sprit-topsail on the sprit mast stepped on the bowsprit cap. Gibs were not yet invented, but there were staysails and topmast staysails. Cables were each 100 fathoms long of twenty-one inch hemp, and the anchors for a first-rate were 430, 150, and 74 lbs., of a second-

rate 315, 110, and 72 lbs., and of a third-rate 173, 96, and 68 lbs. in weight.

The officers and sailors who manned these old-fashioned wooden walls of England upheld the honour and greatness of their country as well and as faithfully as in any generation before or since. The men were more worthy of high praise even than the officers. The battles of those days were won by sheer hard fighting and pluck, in which the officers generally, but not always, took the lead. The corruption which had been bred in our social system by the dissolute Court of the restored Stuarts had found its way into the navy. The Montagus, Lawsons, and Spragges, whose deeds are among the brightest glories of our naval annals, were bred under the rule of the Commonwealth. But another generation had now arisen, a generation which produced worthy successors of Montagu and Blake in no small number, but which also saw creatures of a corrupt and vicious Court placed in high commands. Not a few of the ships were subjected to the command of hangers-on of great courtiers, some cruel and brutal, others self-seeking and dishonest. These captains, on all possible occasions, converted the service of the ships to their own use, totally neglecting all public ends. One of the greatest abuses was the habit of taking bullion on board for merchants. Pepys himself wrote—‘This business of money debauches the whole naval service: it is come to the highest degree of infamy, and nobody considers it.’ The source of this infamy was not far to seek. Pepys continues—‘What is yet to be bemoaned, Berry tells us when he came home he told the King how, only for obedience of orders, he had lost 4,000*l.*, which Poole had got. The King, instead of thanking him, answered that he was a fool for not doing

as Poole did!' In 1686 Pepys tried to check these practices by increasing the pay of captains, and giving them allowances for table money. But the evil was only cured when the Revolution changed the whole order of things, and men were no longer told they were fools by the head of the State because they were honest. From the time of the expulsion of the Stuarts a better class of naval officers gradually arose. Glaring dishonesty and habitual cruelty were less common. The black sheep became more and more the exceptions. A great number of captains were gentlemen in the highest sense, humane and considerate to the men, high principled, and actuated by regard for the public service. Moreover, there was, in many instances, an excellent spirit among the officers. Warm and lasting friendships were formed. This is strikingly exemplified by two instances of admirals, who died childless, leaving all they had to their old flag captains: namely, Lord Torrington and Sir John Leake.

There was still a marked distinction between the fighting and the sailing branches, although the line was not so sharply defined as it had been a century earlier.

The admirals, however, were professional sailors after the Revolution, with very rare exceptions, and the captains invariably so. There was no regular uniform until 1750, but they wore the stately wigs and three-cornered hats, laced blue coats, and breastplates when in action. The pay of a captain of a first-rate, including table money, was 250*l.* a year, of a second-rate 200*l.*, of a third-rate 166*l.*, of a fourth-rate 124*l.*, and of a fifth-rate 100*l.* A captain was despotic on board his own ship, but he was bound to comply with the instructions from the Admiralty, which were printed and delivered

to him with his commission. He was enjoined to have daily prayers on board and to muster the men weekly. The captain was expected to sleep on board every night, to superintend the shipment of stores, to inspect the rigging and cables, and to keep a survey book. He was always to keep the key of the powder room in his own cabin, and to see that the gunner's stores were duly accounted for. He received minute instructions respecting the entry and treatment of the men, and the punishments for various offences were laid down in detail. The instructions as regards salutes were very minute, and a captain was strictly enjoined to make sure that his salute would be returned with the same number of guns, before firing it in any foreign port. An admiral commanding in chief was given a salute of eleven guns, an ambassador the same number, a vice-admiral nine, a rear-admiral, a knight, or a gentleman of quality, seven guns. A captain was ordered to be ready to convoy merchant ships whenever necessary, and he was forbidden to receive any gratuity or reward for this service on any pretence whatsoever, the penalty being forfeiture of all his wages to the chest at Chatham. He was also strictly forbidden to carry merchandise, except bullion. Finally, he was ordered to oblige all foreign men-of-war to strike their topsails and haul down their flags in acknowledgment of England's sovereignty of the sea, when within Her Majesty's seas, 'which for your better guidance therein, you are to take notice that they extend to Cape Finisterre.' A captain was enjoined to write frequently to the Secretary to the Admiralty, and in every letter to mention the number of men on board his ship, how long the provisions would last, and 'how the wind is with him at the time of his writing.' He was also ordered to keep a journal according

to the following form, which is given in the instructions—

Month	Day	Wind	Course	Miles	Latitude corrected	Longitude corrected	Bearings from Headland last seen	Remarkable Observations and Accidents

and to deliver it to the Secretary of the Admiralty when the ship was paid off.

Under the captain there were usually three lieutenants in a first-rate, and two in a second and third, their pay being 90*l.* a year. They also had to keep a journal for eventual transmission to the Admiralty; and the senior lieutenant took command in the absence of the captain.

The master held a very important position. Examined and selected by the Trinity House, he was responsible for the navigation of the ship and for her equipment, providing all stores except ordnance and provisions. In battle he conned and worked the ship, placing her in positions desired by the captain. A master's pay was 160*l.* a year. He had under his orders six master's mates in a first-rate, four quartermasters, and the boatswain and his mates. The boatswain belonged permanently to the ship, whether at sea or laid up in harbour. He commanded forward as the master did abaft the mainmast. He drew stores, looked after the rigging and sails, saw the cables bent, and superintended the discipline below, placing the men in messes, seeing that their meals were properly cooked, their lights out at proper hours, and the watch duly set.

Midshipmen were sometimes sons of gentlemen,

waiting for their commissions, but frequently they were young men, with interest or special merit, from before the mast. There were usually from ten to twenty-four on board each ship, according to the rate. But they were not young boys, as was the case in later times. In Queen Anne's navy no midshipman was to be rated unless he had served seven years at sea, and could navigate the ship.

The science of navigation had made considerable strides in the last half of the seventeenth century, and masters of the fleet of William and Mary had the advantage of several new appliances both in observing and calculating. The Hadley's quadrant had not, however, been invented, and observations by chronometer were unknown. But masters of ships used the back staff, or Davis's quadrant, for taking the sun, which was a great improvement on the old cross staff; and the log and line, for ascertaining the rate of the ship, had been in use since 1622. The Gunter's scale and Mr. Briggs' tables of logarithms had also greatly facilitated the work of keeping a ship's reckoning. The Royal Society, founded in 1663, held its meetings at Gresham College until 1710, and Mr. Pepys, the Secretary of the Admiralty, had been one of its first Presidents. The Society encouraged all investigations made with a view to improvements in nautical astronomy; and especially those for the discovery of a means of finding the longitude at sea. One very important desideratum was a series of accurate observations for settling the positions of fixed stars, so as to supply ships with correct predictions of the motion of the moon among them. Such predictions are necessary in finding the longitude by lunar observation. These considerations were strongly represented by the Royal Society, and led to the establishment of

Greenwich Observatory in 1676. John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer-Royal, was in charge of it until his death in 1719. He published a theory of the variation of the magnetic needle in 1683, and a general chart of the compass variation in 1701. All existing knowledge was embodied in such works as the 'Mariner's Magazine' of Captain Sturmy; and charts were constructed by Mr. Moll, the geographer, from surveys compiled by Moxon, Grenville Collins, and other volunteers, for there was no Admiralty Hydrographer until 1795. The lead and line was much used to ascertain the ship's position, and 'Soundings' was the name habitually given to the English Channel. The master, besides keeping the ship's reckoning, also had to enter all observations and events in a log-book, with tabulated headings for the date, wind three times a day, course, distance run, latitude, longitude, bearings of position for which the ship is working, and remarks. Another such journal was kept by the captain.

The gunner, receiving his stores from a department independent of the Admiralty,¹ and having responsible charge of all ordnance and small arms, occupied a very important position. He had under him a quarter-gunner for every four guns, gunner's mates, an armourer and gunsmith, and a yeoman of the powder-room. His pay was 70*l.* a year, and the part of the ship called the gunner's room or gun-room was allotted to him and his staff. Besides the ordnance, consisting of pieces throwing shot varying in weight from 78 pounds on board first-rates to 4 pounds, the gunner had charge

¹ That of the Master-General of the Ordnance at the Tower, with branches at Woolwich, Chatham, Portsmouth, Upnor Castle, Plymouth, Hull, and Berwick. Under the Master-General was the master gunner of England, whose duty it was to instruct and examine in the art of gunnery, and to certify to the competence of gunners.

of all small arms—muskets with match and snaphaunces, musquetoons with their bandeliers, blunderbusses, pistols, pikes of three sizes, halberts, hatchets, swords, and hangers.

Fire-ships played a very important part in those days, particularly in the hotly contested battles during the wars with Holland.

Besides the regular staff of executive officers, every man-of-war carried volunteers, who were young gentlemen of family anxious to see active service, or to obtain commissions as lieutenants. There was a limit as to age, and they received no pay. Their certificates testified to their diligence, sobriety, obedience to orders, and application to the study and practice of the art of navigation. But there were no regular instructors. Volunteers and midshipmen had to learn from any one who would teach them. One of Mr. Pepys' *protégés* wrote to him from on board the 'Foresight' in the Downs, in July 1688, to tell him that he was learning navigation from the yeoman of the powder-room. There was another rather curious rating of 'midshipman extraordinary,' to which lieutenants and even post captains were occasionally appointed, probably to be borne on the books of a ship in the event of any vacancy occurring in the fleet.

The civil branch afloat consisted of the purser, his steward, and mates, who were responsible for the victualling; the surgeon and his mates, and the cook with his mates. The purser had 150*l.* a year, the surgeon 60*l.*, and the cook 30*l.* The medical department was not very satisfactorily provided for. There was only one regular physician in each fleet, while many of the surgeons, and nearly all the surgeon's mates, were not properly qualified. The position of the chaplain was entirely dependent on the captain, and it was generally

very wretched. Usually extremely poor, and no better paid¹ than the seamen, chaplains on board ship had no recognised position among the officers, so that it was hard for them to acquire influence with the men. Many were of bad character. There were supposed to be daily prayers, and divine service on Sundays, but all depended on the caprice of the captain. An earnest appeal was made to Mr. Pepys that the King should be recommended to allow a great Bible, a surplice, and several Prayer-books, for each ship, and that the steerage be appointed for the place of divine service, and kept clear for that purpose.

The sailors of the fleet were successors of the men who fought those desperately contested battles with the Dutch. They were brave and patriotic, fighting with indomitable pluck and tenacity for the sake of their country, and without much expectation of reward for themselves, for they were indifferently fed, and very irregularly paid. The ratings among them were: yeoman of the sheets, quartermasters and their mates, boatswain's mates, coxswain and his mate, yeoman of the boatswain's store-room, swabber, carpenter's crew, cooper, sailmaker, able seamen, ordinary seamen, grommets,² and boys. Able seamen received *l.* 4*s.* a month, ordinary seamen 19*s.* a month, grommets 14*s.* 3*d.*, and boys 9*s.* 6*d.* An able seaman must have been five years at sea and have reached his twentieth birthday. A grommet was a well-grown lad, a first-class boy.

Very cruel and unnecessary hardship was caused by the shameful irregularity in paying the men, concerning which many captains made strong and well-grounded complaints. At the beginning of every year

¹ 19*s.* a month.

² From 'Grumete,' the Spanish for a cabin boy.

a bounty of two months' pay was promised, by proclamation, to all seamen who came into the service within a certain date, and at the same time press warrants were issued, and pressgangs, under lieutenants, were sent from port to port in hired vessels. The conduct of the pressgangs, and the difficulty, when there had been a change of ship and on various other pretexts, in getting arrears of wages paid, caused much discontent. But too often unfortunate wives and widows made long and weary journeys to receive wages due to their husbands, and were denied justice on some pretext which could not have borne investigation for a moment. It was a common practice to put Q (query) to a man's name, which effectually stopped the payment of what was due to him until some absurd objection raised by a clerk had been removed.

During the first war with France, after the Revolution, there were several marine regiments divided among the ships, but they were never put on a proper footing, and by degrees they dwindled away, and were at last wholly set aside. The idea was renewed in Queen Anne's time, as it was considered that soldiers in the fleet would be very useful on board, as well as serviceable on every occasion of landing on an enemy's coast. It was also clear that if these men were always ready in barracks near the dockyards, it would be easier to man the fleet. Accordingly six regiments were allotted for sea service in 1702, which was the commencement of the marines, that gallant, loyal, and most valuable arm of the service.¹

¹ In 1749 the marine regiments were disbanded. In 1755 Lord Anson caused 130 companies to be raised, consisting of 5,000 men, who were placed under the Admiralty, with headquarters at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham. This was the corps of marines, which was increased to 18,000 men in 1760.

On board ship the men and boys were divided into messes, four in each mess. The daily allowance of food was 1 lb. of bread, 1 gallon of beer, 1 lb. of beef or pork with pease; or one side of salt fish with 7 ounces of butter and 14 ounces of cheese on two days in the week instead of the beef or pork. In 1703 leave was given to the purser to issue tobacco, to be smoked over tubs of water on the forecastle and not otherwise. The allowance was 2 lbs. a month for each man, and the price was not to exceed 20*d.* per pound when cut and dried. The diet would have been adequate, if care had been taken to serve out fresh provisions for the men at proper intervals. But this was not the case, and no doubt a great deal of disease, and still more discontent, was caused by bad victualling, both as regards quality and quantity. Mr. Burchett, the Secretary of the Admiralty, confessed that the Dutch sailors, who fed oftener on fresh provisions, were much healthier than ours. While the Dutch fleet never carried a hospital ship during the whole war, the English sometimes had three, four, or more, and too often quite full. When scurvy broke out, even in the Channel, many men usually died, and still more were disabled, before any fresh provisions could be served out. Burchett maintained that, when a fleet had been long at sea, a vessel laden with fresh provisions ought to be sent out to it; but this was rarely if ever done.

Yet care was taken of sick and wounded seamen, and there were special Commissioners for that purpose, until 1705, at which time Greenwich Hospital had come into working order. Queen Mary had intended to found a hospital for disabled seamen, and on her death, in 1695, her husband founded Greenwich. It was her monument, assuredly the noblest that was ever raised to

any English sovereign. At the Restoration Charles II. had pulled down the old palace at Greenwich, and began a new one, but only completed one wing. Sir Christopher Wren proposed the appropriation and enlargement of this building, and the foundations of the hospital were laid in June 1696. It was opened in 1705, and a noble provision was thus made for the sick and wounded men who had been disabled in the naval service of their country. This magnificent edifice, and the writings of Pepys and Burchett, furnish evidence that the comforts of seamen were not lost sight of nor forgotten in those days, and that the wish existed to do them justice. Most of the evils they suffered from were due rather to ignorance and the inefficiency of well-intended arrangements, than to neglect or indifference. The worst evils arose from the cruelty of bad captains, who were exceptions, and from the obstructive routine of stupid Government clerks, who were the rule.

The usual punishments for minor offences consisted in fines. Any person heard to curse or blaspheme was to forfeit one day's pay; and there was the same punishment for drunkenness in the case of men. Officers guilty of that offence were dismissed the service. Any sailor convicted of telling a lie, was hoisted on the mainstay by the fore braces, having a broom and shovel tied to his back, where he was kept for half an hour, every man crying out, 'A liar! A liar!' and for a week afterwards it was his duty to clean the head and the ship's side under the orders of the swabber, 'according to the ancient practice of the navy.' A thief had to make full satisfaction out of his wages, received such corporal punishment as the captain thought expedient, and was then towed on shore. There were fines for breaking leave, and for being

below during the watch on deck. For neglect or dirty habits, a man was brought to the capstan, and received so many lashes on his bare back as the captain thought fit, not exceeding one dozen, 'according to the practice of the sea.' On 'Black Monday' the boys, who required it, were flogged by the boatswain.¹

Clothing was supplied by a contractor or slop-seller, at prices fixed by the Admiralty. The purser received the slops, and sold them to the men; what remained over when the ship was paid off being returned to the slop-seller, who allowed the purser 12*d.* on every 1*l.* for issuing, and keeping the accounts. All other fees were prohibited. The bedding for seamen was supplied by the Government. Each bed was 5 feet 8 inches long, by 2 feet 2 inches broad, both bed and pillow being made of good 'Hammel's' cloth, and containing 11 lbs. of clean flocks. The coverlet was to be 6 feet 2 inches long, by 4 feet 9 inches, and it was to be well wrought. There is no mention of hammocks.²

The dress of seamen in the days of Mary and Anne was very different from that of modern sailors. The slops which were served out in Queen Anne's time consisted of a grey kersey jacket lined with red cotton, with eighteen brass buttons and button-holes stitched with gold-coloured thread; a waistcoat of Welsh red also with brass buttons; and a blue and white check shirt. The breeches were red, either kersey or shag, with three leather pockets, and stockings of grey woollen; double-soled round-toed shoes, and brass buckles. On

¹ Henry Teonge, the chaplain whose interesting diary from 1675 to 1679 was published in 1825, mentions ducking from the yard arm as a common punishment, but this was not authorised in the Admiralty instructions.

² But they are mentioned by Mr. Teonge.

the head was a leather cap faced with red cotton. Grey woollen mittens were also supplied in winter.

There were opportunities, which do not exist now, for clever and deserving young seamen to rise to the rank of officers. It was not at all an uncommon thing for a young able seaman to receive the rating of midshipman or master's mate, as Cloudesley Shovel and Sir David Mitchell did ; and these possibilities no doubt added to the efficiency as well as the popularity of the naval service. A strong motive was supplied for taking trouble and for doing well.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIEF OF LONDONDERRY.

ON the accession of William and Mary, Robert Fairfax, who was still a volunteer in Lord Dartmouth's fleet, had strong family claims to a commission in the navy. Young Lord Fairfax had, with the Earl of Danby, seized upon York at the head of a hundred horse, and declared for the Prince of Orange very soon after the landing in Torbay; and in January 1689 Lord Fairfax was elected member for Yorkshire in the Convention Parliament. Another cousin, Dr. Henry Fairfax, was one of the Fellows of Magdalen who boldly opposed the tyranny of James II., for which he was rewarded by King William with the deanery of Norwich. Yet another cousin, Brian Fairfax, was equerry to the new King. The name was, with good reason, held in respect and high honour by the opponents of despotism; and very few weeks had passed, after the accession of the joint Sovereigns, before young Robert Fairfax received a commission as lieutenant in their Majesties' navy. He was appointed to the 'Bonadventure,' a fourth-rate of 48 guns, and a complement of 234 men, of which Thomas Hopson, a brave and experienced officer, was the captain. Hopson was a native of Bonchurch, in the Isle of Wight, and was born of very respectable parents, but he ran away to go to sea, and never re-

turned home until he was an admiral. He had served with distinction in the wars with Holland, and was a captain of several years standing when James II. appointed him to the 'Bonadventure' on May 18, 1688.

After the accession of William and Mary, the conduct of naval affairs naturally passed into the hands of Admiral Herbert, who became First Lord of the Admiralty on March 8, 1689. Thomas Herbert was the son of Sir Edward Herbert, who had been Attorney-General under Charles I. The son entered the navy in 1666, and had served with great distinction for upwards of twenty years, both in wars with Holland and in the Mediterranean. He lost an eye in a successful action with an Algerine pirate. James II. dismissed him from the service for opposing the repeal of the Test Act. He then went over to the Hague, and conveyed the invitation from the great nobles of England to the Prince of Orange. He commanded the Dutch fleet which conveyed William to Torbay, and was at once placed at the head of the Admiralty on the accession of the joint Sovereigns. Sir Richard Haddock, an experienced old admiral, was appointed Comptroller, presiding at the Navy Board; Admiral Russell became Treasurer, and Sir John Tippetts, who had been surveyor for many years, was continued in that post. Mr. Pepys retired from the public service in dudgeon. He was succeeded, for the present, by Mr. Phineas Bowles,¹ and eventually by Mr. Josiah Burchett, the naval historian. Mr. Burchett had been a clerk to Mr. Pepys for seven years, was dismissed, and was for some time in great poverty. His old master lived to see him fill his own

¹ March 1689, Phineas Bowles; January 1690, J. Southern; August 1694, W. Bridgeman; 1695, J. Burchett, for many years.

place, and perform the duties with equal diligence and greater ability. Mr. Burchett was for many years member for Sandwich.

As soon as the King of France declared war, with the avowed object of forcing James upon the English people, in the beginning of 1689, Admiral Herbert was appointed to command the fleet, which was assembled at Spithead, and he sailed for Ireland in April. Meanwhile James had been escorted across the channel by a French fleet of twenty-two sail, and had landed at Kinsale in February. On February 13, 1689, William and Mary had been proclaimed sovereigns of England by the Convention Parliament. Their first work was to withstand the French aggression and suppress the Irish rebellion.

When Admiral Herbert arrived before Cork on April 17, he found that James had already landed, and that the French had returned for another supply of troops. He, therefore, proceeded off Brest in pursuit, and, returning to the Irish coast, he sighted the French fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line off Kinsale on the 29th, under the command of Château-Renaud. Herbert had only eighteen ships, and none of great size. They consisted of eight third and ten fourth-rates, including the 'Deptford' frigate of 40 guns under George Rooke, and the 'Firedrake,' under John Leake, both men who were destined to win a place in the front rank of England's naval worthies. The French made sail for Bantry Bay, followed by the English in greatly inferior force. When Herbert reached the entrance of the bay, Château-Renaud got under weigh, stood out, and bore down upon the English. The action was commenced by Captain Ashby in the 'Defiance,' and soon the other ships were engaged. Captain Leake, in the 'Firedrake,'

set one of the French ships, commanded by the Chevalier Coetlogon, on fire. But the French, having the weather gauge, would not come to close quarters, while their heavier guns were much more effective at long range. Herbert made several attempts to work up to windward, so as to engage closer, and eventually stretched out to sea, to get his ships in line and gain the wind if possible. But the French would not follow, and the action ceased at about 5 P.M. The English ships suffered very severely in masts and rigging, and above half of them were temporarily disabled. Captain Aylmer and 90 men were killed, and 270 wounded. The fleet returned to Spithead, and King William was so impressed with the gallantry of officers and men, in having engaged and beaten off such a superior force, that he created Herbert Earl of Torrington, and knighted Captain John Ashby, of the 'Defiance,' and Cloudesley Shovel, of the 'Edgar.' Captain Leake was promoted to the command of the 'Dartmouth.'

The battle of Bantry Bay was the first action in which young Robert Fairfax served, and immediately afterwards the 'Bonadventure' was detached from the fleet, to form part of a squadron on the north coast of Ireland.

Captain Rooke was appointed to the command of this squadron, the main object of which was the relief of Londonderry. This stronghold of Protestantism is built on a small navigable river which empties itself into Lough Foyle about three miles below the town, and fifteen from the open sea. The mouth of the river was defended by a fort called Culmore Castle. The brave Presbyterians, of Scottish descent, who formed the bulk of the citizens of Londonderry, defended the place with great resolution against James and his Popish

army in spite of the machinations of a treacherous governor who tried to betray them. The clergyman Walker and Major Baker were then elected joint governors, and when James summoned the town, the people fired upon him. The French General Rosen was left to conduct the siege and devastate the surrounding country. The town was reduced to the last extremity when Rooke's squadron was detached to raise the siege, with the aid of troops under Colonel Kirke.

The 'Bonadventure,' under Captain Hopson, had been off Lough Foyle early in May, but her draught was too great to enable her to render any assistance to the besieged town. She proceeded to the coast of Wales for news, and when Robert Fairfax wrote the following letter to his mother, he had not yet heard that his ship was to join Captain Rooke's squadron.

From on board the 'Bonadventure' at
Blew Morris in Wales, 6 May, 1689.

My dear Mother,—Being arrived here to-day from Ireland, I take this opportunity of writing, but I am not at all certain it will come to your hand, but do hartily wish it may. Now, my dear Mother, I will give you a true account of our next proceedings that you may not be fearful nor concerned for me. There is now a war proclaimed with France, and yesterday we received orders from Admiral Herbert to make the best of our way here, and he is gone with several sails more towards the coast of France, and by the grace of God I hope to meet with some advantage, if God spares me with life. For we are in a very good man of war of 48 guns and 234 men. Our desire is to maintain the Protestant Religion, which I hope in God will flourish still in these our dominions. I pray God give us grace to practice what it teacheth us, and so remaine my dear Mother, in all duty yours whilst breath is in

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

To Mrs. Marser at Mrs. Rapiers at ye Mortar and Pestle, in Tuttle Street, Westminster, these

From on board their Majestys' Ship 'Bonadventure'
 Captain Hopson commandin, now at or in Chester
 water, May 10th, 1689.

My dear Friend,—I could never since I parted with you be so happy as to receive a line from you, being we have had so perpetual a motion from place to place. I have writ to you twice or thrice since I left you. I wish you have got any of them, nevertheless I would not slip this opportunity to acquaint you of my proceedings. We have been at Ireland, but came too late to assist the poor Protestants there, but I hope Londonderry will stand it out till some relief gets over. We sailed from thence towards this place, and now have received orders to sail for the coast of France, to Admiral Herbert, who lays there expecting to meet with the French Fleet who design for Ireland. I do expect to sail hence every day, so I heartily wish you and your daughter all health and happiness, and do live in hopes to see you all once more if God permit. Pray my duty to dear Mother when you write, and let her know I writ twice since I left town, and pray forget me not, with all affection, to dear cousin Bennet, and let her know I writ to her likewise. Now my love pray to your daughter and Mr. Browne, not forgetting the rest. So, my Dear, desiring you not to forget your banns of matrimony that are to be solemnised, by Mr. Allsop, between you and me, remain your affect friend and servant

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

Mrs. Marser forwarded this letter to his mother, Mrs. Fairfax, at Newton. She calls it 'her love letter that will make you laugh.'

The service in which it now fell to the lot of Robert Fairfax to take part was one which was well calculated to stir his enthusiasm. The grandson of the brave patriot who fell so gloriously before Montgomery Castle

was not likely to hear, without emotion, of the sufferings and imminent danger of the citizens of Londonderry. He had received the traditions of his family from his stately grandmother at Steeton, and from his gallant uncle who, in his youth, had served in the army of the Protector. At the same time he had imbibed a kindly feeling for the restored Stuarts. Charles II. had treated the great Lord Fairfax with respectful consideration, even naming a frigate the 'Fairfax' in his honour; and Mr. Brian Fairfax was that King's personal equerry until the day of his death. The young sailor even felt sorrow for the impending fall of James II., and yearned to speak his mind to him when out hunting with him in 1687. But when the Traitor-King conspired against the liberties and religion of England, when he landed with a foreign army to devastate his former dominions, then there could be no hesitation in the mind of any true and loyal Englishman. That good old cause for which so many noble patriots had suffered and died in the previous generation was the cause in which the navy of England was now engaged.

Commodore Rooke, the commander of the squadron to which Fairfax's ship was attached, was born in 1650, the son of Sir William Rooke, of an old Kentish family. He had served with distinction in the wars with Holland, and also in the battle of Bantry Bay. Captain Leake, of the 'Dartmouth,' was an officer of equal merit. Son of Captain Richard Leake, the master-gunner of England, John Leake was born at Rotherhithe in 1656. He entered the navy as a midshipman before the close of the last Dutch war, but got employment in the merchant service during the peace that followed. Afterwards he accepted a warrant as gunner

of the 'Neptune,' serving also as one of his father's mates. His knowledge of gunnery at last secured for him the command of the fire-ship 'Firedrake,' and his important services in her, at the battle of Bantry Bay, led to his promotion into the 'Dartmouth' in May 1689.

Commodore Rooke ordered his little squadron to rendezvous off Cantire, where the ships were all assembled on June 8. Rooke's own ship was the 'Deptford,' which, with the 'Bonadventure,' under Captain Hopson, the 'Portland,' and the 'Antelope,' formed the division of greatest draught. The 'Dartmouth,' under Captain Leake, the 'Greyhound,' Captain Gillam, the 'Swallow,' Captain Cornwall, the 'Kingfisher' ketch, and 'Henrietta' yacht, drew less water. There were also a number of transports, with troops on board under the command of General Kirke. The commodore proceeded first to Rathlin Bay, where a hundred head of cattle were embarked, and on the 16th his squadron was off Lough Foyle, in time, it was earnestly hoped, to relieve the heroic defenders of Londonderry.

The 'Dartmouth,' 'Greyhound,' 'Swallow,' 'Kingfisher,' 'Henrietta,' and the transports sailed into the Lough on the same day; while the commodore, with the 'Deptford,' 'Bonadventure,' 'Portland,' and 'Antelope,' cruised outside, on the look out for French vessels of war, a very necessary precaution. Early in July news arrived that ships flying the French flag had been seen off the Isle of Mull, and Commodore Rooke at once went in chase, but did not succeed in overhauling them. He, therefore, returned to the mouth of Lough Foyle, keeping guard on the entrance. Meanwhile, young Fairfax found an opportunity to write off a hurried note to his mother.

From on board the 'Bonadventure' before
Derry river, Ireland, 20 June, 1689.

Dear Mother,—That I may assure you I never slip any opportunity of writing, by this yacht now bound for Scotland I send you this in hopes it may get safe to your hands, and satisfy you that I am, blessed be God, very well, but cannot tell how long we shall continue on this Station. My dear Mother, I have writ several letters to you since I left London, but am very sorry I cannot have an opportunity of hearing from yourself, being a thing it would add so much satisfaction to me at all times. I am in great haste now, the Captain of the yacht being bound to sail, so must conclude with my dear love to all, my dear Mother your ever deuthl son,

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

Major-General Kirke, on entering Lough Foyle, found that Londonderry was closely blockaded by the besieging army, and that a boom was laid across the river, consisting of chains floated on balks of timber, having a redoubt mounted with heavy cannon at either end. A council of war was summoned, and it was judged impracticable to break the boom. But the garrison of Londonderry was reduced to extremity. The people were starving, and their savage opponents were exulting over the impending fall of the place. It seemed as if help had come so close, only to tantalise the brave defenders and to aggravate the cruelty of their fate.

Captain Leake was resolved that this should not be. For his gallant spirit there was no such word as 'impracticable.' The boom should be broken, and the town should be relieved. He made his arrangements with the captains of two ships laden with provisions, the 'Mountjoy' and the 'Phoenix.' His plan was to engage the forts hotly from the 'Dartmouth' while the two merchant ships charged the boom under cover of his fire; and a number of boats, with crews provided

with arms and tools, were to help in clearing away the obstruction. The day selected was July 28, the hour seven in the evening. Wind and weather were against success, but Leake was a man who commanded success in spite of all weather. At the hour appointed he entered the river in the 'Dartmouth' and opened fire upon the forts. But the wind had died away, and when the provision ships came up to the boom, they had so little way on that they failed to break it. The garrison of Londonderry was watching in an agony of suspense. The 'Mountjoy' grounded immediately under the fire of the besieging army. The enemy got boats ready to board her under cover of their musketry, and her captain, at that moment, fell dead with a bullet through his heart. Captain Leake continued to engage the enemy so hotly that they were beaten off from their boats. Meanwhile he sent on his boats' crews to cut away the boom. The tide was rising, and the 'Mountjoy' got off just as the boat's crews were breaking up the boom. Both provision ships forced their way through and, to the intense joy of the citizens, arrived safely off the town of Londonderry.

The relief of Londonderry freed General Kirke's troops, which were transported to the Belfast Lough, convoyed by the squadron under Commodore Rooke. Here reinforcements arrived under the Duke of Schomberg. The 'Bonadventure' assisted in the subsequent operations, including the taking of Carrickfergus, which place surrendered on August 28. The commodore then put to sea with the 'Deptford,' 'Bonadventure,' 'Portland,' 'Dartmouth,' and several small craft, and encountered strong southerly gales which forced him to anchor at the Skerrys, a few miles from Dublin. On September 16 the squadron stood into Dublin Bay,

and on the 18th, having run before a northerly gale, it was off Cork. The ships had now been long at sea, their bottoms were very foul, and they were in want of all kinds of provisions. Commodore Rooke, therefore, determined to return to the Downs. The ships of the squadron were separated by a gale of wind, and the 'Bonadventure' anchored off Deal on October 18. Young Fairfax then despatched a letter to his old friend Mrs. Marser by the first boat, and another to his mother when his ship was going up the river. They were as follows:—

To Mrs. Marser at Mrs. Rupers at ye Pestle and Mortar in Tuttle Street, Westminster—these

Downes,¹ October 18th, 1689.

My dear Friend,—Being arrived here and the boat going on shore I would not slip this opportunity to let you know that, blessed be God, I am in health and we are making the best of our way to Deptford, where we are to be repaired before the ship goes to sea. I am in great haste at present, so will ad no more but my love to them all, I remain dear Friend, your affect friend and servant,

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

Pray write to me and direct it to be left at Mr. Thomas Guerdiens, Carpenter, in Flagon Row, Deptford.

Mrs. Marser at once forwarded this letter to Mrs. Fairfax at Newton.

From on board their Majesties' Ship the 'Bonadventure,' at Half Way Tree in the Thames.
October 25th, 1689.

My dear Mother,—Being, blessed be God, arrived safe thus far I would not slip this opportunity to let you know how affairs are with me at present. We are, dear Mother, making the best

¹ Rooke's squadron arrived at the Downs on October 13.

of our way to Deptford in order to fit out our ship with all expedition, and also most of their Majesties' navy, to put an end to this war as soon as may be. I have not yet seen any of my relations, my captain being about to leave me,¹ so that I have the charge of the ship till the new captain comes. My dear Mother I am afraid I shall be frustrated of that great pleasure of seeing you this winter, which will be a great truble to me, but must content myself being in this station. I hope ere long to see them all at London, where I desire your letter, that I may have the satisfaction to hear of you and the rest of yours. This ship is now ordered to keep on the coast of England as her station. I cannot at present tell what to add more but my dear love to brother and sisters, and service to all our friends and neighbours and pray believe me dear Mother your ever deutyfull son,

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

Friday Morning at 11 o'clock.

This letter was enclosed to Mrs. Marsers, who forwarded it on October 26, mentioning the arrival of Sir Christopher and Lady Neville in town, and hoping soon to see Lieutenant Fairfax. She adds that she would have been glad to take the Nevilles in, but her house was full, the rooms being let to two Parliament men and others.

During the winter months the 'Bonadventure' was undergoing a thorough refit at Deptford, and young Fairfax was able to pass a good deal of time in London, going much into society, and falling in love with Miss Marsers. The following letter was written to his mother during this spell on shore :—

Fleet Street, November ye 5th, 1689.

My dear Mother,—I must confess myself extremely to blame Age 23½. in not writing to you since I came to town, but having so many of my relations to see I hope you will excuse me. I hope you received mine that I wrote upon the river. The next morning

¹ Captain Hopson was transferred to the 'York,' a larger ship.

after I came up I went to pay my respects to my worthy friend my Lord Fairfax, who received me with as much affection and kindness as could be expected from a brother. He is very well, and this morning his Lordship set me down in his coach at Sir Christopher Nevill's lodgings, where I went on purpose to wait on them both. My Lady was gone out, and the well bred Knight, after I sent my name, was not so kind as see me, but said if I came afterwards I might, so must defer my visit till another time. All our friends in town desire their service to you and sister Frank. Now I must return you my hearty thanks for your piece of gold and sheet which I find here. I shall write to my Lady and give her thanks. You are, dear Mother, always multiplying tokens of your affection to me which I am sure makes me an extreme happy man. I am just now going into the city to dinner, therefore must conclude with my dear love to sisters and brother, and remain, dear Mother, your most affectte. and deutyfull son till death,

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

My thanks to Thea for her marmaled.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BATTLE OF BEACHY HEAD.

THE reign of Louis XIV. saw the naval power of France reach the zenith of its development. Between the years 1660 and 1690 the able and far seeing ministers of the great monarch built up the French navy with such success that, on the accession of William III., France endeavoured to contest the empire of the sea against England and Holland combined. The French fleets were commanded by men of high rank, and no *roturier* could hold a royal commission in the navy. This was the rule, but it was dispensed with when the King saw fit to reward merit. Jean Bart, the son of a Dunkirk fisherman, and Duguay Trouin, of St. Malo, both became captains in the navy, as the fitting reward for their valour and success. But as a rule the admirals and captains of France were scions of the noblest families, and nobly did they sustain the honour of their race. Louis XIV. was a generous and truly royal master. He rewarded success, but his treatment of the unfortunate is in striking contrast with the spiteful rancour of baser men—such as George II. or Buonaparte. The gallant Byng was judicially murdered, Villeneuve was probably poisoned. The servants of the Grand Monarque, when defeated—Tallard and

Tourville—received generous letters of condolence. ‘J’ai eu plus de joie d’apprendre qu’avec quarante quatre de mes vaisseaux vous en avez battu cent de ceux de mes ennemis pendant un jour entier, que je ne me sens de chagrin de la perte que j’ai faite.’ In the service of such a master zealous enthusiasm was sure to be aroused. Certainly the French ships were fought with greater valour and more success in the days of Louis XIV. than under the Republic or the Empire. In 1690 the naval service of France numbered 40,000 men on board 115 ships, twelve of which were first-rates, mounting 120 to 70 guns, and forty-seven were second and third-rates, mounting 70 to 40 guns.

On June 12, 1690, the French fleet sailed from Brest. The admiral in command was Anne-Hilarion de Costentin, Comte de Tourville, a Norman nobleman, whose mother was a Rochefoucauld. Born in 1642, he had seen much service in the Mediterranean against Barbary corsairs, and took part in the battle of Solebay in 1672. At the breaking out of the war, the death of Admiral Duquesne had placed Tourville in the front rank. His flagship was the ‘Soleil Royal,’ of 100 guns, and his squadron of twenty-six sail formed the centre of the fleet. His orders were ‘de combattre l’ennemi fort ou faible, et quoi qu’il en fût arriver.’ With a slight figure, and an appearance almost feminine, the courage of the Comte de Tourville amounted almost to temerity. His van squadron of twenty-six sail was under the Comte d’Estrees on board ‘Le Grand,’ of 86 guns. The rear squadron, led by M. d’Amfreville in the ‘Magnificent,’ of 80 guns, consisted of twenty-five sail. The whole French fleet numbered seventy-eight ships with 4,700 cannon, besides twenty-two fire-ships. This formidable armada

steered for the English coast, and was off the Lizard on June 24. When fishermen brought the alarming news, it was quite unexpected, and the allied fleet was not only scattered but only partly ready for sea.

In the same month of June, King William had left London to open his Irish campaign, and his transports were convoyed to Carrickfergus by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with a squadron of six men-of-war. Shovel was then dismissed, and ordered to join the rest of the fleet. Lord Torrington was off St. Helen's with nineteen sail, and he had not even any scouts out to the westward when news arrived of the approach of Tourville. Hasty orders were sent for all available ships to follow him, including the Dutch contingent, and on midsummer day the English admiral got under weigh.

Robert Fairfax, as first lieutenant of the 'Bonadventure,' had been refitting the ship at Deptford during the winter and spring. His old captain, Hopson, had received the command of the 'York,' a larger ship, and Captain John Hubbard¹ was appointed to the 'Bonadventure' on June 18, 1690. This officer was the son of a gallant old captain of the same Christian name, who had been killed in an action with Algerine pirates in 1668. The son had joined the service in 1688, and was about the same age as Lieutenant Fairfax. Both were eager for distinction. The 'Bonadventure' was one of the thirteen ships of the blue division, under Admiral Delavall, which joined the fleet of Lord Torrington off the back of the Isle of Wight on June 24. Soon afterwards the Dutch squadron of twenty-two ships, under Admiral Evertzen, joined company. Next day the French were in sight; and

¹ Or Hobart?

the two great fleets, the allies with fifty-four ships and the French with eighty-two, remained in sight of each other during the following six days.

Then Queen Mary, in Council, following the advice of Admiral Russell, sent express orders to Lord Torrington instantly to engage the enemy, whose fleet then extended in a long line off Beachy Head. He proceeded to obey this injunction at once, although it obliged him to act contrary to his judgment.

At 8 A.M. on June 30, Torrington made the signal to form line and bear down on the French fleet. The Dutch under Evertzen were in the van; next came the red squadron under Lord Torrington, with Admirals Ashby and Rooke; and the blue squadron of thirteen ships under Admiral Delavall formed the rear. The leading ship of the blue squadron was the 'Anne,' under Captain Tyrrel, and next to her came the 'Bonadventure,' with Hubbard and Robert Fairfax.

The French were hove to with their head sails to the mast, their line being in a semicircular form, so that their van and rear squadrons were more advanced—that is, more to windward than their centre. The Dutch ships pushed forward, with press of canvas, to engage the French van, leaving a great interval between them and the English red squadron, and they were soon hotly engaged. The centre, under Lord Torrington, did not come up until 10 A.M., and finding the French centre so far to leeward of the rear and van squadrons, he thought it unadvisable to expose himself to being surrounded, by running down to engage them. The Dutch ships were nearly surrounded, and suffered severely, although they were fought with signal gallantry. At last Torrington came to their rescue, drove with his own ship and several others between his allies and the

enemy, and anchored late in the afternoon. It was then calm.

Meanwhile Admiral Delavall, in the 'Coronation,' led his blue squadron into action, hotly engaging the French rear squadron of twenty ships, under D'Estrees, with his thirteen. He opened fire at 9.30 A.M., closing with the enemy within pistol shot. The French edged away, making all sail, and getting boats out to tow. There was scarcely any wind. During five long hours the squadron of Delavall hammered away at the French ships until they were defeated. The 'Anne' lost her masts, and the 'Bonadventure' suffered severely; but both forced the Frenchman with which they were engaged to sheer off. At about 5 P.M. the English fleet anchored. The French did not, and were consequently drifted far to the westward.

At 9 P.M. the English weighed, retiring eastward with the flood tide. It was resolved, in a council of war, held in the morning of July 1, to retreat to the Thames rather than risk the loss of more ships. The French chased in line, but were soon left far astern. The only English ship that was lost was the 'Anne,' of 70 guns. Having lost her masts, she drifted on shore near Winchelsea, where the captain set her on fire to prevent her from being captured, and she was burnt to the water's edge. But the Dutch, so long engaged single-handed with the French van, suffered very severely. Three of their ships sunk in the action, and three others, stranded on the Sussex coast, were burnt. The French fleet continued to be master of the British Channel during the whole of the month of July, and on August 5 it was off Ram Head.

The news of the defeat of Lord Torrington off Beachy Head caused great consternation in London, although

tidings of the battle of the Boyne, fought on the same day, served to revive the hopes of the nation. The Queen ordered Lord Torrington to the Tower, bitter complaints being made against him by the Dutch admirals. In December he was tried by court-martial at Sheerness, on board the 'Kent,' Admiral Sir Ralph Delavall being President. He was honourably acquitted, but he was never employed again.

The fleet was now placed under the command of three admirals, Sir Richard Haddock, Sir John Ashby, and Admiral Killigrew. In September they escorted Marlborough to Cork, where his forces were landed. Cork and Kinsale capitulated to him, and on October 8, 1690, the fleet returned to the Downs.

The fleet was then divided into several small squadrons, to cruise in the channel for the remainder of the year, and convoy merchant ships. The 'Bonadventure' was stationed at Plymouth, whence young Fairfax wrote the following letter to his mother :—

Plymouth, October 28th, 1690.

My dear Mother,—Yours I received, which gave me great satisfaction to see your hand after being so long void of the like pleasure, though it has been writ ever since the 16th of September. Since I writ to you last from hence I was in assured hopes of seeing London, and was as far as the Downs, and there ordered hither, where and at sea I do expect to be kept for this winter, which is a dismal melancholy station, and that which makes it more unpleasant is that I am deprived of a secret pleasure I had within myself of seeing you, though it were but one week. For I was resolved, if possible, to have posted it down, and now if I were but within a hundred miles of you I could have the liberty, but being in one of the most remote places from you in the kingdom must apply the grace of contentment if please God. I never had my brother's answer but am glad he and my Lady had mine. I wish I could have been so

happy as to have been one of your oars, and rowed my dear Mother in the boat you name in yours. I hope it will be my turn one of these days. I had a letter about a week since from Aunt Bladen, who tells me of Mrs. Topham's death. I were a hypocrite if I should tell you I am sorry for it.

But no more of that for I think we have all had a share large enough thereof. We have had much bad weather, but blessed be God we have pretty well escaped it. We are to refit here, so that I shall be on shore for some time. My diversion will be to walk into the fields with a gun. I am sure at the same time I shall wish myself in yours with my brother, who I suppose is a great sportsman. In your last you told me my dear sister Frank was not come home, I suppose she is ere now. Pray my dear love to her and the rest, and let Thea know I much esteem her flower pot, and have placed it in my cabin. Now, my dear Mother, after hearty thanks for your obliging history of your domestics, I will return you something of our foreign chances. Yesterday, being at sea, we spied a French privateer chasing a Dutch vessel of small force. The Frenchman, being come up with the Dutchman, boarded him, and the Dutchmen behaved themselves so bravely that, at the first assault, they killed wounded and made prisoners 21 of the French; and we coming into the fray, saved the Dutchman and forced the French privateer to shift for himself. Had he not sailed better than us, we had taken him.

I am sorry you had not the company of Lady Neville,¹ good woman I am sensible of her favors to me. Pray when you write my affectionate services to her and Aunt Stapleton. It is strange to me she should be so much confined to the humour of one person as to disoblige herself and so many others by making herself so great a stranger. I cannot forget your Pastor who undoubtedly preaches up peace and it seems is so great a breach in it himself.

I know not whether you have heard of Mrs. Raper's marriage with a young man that kept her shop. I think she chose the discreetest way, he being master of that trade. I believe my Lord has married his sister² to his satisfaction. I hope you got

¹ Half sister of Mrs. Fairfax, by her mother.

² Anne Fairfax, sister of Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, was married to Ralph Carr of Cocken, in Durham, on September 2, 1690. The marriage took place in Westminster Abbey.

my letter writ about 10 days agone from the Downes wherein I told you something of matrimony on my side, with the rich widow Mrs. Tomlinson.¹ I fancy it would make you laugh. I think I was such an amorous fool when a boy that I shall not easily now be brought into wedlock. My Aunt Bladen tells me that young Topham is at Steeton, and very often drunk and rides with his groom; but when she comes down she will make him ride alone. Pray, dear Mother, forget me not to my brother, and your honest neighbour at Toulston with my thanks for his kind remembrance of me, and tell him I shall, God willing, wait on him at the old house one of these days. I wish my uncle would give me a commission under him to add to this, for I know not when our Treasurers design to pay. I am glad you have the company of cousin Bell.² She is a pretty bred gentlewoman. My love to her and the rest. So now, my dearest Mother, whatever faults you find here I hope you will pardon and be pleased to accept this at present from your ever deutyfull and affecte son,

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

If you please to write by the way of my ould friend Mrs. Marser, you will only make me so much the happier. I am out of the way and forgot for a commission,³ but I trust in God for contentment. After reading, playing on the fiddle and flute these long nights, I go to bed in my little house by 10 o'clock.

On November 15, 1690, Robert Fairfax was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and shortly afterwards he was appointed to command a prize named the 'Conception.' In this ship he was stationed, for more than two years, at Boston, under the orders of Sir William Phipps, the Governor of New England. His

¹ Esther, daughter of R. Bushell, of Ruswarpe near Whitby, and widow of J. Thomlinson, of York. She was born in 1655, and was therefore ten years older than Robert Fairfax. He married her on November 20, 1694, and she bore him four children, two of whom survived. She died in 1735, aged eighty.

² Isabella Bladen, afterwards Mrs. Hammond.

³ He was promoted to the rank of captain seventeen days after the date of this letter.

duties were to protect commerce from the depredations of French privateers. The following letter, written at this period, has been preserved. It indicates the kind of work on which Captain Fairfax was employed during his American service:—

Boston Harbour, 'Conception' prize,
11 June, 1692.

Lieut^t.—Forasmuch as I'm informed that a French privateer, Aged 26. lately cruising in and about this bay, hath taken a sloop and ketch belonging to their Majesties subjects, and their Majesties ship under my command not being in readiness for sea, but is to haul ashore to stop her leaks, and Sir William Phipps having signified to me under his hand that he late impressed a sloop, and thereby requesting me to send about thirty men on board her with an officer to command them, to cruize and to defend the coast from privateers, and that my so doing will be an acceptable service to their Majesties, I doe, therefore, hereby direct and require you forthwith, to take under your command such men as I shall appoint for this service, and to sail with the said sloop and to cruize for eight days and to return to me, you from time to time observing such orders as you shall receive from me, and for your soe doing this shall be your warrant, given under my hand the day and year above written.

ROBT. FAIRFAX.

To Lieut^t. Saml. S. Mitchell These

Sir William Phipps, under whom Robert Fairfax served, and with whom he was very intimately associated during this period, was a remarkable man. Born of mean and obscure parents, he rose, by his own exertions, to great eminence. His father was a gunsmith at a small village in a remote part of New England, on the banks of the River Kennebec, who died leaving a widow with a large family of young children. William, one of the youngest, was born on February 2, 1650. He was employed to watch sheep in the wilderness

until he was eighteen, when he was bound apprentice to a ship's carpenter. As soon as he had served his time, William Phipps took to the sea as a profession. After several adventurous voyages, he got intelligence respecting the position where a Spanish ship had been wrecked about fifty years before, laden with treasure.¹ He went to London, told his story to several great people, and at last the Duke of Albemarle, with some others, fitted out a small vessel for him, in which to prosecute the search. He proceeded at once to the place, which was called Puerto de la Plata. His first step was to go into the woods and build a stout canoe fitted for eight or ten oars, but drawing little water. With a select crew and some divers he then began the search, but could find nothing but reefs of rocks within a few feet of the surface. The sea was calm. Every eye was employed in looking down into it, and the divers went down several times without any result. They were returning to the ship, weary and dejected, when one of the sailors, looking over the side of the canoe, said he spied what looked like a feather under water, growing, as he fancied, out of the side of a rock. One of the divers was ordered down to fetch it up and look if there was anything of value near it. He quickly brought up the feather, and reported he had found several great guns. On his next dive he brought up a large pig of silver, the sight of which filled William Phipps and his men with joy. They were convinced that success had crowned their efforts. The ship was brought to the place next day, and the divers soon found the position of the bullion. In a few days they brought up thirty-two tons of silver, besides bags of dollars, gold, and precious stones. Phipps

¹ Mather, lib. ii. p. 40.

arrived in England with a treasure worth 300,000*l.* Of this sum about 16,000*l.* came to his own share, while Charles II. conferred upon him the honour of knight-hood. This was in 1683.

Sir William Phipps deservedly acquired great influence in New England. In 1690 he formed a project of driving the French out of their settlements in Acadia, or Nova Scotia. Sailing from Nantucket with a small flotilla, he took possession of the country in the name of their Majesties, which was retained until the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Sir William was appointed commander-in-chief over their Majesties' forces in New England by sea and land, and in October he undertook an expedition against Quebec with 2,000 men on board thirty-two sail of ships. He made two gallant attacks, but was repulsed by the French garrison under the Comte de Frontenac, and returned to Boston in November. Phipps then went to England to solicit succour for a second Canadian campaign. He was at Whitehall in December 1691. In conjunction with the Rev. Increase Mather, Rector of Harvard College, Sir William Phipps obtained a new charter for New England, and was himself appointed Captain-General and Governor. He landed at Boston on May 14, 1692, and found there Captain Fairfax in the 'Conception,' ready to receive orders from him for the protection of the coasts.

On June 8 the new Governor called a general assembly of the province, which met at Boston to enact laws, and in the following year he restored peace by signing a treaty with the Indians. It was called the Peace of Pemmaquid. Sir William Phipps embarked for England in November 1694, and died of fever soon after he landed, aged forty-four, on February 18, 1695. Phipps was a self-educated man of ordinary abilities.

The secret of his success in life is to be found in his honest perseverance and determination of purpose. He was a warm-hearted friend, and a devoted public servant, striving to do his duty to his country with all his might.

A young officer like Robert Fairfax, just entering upon the responsible duties of his profession, could not have had a finer example before him than was set by Sir William Phipps, under whom he served for two years, from 1692 to 1694.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.

WHILE Robert Fairfax was protecting the coasts of New England from the attacks of French privateers, the great battle was fought nearer home which saved our shores from invasion. Although the hero of this narrative was absent on more distant service, and could take no personal part in this glorious action, still it seems necessary, in any story relating to the navy of the time of William and Mary, to give some account of the battle of La Hogue.

Louis XIV. had resolved to make one more great effort to restore his cousin to the English throne. An army of 20,000 men was assembled, consisting of 9,000 French troops under Marshal Belfondes, and fourteen battalions of English and Irish traitors under the Duke of Berwick. James himself was in the camp, and 300 transports were collected to take the invading force over to the coast of Sussex. The French fleet, commanded by the Comte de Tourville, consisted of sixty-three ships of the line, which was to be reinforced by a squadron from the Mediterranean under the Comte d'Estrees. It was known that the English fleet was scattered, and Tourville had positive orders to engage whenever and wherever he might encounter his enemy. He was then to hold the Channel while a landing was effected.

In truth, the British naval force was separated into three squadrons, and it was most providential that they were able to form a junction at the critical moment. Edward Russell had received his commission as admiral on December 3, 1691. A nephew of the first Duke of Bedford, and first cousin of the patriot Lord Russell who was judicially murdered by Charles II. in 1683, Edward Russell had entered the navy at an early age. On the death of his cousin, whose sister, Lady Margaret Russell, he had married, Edward warmly espoused the patriot cause. He was among the first to join the Prince of Orange, and in 1689 became an admiral and Treasurer of the Navy. His jealousy of Admiral Herbert, and his ungenerous intrigues against a brother officer, are a stain upon Russell's character. That he had intercourse with an emissary of James is probable,¹ but he would not have betrayed his trust, nor would he have joined the banished King if he came with a foreign army. Similar accusations of disaffection were brought against other naval men. The battle of La Hogue was their answer.

On May 10, 1692, Admiral Russell anchored at St. Helens with his own squadron and the Dutch allies, and on the 15th a loyal and dutiful address was signed by every captain in the fleet, and forwarded to Queen Mary. Her reply was: 'I always had this opinion of the commanders; but I am glad this is come, to satisfy others.' Russell anxiously awaited tidings of the absent squadrons. Admiral Delavall was convoying merchant ships from the Mediterranean; Admiral

¹ David Lloyd, a spy, reported to James II. that Russell had said that he would try to effect with the fleet for him what Monk had effected with the army for his brother. If Russell ever said anything of the sort to this spy, he was not sincere.

Carter was somewhere off the French coast with eighteen sail. It was almost providential that the squadrons of Delavall and Carter met each other in the Channel on the 7th, and joined Admiral Russell at St. Helens on May 11.

The allied fleet now numbered ninety-nine sail of the line. The Dutch, under Admiral Allemonde, Vice-Admiral Callenberg, and Rear-Admiral Vandergoes, formed the van squadron of thirty-six ships. The red squadron, in the centre, of thirty-one ships, was commanded by Admiral Russell, Sir Ralph Delavall, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The rear, or blue division, of thirty-two ships was under Sir John Ashby, Sir George Rooke, and Rear-Admiral Carter.

A council of war was held at St. Helens on May 15, and it was resolved to sail across to the French coast, between Barfleur and Cape de la Hague, and remain there four days, cruising for the enemy. On the 18th the fleet got under weigh, and sailed for the French coast.

At 3 A.M. on the morning of the 19th the scouts to the westward of the fleet fired several guns, being the signal that they had sighted the enemy. At 4 A.M. the French fleet was in sight, standing south on the same tack as the allies. Russell made the signal to form line of battle. He then ran to leeward, and lay to with his fore-topsail to the mast to give time for the other ships to take up their stations according to orders. Cape Barfleur then bore south-west by south about seven leagues. The scene of the battle was along that northern coast-line of the Cotentin peninsula which extends for twenty-four miles between Cape Barfleur and Cape de la Hague, with Cherbourg near the centre. To the west of Cape de la Hague is the dangerous Race of Alderney, and

about seven miles south of Cape Barfleur is the road of La Hogue, where transports were assembled, and in sight of which the army of invasion was encamped.

At 8 A.M. there was very little wind, and the sea was smooth. The Dutch squadron was a long distance ahead, the blue squadron was as far astern. Admiral Russell was in the centre, practically unsupported. Tourville had most positive orders to engage. Taking advantage of the separation of the three hostile squadrons, he bore down with his whole force of sixty-three ships of the line on Russell's isolated squadron of thirty-one ships. Russell's flag was hoisted on the 'Britannia,' the next ship ahead was a fourth-rate of 50 guns, and then came the 'Eagle,' commanded by Captain John Leake. Tourville led into action on board the 'Soleil Royal' of 110 guns. At 11 A.M. he brought her to within half musket shot of the 'Britannia,' and plied his guns very hotly until 1 P.M. The other ships were soon as closely engaged. The 50-gun ship immediately ahead of the 'Britannia' was soon disabled, and forced to drop out of the line. Captain Leake then backed the 'Eagle' astern, closed the line, and the battle continued until 4 P.M. with great fury on both sides. At 2 P.M. Tourville had been strengthened by five ships of his blue squadron, which were stationed three ahead and two astern of the 'Soleil Royal.' Russell, Leake, Aylmer, and George Churchill had all these ships to deal with. Being at close quarters there were many killed and wounded, and much damage done to spars and rigging. The 'Eagle' lost her mizen-mast and main-top mast, fore and main stays were shot away, 17 guns disabled, 70 men killed, and 120 wounded. The 'Britannia' suffered equally. All this time the van and rear squadrons of the allied fleet were

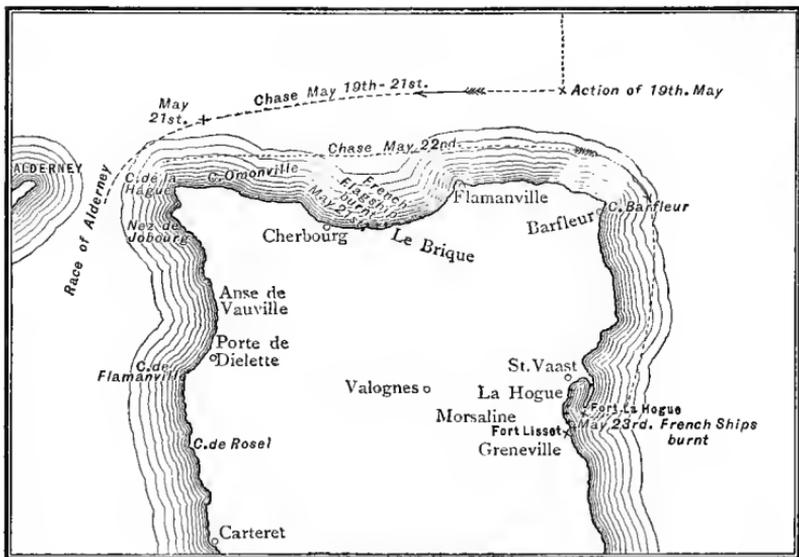
idle spectators of this desperate attack on the centre by a largely superior French force, for it had fallen dead calm.

At last the French ships ceased firing, and were towed away by their boats. Tourville was favoured in his retreat by a thick fog. The English ships were diligently repaired, and began the pursuit. After 5 P.M. the fog cleared a little, and the French fleet was seen, being towed northwards. There was a light easterly breeze, and at 5.30 a signal was made to chase. Sir Cloudesley Shovel succeeded in getting his squadron within range towards evening, and fire was opened on both sides, Captain Hastings of the 'Sandwich' being killed. Then the fog came down again, and at 8 P.M. part of the allied blue squadron fell in with the enemy and broke their line. There was a brief but very hot engagement, in the course of which the gallant Admiral Carter fell dead on his own quarter-deck. He was one of those officers who had been accused of tampering with the emissaries of James. The manner of his death refuted the calumny. His last words to his flag captain, W. Wright, were, 'Fight the ship as long as she will float.'

Then the dense fog came down again, completely concealing the combatants from each other, and so the night set in. The morning of May 20 was hazy, but at 8 A.M. the Dutch squadron to the southward made the signal that the French ships were in sight. About thirty-four sail were discovered bearing west-south-west at a distance of two leagues. The wind was east-north-east, and the allied ships chased under all sail, having the weather gauge. No line was kept, each captain making the best of his way. At 11.30 the wind veered to south-west, and the French crowded away northwards, the allies

after them. At 4 P.M., the ebb tide being done, both fleets anchored, the French about two leagues to windward, Cape Barfleur bearing south-east. The 'Britannia's' foretopmast, having been hit in the action, went by the board at midnight. At about the same time the French got under weigh, and the chase continued westward until 4 A.M., when the allies anchored, with Cape de la Hague bearing south by west.

At seven in the morning of May 21 some of the



French were seen driving to the eastward with the flood tide, having no ground tackle to ride by. Admiral Russell, therefore, made the signal to cut and chase, while Sir John Ashby and the Dutch were ordered to watch the other French ships at anchor in the Race of Alderney. Most of them, however, risking dangerous navigation, escaped to St. Malo. Tourville's flagship, the 'Soleil Royal,' was seen to make several short tacks, and then run aground at Le Brique, about four miles

east of Cherbourg, and her masts were cut away. The 'Admirable' (102) and 'Conquérant' (80) followed her. Sir Ralph Delavall's squadron was left to deal with them, and succeeded in burning all three. Admiral Russell, with the rest of the squadron, continued the pursuit of the French ships, which were now making for Cape Barfleur. Rounding the point they hauled in for La Hogue, and thirteen of them got safely into the road, between forts De Lisset and St. Vaast.

On May 22 the English fleet stood close into La Hogue, where the remaining French ships had taken refuge in a very strong position. On the hills above, round St. Vaast, the great army was encamped ready to invade England. James II. was himself there, with the Duke of Berwick and many Jacobite exiles. The thirteen ships were hauled close in shore by cables and hawsers, with broadsides to the enemy. They were protected by the fire of forts Lisset and St. Vaast. Shallops filled with infantry were stationed along the beach.

On Monday, the 23rd, Sir George Rooke was ordered to go into La Hogue with his squadron, some fire-ships, and the boats of the fleet, and to destroy the French ships. He hoisted his flag on board the 'Eagle.' It was found, however, that the French had hauled so close in shore that only small frigates could approach them. Rooke determined to attack with the boats. Then was seen of what splendid stuff the English sailors were made, and how nobly they fought for their country's freedom. The banished King and his crew of traitors looked on with mingled feelings of shame and pride at the prowess of their countrymen. At 7 P.M. 200 boats pulled in under a heavy fire which was not returned. It was not until they got alongside that the steady

pulling ceased. Then they boated their oars, drew their cutlasses as one man, and boarded the ships. The fight was short and decisive. The six moored under Fort Lisset were burnt that night, and next morning the other seven, protected by the fort of St. Vaast, were destroyed, besides a number of transports. All this was done in sight of the army ready to invade England. The attempt was given up, and the traitor-King returned to St. Germain, his schemes of bloodthirsty revenge frustrated for ever. The sailors had, by their cool courage and dauntless bravery, saved their country. Never again, until the end of the war, did the French appear with a fleet able to cope with ours; their operations were confined to privateering and attacking merchant ships.

The victorious fleet returned to St. Helens on May 26, and Queen Mary sent down a gratuity of 30,000*l.* to be distributed among the sailors, while medals were struck for the officers.¹

In October 1692 a squadron was ordered to be got ready for service in the West Indies, under the command of Sir Francis Wheler, who arrived at Barbadoes on March 1, 1693. It was intended that either Guadeloupe or Martinique should be attacked, but nothing was done. There were orders that the ships should not remain in the West Indies after May, and on June 12 the squadron arrived at Boston. Robert Fairfax was

¹ Admiral Russell became first Lord of the Admiralty in 1694, and hoisted his flag in command of the Mediterranean fleet. In 1697 he was created Viscount Barfleur and Earl of Orford. He was First Lord again in 1709-10, and a third time from 1714 to 1717, when he finally retired. Lord Orford died, childless, at his house in Covent Garden, on November 26, 1727, aged seventy-four.

Admiral Carter was buried at Portsmouth, with great military pomp, and Captain Hastings was interred, with similar honours, under the pavement of St. James's, Piccadilly.

still serving there, on board the 'Conception' prize, but on June 22, 1693, Sir Francis Wheler, by a death vacancy, promoted him to the command of the 'Pembroke,' a third-rate of 60 guns and 908 tons. Returning home in her, he was ordered by the Admiralty to commission the 'Ruby,' a ship of 556 tons, with 48 guns and a complement of 226 men. His commission bore the date of December 30, 1693.¹

The orders of Captain Fairfax were to cruise in the Irish Sea and protect commerce. This he did very effectually; and in June 1693, after a hard fought action, he captured the 'Entreprenant,' a large French privateer of 46 guns, the 'Ruby' carrying 48. His vigilance, and the efficient protection he gave to fishing boats and coasting craft, earned for Fairfax the gratitude of the Irish people. Among other recognitions, he was presented with the freedom of the town of Castle Martyr, near Youghal.

Borough of Castlemartyr.²

Memorandum that on the fourth day of October in the year of our Lord God 1697 the Portrive, Baylies, Burgesses and Comonalty of the Corporation of Castlemartyr aforesaid presented Capt Robert Fairfax with his freedom at large of the said Corporation, and the said Robert Fairfax is therefore hereby

¹ Sir Francis Wheler was next sent to the Mediterranean with a squadron to protect trade and annoy the enemy, arriving at Cadiz in January 1694. Meeting with a gale of wind in the Straits of Gibraltar in February, his ship, the 'Sussex,' foundered in the storm, and of 550 men only two were saved. The Admiral's body was picked up among the rocks near Algeiras.

² Castle Martyr is in county Cork, between Cork and Youghal, on the river Womanagh, which falls into Youghal Bay, on the west side, near Knockadoon Head. It was formerly called Ballymartyr. In 1663 the Earl of Orrery got the town erected into a borough to send two members to Parliament, he and his heirs to nominate the Mayor, Recorder, and other officials. It was the residence of the Boyles, Earls of Shannon.—Gibson, *History of Cork*.

published and declared to be a freeman at large of the said corporation, and is to have, receive, take and enjoy all rights, privileges, jurisdictions and immunities as any freeman at large of the said Corporation ever had, received, took, or enjoyed the same.

For his good service in the Irish Sea, Robert Fairfax was, on December 24, 1694, promoted to the command of a fine third-rate, the 'Newark,' of 80 guns and 1,216 tons, on board of which he was employed on much active service, chiefly connected with convoying merchant ships. Early in 1695 he was under the orders of Rear-Admiral the Marquis of Carmarthen, who had shown some signs of capacity at La Hogue. But he was so unfortunate as to mistake a great fleet of French merchant ships for men-of-war, and fled from them up the Irish Channel. In his absence a number of West Indiamen were taken by the French. Consequently Lord Carmarthen was never employed again.¹

The 'Newark' was next attached to a squadron commanded by Sir George Rooke convoying merchant ships to the Mediterranean, a troublesome duty. The rendezvous was Cadiz, and a frequent order was to drop astern and tow up one of the heaviest sailers in the convoy. In the year 1696, the 'Newark' was in the fleet commanded by Lord Berkeley,² off Ushant; and the orders issued by this Admiral show to what privations the men were exposed during their long cruises at sea. On July 14, 1696, the squadron off Ushant was put on short allowance of butter and cheese until further orders; on the 28th an order was issued that all cheeses were to

¹ He succeeded as second Duke of Leeds in 1712, and died in 1729.

² Son of the first Earl Berkeley, who was created in 1679. The son Charles was created in July 1689, during his father's lifetime, Baron Berkeley of Berkeley. He succeeded his father in the earldom in 1698, and died in 1710. His son, created Lord Dursley in 1704, was also an admiral. He became third Earl of Berkeley in 1710 and died in 1736.

be frequently turned and wiped, and the butter to be kept as cool as possible ; and on August 11 it was all used. The men were to have pork and pease one day, and beef the next, and nothing else. They suffered from scurvy, and in August the squadron was obliged to return to Spithead, where Lord Berkeley hauled down his flag. He was succeeded by Admiral Aylmer.¹

On September 14, 1696, Captain Fairfax left the 'Newark,' and was appointed to the 'Cornwall,' also an 80-gun ship, of 1,186 tons. During the next year he was again cruising off Ushant and in the Channel, in squadrons commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Admiral Mitchell, and Admiral Aylmer. But on September 10, 1697, the peace of Ryswick was signed. It was proclaimed in the fleet on October 19, and orders were issued to forbear from all acts of hostility against the French. In the end of the month the 'Cornwall' was paid off, and Robert Fairfax was at last able to go on shore and attend to his private affairs. It was at this time that a portrait was painted of Robert Fairfax, half length, with a ship in the distance.² He wears his own light brown hair, has a broad forehead, large eyes, a straight nose, and rather full lips. It is the countenance of a firm, strong-willed young man, with a pleasant expression. He is also described, on September 26, 1696, on a Register Ticket, as a tall, well-

¹ Matthew Aylmer was the second son of Sir Christopher Aylmer of Balrath, county Meath. He began life as page to the Duke of Buckingham. In 1678 he was lieutenant of the 'Charles' galley, and served continuously until 1688. He commanded the 'Royal Katherine' at the battle of Beachy Head, was at the battle of La Hogue, and became a Rear-Admiral in 1693. During 1698 he was in the Mediterranean, at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He retired when Admiral Churchill went to the Admiralty, but hoisted his flag again in 1709. In 1718 he was created Baron Aylmer of Balrath, and in 1720 became Rear-Admiral of Great Britain. He died in August 1720.

² Formerly at Newton Kyme, now at Bilbrough.

set man of a fair complexion, aged thirty-one years.¹ He was now to have a short respite at home, between the wars of William III. and of Anne, after having served for nearly ten years in the navy.

¹ Register Ticket No. 407 of Robert Fairfax, in accordance with Act 7 & 8 W. III. cap. XXI., entitled an 'Act for the Increase and Encouragement of Seamen.' Mariners above eighteen and under fifty were, by this Act, allowed to register themselves in the King's service. If registered they were allowed, when disabled, to be received at Greenwich Hospital, and no one, unless registered, was capable of being a Brother of the Trinity House.

It is difficult to understand why a post captain should have had himself registered. Possibly he wished to be qualified for an appointment as Elder Brother of the Trinity House.

CHAPTER IX.

AT HOME DURING THE PEACE.

DURING the years that Robert Fairfax was actively employed in the naval service of his country, from the Revolution to the peace of Ryswick, several great changes took place at his home, and there were gaps in the family circle when he came back to enjoy the interval of peace. While he was on the American station he lost his aunt Bladen and his grandmother. Lady Fairfax, as is stated on her monument in Bolton Percy Church, 'lived mistress of Steeton over fifty years.' Surviving her gallant husband for nearly half a century, Lady Fairfax lived to see the final triumph of that good old cause for which Sir William had given his life so willingly. Her daughter Catharine, whose letters to her during the Protectorate have been preserved, had long been dead. Isabella, the other more beloved daughter, was the wife of Mr. Nathaniel Bladen, and the mother of two sons and three daughters. She died at Steeton on October 25, 1691, her mother only surviving her for three months. The aged Lady Fairfax died in January 1692. Mother and daughter were buried in the same grave in Bolton Percy Church, and the same mural monument preserves their memory. So passed away the last surviving link in this family, connecting the glorious traditions of the triumphant

struggle for the rights and liberties of England under the Parliament with the days of William and Mary. A few of the actors in the great war were spared to see the expulsion of James and the final triumph of the good old cause. Lord Wharton and General Ludlow were among the very few survivors. Lady Fairfax, who was in her eighty-second year when she died, was another. She had the happiness to see young grandsons entering upon life with every prospect of gaining distinction, and of being not unworthy to bear the name of her heroic husband. Robert Fairfax was already commanding a ship on active service. Martin Bladen was entering upon his career in the army. He afterwards served under Marlborough in Flanders, and under Stanhope in Spain. He was Comptroller of the Mint, a Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, Under-Secretary of State, and for many years member for Portsmouth. Distinguished alike as a soldier, a politician, and an administrator, he also gained success as a man of letters, and his translation of Cæsar's Commentaries was a work well known in its day.¹ Colonel Bladen's sisters, Elizabeth and Frances, married respectively Mr. Edward Hawke and Mr. Hammond of Scarthingwell. Elizabeth was the mother of Admiral Hawke, who owed his early training to his uncle Martin Bladen. The third sister, Catherine Bladen, did not marry, but was the loving companion of her old uncle, General Thomas Fairfax, in his declining years.

On the death of old Lady Fairfax, her grandson William came into possession of Steeton, and went to live there, with his wife and three little girls. Since his very youthful marriage he had lived in Craven, his

¹ He lived at Albury Hatch, in Essex, where he died on February 15, 1746.

wife's country, and there his daughters were born. He was warm hearted and affectionate, fond of field sports, but in delicate health. There is a portrait of William Fairfax by Sir Godfrey Kneller; a handsome youth, with a melancholy expression, wearing his own light brown hair. He was only destined to enjoy the possession of the old home of his ancestors for two years and a half. He was taken ill, and, after much suffering, he died on July 20, 1694. He made his will a month before his death, desiring to be buried in Bolton Percy Church. He left 1,000*l.* to each of his daughters, Frances, Susanna, and Anne; but they all followed their father to the grave within a few years. Anne died in 1695, Susanna in 1696. He enumerated the pictures that he wished to be heirlooms—namely, his great grandmother, Lady Fairfax (Curwen); his grandfather, Sir William Fairfax; his uncle, General Thomas Fairfax; and his own father, William Fairfax.¹ He left the picture of himself to his mother. His favourite old roan horse was bequeathed to his cousin, Christopher Jackson,² and his faithful spaniel Tray to Mr. Clapham, the Rector of Newton Kyme.

William Fairfax was the last of the family who lived at Steeton. According to his last wish he was buried in Bolton Percy Church, and his brother Robert erected a monument to his memory.

Robert Fairfax was in command of the 'Ruby,' chasing privateers in the Irish Sea, when the death of his brother made him head of the family, and possessor of Steeton and Newton Kyme. When he returned to

¹ They are all still in possession of the family.

² Rector of the church of Saint Crux in York from 1671 to 1701, and Prebendary of York. He died in 1701, aged sixty-three. He gave 200*l.* to the Lord Mayor in his lifetime, the interest to be given to two poor decayed tradesmen every year. It was known as 'Jackson's Gift.'

England in the autumn of 1694, previous to commissioning the 'Newark,' the old project of matrimony, which he had alluded to in the letter to his mother from Plymouth in October 1690, was renewed. He then spoke of the idea of a marriage with 'the rich widow Mrs. Thomlinson' as a joke which would make his mother laugh, but now it had become serious. Robert Fairfax first made the acquaintance of Esther Bushell, his captain's sister, when he was an apprentice in the merchant service. She was kind to him in London, and when he visited her family at Whitby, but there was no idea of love in those days. She was ten years his senior, and more in the position of an elder sister. Still she was very kind to him, and he was fond of her. In due time Esther Bushell was married to Charles Thomlinson of Whitby, son of John Thomlinson of York, a citizen of some wealth, whose uncle, Thomas Thomlinson, was a mercer, at the sign of the 'Ship' in Cheapside, in 1603. In a few years Esther became a widow without children, in possession of a good income, some plate, and a library of books, which she inherited from her husband. Robert Fairfax renewed his acquaintance with his old friend when he came home in the 'Bonadventure' from the relief of Londonderry. Probably his attentions to the widow, who was so many years older than himself, formed the subject of a joke in which he joined. Still he thought over the matter in the interval of service in America, and came to the conclusion that the widow Thomlinson would make him a suitable wife. Though not handsome, she was a lady of a fine presence, tall and stately, with an aquiline nose and regular features. When Fairfax came home in the 'Ruby' he was accepted, and they were married in London on November 20, 1694. For the first three

years Mrs. R. Fairfax lived at Ruswarpe, her father's house near Whitby. Here her first child was born, a son, named Guy, on August 10, 1695, but he died the same day and was buried at Whitby. A still-born daughter followed on February 23, 1697.

Mrs. Fairfax, the beloved and affectionate mother of Robert, continued to live at Newton Kyme with her three daughters. Her sailor son must have enjoyed the delight of several unrecorded visits to her, and must have taken his wife to see her at the dear old home, after the wedding. But another great loss was impending. During the summer of 1695 Mrs. Fairfax went to pay a visit to her half sister, Lady Neville, at Auber, in Lincolnshire, and there she died on July 14. She was buried at Auber, but her son erected a monument to the memory of his father and mother in the church at Newton Kyme.¹ His orphan sisters continued to live there; and we may judge from the tone of Robert's letters how dearly the mother was loved by her children, and how deep was their grief at her loss. Leaving his wife at Whitby, and his sisters at Newton Kyme, Captain Fairfax joined the 'Newark' immediately after his mother's death. His affairs were in some confusion, so he left a power of attorney with his friend Mr. John Dyneley of Bramhope to receive rents and otherwise act in his place during his absence, to defend any actions brought against him, and to pay or compound for all debts owing by his late brother, William Fairfax, at the time of his death. It is dated July 16, 1695, the witnesses being his two sisters, Frank and Bessy. He was

¹ Mrs. Fairfax made her will on July 13, 1695, the day before her death. She left her pictures at Newton Kyme to her son Robert, and, except a few legacies, everything else to be divided equally among her three daughters, who were the executrices.

on shore for a short time in May 1697, but he did not come home again until after the peace of Ryswick.

Captain Fairfax arranged that his sisters should live at Newton Kyme, while Steeton remained unoccupied. Bessy was married soon afterwards to young Mr. Thomas Spencer of Bramley Grange, near Rotherham.¹ Frank and Thea remained unmarried. Captain and Mrs. Fairfax themselves took up their abode in London during the two years that the former remained on shore. They had a house in Searle Street, at the corner of Cook's Court, and facing what was then called Little Lincoln's Inn. It is now Lincoln's Inn Square. Here their son Thomas was born on Friday, October 21, 1698. He was baptized in the church of St. Clement Danes.

At this period Robert Fairfax renewed his friendship with his cousin, Lord Fairfax, who, among other gifts, presented him with Dr. Chamberlayne's new work, 'The Present State of England,' on November 13, 1699. He also had the advantage of the society of Mr. Brian Fairfax, the literary uncle of Lord Fairfax, who lived in a small house in the Royal Mews, near Charing Cross, with his wife and three sons. Brian was the relation to whom all the members of the family looked for advice and assistance in their troubles. He has left an account of himself and his parents in the form of a letter to his sons, which is sufficiently interesting to deserve insertion here :—

¹ This family of Spencers had been seated at Bramley and Attercliffe, near Sheffield, since 1602. Thomas Spencer, who married Elizabeth Fairfax, was born in 1670, and died in 1703. Their son, William Spencer, married the heiress of Henry Eyre, Esq., of Bramley Hall, in 1726, and had children. His descendants continued to own Bramley Grange. His daughter Sarah married Thomas Foljambe, Esq., of Aldwark Hall.

*My dear children Brian Fairfax, and Ferdinando Fairfax
and Charles.*

I have directed you (my dear children) unto the fountaine of wisdom, the Holy Scriptures, wch are able to make you wise unto salvation, wherein I desire you may be instructed from your youth, and to train you up in the way you should go, that when you are old you may not depart from it.

I know not how long it may please God to let mee live with you in this world, and therefore I would neglect no occasion of instructing you, both by my example, and by such divine and moral precepts as I find in the word of God.

I wish I were as able to leave you a temporal inheritance as I am to direct you, by God's help, in the paths of wisdom.

I had much rather leave you a picture of my mind than of my face, that being dead I may still speak to you.

Haveing reason to think you may lose a father before you come to yeares of discretion to governe yourselves, it shall be my care that, from children, you may know ye Holy Scriptures, which are able to make you wise unto Salvation through Faith in Christ.

The memory of my deare Parents is so pretious to mee that I hope you will have the same regard to myne. I did honor and obey them while they lived, and have endeavored to imitate their good example of Piety, and other graces, who in symplicity and Godly sincerity had their conversation in this world.

We have no pictures left of my deare Father and Mother in our family; to supply that want I will describe them and give this short account of their life.

My Father was Mr. Henry Fairfax,² second son of Sir Tho Fairfax the first Lord Fairfax of Denton.³ Hee was borne at Denton Ano 1588. His five brethren were all soldiers (Charles a lawyer not excepted, such was the troublesome tymes they lived

¹ Manuscript sold at Mr. Bruce's sale in May 1870. Bought by Edward Hailstone, Esq., Walton Hall, near Wakefield.

² Born at Denton January 14, 1588.

³ Denton was his seat in Yorkshire. He was created Baron Fairfax of Cameron. His grandson, the third Lord, was the Parliamentary General.

in). My Father was bred not only a scollar (for yt they all were) but a Divine, and so chose the better part, he lived and died a man of peace.

I have heard say that King James bid my Grandfather make him a Scollar, and hee would make him a Bishop: but the storme yt fell upon the Church and State made him incapable of that dignety, liveing quietly like Lot in Zoar, from whence hee saw Sodome all in flames.

Hee was educated at Trinity Colledge in Cambridg where hee was Fellow, and lived afterwards at Newton Kyme in Yorkshire, a small liveing in his Father's guift.

He married the most vertuous and pious Mrs. Mary Cholmely, daughter of Sir Richard Cholmeley of Roxby Kt, by the Lady Katherine (widdow of ye Lord Scroop) eldest da. of Henry Lord Clifford, the first Earle of Cumberland, by Margaret his first wife, da. to ye Earle of Northumberland.

*Sed genus et proavos et quæ non
fecimus Ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.*

Shee was a most lovely and comely person, but the vertues and graces of her mind made her more excellent than her neighbours: haveing all the lineaments of beauty wch King Solomon requires in his portrature of a vertuous woman.

Her price was far above rubies (Pro. 30. 10.)
The hart of her husband did safely trust in her.
She did him good and not evil all ye dayes of her life.
She opened her mouth with wisdom, and in
her tongue was ye law of kindness.
Her children arise up and eall her blessed, her
Husband also and hee praysed her.

Their children were Thomas¹ and Ellen who bothe died young. Henry² now Lord Fairfax of Denton 1671, and poore I Brian borne at Newton.

All the tyme of the civil warrs, from 1642 to 46 their little

¹ Born at Ashton in 1628, and died April 29, 1640. He was buried at Otley, 'he being a gentleman of great hopes for his time,' says the Parish Register.

² Born at Ashton December 20, 1631, died 1688.

House was a refuge and sanctuary to all their friends and relations on both sides: from thence they removed to Bolton Percy, where shee ended her godly life ano 1649, *Ætat* 57.¹

My deare Father removed from thence to his own house at Oglethorp,² and there spent the remainder of his life in a pious and contented solitude.

His notes upon the Holy Bible (severall of them being in the study at Denton) do shew how much hee delighted in yt sacred Book, and the auntient fathers of the church.

His recreation was the study of antiquities and heraldry.

Thus hee lived to a good old age, his conscience voyd of offence towards God and man. Hee dyed at Oglethorp Ap 1665:³ buried at Bolton Percy nere to his most deare and loving wife *Ætat* 77.

It is observed that children do often resemble their Grandfathers more than their Fathers. I hope you will do so; though (I thank God) I have no deformities or defects of body or mind to make you ashamed of resembling yr Parents, and I hope you will stand as far indetted to us for a godly and vertuous education to correct the vitious inclinations of corrupt nature, as I do to my parents.

And yet I must confess I have followed my deare Parents with unequall steps in the paths of piety and vertue; and it is no shame to confess that the cobby they set was too exact for mee to imitate, though I had not been exposed to ye variety of temptations which a life led in the Tents of Kedar and the Courts of Princes, compared with the quiet and retired life wch they led in ye House of God, is subject to.

The greater part of his tyme was spent in reading and meditating on ye Holy Bible, his delight was in it, and like David's blessed man hee did meditate therein day and night.

I perfectly remember ye manner of his conversation in this world. Hee was a man of primitive symplicity, piety, modesty, meekness, cherfullness, (wch in him was the effect of a good conscience voyd of offence to God and man). Hee was ever

¹ She died on January 8, 1650, and was buried at Bolton Percy.

² In 1662.

³ He died on April 6, 1665, and was buried under a flagstone within the altar rails of Bolton Percy Church.

lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven. Hee was frequent in pious ejaculations, and loved to bee alone, expressing the inward devotion of his soule in sighs and grones wch cannot bee uttered.

Hee was naturally a man of courage, but tempered with so much meekness and modesty and compassion, that it was impossible for him to have been a soldier or lawyer or anything but a Divine, a man of peace consecrated to that sacred profession.

His courage hee made use of in his Profession, boldly to reprove sin and vice, especially swearing and drunkenness, as it came in his way, and once to the hazzard of his life among the soldiers at York, when he was carried prisoner from Newton, upon no other account but because he was Brother to my Lord ffer ffairfax and uncle to Sir Th. ff Generall and Lieut Generall of the Parlty Army in that unhappy war. Ano 1644.

Being sent for to York hee was brought before Prince Rupert, who asked him if hee had taken the Covenant, hee answered no, nor any other oath but those of allegiance and supremacy: whereupon the Prince (who a little before had spared Denton Hall for the sake of my Uncle Willm Fairfax, whose picture hee saw there, who lost his life at Frankendale in his Father's quarrel) the Prince sent my Father quietly home with a protection, wch made his little House at Newton a Sanctuary to his friends who were engaged in both armies.

His modesty did render his private conversation very acceptable to his friends who all did love and esteeme him, and the more for so little esteeming himself.

But this amiable vertue joynd with sincere sanctity did ill suite with ye boisterous tymes hee lived in. The pulpit was then possessed (for the most part) by men of bold and confident tempers.

My deare Mother was a help meet for him, carefull about the concernes of her children and house, and yet not neglecting ye one thing necessary. Shee acted not Martha's part alone, but Mary's too. Witness those excellent and pious meditations (in a little book of her own handwriting in my study) upon the words of our Saviour Mat 6. Take no thought for your life &c: which I recoñend to my deare wife and children to read, to

encourage them to trust in the Providence of God, and his righteousness; and all things else shall be added to us.

Epitaph on my Father and Mother.

Here Moses meekness, Aaron's sanctity,
Abraham's faith, Samuel's integrity,
David's devotion all together lie.
Mary's devotion, Martha's prudent care,
In her alone these graces joyned were.

On my grandmother at Otley, by my uncle Edward Fairfax.

Here lyes fruitfulness, and Rachel's beauty,
Here lyes Reebeca's faith, here Sarah's duty.

It pleased God in his providence that I should be absent when both Mother and Father dyed. But this I know, that as they lived the life, so they dyed the death of the righteous. O let my latter end be like theirs, and my life also.

My mother dyed of a pleurisy, but the paine did not hinder her prayres and shee was so sensible as to aske (when the bell at Bolton told) if it told for her. Her deare husband and severall friends about her (as the good Lady Barwick) were witnesses of her faith and hope in Christ Jesus. She desired them to read the 42 Psalme. As the hart panteth for the water brooks &c., which Psalme and the 23—the Lord is my Shepard &c., were the particular Psalms shee delighted in whilst shee lived, and wch did comfort her at her death.

[The 42 Psalme was the last part of scripture wch my Lord Th. Fairfax¹ read, the morning of ye day hee dyed at Appleton. He complained his eyes were dim, and so piously gave up the ghost 1671.]

My deare Father mourned for her as a loving turtle for his mate. His passion was so excessive that it deprived him of the sight of one of his eyes ever after. Whenever hee named her, it renewed his sorrow and drew from him sighs and teares, and yet did hee not sorrow as those without hope.

When my deare Father dyed at Oglethorpe, April 1665, I was at sea with ye Duke of Buckingham aboard the 'Prince,' in the Dutch war. Hee spoke often of mee in his sickness, saying—Poore Brian where is hee? is hee at sea? He was a

¹ The great General.

most passionate tender hearted father to both his children. My brother lived wth him, but I only visited him once a yeare: so I could not do as Joseph, who fell upon his dead father's face, and wept upon him and kissed him.

Hee lived to a good old age, and his grey haire came with peace to the grave.

The yeares of his life did exceed the coñion period which David assignes, of three score yeares and ten, hee lived 7 yeares beyond it, and yet God blessed him with health, that at those yeares he was not oppressed wth labour and sorrow, with gout or stone. Hee dyed of a kind of lethargy, so yt death was no more to him than falling asleep.

Your mother is descended of Honorable Parentage but had the unhappiness to loose her father and mother in her childhood. Her father was Sir Edmund Cary, descended from the same stock as the renowned Queen Elizabeth, vizt. from Mary Bullen, daughter of Thomas Bullen Earl of Wiltshire, sister to Anne 2d wife of King Hen. 8 and mother of Queen Elizabeth.

Sir Edmund Cary is descended from Thomas Cary of Chilton Foliot Esqr and Margaret, whose mother was Elenor Beaufort da. of Edmond Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, Regent of France, slaine at St. Albans 1455, and sister of Edmond, ye last Duke of yt name of Beaufort, whose naturall son was Charles Somerset Earl of Worcester, from whom is descended the Marquis, now created Duke of Beaufort by King Charles 1682, and Charles Gerard, Earl of Macclesfield.

Sir Edmond's father was Sir Ferdinando, a famous soldier in the low country wars, and a goodly person. His grandfather was Sir Edmund, 3d son of Henry Lord Hunsdon, cousin german to Queen Elizabeth.

Sir Edmond Cary, my wife's father, was educated in the Court of the Elector Palatine, to whom hee was Page, and in a little tyme made a Captain in the civil wars in England. He was an officer in great esteem both for courage and generosity, extremely beloved in the King's army, but soon lost his life by wounds wch occasioned sickness, wherof he dyed at Cardiff in Wales. Bishop Usher was with him at his death, and when his relations asked how hee did, his answer was hee was fitter for heaven than earth.

He became intimately acquainted with Coll. Charles Gerard (now Lord Gerard and Earl of Macclesfield) both of them very young and emulating one another in brave and vertuous actions as rivals, contending who should be most esteemed and best beloved in the King's Army, which occasioned a duel between them, wherein my Lord was wounded in the hand.

At York hee married Anne, sister to my Lord Gerard, by whom hee had an only child Charlotte Cary,¹ my deare wife, borne in York in Alderman Tireman's house in Peter-gate. Sir Edmund was taken prisoner by ye army under coñand of my uncle Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, and an exchaing made between him and my uncle Charles ffairfax of Menston, at Street Houses near York. I have seen a letter from Sir Edmund to my Lord ffer. ffairfax about his release.

Those unhappy wars did not permit the husband and wife to live long together, or enjoy many dayes of quiet. They were soon separated, hee into Wales where the King's service called him, shee into Lancashire, where she dyed not long after him, at Halsey, her brother my Lord Gerard's house. Shee was with her husband at Cardiff, when he dyed, his da. Charlotte was there too.

I cannot name this noble Lord Gerard, her brother, without this character due to him: that the courage and loyalty which hee showed in the civil war of England, did not more redound to his fame and honor than his constant profession of the Protestant Religion hath done since, and his bold opposing the growth of Popery publicly in ye House of Lords in Parliament, and upon all other occasions in this dissembling age and court wee live in, makes him deserve a coronet of never fadeing lawrell, which shall adorn his head when other trophies and lawrells shall fade and wither.

Among all the antient Heros, Greek and Roman, whose lives are made immortal by haveing such an historian as Plutarch to write them, there are none whose noble minds did engage their bodyes in more personall dangers than Prince Rupert, my Lord Gerard (now Earl of Macclesfield) and Thomas Lord Fairfax, nor ever carried such scarrs and marks of honor to their graves.

¹ Married to Brian Fairfax on April 22, 1675, in Westminster Abbey. She died November 14, 1709.

Their personal valour crown'd all their personal attempts with success. Wherever they charged the enemy, they were victorious.

And now, my deare children, I wish I could present you with a picture of my selfe, such a one as might resemble my parents and ancestors, and such a one as might represent the best part of my selfe, and conceale the worst, for your imitation.

My deare father and mother had two sons before me, Thomas who dyed at Otley schoole 2 or 3 dayes before my grandfather who dyed at Denton 1641, and Henry now Lord Fairfax 1682. Also Ellen who died at Ashton in Lancashire.

My grandfather Tho. Ld ffairfax desired that my name should be Brian: (one reason why I have given my deare son the same name). I suppose he did it in memory of Brian ff. brother to Sir Guy. He was eminent for his wisdome and prudence and probity, as appears by severall evidences and deeds which hee was witness in those dayes, and executor and supervisor to divers wills.

I rather think ye name Brian was given in memory of him whom wee call *my neame*¹ *Brian* (as his nephew Richard ff. father of Sir Guy, calls him in his will dated 8^o Hen. 8). The uses of his feofment made to his *neame Brian* of his manor of Walton &c. 13 Ric. 2, 1394: whence my father and grandfather used to call mee Brian '*my neame.*' Hee was Parson of Marston, Prebend of Langtoft, Precentor of York, to whom his uncle John, Parson of Gilling, bequeathed all his books juris civilis et communis. From this Brian I suppose the name was derived to many honorable families, as Stapilton (Sir Miles S. and this Brian lived both in ye same tyme 1394). Brian Palmes of Naburne, Serjeant at law 11 Hen 8; which two honorable families have had many Brians.

The name is I suppose of Saxon extraction.² Wee find Brian de Lisle. Brian de Lisle was one of the 33 noblemen that were witnesses to Magna Carta 9 Hen. 3. Brian de Wallingford

¹ *Eam*, *mine eam*, 'my uncle,' also generally 'my gossip,' 'my compere,' 'my friend.' *Eam* (Teut.), *Ohm* (Belg.), *Avunculus*. '*My neame,*' my uncle, my gossip, my compere.—See J. Ray's *Collection of English Proverbs and Words not generally used* (4th ed.), 1768, 8vo., Part II., p. 28.

² A Breton name, meaning *strong*, brought over by the Bretons in the army of William the Conqueror.

Lord of ye Castle of Abergevenny, called Fitz Count. Brian Fitz Allan, Dominus de Askham Brian temp Ed 3 *unde forsannomen derivatur* : whose daughter and heir was married to Stapilton, thence came the name of Brian to Stapilton and Fairfax.

There is no reason to think so honorable a name among the English nobility came out of Ireland, as from O Brients Earles of Toumond, seeing we find it so auntient in England as Magna Carta.

I cannot name my grandfather Tho Lord Fairfax without this character of him : that he was a man of an heroic spirit, wise and prudent in all his actions in peace and valliant in warr, of so comely a personage that his pictures do adorne the houses of most gentlemen in the county of Yorke, resembling Hen. 4 of France, whom he served in the warr in France, and was knighted at the siege of Roan.

I lived with him at Denton, in my childhood, till his death, and do gratefully remember his care and kindness to mee there.

Hee most affected a soldier's life, and was a very good scoller. He was a courtier a while, being a favorite to King James, but had too much honor and honesty to thrive in yt trade, wch his plentifull fortune made him not stand in need of. He writ several treatises, as of Horsemanship, and a political discourse calld the High way to Heidelberg, shewing the means to abate the grandeur of Spaine &c.

From Denton I went to my parents at Newton, and was sent at 10 yeares old to Cuckwald¹ school, thence after 3 or 4 yeares to Cambridge, where I was admitted into Trin. Colledg and had the happiness to be acquainted with several vertuous and good men, as Dr. Isac Barrow (after Master of the Coll.), Dr. Mapletoft &c. By the advise of Sir Tho Widdrington (a kind kinsman and friend of our family), my Parents designed mee for the study of the coñon law, but my inclination at that time was to stay longer in the Colledge, associateing with honest men, given to no vice of debauchery in any kind. Soon after I went to the Inns of Court, Gray's Inn, where I had been admitted long before in Sir Tho. Wid. Reading. There I studied a yeare or 2, but found that I wanted bouldness to talk as was necessary for that profession. This was in the tyme of

¹ Coxwold.

Cromwell's usurpation, and I was willing to make the unsettled tymes an excuse for my being so in my mind. Then I went againe to Cambridg, where I comēced Master of Arts, but still unresolved what profession to follow, though I believe my father (who was very indulgent and never forced mee to any) was desirous to have mee a Divine, but being yong and unwilling to enter into a profession wch in those days had nether honor nor preferment to tempt or invite mee to it, I was still undetermined in my mind, now and then going to wayte on my Lord Fairfax, who took a likeing to mee, and desired I would bee in his house ; where soon after at his request I went into France with the Earl of Kildare in the yeare 1658.

How I came to bee related to the Duke of Buckingham as a servant and kinsman, and I thank God to none of his vices : my conscience accuseth me not for haveing served him in his sins, but rather reproved him.

In the yeare 1657 the Duke of Buckingham married Mary, the daughter of Tho Lord Fairfax. Shee was twice asked in the church at St. Martyn's Westminster, to the Earle of Chesterfield, and I was sent to forbid the banns the third tyme. The Duke's person and titles spoke for him to the young lady, and it was an inducement to her father that he had some of the Duke's estates at Helmsley and York house, of the Parlt's gift, which he was willing to restore, as hee did the Earl of Derby's estate in the Isle of Man, to the Countess and her children, to whom hee was a just steward.

I was at the marriage at Nun-Appleton and in 2 or 3 dayes Cromwell heard of it, and fearing what such an alliance might produce, hee sent down to seize on the Duke, but hee got away to London, and my Lord ff recomēded me to his Grace in that time of his absconding, as one that a jealous man as hee was might safely trust, and was pleased to say hee would answer for my courage and honesty. Soon after my Ld ff and his family, with the Duchess, came to London, and I was stil employed to bring letters and messages between them, now and then wayting on the Duke to York house, where Cromwell sent to seek for him. But the messengers found my Lord ffairfax in such a passion that they durst not abide it, nor did Cromwell

himself (whom the world feared at that tyme) venture to provoke my Lord ff, of whom hee used to say Hee was a mau had no feare in him, having seen it on many occasions iu the warr.

This made Cromwell take another course to get the Duke into his hands vizt. by consenting that he should be at York house, provided hee went not out, but haveing this liberty hee soon extended it, for hee went to Cobham, his sister ye Duchess of Richmond's house, and was there taken by Coll. Gibbons who was one of those that killd his brother my Lord Francis at Kingston. I am glad I was not with the Duke at Cobham. Hee was brought to the Tower of London, and probably had gone to Tower Hill, but that ye death of Cromwell hapend a fortnight after, in which tyme my Lord ff did go to Whithal to Cromwell to desire his son in law's liberty, but got nothing but fair words, which at last made him break out in passion (I being with him at Whitehal) agt Cromwell. All who saw him thought it no less than open defiance of Cromwell : but a few days after Cromwell died. Then the Duke was sent prisoner to Windsor Castle. The Earl of Pembroke and Lord ffairfax bound in a bond of £10,000 to Rich. Cromwell for his appearance, and was at last set at liberty.

In the year 1658 I went into France wth the Earl of Kildare at my Ld ffx request. Wee were no further than Roan, Caen, and Paris. There I heard that Sir G. Booth was in arms for the King, and that my Lord ff and the Duke of Buc. was engaged in it : which made me haste to England in an English frigate, and fought with a Privateer of Ostend by the way, and forced her ashore off Beachy point in Sussex, and took her. I shot off the first cannon, wch the Captain let mee do in complement, the other passengers going under deck. The day I came to London Sir G. Booth was brought into the Tower by Lambert.

Then my Lord ff made me receive all the rents of Helmsley &c for the Duke of Buck's use, whereof I gave a just account.

In the year 1659, going into Yorkshire to Appleton, where was my Ld ff and the Duke, I was sent by my Ld ff into Scotland, of which journey I have given a relation which I call '*Iter Boreale*,' in another book. In short Genl Monk sent his brother Clarges to my Lord ff to desire his help agt Lambert, an answer was sent but not delivered which made my Lord ff say

at my coming—Here is my cos Brian, I will undertake he will go, wch I did next morning, and travelled day and night til I came to Coldstream, but met with a moss trooper by the way who would have murthered mee, but it please God I threw him off his horse, he undertakeing to be my guide, my guide Tho Shepard's horse falling lame. I came to the Genl at one o'clock in the night, to Coldstream upon Tweed. Hee was very glad to hear from my Lord ff, and all my message was to tell him on new year's day my Lord ff would leave his house and appear at the head of what force he could rayse, agt Lambert's army. The Genl told mee hee would watch him as a cat watcheth a mouse. At my return I found Lambert's army was mouldering away, and it was at the report of my Lord ff being up in Yorkshire. For in a few days the Irish Brigade of 1200 horse left him and came to offer their service to my Lord ff; and their general Lambert ran away with 5 or 6 in company, whereby Monk had a free entrance into England.

My Lord was no enemy to episcopacy if a good choice had been made of them, not such as placed all religion in the ceremonial part.

He was bred by his grandfather to the discipline as well as doctrine of the Church of England, as his uncle Edward declares.

A late great Historian speaking of his religion, says—he took himself to be a Presbyterian. I will add he was one, but a moderate one, against the passions of both parties.

After the character given of him, that he was a Christian indeed, in whom was no guile, no hypocrisy, no dissimulation, which that age was so guilty of. He drew his sword to defend the laws and libertys & that the Parlt. might not be conquered by the sword.

I had the honor to serve his Majesty K. Charles the 2d as one of his equerries from Jan 21, 1670 to his dying day. The office was an honorable attendance on his person as a duty when he was on horseback or in a coach, two of us at a tyme for 3 months in ye yeare as by agreement among ourselves (mine being with Sir Robert Pye, ye months of April May and June) and as a voluntary attendance on his Majesty at other tymes, especially when hee walked into the Park, wch was every morning, as it

was the greatest pleasure imaginable to heare his pleasant discourse, being certainly the most facetious and best natured man in the world. And if hee had not been born to be a King, had certainly deserved to be one. This gave me leisure when I pleased to retire to my book, to my little pritty house in the Mews, as private as a colledg; whre my deare wife and children and a book, and sometyme a friend, were my companions.

This quiet I long enjoyed by God's blessing and the King's favor (*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*) for which and all his mercies God's holy name be praised.

Our first disturbance at Court, wch affected both the King and his honest servants, was the Popish Plot, wch was discovered Sept. 1678 to a Justice of Peace in our parish of St. Martin's and lest he should be active in prosecuting it hee was barbarously murdered.

This did rayse such violent passions in all sorts of men, some to conceale it, other to discover and punish it, that the whole nation was never after quiet. Several Parltts and the King himself by several proclamations, declaring the apprehension they had of Popish designes wch by Godfrey's murther, and by Coleman's letters did plainly appeare.

Then began other factions, and ambitious men, to take advantage of the slowness and coldness in prosecuting the discovery of the Popish Plot, to designe such unwarrantable things (wch yet were aggravated) as brought great mischief upon many honest and well meaning subjects.

My part was to wish safety to the King's person and prosperity to the Church of England, comprehending all good Protestants in opposition to Popery, wch in all company as occasion served I was ready to declare, and my zeale (wch I hope was according to prudence and knowledge) was taken notice of by Papists, who I doubt not represented it at St. James's, where I was never like to be a favorite.

In the year 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan, I went to Cambridg at the request of my Ld Macclesfield, and his da. my Lady Gerard, to renew a lease from Trin. Coll. where Fellowes of my old acquaintance kindly entertained me.

Being at supper in the Hall, Dr. Lynet told me the sad newes of his Majty haveing had a fitt of an apoplexy. The hearing of

it nearly threw me into one. I went post next morning to London, and found it too true. I recd a letter from my son Brian when I was at Cambridg to tell me that on Monday mor. soon after I was gone for Cambridg, the sad newes was cryed about the Mewes and citty that the King was dead. But it pleased God he was pritty well recovered out of his fitt.

I went immediatly to the bed chamber door at Whit-hall, and found sorrow in every honest man's face, and small hopes of his recovery. He dyed on Friday Feb. 6, about 11 at noon, and with him my office of equerry, and all my hopes at Court. But I brought away with me faith and a good conscience, and the honour of having served that mercifull King to his death, and if I could have served two masters at once, I might have had one after his death ; but am well content to have none after him upon earth.

I left Whit-hall when ye Mass came into it, I saw a new King who would not know mee nor did I desire to wayte on him, to the House of Rimmon, not but that I know many good Protestants who continue in his service, but I had been particularly noted in the King my Master's tyme to be a free speaker in all company against idolatrous Popery, though in other things I ever behaved myself with all due respect and observance to the D. as ye King's Brother, and never had to do with those who were given to change.

If so much as a false witness could have been found to say any thing agt mee, that I had been in any cabal, or had said anything agt the King or his Governmt, I doubt not but he would have been produced against me, but being none I may justly say that I have been unjustly delt with. But I am thought unfit to serve a Popish King, and I think the same, reserving to myself the allegiance due to a lawful successor, as I think my master's brother is.

This letter was obviously written during the reign of James II., probably in 1686. Brian Fairfax, with his young son Brian, aged thirteen, went to the Hague in 1688 to pay his respects to the Prince and Princess of Orange. The Princess Mary was godchild to the

Duchess of Buckingham, Brian's cousin, and he was received very kindly. When William III. came to the throne he made Brian Fairfax one of his equerries. He held that office for three years, and afterwards acted as secretary to his old friend Archbishop Tillotson. In 1699 he edited the 'Memorials of the great Lord Fairfax,' and wrote the 'Iter Boreale.'¹ He also wrote a memoir of the Duke of Buckingham, and translated the life of Philip Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis. His wife died on November 14, 1709, and he followed her to the grave two years afterwards, on September 23, 1711. His sons were educated at Westminster School. Brian, the eldest, got head into college in 1690, and was elected off to Trinity College, Cambridge. Taking his degree in 1697, he became a Fellow of Trinity; afterwards he was a Commissioner of the Customs. He was a scholar, and a man of taste, and collected a large library at his house in Panton Square, which was sold at his death in 1747.² The second son, Ferdinand, was also at Westminster and Cambridge, and Charles, the third son, after passing through Westminster, was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1702. He took orders, became Dean of Down and Connor, and died in 1723.

Robert Fairfax was much in the society of these bright intelligent lads, and of their accomplished father, during his residence in London. But the interval of peace was of short duration. The close of King

¹ An account of his journey to Coldstream, with a letter from Lord Fairfax, calling upon General Monk to advance into England. It is printed in the *Fairfax Correspondence (Civil War)* II., p. 151.

² Bought by Alderman Child, and formed the greater and best part of the library at Osterley; which was sold in May 1885.

William's reign was darkened by the approach of an inevitable war. The number of commissioned ships was increased, and on May 2, 1699, Captain Fairfax hoisted his pendant on board H.M.S 'Severne' at Sheerness.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST YEAR OF QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

THE 'Severne' was a fourth-rate of 683 tons, with 48 guns and a crew of 230 men. She was expeditiously fitted out at Sheerness, joining the squadron in the Downs June 26, 1699. Under the command of Admiral Hopson, who had been Fairfax's first captain in the 'Bonadventure,' this squadron cruised in the Channel and to the westward of the Land's End. But in the following year the 'Severne' was employed on more important service.

In the year 1689 a treaty had been signed at Altona, with the object of composing the differences between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, which was guaranteed by England and Holland. In 1694 the Duke had married a sister of Charles XII. of Sweden, and had strengthened his fortresses, and induced his brother-in-law to send him troops. These proceedings excited the jealousy of Frederick IV.,¹ the young King of Denmark, who succeeded in 1699, and he invaded the territory of Holstein Gottorp. William III. was anxious to oblige the northern powers to keep the peace, because he anticipated the near approach of a general war arising from a disputed Spanish succession. England and Holland had also guaranteed the treaty of Altona. It

¹ Nephew of Prince George, who married Queen Anne.

was, therefore, judged necessary to send a fleet to the Baltic, to preserve tranquillity, in conjunction with the States-General. Sir George Rooke consequently received instructions on May 9, 1700, to take command of a squadron, join the Dutch fleet at the Texel, and proceed with it to the Sound. He was to inform the Danes that he had come to restore peace and to maintain the treaty of Altona, and he was to oblige the King of Denmark to put a stop to all hostilities with the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. Rooke had with him a squadron of ten ships including the 'Severne,' with Admiral Hopson as his second in command; and the Dutch furnished thirteen ships.

The fleet got under weigh on May 29, and in the course of the operation the admiral ran on board of the 'Severne,' carrying away her bowsprit, cathead, a fluke of her sheet anchor, the stock of her small bower, and stove her long boat all to pieces. These damages were rapidly repaired, defects were supplied, and on June 7 the fleet was off the Skaw. Mr. Hugh Gregg was the British Minister at Copenhagen. On June 17 he came on board the admiral's ship with a list of the Danish fleet. They had one ship of 110 guns, one of 100, six of 80, four of 70, three of 60, twelve of 56 to 54, and twenty-four smaller. This force was posted in a narrow part of the Sound, with booms and sunken vessels as a protection. Sir George Rooke anchored off Copenhagen on July 9, and informed the Danes that, as the presence of the fleet had not produced peace, he would be obliged to put something in execution to show the resentment the King of England and the States-General felt at the neglect his Danish Majesty had shown of their declarations. In their reply the Danes seemed to be merely contriving delays.

On the 10th the Swedish fleet joined, and at noon, on a signal from the 'Mary' yacht, the bomb vessels opened fire and continued until 2 P.M. Bombs were fired from the town in return, but they did not reach two-thirds of the way. Having thrown 120 shells, Sir George Rooke judged that enough had been done to convince the Danes that he was resolved to settle the matter in the present season. He therefore ceased firing, and sent a message to the Queen Dowager of Denmark, hoping that the operations had not disturbed Her Majesty, and assuring her that they were only undertaken to show her that he was in earnest.

On the 15th a letter arrived from Mr. Cressett, the British Minister at Hamburgh, saying that the Danes were advancing, and that there was no hope of their being brought to reason unless something was done which would sensibly affect them in Zealand. It was consequently resolved that the Swedish army, under the young King Charles XII., should effect a landing. All the boats of the fleet were employed on this duty, and on July 24 the Swedish army was put on shore, about five miles from Elsinore. There was a Danish force in the neighbourhood, consisting of 7,000 foot and 900 horse. The landing of the Swedes had the desired effect. On August 10 the news arrived that the King of Denmark had signed a treaty of peace at Travendal with the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. Friendly relations were restored. On the 12th there were orders to display all flags, pendants, and ensigns, and to fire salutes of twenty-one guns as a mark of joy. Much to the disgust of Charles XII. the Swedes were embarked without fighting, and on the 29th the Swedish fleet sailed away. Fresh provisions were supplied to the English and Dutch ships, and on the 31st Sir George Rooke's squadron

weighed, and stood down the Cattegat under press of sail. A strong gale of wind was encountered next day, and on September 7 the 'Severne' anchored off the Skaw. There was a hard gale with sudden squalls, and Fairfax got his foretopmast down on deck, fearing that his cables would part. He had the forecourse and mizen furled with rope yarns, ready to loose and shoot him clear of such ships as lay astern of him. Fortunately the gale moderated, and on the 10th he got up his foretopmast. The 'Severne' arrived in the Downs on the 16th, and anchored at Sheerness on September 21.

Thus ended this brief Baltic campaign. It was a bold stroke ably delivered, for its success depended on celerity and determination. The ships were short of provisions, and if there had been any hesitation or delay, there must have been failure. The success of his Copenhagen negotiation added considerably to the reputation of Sir George Rooke. On his return, Captain Fairfax left the 'Severne,' and hoisted his pendant on board the 'Cambridge,' in Portsmouth Harbour, on April 8, 1701. He was occupied in rigging and fitting her out until the following July, and cruised in her during the autumn, but on January 22, 1702, he was transferred to the 'Restoration,' of 1,058 tons, carrying 70 guns. She was to form part of the squadron of Sir John Munden.

In March King William III. died at Hampton Court. The news arrived at Portsmouth on the 10th, and all the ships in harbour and at Spithead fired minute guns, with their colours half mast. On April 23, St. George's day, salutes were fired for the coronation of Queen Anne. War with France on account of the Spanish succession had become inevitable before the King's death. It was declared on May 2, 1702.

There was an immediate change at the Admiralty. The Earl of Pembroke retired. The Queen's husband, Prince George of Denmark, was appointed Lord High Admiral, and continued to fill that office until his death in 1708. He had a professional Council, consisting of Admiral George Churchill, Sir George Rooke, and Sir David Mitchell. Churchill, a younger brother of the Duke of Marlborough, was the leading member, and, to all intents and purposes, was the First Lord. Rooke was generally on active service. David Mitchell was a remarkable man. A Scotchman of respectable family, he was so poor that at the age of sixteen he was obliged to ship himself as an apprentice on board a Leith trading smack. For several years he served as a mate in merchant vessels. By his own unaided efforts he became an expert navigator and good mathematician, as well as a seaman, and he had a polite and pleasing address. Pressed into the navy when serving in a Baltic timber ship, his good conduct and abilities soon led to his receiving a commission, and in 1678 he was a lieutenant on board the 'Defiance.' He was captain of the 'Ruby' in 1683, but refused to serve under the tyrant James. At the Revolution he at once received a command, and was Russell's flag-captain at the battle of La Hogue. King William had a personal regard and esteem for this gallant and accomplished seaman. He was knighted in 1694, and made a Groom of the Bedchamber, and afterwards Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. Churchill, Rooke, and Mitchell formed a strong Admiralty, and they were ably assisted by the Secretary, Mr. Josiah Burchett, who was member for Sandwich. Trained under Samuel Pepys, Mr. Burchett had experience both afloat and in the conduct of the civil departments. His published works, 'Memoirs of

Transactions at Sea during the War with France,' and the folio 'Naval History' testify to his diligence and to the deep interest he took in the welfare of the navy.

The first naval operation of the war had been planned by Lord Pembroke before he retired, and its conduct was entrusted to Sir John Munden. This officer had entered the service in 1677, and he had particularly distinguished himself during the peace by the ability with which he had commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean, successfully negotiating a liberation of Christian slaves with the Emperor of Morocco. He was selected, on the recommendation of Sir George Rooke, for his known conduct and courage, as well as for his zeal and diligence in the service. On May 9 Admiral Munden hoisted his flag on board the 'Russell,' at Spithead, with secret orders, which were not to be communicated to the captains under him until he reached a certain latitude. His squadron consisted of eight third-rates, including the 'Restoration,' commanded by Captain Fairfax, one fourth and one fifth-rate, two fire-ships, and a smack. On May 10 this little squadron sailed from St. Helens, and two days afterwards Sir John made a signal for all captains to come on board.

It will be convenient here to give some particulars respecting the system of signals in use during Queen Anne's reign. Formerly the signals had been few and simple. An ensign in the mizen shrouds was a signal for a council of war. A red flag hoisted at any mast-head was for captains to come on board. Queen Anne's admirals improved upon these very elementary ideas. Every ship in a large fleet could be indicated by flags of four colours, hoisted at different yard-arms or mast-

heads. Thus, a red flag at the starboard maintopsail yard-arm was a signal for the captain of the 'Restoration,' and fifty variations could easily be made for other ships. Signals to form line, tack, and for other evolutions, were made in the same way. In 1710 there were thirteen flags used, which made up 102 signals, by varying their positions.¹

On that Sunday morning the signals went up for the captains to come on board Sir John Munden's ship, to be informed respecting the nature of his instructions. It had been ascertained that the Duke of Albuquerque was about to sail from Coruña as Viceroy of Mexico, and that a French squadron was to convoy his ships. Munden's instructions were to intercept and capture this squadron, and then to return to the Channel for the protection of trade.

The squadron made the best of its way across the Bay of Biscay, and came in sight of land on May 15. The two frigates 'Dolphin' and 'Salisbury' were then sent in to try and obtain intelligence, but without success. The admiral was in difficulty about the land. He sent to his captains to inquire if they had any one on board who knew it, and Captain Fairfax sent for a man who was confident that it was Cape Ortegal. This uncertainty was produced by doubtful reckoning and indifferent charts. Ships were generally supplied with a few charts constructed by Moxon or Grenville Collins, but their main reliance was on an atlas which was

¹ No one ever thought of using more than one flag for one signal until 1780. In that year Admiral Kempenfelt arranged a book which abandoned the idea of distinguishing by varying the part of the ship where the flag was displayed, but he used the flags in pairs only. In 1805 Sir Home Popham's book was adopted, which was the basis of all vocabulary signals. In 1815 there was a complete re-arrangement of the naval signal system, and then there were in all 570 general signals.

called the 'waggoner.'¹ There was often much perplexity about the land fall. Assuming correctly that he was off Cape Ortegál, Sir John Munden established a rendezvous between that point and Cape Prior, the eastern point at the entrance of Coruña. He again sent the two frigates in for intelligence. At last, on the 26th, Captain Soanes, of the 'Dolphin,' sent the smack with a young lad who had been captured out of a small vessel from Rochelle. This prisoner said that there were twelve French men-of-war at Rochelle, under the command of M. Du Casse, ready to sail for Coruña at the first fair wind, to convoy the Viceroy and his soldiers to Mexico. In the evening of the 27th the squadron stood close in to the shore, east of Cape Prior, standing off at night, and in again at daybreak of the 28th. It was hazy, but the weather cleared at 8 A.M., and fourteen sail were sighted close under the land, bearing south-south-east. This was the long sought-for French squadron. Every English ship crowded all possible sail in chase. But the Frenchman would not show fight, and his ships sailed much better than the English. They got safe into Coruña, to the great grief and trouble of poor Sir John Munden, who had certainly done his best to intercept and engage them. As an attempt on Coruña with so small a force would have been madness, it was resolved to return to the Channel to carry out the second part of the instructions—the protection of trade.

The 'Restoration' encountered very heavy weather in crossing the Bay of Biscay. Several of the ships had parted company, and in the evening of June 9

¹ From Lucas Wagenaar, a native of Enkhuisen in Holland, who published the first marine atlas in 1584. *Spiegelhel der Zeevardt*, or *The Mariner's Mirror*.

Captain Fairfax saw the long boat of a third-rate, bottom up, drifting across his cutwater, and disappearing in the gloom. It was blowing hard with a heavy sea, and he split his main course in wearing. On the 17th he sprung his mainmast, and was no longer able to keep company. He got down his mainyard and topmast, fished his mainmast as securely as possible, and shaped a course for Plymouth under easy sail, but afterwards bore up for Spithead, where he arrived on the 20th.

At Spithead the news reached Captain Fairfax that a daughter had been born to him in London on June 7, 1702, and named Catharine.¹ He now had a boy and a girl, who both lived to grow up, marry, and have children. The boy was destined to continue the ancient line of Fairfax of Steeton.

Sir John Munden was ordered to be tried by court-martial for not having captured the French fleet off Coruña. The court assembled on board the 'Queen,' at Spithead, on July 13, 1702, and consisted of Sir Cloudesley Shovel as president, and seventeen captains. Sir John made an able defence, and he was fully and honourably acquitted, re-hoisting his flag on board the 'Queen' on the 21st. But a few days afterwards the Government, cowering before the ignorant clamour of a mob, dismissed Admiral Munden from the service. This cowardly and shameful act of injustice is one of the worst blots on Queen Anne's reign. Sir John Munden went on shore a broken-hearted man. He lived in strict retirement, and died on March 13, 1718.

The second naval operation of the war was on a much larger scale, and had been originally conceived by King William when the great contest became inevitable. Its ultimate object was to prevent the French

¹ Afterwards Mrs. Pawson.

from becoming predominant in the Indies. He intended to capture Cadiz with a large fleet commanded by the Earl of Pembroke as Lord High Admiral, and a land force under the Duke of Ormond, while another fleet was to have been sent to the West Indies. This great plan was now prepared on an adequate scale. A fleet of thirty English and twenty Dutch ships of the line was assembled, with Sir George Rooke in chief command, on board the 'Royal Sovereign,' and a land force of 13,000 men was embarked under the Duke of Ormond. On June 1 Prince George of Denmark inspected the fleet, and dined on board the flagship, and on August 10 the expedition reached Lisbon. The attack on Cadiz failed; but it was known that Admiral Château-Renaud was in Vigo, with a French squadron, and the Spanish galleons which had lately arrived from the Indies, laden with treasure. This information was obtained by Mr. Beauvoir, the chaplain of the 'Pembroke,' in a conversation he had with the French consul at Lagos, when his ship was watering there, and he communicated it to the admiral on October 6.

Sir George Rooke determined to attack the enemy in Vigo Bay. His fleet reached the entrance on October 11. The entrance was only three-quarters of a mile wide, and was strongly fortified. There was a battery of twenty guns on the north side, and on the south a stone fort with forty guns, and a breastwork, with a deep trench, on which ten guns were mounted. A boom was placed across the entrance, consisting of ships' yards and topmasts, fastened with three-inch rope, and moored at each end to a 70-gun ship. Within the boom five ships of 70 to 60 guns were ranged with their broadsides facing the passage. Sir George Rooke, and his second in command, Admiral

Hopson, both shifted their flags into smaller ships, the former into the 'Somerset' and the latter into the 'Torbay.' The attacking detachment consisted of fifteen English and ten Dutch ships, with all the frigates and fire-ships. The Duke of Ormond landed with 2,500 men on the south side of the river, six miles from Vigo, while Lord Shannon, with 5,000, landed and attacked the fort at the entrance. M. Sozel, the commandant, threw open the gates with the magnificent idea of fighting his way through the midst of the English. His manœuvre had an opposite effect. The English Grenadiers rushed in sword in hand, and the garrison surrendered. As soon as the English flag was seen flying over the fort, Admiral Hopson made all sail, ran directly at the boom, and broke it. The 'Kent' came next, and the rest of the squadron followed, entering Vigo Bay under a tremendous fire. The 'Torbay' had her foremast shot away, and a fire-ship ran foul of her, her foreyard being burnt, her port shrouds burnt at the dead eyes, and her sails burnt and scorched. Hopson shifted his flag to the 'Monmouth,' and the firing continued until all resistance on the part of French and Spanish ships had ceased; while the 'Association' and 'Barfleur,' both of 90 guns, battered the forts. The French lost fifteen ships and two frigates, and seventeen galleons were sunk or taken. But they had been in harbour over three weeks, and the treasure was safely landed. It was, however, a brilliant and important victory.¹

The expedition had only been intended for Cadiz, and a second squadron, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, was

¹ Sir George Rooke received the special thanks of Parliament, and Admiral Hopson was knighted, on his return home, by the Queen, who also granted him a pension of 500*l.* a year.

fitted out, with orders to attack the galleons at Vigo. Meanwhile the 'Restoration' was in Portsmouth Harbour, where Captain Fairfax got out his mainmast and turned over his men into the 'Exeter' hulk. On July 4 he got in his new mast and got the top over, bent sails on the 9th, went out of harbour to Spithead on the 13th, got his powder on board, and sailed for Plymouth Sound, where he arrived on the 19th. In company with the 'Suffolk' and 'Revenge' he got under weigh on the 25th, to cruise in the Channel, and look out for privateers. As the summer advanced the heat became very great, and in August a malignant fever broke out on board the 'Restoration.' Several men died, and twenty or thirty were in the sick list. Then there was a furious gale of wind on September 4, and Fairfax lay to all night under a main course and a reefed mizen. As morning dawned the fury of the tempest increased, and at 6.30 A.M. the new mainmast went by the board, 'being, as I now see, a wonderful bad tree,' as the captain observed. The ship was now labouring in the trough of the sea, so he was obliged to cut away the foremast and rigging. He made a signal of distress, but not one of his consorts bore down to him. During the 8th he scudded under a spritsail, while using his best endeavours to rig a jurymast. All this time the ship was in great danger. On the 6th the weather was more moderate, and he succeeded in stepping his jurymast, with a double-reefed foretopsail on it. He could not possibly make the mast any taunter, as it was only the spare foretopmast, the head of which had been broken off by the fall of the mainmast. On the 20th he was safely moored at Spithead, after having saved his ship, under trying circumstances, by his admirable presence of mind and excellent seamanship.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was preparing his squadron destined for Vigo, and the 'Restoration' was to form part of it. It was, therefore, urgently necessary to refit with all possible despatch. On September 14, Captain Fairfax got up sheers on board, in order to get in a new mainmast at Spithead, and the next day he stepped the mast. His ship's company worked with a will, and in ten days he was ready for sea. Sir Cloudesley Shovel got under weigh with his squadron on September 29, 1702, and shaped a course for Vigo. But the troubles of the 'Restoration' were not yet over, and she was certainly a striking example of the disgraceful state of the timber and other stores in the royal dockyards. In the first gale of wind the squadron encountered, on October 8, Captain Fairfax had convincing proofs of the insufficiency of his new mainmast. At midnight the mast sprung in the part on the gun deck. In a short time he got fishes upon the defective part, and lowered the maintopmast and mainyard. He then wore and brought to on the other tack. Two hours afterwards the mast sprung again, and went by the board, being quite rotten at the heart. It was blowing very hard, with a heavy confused sea, and the ship was labouring in the trough. By working hard and manfully, the ship's company, under the captain's directions, rigged a jurymast. The 'Restoration' could not, of course, keep up with the rest of the squadron, and Sir Cloudesley sent Captain Fairfax a rendezvous off Cape Finisterre. On October 14 there was a very high sea, and the ship laboured so much, rolling almost gunwales under, that there was fear for the foremast. As some of the chain plates were broken, and three laniards were gone on one side and two on the other, there were certainly good grounds

for alarm. However, the foremast was saved. Fairfax gallantly continued his course; on the 18th he met the fleet under Sir George Rooke and Admiral Hopson coming out, and on the 19th the 'Restoration' was safely anchored in Vigo Bay.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel found the work which he had been sent to do already completed by Sir George Rooke. The troops were being embarked, and the fleet was preparing to sail. Sir George left Sir Cloudesley Shovel to rig the prizes and bring them away, and to sink those which were unseaworthy. The victorious fleet then sailed, arriving at Spithead on November 7.

Captain Fairfax was now eager to get a mainmast out of one of the captured galleons. He had lost three mainmasts in three months, a series of mishaps which is probably without a precedent in naval annals. On the 22nd he got the mast out of a galleon of 44 guns and stepped it on board the 'Restoration.' The fleet with the prizes, sixty-four sail in all, left Vigo on October 25, and shaped a course for the Lizard. Fairfax hove on his best bower cable and found it cut. Being the last ship in port, he was obliged to leave the anchor (weight forty-two cwt.) and sixty fathoms of cable behind him. The 'Restoration' was sadly crippled. She carried a foresail, a reefed mizen, and a sort of jury mainsail. In the morning of the 28th Fairfax set the foretopsail, which was split to pieces a few hours afterwards. On the 30th it came on to blow very hard, and there was very bad weather all the way home, but the Spanish mast proved to be more sound than its English predecessors, and did not go by the board. Sir Cloudesley Shovel brought all his squadron safely back to Spithead on November 11, 1702.

The 'Restoration' was put out of commission in December, and on January 5, 1703, Captain Fairfax hoisted his pendant on board the 'Somerset,' which was then in dock at Chatham. She fell down to Gillingham Reach on February 19. It is interesting to find among the volunteers appointed to the 'Somerset' the name of Henry Fairfax, whose nomination is dated February 2, 1703. His father (brother of the fifth Lord) had been one of Robert Fairfax's young neighbours at Toulston during the years of his childhood at Newton Kyme. The younger Henry was just seventeen when he joined the 'Somerset,' under the auspices of his cousin, but he did not remain long in the navy.¹ His brother William, who settled in Virginia, and is the ancestor of all the American Fairfaxes, also served under his cousin as a volunteer, but at a later period. The 'Somerset' was fitted out and joined Sir George Rooke's fleet at the Downs in April; but Captain Fairfax did not remain long on board. On May 1, 1703, he was appointed to the 'Kent,' and took command of her on the same day at Spithead. During the summer he had the satisfaction of distinguishing himself and of performing some very good service as captain of the 'Kent,' while bearing the flag of Admiral Dilkes.

¹ Henry Fairfax lived to be a very eccentric old bachelor, dying in York in 1759, at the age of seventy-four. He had an old servant who was known as 'Poor Adam.' They played duets together, Henry Fairfax on the bagpipes and Adam on the violin. Adam carved two very original woodcuts, representing them so employed, which are now in the possession of Mr. Hailstone of Walton Hall.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OPERATIONS AT GRANVILLE. THE GREAT STORM.

EACH year of the war saw new projects conceived for its more effective prosecution, new enterprises undertaken with the hope of forcing the enemy to submit to the objects for which it was undertaken. Meanwhile there seemed little prospect of either side coming to terms. In 1703 both belligerents were too powerful and too confident to listen to any proposal involving submission. In this state of affairs, Robert Fairfax hoisted his pendant on board H.M.S. 'Kent,' on May 1, and joined the fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, which proceeded to cruise off Ushant. On the 10th Fairfax received orders to take command of a small squadron consisting of the 'Kent,' 'Monk,' 'Medway,' and 'Dragon,' and to reconnoitre the entrance to Brest. Parting company with the admiral, he made the land near Conquet, and passed thence along the coast to the point of St. Matthew, within a mile of the land. He found that the coast was fortified with thirty guns between Conquet and St. Matthew, where the great abbey church stood out grandly against the sky, on the edge of its samphire-covered cliff. Rounding this point he ran into the outer road at Brest. From thence Captain Fairfax got a clear view into the harbour, but could only make out six ships of war. He, however, learnt from a fisherman that a squadron under M. de

Coetlogon had sailed on the previous Sunday. With this intelligence he returned to the fleet, and on May 14 Rear-Admiral Dilkes hoisted his flag on board the 'Kent.'

Admiral Dilkes, under whom Fairfax was to serve during the rest of the year 1703, was an officer of distinction. He was only a lieutenant when the Revolution took place, but obtained post rank soon afterwards. He served under Admiral Neville in the West Indies in 1697, with Rooke at Cadiz and Vigo, and became a rear-admiral in March 1702. A council of war was held on board Sir George Rooke's flagship on May 14, and it was agreed that the fleet should proceed to Belleisle. During the voyage thither there was a furious gale of wind, in which the 'Dover' lost all her masts; but the rest of the fleet reached the rendezvous, and on the 24th there was another council of war on board Sir George Rooke's ship. It was resolved that the fleet should go inside Belleisle. Sir George, with the main body and Admiral Leake, was to go in to the northward, while Fairfax was to take the 'Kent,' with the flag of Admiral Dilkes on board, by the southern entrance, followed by four frigates and two fire-ships. Both divisions anchored in the roads on the 25th under a fire from the forts, which, however, did no execution; but on the 26th a frigate brought a report that there were twelve French men-of-war between Brest and Rochefort. The fleet consequently weighed, and made sail for a position in which to intercept them. During the first week of June Captain Fairfax was engaged in chasing sail after sail in the Bay of Biscay without success, until his provisions began to be very low, especially beer, when he bore up for home, anchoring at St. Helens on the 19th. The rest of the fleet also returned,

and Sir George Rooke had leave to go to Bath and recruit his health. The 'Kent' went into Portsmouth Harbour on the 21st to refit.

Rear-Admiral Dilkes again hoisted his flag on board the 'Kent,' having received orders to go in search of a large convoy said to be in Cancele Bay, or thereabouts. The 'Kent' got under weigh from Spithead, in company with a small squadron, on July 22, 1702. Shaping a course for Jersey, the 'Nonsuch' was sent ahead to reconnoitre as soon as Alderney was in sight; and at 6 P.M. on the 25th the squadron anchored off the south-west end of the island of Jersey. Here intelligence was received that a fleet of about forty sail had been seen working to windward to get into Granville, and two experienced pilots were taken on board. The squadron got under weigh in the night, and at dawn of the 26th the French ships were sighted at anchor, about a league to the westward of Granville. On the approach of the English ships they weighed and stood in shore, the 'Kent' and her consorts following as close as the pilots thought safe. The French were found to consist of forty-five merchant ships and three men-of-war.

As soon as the 'Kent' had only four feet of water between her keel and the ground, Admiral Dilkes gave orders for all the boats of the squadron to go away manned and armed. By noon the boats had captured fifteen French merchant ships, and burnt or sunk nine more. The rest stood so far up into the bay between Avranches and Mont St. Michel that the pilot would not undertake to bring the English ships within range of them. Admiral Dilkes, after consulting his captains, resolved to go into the bay with the 'Hector,' the fire-ship 'Mermaid,' the 'Spy' brigantine, a ship of 6 guns

taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted up as a fire-ship, and all the boats of the squadron manned and armed.

At ten in the forenoon the boats shoved off. The admiral himself, and Captains Fairfax, Legge, Pipon, and Lempriere were in the boats, as well as Mr. Paul, the first lieutenant of the 'Kent.' On pulling up the estuary the three French men-of-war were discovered. One corvette of 18 guns was burnt by the enemy. Lieutenant Paul made a gallant dash at the second vessel of 14 guns, and set her on fire; but in performing this service he was shot through the lower jaw, and had four of his men killed. The third ship of 8 guns was captured and brought away as a prize. As many as seventeen more merchant ships were destroyed, so that out of the whole number only four escaped, by getting under the guns of the fort at Granville. A force of 5,000 soldiers was seen to be assembled on shore, and several large shallops came out of Granville during the action, but were driven back. In the evening the boats returned, and the British squadron anchored off Granville with the prizes. These merchant ships were laden with wine, brandy, and salt for the enemy, bound to Calais and Dunkirk. On August 3 the 'Kent' anchored in Plymouth Sound.

This service was well and very thoroughly performed. Queen Anne was so pleased with the conduct of officers and men, that, to preserve the memory of the action, she caused a gold medal to be struck, which was distributed among the captains and principal officers.

During the autumn Captain Fairfax was sent to cruise off the south coast of Ireland, occasionally putting into Cork and Kinsale. On November 7 he

returned to Plymouth Sound, and on the 21st anchored at Spithead. Here the 'Kent' rode out the most tremendous storm that ever swept over England, which has since been known in history as the 'Great Storm.'

On the two previous days, November 24 and 25, there was fine weather, and the 'Kent' loosed her sails to dry. On the 26th there was much wind with rain, and in the night the full fury of the storm burst over Spithead. At four in the morning of the 27th Fairfax let go his sheet anchor. Three-quarters of an hour afterwards the cable of the small bower parted in the hawse, and the long boat was swamped alongside. The force of the storm increased to a hurricane, with thick weather and small rain. The reports of guns from ships in distress could be heard when the roar of the wind lulled at intervals. It was a terrible night, but the good ship rode it out. At seven the full fury of the storm was passed, and when morning broke, thirteen ships were seen on shore. On the 28th the 'Kent' hove up her sheet anchor, and went into Portsmouth Harbour to refit. Captain Fairfax hauled down his pendant and put her out of commission on the last day of the year 1703.

At the Downs the effects of the Great Storm were most disastrous. Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Admiral Leake had just arrived from the Mediterranean, the fleet in good condition, but the ships' companies suffering terribly from sickness. Upwards of 1,500 men had died on the voyage. The storm seems to have spent its utmost fury at the Downs, blowing from the southwest and commencing at about one in the morning of the 27th. In the evening the Downs presented a forest of masts, at dawn it was a desert. The 'Prince George,' with the flag of Admiral Leake, held fast with all

anchors down until three in the morning, when the 'Restoration' was seen to be driving down upon her. She came so near that the 'Prince George' had to brace her yards in hopes of her going clear, but her anchor caught in the hawse of the 'Prince George,' and she was brought to; thus two great ships were riding by the same cables. It seemed impossible that the ground tackle could hold, and there was no alternative but to cut the 'Restoration' away. This, however, was no easy matter, and meanwhile their best bower came home. When hope was nearly gone, and every moment seemed likely to see both ships drift away to destruction, the 'Restoration' suddenly got clear and disappeared in the gloom. She was lost, with every soul on board. At daylight twelve ships were seen on the Goodwins, which were all broken up by ten, and all hands perished, except about eighty from the 'Stirling Castle.' The rest of the ships foundered at their anchors, only a very few escaping to sea and living out the gale.

The storm did equal damage inland, although its ravages were confined to the south of England. Unlike an ordinary winter gale, it was accompanied by thunder and lightning. The leads of the London churches were rolled up like scrolls. London Bridge was choked by a mass of barges and small craft torn from their moorings. Queen Anne and her husband, startled from their bed at St. James's, saw the shocking havoc in the park, rows of ancient trees being torn up by the roots. Whole families were crushed under their own roofs, many people were killed and wounded, and among others the new Bishop of Bath and Wells¹ and his wife were killed in their bed by the fall of a stack of chimneys. The storm continued with unrelenting

¹ Dr. Kidder, who had superseded the non-juror Ken.

fury until ten in the morning. The damage in London and Westminster was estimated at a million sterling, and at Bristol at little less than 150,000*l*.

The loss to the navy amounted to thirteen men-of-war totally destroyed, and 1,519 seamen drowned. The 'Vanguard,' a second-rate, sunk in the Medway off Chatham, but she had neither men nor guns on board. The 'Restoration' was Captain Fairfax's old ship before he commissioned the 'Kent.' She was lost on the Goodwin Sands, the captain¹ and all hands (391 souls) perishing.

This great calamity only roused the nation to renewed efforts for the forthcoming year. The Archduke Charles, who was called by the English and their allies King Charles III., arrived in January 1704. It was believed that, although Castille was in favour of the Bourbon King Philip V., Aragon would espouse the cause of the Austrian claimant. Charles was to proceed to the Peninsula under the escort of an English fleet. Serious operations would then commence, and it was anticipated that there would be important work for the navy.

¹ His name was Emmes.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TAKING OF GIBRALTAR AND BATTLE OF MALAGA.

ON January 1, 1704, Captain Fairfax hoisted his pendant on board H.M.S. 'Berwick,' in Portsmouth Harbour, and on March 31 he sailed out of harbour and anchored at Spithead. The 'Berwick' was a 70-gun ship of 1,087 tons, with a crew of about 450 men. On April 9 she left Spithead, and after touching at Plymouth and engaging in the exciting work of chasing French merchant ships during the voyage, one of which she captured, the 'Berwick' arrived at Lisbon on April 20. Leaving Lisbon on the 25th, in company with the rest of the fleet, she passed through the Straits of Gibraltar on May 3.

Sir George Rooke had brought the Archduke Charles from Holland to Portsmouth, where he was received as King of Spain, and paid a visit to Queen Anne at Windsor. He sailed again in January 1704, but, owing to bad weather, and having had to put back, he did not reach Lisbon until March 8, where he landed. The fleet then sailed for the Mediterranean. Sir George Rooke had under his command forty ships of the line. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt embarked with 6,000 troops, as an assurance had been received from Catalonia that the people were ready to proclaim Charles III. if a sufficient force was sent to protect them.

Passing Gibraltar, the fleet proceeded along the

coast of Spain with all sail set. It was fine weather, with a fresh breeze. At two in the afternoon of May 8 six tall ships were sighted, standing away from the land, apparently French men-of-war. The fleet was off Cape Palos. Sir George Rooke made a signal for Sir Andrew Leake¹ to chase in the 'Grafton,' accompanied by the 'Somerset,' Captain Price, the 'Berwick,' Captain Fairfax, the 'Burford,' 'Cambridge,' 'Yarmouth,' the 'Tiger,' of 50 guns, and the 'Lark,' 40 guns. The chasing squadron immediately altered course and set every stitch of canvas. Gradually the 'Berwick,' with the 'Tiger' and 'Lark,' took the lead. As night set in the other ships were far astern, so Fairfax took in some of his small sails, and put a lantern on his poop to guide his consorts. He kept the chase fairly in sight during the night. At dawn Sir Andrew Leake made a signal to the 'Berwick' to drop astern and communicate with him, and soon afterwards he signalled for the captains of all the ships. He said that the chase consisted of six French ships of 70 and 80 guns, that they were now only a few leagues from the coast of Barbary, and that there was no chance of coming up with them. It was more than three hours afterwards that the 'Somerset' and the other ships that were following came up, and by that time the chase was out of sight. The squadron, therefore,

¹ This officer was no relation to the more famous Sir John Leake. He was the son of a merchant at Lowestoft, and his mother was a native of the same seaport. Entering the navy when very young, he became a post-captain in 1693. During the peace, from 1697 to 1703, he resided at his native town, and was very active in promoting the erection of a new church there. In 1700 he commanded a small squadron sent to protect the Newfoundland fisheries. He commanded the 'Torbay' at Vigo, with the flag of Admiral Hopson, and distinguished himself so much that he was knighted on his return to England. In 1704 he was appointed to the 'Grafton' (70).

made the best of its way to Altea Bay, which was the rendezvous. The captains were subsequently tried by court-martial for abandoning the chase, but were honourably acquitted. Captain Fairfax gave evidence that the six French ships spared him almost all their small sails during the whole time of the chase, while he was crowding all the canvas he could show.¹

On the 18th the fleet anchored off Barcelona, and a flag of truce was sent on shore, with a letter from the Prince of Hesse to Don Francisco de Velasco, the Viceroy of Catalonia for Philip V., summoning him to surrender the town to his lawful sovereign King Charles III. The reply was a defiant refusal, and it was then resolved to land the marines within a mile of the town, the Spaniards on board having declared that as soon as they saw a landing effected, the townspeople would open the gates. But there was no sign. Captain Fairfax was appointed to superintend the landing, which was effected without opposition on May 19. He continued on shore for two days, with about 1,600 men; and many priests and country people came to the camp with apparent cheerfulness. As, however, there was no active co-operation, and the force was much too small to attempt a siege without it, it was determined to re-embark the marines. This was done

¹ A court-martial was assembled to try the captains for abandoning the chase. It took place at Gibraltar, on board the 'Royal Catherine,' Sir George Rooke's flagship, on August 24, 1704. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was president, and the members included Admirals Leake, Byng, Dilkes, and Wishart, and twenty-five captains. It was unanimously agreed that the three headmost ships, if they had engaged the enemy, could not have expected any timely assistance from their consorts; that the 'Berwick' ought not to have engaged the enemy unsupported; and that the rest of the ships made all the sail they could, and complied with their duty in the prosecution of the chase. All the captains were, therefore, honourably acquitted. Sir Andrew Leake had previously died of the wounds received at the battle of Malaga.

on the 22nd, and the fleet put to sea on the same evening.

Intelligence had arrived from Lisbon that the French fleet from Brest, under the Comte de Toulouse, had entered the Mediterranean. Fairfax was, therefore, directed to put himself under the orders of Admiral Dilkes with eight other ships, and this small squadron was sent ahead to gain intelligence of the enemy. It was blowing hard. The 'Berwick' split her fore and main topsails, and lost one of her small spars in a sudden squall. Next day, being May 28, she sighted the whole French fleet of forty sail making the best of its way to Toulon. This important news was brought to Sir George Rooke in Altea Bay,¹ where the fleet was watering without opposition from the Spaniards, and where the country people brought down plenty of provisions to sell to the English sailors. Most friendly intercourse was established there. Leaving Altea on June 8, the fleet passed through the Straits in line of battle, sailing large, and brought to off Cape Spartel in a tough gale. A fleet was sighted on the 15th, which proved to be Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Admiral Byng with twenty-three sail, and on the 22nd the united fleet anchored in Lagos Bay. Thence the ships went to Tangiers to water, and on July 17 a momentous decision was arrived at by a council of war.

The council was held on board the 'Royal Catherine,' and it was resolved, in pursuance of the wishes of Charles III., that the enemy should be attacked in Andalusia, in order to divert and divide their forces, and that a sudden assault should be made on Gibraltar.

¹ About twenty-five miles north-east of Alicante.

This famous fortress was held to be impregnable. Separated from the main land of Spain by a low isthmus, the majestic face of the rock rises perpendicularly to a height of 1,200 feet. Thence the promontory runs south for $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, ending at Europa Point. The declivitous limestone mountain, with its knife-like ridge, is 1,401 feet high at the loftiest part, and thence slopes down to the Windmill and Europa plateaux. The town, covering about 100 acres, looks over Gibraltar Bay to the westward, with the old Moorish castle above it. By the isthmus, at the north end of the town, was the old mole; and to the south, towards Europa Point, was the new mole, protected by a fort and two bastions. The place was held by a small Spanish garrison, but there were upwards of a hundred guns mounted on the bastions.

The plan of attack was matured by Sir George Rooke, in consultation with the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. The troops were to be landed on the isthmus, in command of the Prince. A squadron of selected ships was to cannonade the town, and there was to be a naval attack on the new mole and the bastions to the south of the town, under cover of the fire from the ships.

Sir George Rooke determined that the attacking squadron should consist of fourteen ships under the command of Rear-Admiral George Byng. This distinguished officer, son of John Byng, Esq.,¹ of Wrotham, in Kent, was born in 1663, and went to sea as a volunteer at the age of fifteen. Afterwards, at the invitation of General Kirke, the Governor of Tangiers, he entered the army as an ensign in the Grenadiers of that

¹ The last possessor of Wrotham. He sold it, but his son, the admiral, was born there.

garrison. But when Lord Dartmouth came out to demolish the defences of Tangiers in 1684, he induced young Byng to return to the navy, and gave him a commission as lieutenant of the 'Oxford.' In 1685 he served in the East Indies, and was severely wounded in boarding a piratical vessel off Ceylon. Returning home, he was very active in advocating the cause of civil and religious liberty among his brother officers, being a lieutenant in the 'Defiance' when the Prince of Orange landed. Byng was introduced to the Prince by Admiral Russell at Sherborne, and he conveyed the loyal message of the fleet to William III. at Windsor. Promoted to the rank of post-captain in 1689, he distinguished himself at Beachy Head and at La Hogue, and Sir George Rooke became warmly attached to him. In 1703 Byng became a rear-admiral, hoisting his flag on board the 'Ranelagh' of 80 guns, in which ship he weathered the Great Storm of November 26 in the Channel. He was now selected by his friend Admiral Rooke to command the attacking squadron at Gibraltar. It consisted of the following ships:—

		Tons.	Men.	Gun-
Ranelagh, flag of	Rear-Admiral Byng, Captain			
Cow		1,198	496	80
Monmouth, Captain	Baker	871	389	66
Suffolk, "	Kirton	1,071	298	63
Essex, "	Hubbard	"	"	"
Grafton, "	Sir Andrew Leake	1,096	446	70
Kingston, "	Acton	923	346	60
Nassau, "	Dove	"	"	"
Swiftsure, "	Winn	987	408	70
Burford, "	Roffley	1,112	446	70
Berwick, "	Fairfax	1,087	446	70
Eagle, "	Lord A. Hamilton	1,099	446	70
Montagu, "	Cleveland	836	346	62
Dorsetshire, "	Whittaker	1,117	476	80
Lennox, "	Jumper	1,072	446	70
Yarmouth, "	Hicks	1,058	446	70

The captains serving with Fairfax on this memorable occasion were all his intimate friends. With Hubbard he had fought side by side on board the 'Bonadventure' at the battle of Beachy Head. His evidence was destined to clear the memory of his comrade Sir Andrew Leake¹ at the coming court-martial. John Baker² was an officer who had served incessantly since 1688, even during the peace, and had followed Hopson across the bar at Vigo in most gallant style, on board the 'Monmouth,' the same ship he now commanded. Few men had done more brilliant service against privateers than Robert Kirton,³ of the 'Suffolk.' Acton⁴ was a brave but unfortunate officer, fated to haul down the British flag to a superior French force. Francis Dove⁵ had served with Fairfax at Vigo and at Granville. Robert Wynn, of the Welsh Wynns, had done admirable service against privateers in the Irish seas. Lord Archibald Hamilton,⁶ the youngest son of the Duke of Hamilton, entered the navy when very young, and became a post-captain in 1694. He was with Sir George Rooke at Cadiz and Vigo. Keril

¹ Mortally wounded at the battle of Malaga.

² Baker became an admiral, served many years in the Mediterranean, and died at Port Mahon in 1716, aged fifty-six. There is a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. He was an officer of consummate skill and experience.

³ Kirton was severely wounded at Malaga. He retired in 1707, and died in 1718.

⁴ Robert Acton, outward bound in the 'Grafton' in 1706, met a French fleet off Dungeness under the Comte de Forbin. After a brave resistance he was compelled to surrender.

⁵ Francis Dove became Commissioner at Plymouth in 1716, until his death in 1726.

⁶ Lord Archibald was afterwards Governor of Gibraltar from 1710 to 1714, and a Lord of the Admiralty from 1729 to 1738. He became Governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1746, and died in 1754. He married Lady Jane Hamilton, daughter of the Earl of Abercorn. His son was Sir William Hamilton, thirty-six years ambassador at Naples, and the friend of Nelson.

Roffley,¹ of the 'Burford,' had distinguished himself as a lieutenant in the boat work at the battle of La Hogue. William Cleveland,² of the 'Montagu,' had commanded ships since 1693, and was specially distinguished for his very gallant action with the French privateer 'Pontchartrain' in 1697, and for his engagement with the squadron of Du Casse in 1703.

The honours of the day, at the taking of Gibraltar, rested with Captains Hicks, Jumper, Whittaker, and Fairfax. Jasper Hicks had been in command of ships since 1689, and had become famous as a successful hunter down of privateers.³ William Jumper was still more noted for his gallantry in that kind of service.⁴ Edward Whittaker was a man of reckless daring, yet a cool and reliable seaman. He had boarded and captured a privateer off St. Malo after a desperate fight; and he

¹ Roffley afterwards served in the West Indies, and died in 1716.

² William Cleveland, of the Clelands of Cleland, in Lanarkshire, purchased the estate of Tapely, near Bideford, in Devonshire. He served until 1718, when he became Comptroller of Navy Accounts, an office which he held until 1732. He married Anne, daughter of John Davie, of Orleigh, county Devon. One of his sons was named Archibald, after his father's old friend and brother officer, Lord Archibald Hamilton. He was drowned in a boat which was capsized on Bideford Bar. Dying in 1735, Captain Cleveland was succeeded at Tapely by his eldest son John Cleveland, M.P. for Saltash, and Secretary to the Admiralty. He died in 1763. His eldest son John was M.P. for Barnstaple during seven Parliaments, and a Commissioner for Greenwich Hospital. He died childless in 1817. His brother Augustus Cleveland was a very distinguished East Indian civilian, a disciple of Warren Hastings, Collector of Bhaugulpore, and pacifier of the Sonthal tribes. His picture is at Tapely. The sister, Hester Cleveland, married Captain William Saltren Willett, R.N., and their grandson Augustus succeeded to Tapely and took the name of Cleveland. He was in the Inniskilling Dragoons at Waterloo. He married Margaret Caroline, daughter of Colonel John Palmer Chichester, of Arlington Court, and died in 1849.

³ Hicks died in 1714.

⁴ Jumper was knighted. He did not serve afloat after 1707, but was superintendent at Chatham, and in 1714 Commissioner at Plymouth. He died in March 1715.

had saved his ship at the Downs, during the Great Storm, by his consummate seamanship.¹

The fourteen English ships were reinforced by four Dutch men-of-war. On July 20 all the arrangements were made, but there was little wind, and it took some time before the ships could be got into position for cannonading. It was then that Captain Fairfax wrote a farewell letter to his wife, to be delivered in the event of his death. He entrusted it to his friend Captain Whittaker, but fortunately its delivery was unnecessary. A second brief note was substituted on the 26th.

H.M.S. 'Berwick,' July 20, 1704.

My most dear Spouse,—Being one of the ships that goes in to batter the fortifications of Gibraltar to-morrow, if it shall please our good God to suffer me to be taken off, I send this with the testimony of my true love and blessing to thee and the dear babys, of whose education I desire thy great care, and especially as to that of their souls. I have left my will in Captain Whittaker's hands. It has been drawn long since, so there is much more money appertaining to me now than was then, which I leave to thy prudent disposing of. I will yet hope in God's mercy to meet thee again in this world, but above all in that blessed world to come, both of which his infinite mercy grant unto thine in all affection,

ROBERT FAIRFAX.

To Mrs. Fairfax at the house near Cooke's Court
in little Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

H.M.S. 'Berwick,' July 26, 1704.

My dear Spouse,—This will acquaint thee that I, with about twenty sail of ships, commanded by Rear-Admiral Byng, went against the forts of Gibraltar on Sunday last, and had so

¹ Whittaker was also knighted. He became a rear-admiral in 1705, and was at the taking of Minorca. He died in 1735, and was buried at Carshalton, in Surrey.

good success in battering them that now the town is surrendered. I have had great fatigue upon me both on shore and in my ship.

It was not until daybreak on the 23rd that the ships got into position, with their broadsides to the town and forts of Gibraltar; while 1,800 marines were landed at the north end of the town, near the old mole, under the command of the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt and Colonel Fox. A furious cannonade was kept up until noon,¹ when a signal was made for the boats to go away manned and armed. The 'Berwick,' 'Yarmouth,' 'Lennox,' and 'Dorsetshire' were stationed at the south end of the line, near the new mole, as their captains were to lead the landing parties.

Captains Hicks and Jumper, with their pinnaces, took the lead, followed by a few other boats. Landing at the new mole, they carried the great platform at a rush, and entered the fort. At that moment the enemy sprung a mine, and there was a tremendous explosion. Two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and sixty were badly wounded. The fortifications on the mole were shattered. The men were running down to the water's edge in great consternation when they were rallied by Captains Whittaker and Fairfax, who had just come on shore with the rest of the landing party. The possession of the platform was retained, while Whittaker led on the men towards the town, and took another bastion with several guns. A detachment of about forty cavalry came out of the town, but galloped back as soon as the guns began to play on them. Captains Roffley and Acton, who had also landed with their men, then captured a bastion mounting eight

¹ The 'Berwick' fired 1,340 rounds, and expended seventy-seven and a half barrels of powder.

guns within less than half musket shot of the town wall.

Meanwhile the ships had resumed their cannonade when the explosion took place on shore, and continued it until 4 P.M., having fired 15,000 shots in five hours. The order was then given to cease firing, and Admiral Byng came on shore. He found his captains assembled in the conquered bastion, and near the gate of the town, with the British colours flying and their men around them. He sent a drummer with a summons to the Spanish Governor; and in two hours an answer came that the garrison would surrender next day.

The great fortress of Gibraltar was surrendered at four o'clock in the afternoon of July 24, 1704, and, by order of Sir George Rooke, the British flag was hoisted. The Governor, Don Diego de Salinas, with his small garrison, marched out with all the honours of war. He had just been to Madrid, to represent in strong terms the weak condition of the defences and the insufficiency of the garrison: but fruitlessly.¹ Colonel Fox's regiment marched into the town, and a garrison consisting of 1,800 marines was left in possession. This great naval success is among those which have had most permanent results; and the captains who were employed upon a service of such importance, and who acquitted themselves so well, deserve a distinguished place in the naval annals of their country. Captains Whittaker and Jumper received the honour of knighthood. Queen Anne presented Captain Fairfax with a silver cup and cover, bearing a suitable inscription, which is still preserved by his descendants.

On August 1 the whole fleet stood over to the Barbary shore, and filled up with water. The 'Berwick'

¹ La Fuente. *Hist. Gen. de España*, XVIII., p. 87.

also got in three long boat loads of sand for ballast. On the 9th the fleet weighed and made sail for Gibraltar, and at 8 A.M. the 'Centurion,' one of the scouts, made the signal that she had sighted the enemy. At that time Ceuta was bearing west by south about six leagues. Sir George Rooke sent for half the marines from Gibraltar, and then began to work to windward in pursuit of the French fleet. This continued for two days, when at length they were sighted off Cape Malaga, in the evening of the 12th. Rooke formed line of battle, approaching the enemy all night, and at five in the morning of Sunday, August 13, the French fleet was sighted about three leagues to leeward. There was a moderate breeze and rather hazy weather, the wind being easterly.

The combined Brest and Toulon fleet, fresh from harbour and fully manned, consisted of fifty line of battle ships, several frigates and fire-ships, and twenty-four galleys. It was under the command of Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Comte de Toulouse, a son of Louis XIV. and of Madame de Montespan, who was born in 1678.¹ He was now a young man of twenty-six, and personally led the centre, with the Marquis de Roye in the second line. The van was commanded by the Marquis de Villette, and the rear by the Marquis de Langeron.

¹ The Comte de Toulouse, who was also Duc de Penthièvre, retired from active service in 1706, and died in 1736. By Marie de Noailles he had a son Louis Jean de Bourbon, Duc de Penthièvre, Governor of Brittany, who served at Dettingen and Fontenoy. He survived until 1793. His son, the Prince de Lamballe, a debauched young infidel, died, at the age of twenty, in 1768, leaving as his widow the beautiful Marie Thérèse de Savoie Carignan, Princess of Lamballe, the friend of Marie Antoinette, who was murdered in the September massacres of 1792. Louise, the daughter and heiress of the Duc de Penthièvre, was Duchess of Orleans, and mother of Louis Philippe.

The allied line consisted of thirty-nine English and twelve Dutch ships, besides frigates ; but they were short handed, short of ammunition, and had been more than a year away from any port where they could refit. The van, consisting of fifteen ships, was led by Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake. The leading ship was the 'Yarmouth,' Captain Hicks, next came the 'Norfolk,' and the third ship was the 'Berwick,' under Captain Fairfax. Then came Sir John Leake's ship, the 'Prince George,' with Stephen Martin as flag-captain. Shovel was in the 'Barfleur.' The centre was commanded by Sir George Rooke, in the 'Royal Catherine' of 90 guns, with Admirals Byng and Dilkes in the 'Ranelagh' and 'Kent.' The rear was composed of the Dutch squadron.

The French had three three-deckers, with over 100 guns; the largest English ship only carried 90 guns. The total number of guns in the French fleet was 3,577, in the allied fleet 3,614. The opposing forces were very nearly equal.

In the morning of August 13 the van of the allied fleet, under Sir John Leake, bore down upon the enemy, they standing with their heads to the southward. At 9 A.M. his division was within range of the French ships of their van squadron, which manœuvred to avoid close quarters. At ten the engagement began by the ships of Sir John Leake's division firing their broadsides, followed almost immediately by the centre under Sir George Rooke. They continued to engage hotly for an hour and a half within half gunshot. The 'St. Philippe,' of 90 guns, flagship of Admiral D'Infreville, engaged the 'Berwick,' and for some time Leake's squadron of six ships was engaged with thirteen of the enemy. Here there was very hot work. Fairfax fought

his ship with skill and tenacity,¹ and at 3 P.M. the French admiral and his squadron bore out of the line, much disabled. They stood away until they were a mile to leeward.

Sir John Leake then sent his flag-captain to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to propose that their two squadrons should continue to bear down on the enemy's van, so as to break the line and separate it from the centre. But Shovel did not concur, and the action, therefore, ended in this part of the line. Meanwhile the Dutch ships maintained the fight with great bravery the whole day in the rear, and Sir George Rooke fought with equal valour in the centre. But several ships which had been engaged in the cannonading of Gibraltar expended all their shot, and were obliged to haul out of the line.² It was hot work and warm weather, the struggle being continued until nightfall. Then the French went away to leeward, with the help of their galleys. In the night the wind shifted to the northward, so that the French were to windward, and might have renewed the battle if they had chosen. But they declined the combat, and on the 14th the two fleets lay at a distance of about two leagues from each other, repairing damages. On the 16th the French were out of sight, making the best of their way to Toulon.

Captain Fairfax, when the action ceased in the afternoon, found that the 'Berwick' had suffered a great deal. Her main, fore, and mizen masts, bowsprit, fore, main, and mizen yards, were all shattered and torn by

¹ The 'Berwick' fired 1,052 rounds.

² The 'Suffolk,' Captain Kirton; 'Grafton,' Sir Andrew Leake, who was mortally wounded; 'Montagu,' Captain Cleveland; 'Kingston,' Captain Acton; 'Nassau,' Captain Dove; 'Eagle,' Lord Archibald Hamilton. The captains were tried by court-martial for hauling out of the line, but were honourably acquitted.

shot. They were no longer serviceable for a full due, but were fished for temporary use. The hull received ninety-six shots in the upper works; between wind and water thirty-two shots, and several more out of sight without heeling the ship. She was making four and a half feet of water in an hour. The rudder was shot through at the water line, which had split it and shaken it loose. Her main and mizen topmasts went over the side. Seven fathoms of her best bower cable were shot away. The sails and rigging were cut up fearfully. The master and boatswain and twenty-three men were killed, and forty-four men were wounded. During the 14th, Fairfax got up two anchor stocks, and fished his mainmast, which had been hit in two places. He also got up the spare topmasts, and fished his foremast and bowsprit.

No ships were lost in either fleet, but there was a heavy list of killed and wounded. The allies had 695 killed and 1,663 wounded. Among the former were Sir Andrew Leake, Captain Cow of the 'Ranelagh,' and Lieutenant Jennings of the 'St. George.' The wounded included Captains Baker, Jumper, Kirton, and Mynge, and fifteen lieutenants. Sir George Rooke, in his despatch, said that he never observed the true English spirit so apparent and so prevalent as on this occasion. The battle of Malaga was not a victory, but it was a very important success, because it frustrated the intention of the enemy. The French fleet came to scatter the allies and retake Gibraltar. It returned to Toulon much shattered and unsuccessful.

The allied fleet arrived at Gibraltar to refit on August 20. On the 25th, Sir George Rooke made sail for England, detaching Sir John Leake to Lisbon with a squadron to be ready, if necessary, to bring

assistance to the garrison at Gibraltar. The necessity soon arose, and Leake acquitted himself with great credit, relieving the place twice, and forcing the enemy to raise the siege. On the departure of Leake's squadron for Lisbon, Fairfax was attached to that of Sir Cloudesley Shovel during the voyage home. On September 24 the fleet sighted the Start. The 'Berwick' was ordered round to Chatham, and Captain Fairfax paid her off on February 17, 1705.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SIEGE OF BARCELONA.

THE memorable expedition of the Earl of Peterborough to Spain was the great event of the year 1705. This accomplished and very able, though eccentric, nobleman was admirably fitted for the successful conduct of the enterprise he was to lead, provided that his plans were not thwarted. Even in the face of the exasperating obstruction he had to encounter from colleagues, he achieved wonders. He was endowed with marvellous energy, was full of resource, and carried out his plans with extraordinary celerity. Charles Mordaunt was a sailor as well as a soldier. In early life he had served with distinction in the Mediterranean, under Narborough and Herbert. He took a leading part in the work of the Revolution, had been created Earl of Monmouth in 1689, and succeeded his uncle as Earl of Peterborough in 1696. He was appointed to command the expeditionary army to Spain in 1705, and was also to be joint admiral of the fleet with Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The two signatures are on all the orders and circulars to the ships of the fleet, that of 'Peterborow' being first.

Captain Fairfax commissioned the third-rate ship 'Torbay' on February 5, 1705. She was 1,202 tons, with a complement of 476 men, and carried 80 guns. She had on board a number of young volunteers, and among them was William, third son of Henry

Fairfax of Toulston, then only in his thirteenth year. He was sent to receive the training of an officer under his cousin; and he afterwards served under another cousin, Colonel Martin Bladen, in the army.¹ William Fairfax is the ancestor of all the Fairfaxes of the American branch of the family. Another volunteer was young Tyrwhit Cayley, who proved rather a troublesome scapegrace. He was son of an influential citizen of York, whose surprise he excited by the sums of money he drew at every port he touched at. Worthy Mr. Cayley could not imagine how his son could spend so much money on ship board, for he could not believe there could be gaming. The captain reproved and put a stop to this extravagance, while showing great kindness to young Cayley, as to the other lads on board his ship. Early in May the 'Torbay' came round to Spithead, and joined the fleet assembled there, waiting for the transports. On the 22nd Captain Fairfax received the envoy of Portugal on board, for a passage to Lisbon; and on the following day Lord Peterborough embarked with Sir Cloudesley Shovel. On the 24th the fleet sailed for Lisbon, arriving in the Tagus on June 20, 1705.

¹ Captain Fairfax continued to take an interest in the welfare of young William, who remained in the navy for some years. There is a letter (in the American collection) from Captain Fairfax to William's mother at Toulston, in which he says, 'I expect him in town to-morrow. That he may lose no time in the service of the fleet, I have been careful to obtain the letter, and I am glad to do him any service because he is a good boy.'

William Fairfax afterwards settled in the Bahamas, where he was Judge and Governor. In 1725 he became collector of Customs in Salem, Massachusetts, and afterwards removed to Virginia, as agent for the estates of his cousin, Lord Fairfax. He built Belvoir on the Potomac, was President of the King's Council in Virginia, and died in 1757, aged sixty-five. His son, the Rev. Brian Fairfax, of Mount Eagle in Virginia, succeeded as eighth Lord Fairfax. He was the intimate friend and connection of General Washington, and was chief mourner at his funeral. The present Lord Fairfax, resident in the United States, is his great grandson.

The Archduke Charles had been wearily waiting at Lisbon for upwards of a year, with the titular rank of King of Spain. He now came to the resolution of trying his fortune with Lord Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The English Earl received his titular Majesty on board the 'Ranelagh' with princely hospitality, entertaining him and his suite without expense to the English Government. Leaving Lisbon in the end of July, the fleet arrived at Gibraltar, where Charles was received as the lawful sovereign. The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt had remained there, defending the place, since it was taken in the previous August. He now embarked on board the fleet, and used all his influence to obtain a decision that Catalonia should be the destination of the expedition, for he had been Viceroy of Catalonia in the days of Charles II., and believed that his influence would secure the allegiance of the people to the Austrian claimant.

Leaving Gibraltar on the 5th, the fleet rounded Cape de Gat on the 7th, and anchored in Altea Bay on August 11. The two historians of this romantic enterprise, Dr. Freind and Captain Carleton, were on board ships in the fleet, both eye-witnesses of the events they recorded. The latter describes Altea as 'famous for its bay for ships to water at. It stands on a high hill, and is adorned, not defended, with an old fort.' The people of Altea, and from all the country around, crowded to offer their services to the new King, bringing in all sorts of provisions. A proclamation was circulated by Peterborough, calling upon all the Spaniards to throw off the foreign yoke of the French. The town and castle of Denia were soon afterwards seized upon by the people in the name of Charles III.

Several councils of war were held at Altea. The force consisted of fifteen battalions of infantry, 1,300 horse, and a train of artillery. Peterborough urged the adoption of a bold measure, which he maintained to be alike the most prudent and the most safe. He would have landed the little army, have marched direct to Madrid, and have established the King of the House of Austria in the seat of government. He argued that Charles would at once become the *de facto* King, and would cease to be a mere claimant, that the dead weight of loyalty would gravitate towards him, and that an immense advantage would at once be gained. But other counsels prevailed. The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt contended that Catalonia was the centre of strength for an Austrian claimant, and that the first undertaking should be the siege of Barcelona. Charles decided in favour of this less enterprising measure, and the fleet made sail from Altea accordingly. But it was much delayed by calms, and did not arrive before Barcelona until August 12.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was, of course, in a position to assist the land forces materially; still the impossibility of investing so large a place as Barcelona made the success of the enterprise very doubtful. The attempt was contrary to the advice of the Earl of Peterborough, and the difference of opinion created a marked coolness between his Lordship and the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt. Barcelona was strongly fortified with a wall and bastions. There was a battery on the mole, another near the seashore, while the Castle of Monjuich, on its craggy height to the west of the town, was reputed to be impregnable. The surrounding country is well cultivated and well watered. The transports took up positions for landing the troops under the direction of

Sir Strafford Fairborne, the Vice-Admiral; while the Spaniards opened fire from two redoubts, one on the mole and the other near the shore, to the eastward. It was evident that the place was well provisioned, and it was strongly garrisoned by a force of 5,000 men under the command of Don Francisco de Velasco, the Viceroy of Catalonia. The defence of Monjuich was entrusted to the Prince of Caraccioli, a Neapolitan. Velasco ordered all straw and forage for horses to be destroyed for a league round the town, but his commands were very imperfectly executed.

A strong easterly gale was blowing when the operation of landing began, and there was much difficulty owing to the high sea, but no opposition from the enemy. The people of the surrounding villages welcomed the allies with joy. They brought gang boards for the soldiers to pass dry shod from the boats, and carried the officers on shore in their arms. The landing place was about three-quarters of a mile to the east of the city, and near Badalona. Captain Fairfax was one of the captains who superintended the operation. On the 23rd, the fifteen battalions of infantry were put on shore; and on the same day a duel was fought on the beach between two English colonels, Barr and Rodney, of the Marines. Both were wounded, the latter mortally. Next day the cavalry was landed, and the artillery and heavy baggage on the 27th. A small naval brigade was also formed to work the guns, and Captain Fairfax landed part of his gunner's crew, with beef and bread for three days. An encampment was formed about a mile from the town, extending from the sea-shore to a small inlet, and resting, in the rear, on the river Basso. The force was much too small to attempt a complete investment. The people of the country,

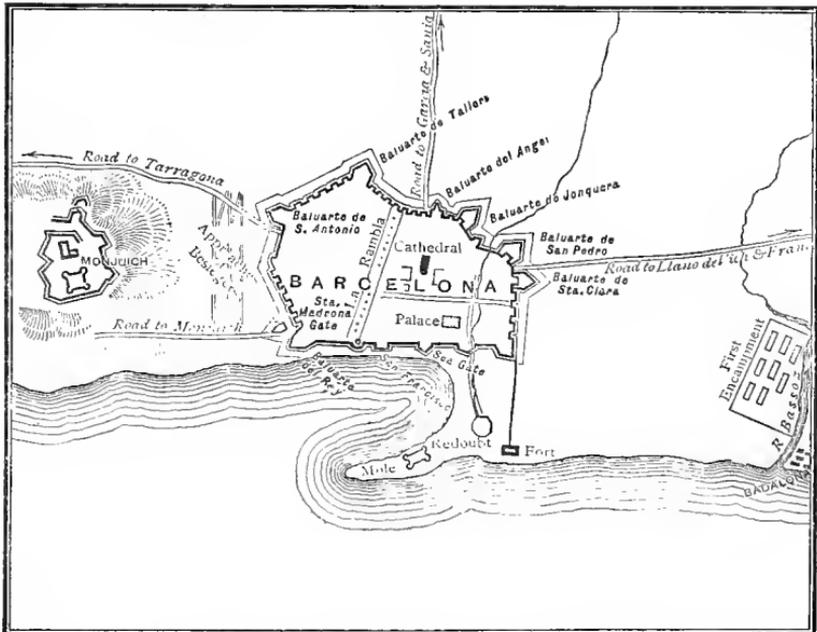
however, formed into bands, known locally as Miguelets, and effectually blockaded the other approaches.

Barcelona is built on the shores of the Mediterranean, with a beautiful and fruitful country forming an oblong plain, and bounded by mountains on the land side. The capital of Catalonia was a place of great importance, with extensive trade and much wealth. It was nearly a mile and a half long by a mile broad, surrounded by a rampart and ditch with flanking bastions, and its inhabitants were enterprising and industrious. In the Middle Ages the people of Barcelona were free and warlike, and they devoted much of their wealth to the erection of fine buildings, and to the beautifying of their city. Right across the town, at right angles with the sea, runs the beautiful promenade called *La Rambla*, dividing the old from the new town. The cathedral, of the fourteenth century, with its octagonal tower rising over the city, has a pleasant cloister full of orange trees, flowers, and fountains. Barcelona contains other fine churches, and some beautiful civil buildings, such as the Casas Consistorial and De la Deputacion, and the old 'Lonja,' or Exchange—all of the fourteenth century. The Catalans, whose city was threatened, were on the side of the besiegers, for they had suffered from the French partisans, and the Archduke Charles had promised to respect their rights and liberties. But there was a strong garrison to keep them down.

The most formidable part of the defences of Barcelona consisted in the Castle of Monjuich. About a mile to the south-westward of the city an isolated ridge of fossiliferous sandstone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 735 feet, and was crowned by a castle with two bastions facing the sea, two to landward, and a look-out tower. This central castle or donjon was

surrounded by bastioned outworks and lunettes. The hill of Monjuich was the *Mons Jovis* of the Romans, and the *Mons Judaicus* of the Middle Ages, so called from the Jews' cemetery being at its foot. The hill is scarped and precipitous on the south and east sides, on the north rather less so, while to the westward there is a gentle incline. The view from the summit is magnificent.

The force under Lord Peterborough and the Prince



of Hesse Darmstadt seemed to be quite inadequate for the reduction of such a place as Barcelona. So thought most of the generals, though there was much recrimination and difference of opinion amongst them. Lord Peterborough and the Prince were not on speaking terms, the latter having disparaged the work of the English troops in an offensive and irritating manner. It was under these depressing circumstances that Lord Peterborough resolved upon the daring and almost

desperate enterprise which has made his name immortal in the annals of his country. He determined to take Monjuich by storm. Such a success would not only infuse fresh energy into the troops and lead to a more vigorous prosecution of the siege, but it would also secure a point of vantage of the first importance. He was well aware that it would appear to Charles and his stolid German advisers to be the scheme of a madman, and that it would be opposed on the ground that it was contrary to the received method of conducting sieges. It was, therefore, as important to conceal his plans from his allies as from the enemy. He induced the council of war to agree to raise the siege, even sent some of the heavy guns on board again, and there was actually rejoicing among the threatened garrison at the good news.

All suspicions were completely lulled. Meanwhile Peterborough had carefully arranged an attack and laid his plans. He selected 400 Grenadiers under Captain Southwell, and 600 men as supports, and, starting at 6 P.M. of Sunday, September 13, he ordered them to take the road by Samia, towards the interior. The way led him past the tent of the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt. Suddenly Lord Peterborough stood before the Prince, with whom he had been on bad terms. 'I have determined,' he said, 'this night to make an attempt upon the enemy. You may now, if you please, be a judge of our behaviour.' The Prince was much astonished, but immediately called for his horse, and the two rode on, side by side. At ten at night Peterborough ordered his men to wheel, and march direct for Monjuich. At midnight this first detachment was followed by another thousand men under Brigadier Stanhope. The night was very dark, the men could only advance single file, and they did not reach the

foot of the mountain until the dawn was beginning to break. Their leader waited until it was daylight, that the enemy might see them, and come out to defend the more advanced works. Southwell was ordered to begin the attack with the Grenadiers. Advancing under a tremendous fire, they stormed and carried the outworks, driving the Spaniards back into the castle. Fortunately there were some heaps of large stones for repairs, out of which breastworks were rapidly built, and the guns in the outer bastions were turned against the principal work. At this moment the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt fell, while speaking to Lord Peterborough. A ball had severed the artery of his thigh, and he bled to death in a few minutes. Hearing that reinforcements were coming from the Barcelona garrison, Peterborough went down the hill to reconnoitre, and call up Stanhope with the reserves, leaving Lord Charlemont in command. There was a panic among the troops, and Charlemont ordered a retreat, which was fast becoming a flight. All seemed lost, when Captain Carleton, who himself tells the story, hurried after Lord Peterborough to tell him what had happened. 'Good God! is it possible?' exclaimed the Earl, and, putting spurs to his horse, he galloped back until he met the fugitives. Dismounting and drawing his sword, he exclaimed, 'I am sure all brave men will follow me!' He continued to advance, and the troops immediately rallied and regained all the lost ground. Planting himself at the foot of the castle, he began to batter it with five guns that had been captured in the outworks. On the 17th, Captain Southwell, who commanded that day in the trenches, threw a bomb which exploded the magazine, and blew up the Prince of Caraccioli and many others. The garrison at once surrendered; and this gallant and most daring

enterprise was thus crowned with brilliant success. Captain Southwell, with the approval of the Archduke Charles, was appointed Governor of Monjuich.

As Lord Peterborough anticipated, this astonishing feat of arms put fresh vigour into the besieging force. Stanhope's brigade immediately began to open trenches between Monjuich and Barcelona, and soon there were four batteries opened on the west wall of the town. A naval brigade was formed. Captain Fairfax received the Monjuich prisoners on board the 'Torbay,' and sent two of his eighteen pounders, with carriages and gear and 260 shot, to the castle. They were dragged up by Fairfax's sailors, while all his marines were in the trenches. Requisition after requisition reached him for sending warlike stores of all kinds on shore. On September 23 Captain Fairfax received orders from Sir Strafford Fairborne to take command of the seven bomb vessels, and to station them for the bombardment of Barcelona. Between September 25 and October 1 he sent 876 shells into the town, and the trenches were rapidly advanced under cover of this tremendous fire. A large breach was made in the wall. On October 4 the Viceroy Velasco offered to capitulate. Very honourable terms were granted to him, and on October 15, 1705, Charles made his solemn entry into Barcelona.

The fleet of Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed for England three days previously, very short both of stores and provisions, for nearly everything had been given to the troops. At Gibraltar the 'Torbay' was ordered to deliver up her long boat for the use of the garrison.

During this memorable siege of Barcelona, Robert Fairfax had worked excessively hard, and had indeed overtaken his strength. He broke down, and was seriously ill during the passage home. Reaching Spithead

on December 18 he was allowed to land and join his wife and children in Searle Street, while the first lieutenant took the ship round to Chatham, to be paid off. He had now been serving as a post-captain for fifteen years, and he felt that his long and good service ought to be recognised.

On January 6, 1706, Captain Fairfax addressed a letter to Mr. Burchett, the Secretary of the Admiralty, complaining that the 'Royal Katherine,' for which ship he had applied, had been given to Lord Archibald Hamilton, who was a year junior to him, and representing to the Lord High Admiral that it was not reasonable that he should go to sea in a third-rate, when an officer so much his junior commanded a second-rate. He also wrote to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was then enjoying a holiday at his house in Soho Square, requesting that, in case Sir John Norris was otherwise provided for, Sir Cloudesley would accept him as his first captain. He received a favourable answer, and in the meanwhile Prince George of Denmark, the Lord High Admiral, made him some amends by appointing him to the 'Barfleur,' a second-rate of 1,476 tons, carrying 640 men and 90 guns. He joined her at Chatham on March 7, 1706, and two days afterwards he received still further proofs of the value set upon his services by the council of the Lord High Admiral. On the 9th a commission reached him from Mr. Burchett, appointing him commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's ships in the Thames and Medway, accompanied by a warrant empowering him to call courts-martial. He discharged these duties during the two following months, and in May was sent round to Spithead to form part of the fleet which was ordered on an important expedition under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

CHAPTER XIV.

COUNCILLOR TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.

QUEEN ANNE'S Ministers were induced, by the representations of the notorious Marquis de Guiscard, to fit out an expedition on a large scale with the object of making a descent on the coast of France. It was believed that, owing to the oppression of the nobles, to the heavy taxation, and to sufferings caused by religious persecutions, the people were ready to join an insurrection, while the English troops might assist the Protestants to regain their liberties forfeited by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Guiscard was recommended as a proper person to contribute to the success of such an enterprise, and he received a commission from the Queen. The whole force was to consist of 10,000 men, the command in chief being given to Lieutenant-General Earl Rivers,¹ who had seen some service in Flanders. The major-generals were the Earl of Essex, Lord Mordaunt, General Erle, and the Marquis de Guiscard.

¹ Richard Savage, Earl Rivers, and Viscount Savage of Rock Savage, was the third Earl of that family. He was descended of an old Cheshire family which had produced an Archbishop of York, and a knight, Sir John Savage, who placed the crown on Henry of Richmond's head after Bosworth fight. Lord Rivers had no legitimate children, but he had, by Lady Macclesfield, a son born in 1698, that Richard Savage whose sad story was told by Dr. Johnson. Lord Rivers died in 1712. A cousin, who was a Roman Catholic priest, succeeded, and when he died in 1728 the title became extinct.

The expedition was to be conducted by a fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who hoisted his flag on board the 'Britannia' at Portsmouth, on July 18, 1706. A Dutch squadron with a contingent of troops was to join the English fleet at St. Helens.

Captain Fairfax had orders to receive Lord Rivers and his suite on board the 'Barfleur,' with a barge and crew of watermen, while a tender laden with luggage was to keep company. On July 30 the code of signals for disembarking troops, and making other arrangements connected with the expedition, was sent to the ships of the fleet by Sir John Norris, the flag-captain, and all was in readiness for departure. But the Dutch had not yet arrived. Sir Cloudesley Shovel shifted his flag to the 'Association,' and on the same day Lord Rivers embarked on board the 'Barfleur' with his staff. The captain had exerted himself to secure the comfort of his guests, and they were very well satisfied with their treatment.

But this carefully prepared expedition was doomed to failure. The Dutch never arrived; and on August 10 the fleet sailed from St. Helens without them. Continuous westerly gales caused further delay, and forced the ships to remain in Tor Bay for several weeks. The design of landing on the French coast was set aside, and it was determined that the expedition should proceed to Lisbon. Once more the fleet put to sea early in October, and again encountered a gale of wind.

The 'Barfleur' sprung a leak, and was not in a condition to continue the voyage. Lord Rivers went on board the 'Association' with some difficulty, for there was a heavy sea, and he got a nasty fall in jumping from the 'Barfleur' into the yawl alongside. Fairfax was then ordered to make the best of his way to

Spithead, attended by the 'Tartar' frigate and the 'Sorlings.' Reaching Portsmouth on October 15, the general's barge and luggage were transferred to the 'Tartar,' and she made the best of her way after the rest of the fleet.

The expedition remained some time in the Tagus, and then proceeded to Alicante, where the troops were landed and joined Lord Galway, soon afterwards sharing in the misfortune which befell the British arms at Almanza. Lord Rivers returned to England, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel went, with his fleet, to assist the Duke of Savoy in his attempt on Toulon.

The 'Barfleur' proved to be quite unseaworthy, and it was resolved that she should be laid up in ordinary; but the ship's company was ordered to be kept together, to be turned over to another ship, while Fairfax obtained ten days' leave of absence to visit his family in London.

At this time he received a letter from his uncle, General Fairfax, in Ireland, regretting the separation from Lord Rivers. The general was the family link which connected the present with the past. Thomas Fairfax was born in 1633. He is mentioned in the last letter¹ of his gallant father, Sir William Fairfax, who intended to send him and his brother to the school at Coxwold where their cousin Brian was also educated. He is also mentioned in the letters of his sister, Lady Lister, to her mother.² Entering the army of the Lord Protector when very young, he served in the West Indian expedition which took the island of Jamaica. After the revolution he was appointed colonel of the 4th Foot on the Irish establishment by William III., on November 6, 1694. He was then sixty years old. On

¹ September 7, 1644. See p. 21.

² See pp. 28 and 30.

June 11, 1696, he was gazetted a brigadier-general, and Queen Anne promoted him to the rank of major-general, and made him Governor of Limerick. He, however, lived chiefly at Dublin with his unmarried niece, Kate Bladen, who had devoted herself to the care of her old uncle. In 1704 he was seventy-three. There is a portrait of him at Bilbrough—a half-length in breast-plate, and a rich lace cravat, with a laughing, humorous face peeping out of a huge flowing wig.¹ The following is his letter on the accident to the ‘Barfleur’ :—

Dublin, October 26th, 1706.

Deare Nephew,—I was just going to write to you when the newes came that you were saild, but since I heare of your misfortune of springing a leak, that you were forct to goe home again. God be thankt you were safe at Spithead. Lord Rivers and Major General Erle, I believe, were loath to part with you, for they told me that they had received a thousand civilities from you, and desired I would give their thanks in a very obligeing way, which I doe with all my harte, for they are (especially Erle) my very good friends. Pray lett me heare from you, and give my kind service to my neece and fire side, and believe me to bee allways D. N. your affect unkle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

My neece Kate gives her humble service to you and neece Fairfax.

At this time also there were several letters from Mr. Reynolds, the prize agent, announcing the payment of shares of prize money which had been years under settlement. The unconscionably long delays in paying prize money was a subject of bitter complaint down to the time of Nelson. There were grateful letters, too,

¹ There is another portrait of him at Leeds Castle.

from Mr. Cayley and other fathers for acts of kindness to their volunteer sons on board the 'Torbay' and 'Barfleur.'

On December 10, 1706, Captain Fairfax was appointed to another second-rate, the 'Albemarle,' of 1,376 tons and 90 guns, his 'Barfleur' ship's company being turned over to the new ship in Portsmouth Harbour. By February 1707 she was ready to go to Spithead, and on March 5 she went out. Captain Fairfax received a commission, dated June 1707, to act as commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's ships at Spithead and Portsmouth. This was an important and responsible post, showing the trust and confidence placed in him by the Admiralty. His duties were to call and preside at courts-martial, to bring forward and superintend the fitting-out of ships, to arrange many difficult questions about manning them and seeing them got ready for sea, and to correspond with the Admiralty. In those days there was no Port Admiral, and the resident Commissioner at the dockyard took the place of the Admiral-Superintendent.

Prisoners coming home from foreign stations were tried on board the 'Albemarle' at Spithead. Captain Fairfax presided at courts-martial on Captain Williams, of the 'Experiment,' with his surgeon and lieutenant, for plundering a sloop in the West Indies; on the master of the 'Gosport' for breaking his leave; on Lieutenant Ward, of the 'Canterbury,' for beating and abusing the master; on Captain Temple, of the 'Advice,' for still more extraordinary irregularities; and several more.

Captain Fairfax also had a great deal of correspondence respecting patronage. Members of Parliament were always pushing the interests of their friends

at the Admiralty, and Mr. Burchett sent their letters to be dealt with by the commander-in-chief at Spithead. Mr. Walsh, M.P., was constantly importuning that one Benjamin Eaton might be made a midshipman. He was a young raw lad who had not very long before been pressed into the 'Barfleur,' a barber by trade, who was fit only to shave the ship's company. On this application Captain Fairfax observed: 'I presume if the gentleman had known this before he would not have thought it a reasonable request.' Mr. Burchett himself made a similar request in the case of a lad named Rice Black. The reply was: 'I shall have regard to him for your sake, but I have all along been overstocked with petty officers.' As to another urgent application in favour of one John Davenport, there was no such man on the ship's books.

But the most important work was the filling up of ships with men, and especially the collection of volunteers to serve in the West Indies, which was no easy matter. In April Fairfax succeeded, by dint of perseverance, in manning the 'Severne' and 'Portland' without pressing. In May he went on leave for ten days, as his wife and children were starting for Yorkshire, Lord Archibald Hamilton doing the work for him in his absence. Captain Fairfax returned from leave in the first week in June, and received the following letter from his uncle in Dublin:—

*For Captain Robert Fairfax at his house in Searle Street near
the New Square at Lincoln's Inn in London.*

Dublin, June 2d, 1707.

Dear Nephew,—I had the favor of yours by Captain Sanders and give you my hearty thanks for your kind expressions in it, and also for your token. At his arrival here we were plagued

with a French Privateer which he was obliged to goe after and had the good luck to take, and has brought her in, so that now we shall find an opportunity to drink your good health and good fortune, which I doe assure you no man wishes more than myself. I am glad you left all well at home, and that my neece is so well as to think of a Yorkshire journey. I am sorry for our loss in Spain.¹ I hope we shall be even with them elsewhere. Indeed the Dunkirkers was a bad business as Thom Nailor used to call it. I hear Sir John Leake is to cruise in the Channel so that I believe you are with him. God send you both good luck which shall always be the prayer of my dear Nephew your most affectionate uncle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

My niece² Kate gives you her very humble service. You shall hear from me when I meet Captn Sanders.

Sir John Leake had been selected as the admiral to succeed Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was ordered home. He was to collect a fleet during the autumn, and sail for the Mediterranean early in 1708. Meanwhile he took a holiday at his home at Bedington, in Surrey, whence he wrote to Captain Fairfax on June 16. He wished to have the 'Albemarle' for his flagship, and Fairfax would be glad to be relieved, as the time was coming very near for him to receive his flag, and he had much business in Yorkshire, where his affairs urgently needed attention. Robert Fairfax had always been on excellent terms with Sir John Leake ever since the time when he served with him in the operations leading to the relief of Londonderry in 1689. The Admiral urged his old friend to suit his own convenience in leaving the 'Albemarle;' and it was agreed that Stephen Martin, Sir John Leake's flag-captain, should

¹ The battle of Almanza in April 1707.

² Catherine, daughter of his sister Mrs. Bladen.

relieve Fairfax in August 1707. Admiral Leake came down and hoisted his flag on September 11.¹

The 'Albemarle' was Robert Fairfax's last ship. He had served in the navy for nearly twenty years, and had acquired a high reputation for bravery, ability, and decision. He was a thorough seaman, a good officer, and an intelligent administrator. His correspondence shows that he set an example of kindness and consideration for the men under his command, and of watchful interest in the young volunteers who were placed under his charge.

As soon as he was relieved by Captain Martin, he joined his family in Searle Street, and a few days afterwards they all made the journey to York together, where they passed a month, August—September, 1707. Steeton had fallen into a state of dilapidation, not having been inhabited since the death of William Fairfax, and it was a question whether a new house should be built at York, or Newton Kyme should be enlarged and repaired. Captain Fairfax had almost decided on the latter alternative, when the melancholy news of the death of his respected old admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, caused him to hurry up to London, to attend the funeral. Before starting, he received the following letter from his uncle :—

¹ After a very successful cruise in the Mediterranean in 1708, including Stanhope's taking of Minorca, Sir John Leake returned home. In his absence he had been elected M.P. for Rochester, and nominated one of the Council of the Lord High Admiral. But he only returned in October 1708, a few days before Prince George's death. He went to sea again in command of a fleet, and continued to serve afloat until the Queen's death. George I. unjustly deprived him of all his appointments, and he retired to Bedington, where he died in 1720, aged sixty-four. He left his property to his flag-captain, Stephen Martin, whose descendants took the name of Martin-Leake. They had married sisters. Captain Martin's son, Stephen Martin-Leake, Esq., Clarenceux King of Arms, published an excellent *Life of Sir John Leake* in 1750, which is referred to, with praise, by Macaulay.

Limerick, September 19th, 1707.

Dear Nephew,—Since my neece is gone to London before you, I believe that you will not be very much behind, but, however, according to your commands I venture to leave a letter for you at Tadcaster. Indeed I think you do better to build at Newton than to meddle with an old rotten house at York. If Sir John Leake goes in the Albemarle, you may have time to look about you. Pray when you go to Gilling be pleased to give my humble thanks to my Lord Fairfax and that I will doe Mr. Robinson all the service I can, but I am unfortunately out of town and can do nothing but write, but I shall be about ten dayes at Dublin and then I'll use my endeavour to do him all the service I can, for one word is better than twenty letters, and I know my Lord Inchiquin will do him all the service in the world that lies in his power. I am mighty glad my niece Hamond¹ is peacably settled at Scarthingwell. You will have a good neighbour of her. I hope to see you all in old Yorkshire before I die. My kind service to my neece your spouse. I am glad Tom² is so hopeful a boy, and so good a scoller and that his sister³ is well with her mother. Pray God bless you all, and send I may see you once more which is very much desired by your most affecte unkle and humble servt,

T. FAIRFAX.

My neece Kate is very much yours.

After assisting in the unsuccessful attack on Toulon by the Duke of Savoy, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered home with his fleet of twenty sail of vessels. He himself was on board the 'Association.' On October 23, 1707, he came into soundings and brought the fleet to, with a fresh gale at south-south-west, but hazy weather. At 6 P.M. he made sail again, and stood away under courses, believing, as it is supposed, that he saw the Lizard light. Soon afterwards several ships made the signal of danger. The Admiral struck on the rock called the 'Bishop and Clerks,'

¹ Daughter of his sister Mrs. Bladen.

² Thomas Fairfax, born October 21, 1698.

³ Katherine (afterwards Mrs. Pawson), born June 7, 1702.

his lights disappeared, and in a few minutes there was nothing of the ship to be seen. Two other ships, the 'Eagle' and 'Romney,' were lost with all on board, and Sir George Byng's flagship was saved by that officer's presence of mind, when the rocks were almost under her main chains. This melancholy accident created great consternation in England, for Sir Cloudesley Shovel was universally respected, and was very popular. It was not only his bravery and success in war, but his kindly nature and open generous disposition that had won the hearts of the people.

The Admiral's body was found buried in the sand, near St. Mary's rocks, and was brought into Plymouth on October 28, on board the 'Salisbury.'¹ It was conveyed to London, and lay in state at his house in Soho Square. The funeral took place in Westminster Abbey on December 22, and was attended by Captain Fairfax and many other naval officers. Sir Cloudesley was Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, one of the Council of the Lord High Admiral, Elder Brother of the Trinity House, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital. He was in his fifty-seventh year.²

The death of this great admiral caused vacancies which entitled Robert Fairfax to flag rank. Sir John Leake succeeded Sir Cloudesley as Admiral of the Fleet, and Fairfax was first on the captains' list for promotion. His long and good service was fully recognised at the Admiralty, and Prince George of Denmark

¹ Commanded by Captain Hozier, afterwards the unfortunate Admiral Hozier, whose ghost haunts the Spanish Main.

² He married the widow of Sir John Narborough, and became a second father to his old captain's sons, both of whom were drowned with him. Sir Cloudesley's own daughter married Lord Romney, and he is thus the ancestor of the Marsham family. The tomb of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in Westminster Abbey, is said to have been erected at the expense of Queen Anne. Its bad taste is remarked upon by Addison (*Spectator*, No. 29).

signed his commission as Vice-Admiral of the Blue¹ on January 20, 1708. The promotion was gazetted, and appeared in the 'Public News Letters.' Fairfax was ordered to attend and receive it on the following Saturday.

But it was cancelled by one of the most profligate jobs on record. The Lord Treasurer² wrote to Mr. Burchett on the Friday night, ordering him to substitute the name of Lord Dursley. This was an outrage on the Lord High Admiral, and an insult to the Admiralty, as well as an act of unblushing injustice.

The officer who was thus favoured had no special merit to recommend him. James Berkeley was born in 1681, and was barely ten years old when Fairfax became a post-captain. At the age of twenty he was captain of the 'Sorlings,' and three years afterwards he was called to the Upper House, in his father's lifetime, as Lord Dursley. He had seen service under Rooke and Shovel, and had shown courage in action, but had not distinguished himself in any way beyond his numerous seniors on the list. When he was thrust into a better man's place, over the heads of dozens of his seniors, he was just twenty-seven years of age. Lord Hervey described him as 'rough, proud, hard, and obstinate, with good natural parts, but so uncultivated that he was totally ignorant of every branch of knowledge but his profession. He was haughty and tyrannical, but gallant and observant of his word.' It may be added that he was close-fisted; ungenerous and litigious in all matters relating to prize money, although enormously rich himself.³

¹ Robert Fairfax was next in post to Sir John Norris, who was the Vice-Admiral of the White.

² Lord Godolphin.

³ *Hervey's Memoirs*, I., p. 49. Lord Dursley only hoisted his flag twice as admiral. In 1710 he succeeded his father as Earl of Berkeley,

There are few instances of such gross jobbing on record in the navy as this promotion of Lord Dursley. Captain Fairfax, of course, indignantly protested, and even the stolid George of Denmark resented the insult to his authority in his own very quiet way. He brought the case of Fairfax before the Queen in Council, and obtained for him the rank of rear-admiral. In order to mark the injustice of his supersession, Prince George also obtained an order for Admiral Fairfax to receive the half-pay of the rank which Lord Dursley had unjustly deprived him of, until he should be employed afloat.

Admiral Fairfax felt very indignant at the treatment he had received; and, in an audience with Prince George, he respectfully declined to serve again unless he was reinstated in the rank to which his seniority and services entitled him. He then went down to Yorkshire, and afterwards to Bath, with his invalid cousin Lord Fairfax. He received the following letter from his old uncle on the subject:—

Dublin, 3d of February, 1707 (8),

Dear Nephew,—I was very sorry to have yours of the 22d of January because it gave me the news of your ill usage in the navy, after having been in the Public News Letter all over Great Britain and Ireland. I think you did very discreetly to wait on the Prince and make your excuse of not serving any longer, since you are not allowed your seniority. I can say no

and in 1714 brought George I. to England. In 1717 he became First Lord of the Admiralty, and while occupying that office he hoisted his flag on board the 'Dorsetshire' in 1718, and cruised for a fortnight in the Channel. He was devoted to George I., who hated his own son, and Horace Walpole tells us that Lord Berkeley proposed a scheme for kidnapping the Prince of Wales and sending him to the plantations, where he would never be heard of more. George I. was too humane to listen to such an atrocious proposal. On the accession of the Prince, as George II., Queen Caroline found the proposal in her father-in-law's cabinet. So Lord Berkeley was very naturally dismissed in 1727. He died in 1736.

more of this matter—but patience. I hope to see you in the spring. I thank God I am very well now, only the cold weather pinches me, but I hope that will be over before I take my journey. Pray my kind service to all your family. I am with all my heart your truly affecte unkle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Mr. Dering and I often drink your health.

Prince George of Denmark, as Lord High Admiral, determined to mark his sense of the value of Admiral Fairfax's services in the best way that was left to him. In June 1708 he summoned the Admiral from Bath, and appointed him a member of his Council. On June 3 Fairfax took the oaths of office before the Prince at Windsor; on Sunday, the 4th, he was admitted to an audience with Queen Anne, and kissed her hand on being appointed one of the Prince's Council; and on the 6th he took his place at the Board of Admiralty.

Robert Fairfax, after twenty years of naval service, had thus become a Lord of the Admiralty. The Prince was in declining health, suffering much from asthma, and took very little part in the business. The members of the Council were :—

David, Earl of Wemyss,		Sir John Leake,
Admiral George Churchill,		Sir James Wishart,
Richard Hill,		Admiral Robert Fairfax,
The Honble. Henry Paget,		<i>Sec.</i> : Josiah Burchett, M.P.

The Earl of Wemyss had been, in consequence of the Union in 1707, appointed Lord High Admiral of Scotland by the Queen, and in that capacity he had a seat at the board. He had been a commissioner for concluding the Treaty of Union. But Admiral George Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough's younger brother,

was the leading member of the Board. He had served in the navy during the reign of Charles II., and had distinguished himself at the battle of La Hogue. He had been member for St. Albans since 1685, and a Lord of the Admiralty since 1699. Mr. Hill was a civilian of long experience in naval administration. Mr. Henry Paget¹ was member for Staffordshire, and had been on the board since 1702, but was not a naval man. Sir John Leake was absent in the Mediterranean. Admirals Wishart and Fairfax were experienced naval officers who had seen a great deal of service afloat, and, with Admiral Churchill, were the most active and influential members.

Since 1695 the Admiralty had been at Wallingford House. Here the board met, and here was Mr. Burchett's office.² The Navy Board had its office in the city, in a house in Seething Lane.³

Robert Fairfax's family had lived in a house in Searle Street since the first year of his marriage, and there is reason to think that the house had previously belonged to his wife. Searle Street, leading from the south-east corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields to Carey Street, at the back of the new Law Courts, had then been recently built, and consisted of very good houses. The coffee-house in Searle Street was a well-known resort of young barristers, mentioned by Addison in the 'Spectator.' Admiral Fairfax's residence was on the west side, at the corner of Cook's Court.⁴ To the eastward

¹ He was the eldest son of Lord Paget, whom he succeeded in 1713; and was created Earl of Uxbridge in 1714 by George I.

² Wallingford House was pulled down, and the present Admiralty was built on the same site, between 1722 and 1725, and enlarged in 1785. The screen with the dolphins was built by Robert Adams (one of the *Adelphi*) in 1760.

³ The Navy Board removed to Somerset House in 1780.

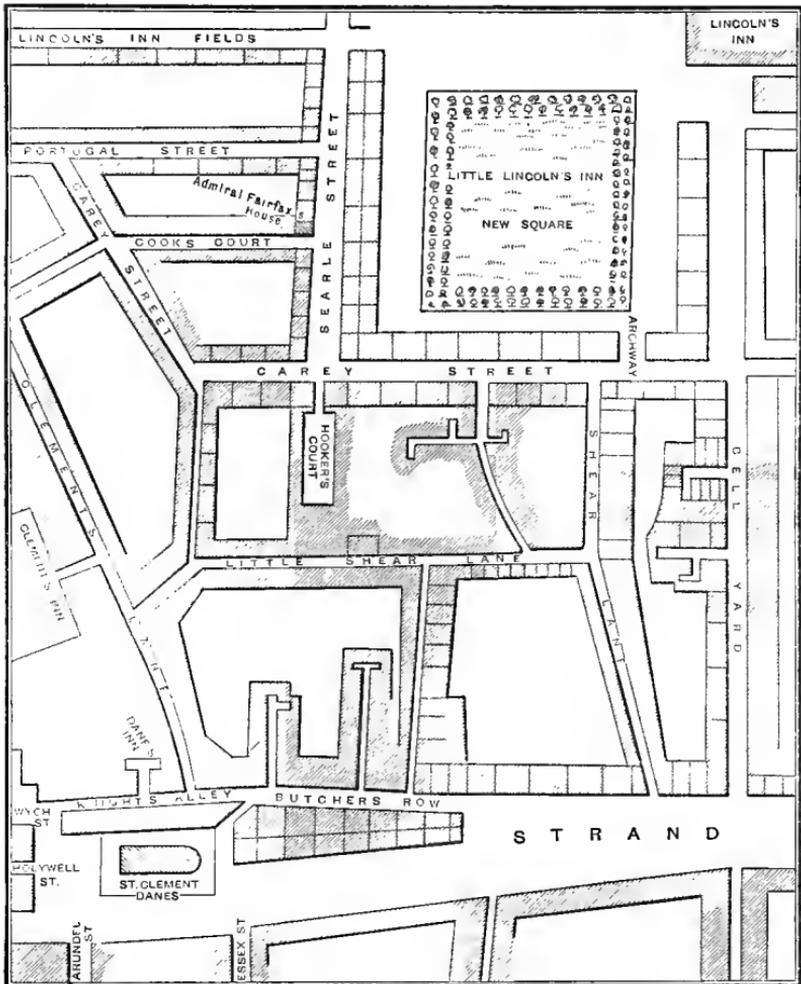
⁴ Now disappeared.

there was an open space, which had been, in ancient times, the tilting ground of the Knights Templars. Later it was known as Fichett's Croft, Searle's Court,¹ and Little Lincoln's Inn Fields. Between 1691 and 1697 two rows of good houses were built round this place, which was formed into a garden, and called Lincoln's Inn New Square. The backs of one of these rows formed the east side of Searle Street. Mr. Henry Searle had bought all this land from the executors of Sir John Birkenhead, the editor of the 'Mercurius Aulicus;' and in 1690 Searle himself died, much in debt, with all his estates mortgaged. So that the commencement of building the street which bears his name probably dates from a year or two after 1690.

In 1708 Searle Street was quite a new part of London, with two large gardens in its near neighbourhood. The parish church was St. Clement Danes, in the Strand, a handsome new church built in 1682 from a design by Sir Christopher Wren, replacing a very ancient one. The tower was not finished until 1719. Here the Admiral's two children, Tom and Kate, were baptized in 1698 and 1702. Their ages, in 1708, were ten and six, the one a good scholar for his age, the other bright and merry, but both rather delicate. A picture was painted of the two Fairfax children in about 1708, stiff little creatures in grown-up clothes, playing with a dog. The Admiral was also painted by Michael Dahl, while he was one of the Prince's Council; a half length in powdered wig and crimson coat. A miniature of him was painted at about the same time. He formed several friendships among his legal neighbours in Lincoln's Inn, among the most enduring being that

¹ The arms of Searle (*per pale or and sable*) are painted on a shield over the archway leading from the square into Carey Street.

with Mr. John Cooke, the Prothonotary of Common Pleas. During the summer there was a long visit from his uncle, General Thomas Fairfax, and his cousin Kate.



The Admiral's daily walk during that summer of 1708 was from Searle Street, down the Strand, to the Admiralty at Wallingford House. The war still continued, and the battle of Oudenarde was fought on

July 11. After a long siege, the town of Lille surrendered in October, and the Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, was fully occupied in the conduct of their brilliant campaign. The war had to be maintained at sea as well as on shore, and the greatest diligence was used in providing convoys for trading ships, and in supplying the requirements of the fleet under Sir John Leake. That gallant seaman, who was himself a member of the Board at the time, gave lustre to the period during which Admiral Fairfax held office. In August he took Cagliari, and reduced the whole island of Sardinia to obedience to the Archduke Charles. In the end of September he assisted General Stanhope in the capture of Minorca. Sir Edward Whitaker, the hero of Gibraltar, succeeded Leake in the Mediterranean command, and continued to maintain the honour of the navy in that quarter. In the West Indies Commodore Wager, in the 'Expedition,' fought a most gallant action with four Spanish treasure ships, blew one up, and captured another rich prize, his own share of which was 100,000*l.* From all directions the warlike operations of the navy brought *éclat* to the administration.

Special attention was given by the Board of Admiralty, in 1708, to the increase of cruisers, and to the greater efficiency and more punctuality in the convoy service. Since the battle of Malaga the French had not ventured to send a fleet to sea. Instead of attempting any important action, they had filled the seas with fast sailing privateers, and there had been serious losses among the English merchant ships. This had led to loud complaints from the merchants touching the inefficient arrangements for convoying, and the want of cruisers. There was a committee appointed by the

House of Lords to take evidence in 1707, and an address to the Queen, strongly condemning the Admiralty. The defence was that, in spite of all losses, including those during the Great Storm of 1703, the navy had been increased by ten ships, that losses when convoys were attacked by a superior force were unavoidable, that 175 enemy's privateers had been captured since 1702, and 1,346 of the enemy's merchant ships, and that, in short, England had inflicted more damage than she had received. As regards men-of-war, the English had captured fifty-six and destroyed twenty-four, of which thirty-five were line-of-battle. The French had taken thirty-three and destroyed two, only thirteen being line-of-battle ships. This was the account from 1702 to 1707.

Although the authorities were able to make a tolerably good defence, the address of the House of Lords, with the Queen's reply, certainly did good. In 1708 the Admiralty made great exertions to increase the number of cruisers in soundings, and enforced their orders respecting the punctual arrival of ships to convoy fleets of merchant vessels at the appointed rendezvous. The result was a marked diminution of the losses as compared with previous years.

Another department needing reform, to which Admiral Fairfax and his colleagues turned their attention, was that dealing with the supply of stores and provisions. Here there was much waste and peculation, the ships were often ill supplied, and the health of the men suffered. The evil was too gigantic to be grappled with and overcome in so short a time. It went on—if not increasing, certainly not diminishing—until the slumbering officials of a later generation were rudely awakened by the mutiny at the Nore. The commissioners residing

at the dockyards, however, were reminded of their duties by strong memoranda, and exhorted to pay close attention to the proceedings of victualling contractors and pursers. One of these officials was Mr. George St. Lo, whose interesting correspondence while commissioner at Plymouth is still preserved there. In 1708 he had been transferred to Chatham, where he remained until 1714. He was a shrewd, energetic, and not over scrupulous official, with great experience, acquired not only in English but also, while a prisoner, in French dockyards.

The Board of Admiralty was working with great energy and usefulness, and was securing really good results in some departments, when their labours were checked by the death of Prince George of Denmark. He had been in declining health for a long time, and during the autumn he became rapidly worse. Closely and affectionately waited upon by the Queen, who had been a loving and attentive wife throughout her married life of twenty-five years, the Prince breathed his last at Kensington Palace on October 28, 1708. The funeral took place at Westminster Abbey on November 13. The Honourable the Council of His Royal Highness as Lord High Admiral, including Admiral Fairfax, had an official place as mourners in the procession.

With the death of the Lord High Admiral the powers of his Council expired. The Queen, assisted by Mr. Burchett, carried on the work for about a month, and in the end of November the Earl of Pembroke became Lord High Admiral with a new Council. Admiral Fairfax was not re-appointed, and in 1709 he left the house in Searle Street, intending to pass the rest of his life principally in Yorkshire.

In December 1709 a breach of faith was committed

in depriving him of the rate of half-pay which had been fixed, at the instance of Prince George, by the Queen in Council. He made a strong protest against this breach of faith in April 1710, and after several years he obtained justice, at last receiving the proper rate of half-pay until his death.

At the change of Ministry in 1710 he made a final attempt to obtain employment, but without success. The following letters were received from his old uncle at Dublin, during the period of two years, from 1708 to 1710, when Robert Fairfax was still hoping to continue his naval career :—

Dublin, July 23d, 1709.

Dear Nephew,—I beg your pardon for not writing you an answer of yours, but really I have been so ill since my landing with a diziness in my head that I could not write. I thank God I am now better, but not so well as to go down to Limerick.

We had a reasonable passage over, and about Holyhead we met a small privateer whom we chased, for my neece and I was on board the man of war that attended the yacht. But the rogue was so cunning that he clapt upon a wind and so outsailed us, tho we made all the sail we could. Sir William St. Quintin¹ told me he had a letter from you. We are in great expectation of news from Tournay which God send it be good, and so God keep you and yours which shall always be the prayer of your most loving uncle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Dublin, Jan 3d, 1709 (10).

Dear Nephew,—I had yours of the 13 xber, which was most welcome to me, but was much troubled that amongst all these

¹ Grandson of Sir Henry St. Quintin, Bart., of Harpham, county York, by Mary, daughter of H. Stapleton of Wighill; and son of William St. Quintin, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Strickland, Bart., of Boynton. Sir William succeeded his grandfather. He was Commissioner of Customs and M.P. for Hull in the reigns of William III., Anne, and George I.; Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-General of Ireland until his death in 1723, unmarried, aged sixty-three.

alterations in the Admiralty¹ they should not think of honest Robin, who has served the crown so well and faithfully, but it is not that that makes a man meritorious. I would fain know if they allow you your half pay as a flag officer, and when you are like to get it. I am very sorry to hear my neece your spouse is so ill of her coff. Pray give her my kind love and service, and to honest Tom and Kate. I have not been well all this winter, with a pain in my neck, but I hope when warm weather comes in I shall be better. Pray let me hear from you as oft as you can, and tho' there be little news stirring, I shall be mighty glad to hear from my dear nephew at all times, for I assure you I am ever D.N. your most affte uncle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Pray give my service to the honest Prothonitor and all our friends near you.

Dublin, March 10th, 1709 (10).

Dear Nephew,—You may think it strange I have not answered your letter all this while, and that I have been negligent of my neece Spencer's affaire, but you will find by the enclosed to the contrary. The Gentleman who the Coll. left his will with, has writt to a friend of mine, who I desired to writt to him about the matter (for I was not acquainted with him) and his answer was what you'll find in the enclosed. He is a collector of the King's Revenue and counted a very honest man. He says he will be in Dublin the next month and bring all the papers with him, and I shall give you further light into this matter. Pray when you write to my niece Spencer,² give her my very kind service, and that I shall be very diligent in her business. My service to your spouse and the barnes, I am with all my heart D.N. your most affecte uncle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

I am so ill of the gout in the thumb that I cannot write.

¹ The new Board of Admiralty, appointed on November 8, 1709, consisted of Admiral Russell, Earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Bub Dodington, and Paul Methuen.

² Elizabeth Fairfax, sister of Admiral Robert Fairfax, married William Spencer, Esq., of Bramley Grange, near Rotherham.

Dublin, April 22d, 1710.

Dear Nephew,—I had answered yours of the 3d instant concerning my neece Spencer but that the gentleman is not yet come to town though expected every day, and as soon as he comes to town you shall hear from me, and I will be sure to acquaint myself of all the Colld concern, but you have a copy of the will already. I am sorry poor Thom is ill of an ague; for your comfort Dr. Worth tells me agues are this year nothing, but fly away immediately. Pray God bless him and his mother and sister. My crick in my neck, tho' Phœbus begins to be warm, is not yet gone but I hope it will. But I have got a gouty thumb that make me write in pain as you may see. I give you many thanks for your voluminous book but did not expect it so fine. We have this day received brave news out of Flanders, & I hope we shall see Monsieur sign the preliminaries. God Almighty prosper our forces. Poor Kate has been very ill but I hope now better. She gives her hearty service and to all your family, and I hope you believe me for ever to be your affectionate uncle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Pray send me word how long you intend to stay in town, that I may know how to write to you.

*To Admiral Robert Fairfax in Searle Street near the new square
at Lincoln's Inn in London.*

August 6th, 1710.

Dear Nephew,—I had the favour of yours of the 6th of July, but so ill of my right hand that I was not able to write you an answer as you may see, but now am something better. My neece would have writ to you for me but I was unwilling to give that trouble till I was able to doe it myself. And now (dear Nephew) that the times begin to alter, I hope there may be some hopes for men to come in play again, in order to which, if it were possible, I would have you see to get into the Parliament if you can. I am sure your estate qualifies you for it, and men who have served the crown so long as you have I am sure deserved it well, and that will be a good beginning to be doing. You know how matters go in England and whether there will be a dissolution, and so I can say no more in this matter. God

direct you in all your undertakings, a word to the wise is enough. I believe we shall hear of Lord Galway¹ coming into England, but whether Martin² comes with him or not I know not, for I believe he may be with Lord Portmoore,³ as he was with Lord Galway, for no man knows the affairs of that country so well as he nor the languages so well. I am very glad poor Thom is so well recovered as to go to school, but very sorry my neece is so ill of her old companion. God I hope will send her a recovery. My neece Kate has her old distemper of headache, but is pretty well over and rides on horseback very often, and is your humble servant. I hope this will find you att London that I may soon hear from you. Pray give my kind service to my neece and her fireside, and pray beleve me allwayes D. N. your most affectionate uncle and true humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Pray my service to the honest Prothonotor Cook, when you see him.

The change of Ministry in 1710 induced Admiral Fairfax to try once more to get employment, by using his uncle's interest with his kinsman, the accomplished Duke of Buckinghamshire.

October 31st, 1710.

Dear Nephew,—According to your desire I send you the enclosed to his Grace opend, that you may see what I write so you may seal it with your own seal and put a cover over it, with this superscription—For his Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Steward of the Household. Now if the Admiralty be not fixt I hope this letter may doe you some good, which I wish with all my hart, for I am unfeignedly, D. N., your very affect uncle and humble servt,

T. FAIRFAX.

My kind love and service to my neece and her fireside ; my neece gives the same to your spouse and fireside.

¹ Henry de Ruvigny, a French Protestant, and one of the generals of William III., but less successful in Queen Anne's time in command of an army in Spain. Created Earl of Galway 1697, died 1720.

² Colonel Martin Bladen, his nephew.

³ General David Colyear, created Earl of Portmore 1703, died 1730. He was Governor of Gibraltar in 1706.

(Enclosure)

October 31st, 1710.

My Lord Duke,—The honor I have of being one of your Grace's relations, I think it my duty to condole at the great loss your Grace has had of the Lord Marquis of Normanby. We must all submit to the will of God who (I hope) will send your Grace another. I desire my nephew Fairfax to give your Grace this, and if the Admiralty be not quite fixt,¹ he will deserve your Grace's favor in speaking to the Queen for him. He was one of the Prince's Council, and knows as much of the Admiralty as any man in England, having been bred at it most of his life. I need say no more, but begg your Grace's trouble, and to assure your Grace I am entirely your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.²

This letter was probably never presented. Robert Fairfax made no further effort to obtain active employment afloat in that naval service which he had loved so well, and to which he had devoted so many years of his life. But he still hoped to be employed in one or other of the civil departments.

¹ The Harley Ministry of October 1710 could only find room for two naval men in their Admiralty, Sir John Leake and Sir George Byng. The Board was made up of such jobbing civilians as Bub Dodington, Jack Aislabie, Methuen, and Drake.

² The grandmother of General T. Fairfax was Lady Frances Sheffield, whose nephew, Edmund Sheffield, was second Earl of Mulgrave. The only son of the second Earl (and therefore first cousin, once removed, of General T. Fairfax) was John Sheffield, third Earl, created Marquis of Normanby in 1694, and Duke of Buckinghamshire in 1703. He fought gallantly as a naval volunteer at the battle of Solebay, and as a soldier at Tangiers. He was also a poet and a patron of literature. His cousin quaintly condoles with his Grace at the loss of a Marquis of Normanby, and hopes he may have some more. He had three, and when he died in 1721, was succeeded by the last, as second and last Duke. This young Duke, whose mother was a sister of the Duke of Berwick, died childless in 1734, when serving with his uncle.

CHAPTER XV

SETTLED ON SHORE.

ADMIRAL FAIRFAX was no sooner relieved from his official duties than he became immersed in family anxieties and in the management of his estates. His sister Bessy had lost her husband, Mr. Spencer of Bramley Grange, and their only child was left fatherless. Young William Spencer became the ward of his uncle.

The Admiral's cousin and intimate friend Lord Fairfax, with shattered fortune and broken health, was another source of anxiety. Thomas Lord Fairfax was born in 1657, and had succeeded his father in 1688. Taking a leading part in Yorkshire on the side of the Prince of Orange, he was made colonel of a regiment of Horse Guards at the Revolution, colonel of the King's Own in 1693, and a brigadier-general in 1701. He was member for Yorkshire from 1688 to 1707, and lived for many years at Denton and in York in great splendour, dispensing hospitality with a lavish hand. His income was considerably increased by his marriage with Catharine, the heiress of Thomas, Lord Culpepper, who inherited Leeds Castle in Kent, and the proprietary right over the Northern Neck in Virginia, together with an estate of 300,000 acres in the Shenandoah Valley. As the health of Lord Fairfax failed, so his pecuniary embarrassments increased. In 1708 he went, with his cousin Robert Fairfax as a companion, to drink the

waters at Bath, but derived no benefit. He died on January 6, 1710, having made his will a week before.¹

By his will Lord Fairfax left all his estates, and all his property, both real and personal, to trustees, namely, Sir John Bucknall, Admiral Robert Fairfax, Brian Fairfax the younger, and Ruby Lake, of the Middle Temple. They were empowered to sell the estates in order to pay the debts, and to hold what remained of the property, both real and personal, for the use of his eldest son and his heirs for ever. The Queen had granted to Lord Fairfax under the Great Seal, by indenture dated April 3, 1707, the interest or benefit from certain wrecks. He left thirty of the shares in these wrecks to Henry Hawker, in trust for the use of his younger children, two shares to his sister Mary, two

¹ The fifth Lord Fairfax, by his wife Catharine Culpepper, had three sons and four daughters.

(1) Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, was born at Denton in 1690. In 1745 he retired to his estates in Virginia, and built Greenway Court, in Frederick County. He died unmarried on March 12, 1782, aged ninety-two.

(2) Henry Culpepper Fairfax, a mathematician of some eminence at Cambridge. He died at Leeds Castle, October 14, 1734.

(3) Robert, seventh Lord Fairfax, was born in 1707, M.P. for Maidstone 1743, major in the Life Guards. He died childless July 15, 1793.

(1) Margaret married the Rev. Dr. David Wilkins, Prebendary of Canterbury. She died childless in 1755.

(2) Catharine died unmarried in 1716, aged twenty-one.

(3) Mary died unmarried in 1739, aged thirty-four.

(4) Frances married Denny Martin, Esq., and had eight children:—Edward Martin born 1722, died unmarried 1775. John Martin, born 1724, died unmarried at Portsmouth 1746. Denny Martin, in Holy Orders; he inherited Leeds Castle in 1793, and took the name of Fairfax, selling the Virginian estates; he died unmarried in 1800. Frances Martin, born 1727, died unmarried 1813. Sibylla Martin, born 1729, died unmarried 1816. Philip Martin succeeded his brother, Dr. Fairfax, at Leeds Castle in 1800; general of Artillery; died 1821, aged eighty-eight, leaving Leeds Castle to his only relation on his father's side, Fiennes Wykeham Martin, who died in 1840, and was succeeded by his son Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P. Thomas Brian Martin joined his uncle in Virginia, and died there in 1798. Anne Susanna Martin died unmarried in 1817, aged eighty-one.

shares to the use of Brian Fairfax, one share to Robert Fairfax, and the rest of the shares for the use of his eldest son and heir Thomas. Sir John Bucknall, Robert Fairfax, and Brian Fairfax were appointed executors, and Robert and Brian were named guardians of his eldest son during his minority.

Thus was another responsibility thrown upon Robert Fairfax. The young lord was only in his twentieth year, and was an undergraduate at Oriel College, Oxford. It was advisable that the necessary steps for meeting the demands of creditors, and the difficult questions connected with the sale or retention of the Yorkshire estates, should be postponed until the young Lord Fairfax came of age.

The old uncle was also failing fast at Dublin, affectionately watched over to the last by his niece, Kate Bladen. He died at Dublin on March 11, 1712, in his eightieth year, and thus the last link in this family with the glorious days of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate passed away. The following are the last letters the old warrior wrote to his nephew:—

Dear Nephew,—I have been so long lame of my thumb with the gout that I could not hold a pen, but being now something better, I can tell you I had yours of the 8th of June from the Bath 1708. Pray when you see my Lord Fairfax, your fellow traveller, give him my humble service. I am very glad poor Thom has got rid of his ague and that my neece is better. I do not wonder you have been ill-used in your affairs in the navy, but I hope better things for the future, for matters look now with a better face than formerly. I hope Lady Fairfax has bowels enough to do good to her children. Pray let me hear from you as oft as you can, for your letters are very comfortable to D. N. your most truly affectionate uncle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Sir Wm. St. Quintin is here, but told me he did not see you, and also Mr. Strickland.

Dublin, March 30th, 1711.

Dear Nephew,—I beg you a thousand pardons for not answering yours of the 10th instant, for what with the gout in my right hand, and the colic in my stomach, I have been very ill these three weeks. I am sorry your affairs go so slowly, but you must not be a weary. I hope all things will go well with you in the end. I assure you of the good wishes of all the company I keep, and I hope when the Admiralty is once settled, they will look upon good men that are fit to serve the Queen. My neece has been very ill these ten days, but now pretty well recovered and gives you and yours her hearty service. I am sorry the good Prothonitor¹ is said to be dead. Pray give my kind love to your good family and beleeve me I am ever D. N. your most affte uncle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

I am not able to write any more.

Dear Cousin,—I am glad of an opportunity to thank you and your lady for kindly remembering me, as also for the care of my poor sister Hammond. Pray God deliver her out of her troubles. I am in continual fear for her. I am glad she had the pleasure to see your sisters. I beg my humble service to my cousin and both your young folks and desire you will believe me sincerely dear cousin your ever affte coz and most humble servant,

CATH. BLADEN.

For Admiral Fairfax in Searle Street neare Lincoln's Inn in London.

Dublin, New Years Day, 5th Jan. 1711 (12).

Dear Nephew,—I have taken my Secretary's place out of her hands though I assure you it is in much pain. My neece Kate was glad of it, for she has her old distemper of headache. Mr. Duncombe and I drank your health last night. He gives you his kind service and will write to you and give you thanks

¹ Mr. Cook, the Prothonotary of Common Pleas.

for all your kindness to him. I am glad our frost is over, for it goes very hard with an old gentleman, but I hope the spring will mend me. I am sorry gout and bread and butter do not suit each other. I am glad your family is well, and that poor Kate has got rid of her measles. If my affairs would not hinder me, I should be glad as you to be with my deare nephew, for I am and ever will be D. N. your most affectte unkle and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.¹

My kind love and respects to my niece and honest Thom, to give satisfaction give him my blessing. I have done more than I thought to have done.

Young Lord Fairfax, the Admiral's ward, continued his Oxford education as an undergraduate at Oriel. He suffered under the disadvantage of having a meddling, managing mother who alienated him from his best friends, and wrote to him most improperly of his dead father: 'Your father hath destroyed all that can be for you and me both,' is a specimen of the sort of sentences that occur in her letters. The following letter from Admiral Fairfax to his young ward has been preserved:—

Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, 16th October, 1712.

My Lord,—I am not only concerned that I was unhappy in not meeting you at Oxford, when I waited upon you there the last year, but also when you did me the honour to call lately at my house here, I being then in Yorkshire, where, I do assure your Lordship, you have many friends and hearty well-wishers; amongst many of which I often drank your good health; and I am sure that none that has the honour of being related to your Lordship has a more sincere affection and willingness to be serviceable to you, whenever in my power than myself. I have sometimes conferred with Sir John Bucknall, on matters relating to the unhappy incumbrances attending your estates in York-

¹ Major-General Thomas Fairfax died in Dublin on March 11, 1712.

shire, and shall still be ready to do the same, in order to make the matter as easy as your circumstances will permit.

My Lord, I was lately with your aunt, Mary Fairfax,¹ at Deuton, who told me she had writ to your Lordship, in the behalf of Mr. William Topham,² who is now, and has been for many years, curate and preaching minister at Bilbrough; so I need not trouble you with a repeated character of him, only thus far I dare venture to say, that were my dear friend, your father, living, he would have readily nominated him on the death of Mr. Stretton, lately deceased who, during his life, enjoyed half the benefice of Bilbrough, and Mr. Topham the other, the whole being but 40*l.* per annum, and given by your great ancestor Lord Thomas the General; and the presentation is now descended to you. Wherefore I humbly request your Lordship will please to appoint the said Mr. Topham, according to the sum hereunder mentioned, the substance of which he transmitted to me by last post. He has performed the cure many years, is an honest man, well respected by your family, and all his neighbours; he is aged between 70 and 80 years, so he cannot, by course of nature, long enjoy it. I shall be very glad by a line to hear of your Lordship's health and welfare,

¹ Youngest daughter of Henry, fourth Lord Fairfax, by Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Barwick of Toulston. She was born at Toulston in 1673, and died, unmarried, at York on September 24. 1716. Admiral Robert Fairfax and Henry Culpepper Fairfax were her executors. She left 50*l.* to her brother Barwick Fairfax, 10*l.* to her niece Frances Carr (Mrs. Pulleine), 50*l.* to her nephew William Fairfax, who settled in America, 50*l.* to her sister Dorothy (Mrs. Sherard), 50*l.* to her sister Anne (Mrs. Carr), 100*l.* to her sister Frances, who married Mr. Rymer, the Rector of Newton Kyme, 10*l.* to Brian Fairfax, 10*l.* to Admiral Robert Fairfax, and 2*l.* 10*s.* to Bernard Banks and his wife.

² The great Lord Fairfax, by a codicil to his will dated November 11, 1671, left the tithes of Bilbrough to his domestic chaplain, Mr. Richard Stretton, provided that he supplied the office of a preaching minister there, or procured one to do it. On Mr. Stretton's death the tithes were left to Lord Fairfax's heirs in trust for the use of a preaching minister to be nominated by them. Mr. Stretton nominated the Rev. William Topham as preaching minister of Bilbrough, who also officiated at Steeton Chapel, and was chaplain to Mrs. Fairfax of Newton Kyme, the Admiral's mother. Mr. Stretton died in London on July 3, 1712, aged eighty. Mr. Topham was then between seventy and eighty. Mr. Topham survived until 1720, when he must have been in extreme old age.

which I shall ever wish, because I am always, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and affectionate humble servant,

ROBERT FAIRFAX.

If your Lordship please to send the undermentioned signed, and enclosed to me, I'll take care to transmit the same to the parson.

Be it known unto all men by these presents that I Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, do nominate William Topham, Master of Arts, and Curate of Billbrough, in the Ainsty of the city of York to be preaching minister there, and to receive all the tithes given to a preaching minister at the said place. Given under my hand the day and year above written.

My Lord,—Give me leave to acquaint your Lordship that in your Father's lifetime he was pleased to direct Mr. Bankes, at Denton, that I should have a quantity of lime trees of his Lordship's sowing there, to set an avenue to my house in Yorkshire; but my agent not removing them before your father died, I would not meddle with them since. As they now stand they will be quite spoiled, if some be not removed. So if your Lordship please to signify your consent, I'll cause them to be taken up without damage, but with advantage to the rest.

These lime trees form the very fine old avenue at Newton Kyme, consisting of two double rows, from the road, across the park, to the house, for Robert Fairfax had now quite decided upon making Newton Kyme his principal residence. The decision was to be regretted, for Steeton was the ancient seat of the family, but it was very natural. All the happiest associations of his childhood and youth were connected with Newton Kyme. Here he had lived with his mother, and played with his brother and sisters. To this place all his thoughts turned when he was far away during the first years of his sea life. Here he passed his holidays

during the brief intervals on shore. The place was hallowed to him by recollections of his mother, whom he had loved so dearly ; for the little house at Newton was her home for nearly forty years, and she was very fond of it. On the other hand, Steeton had no such pleasant associations. During his youth the place belonged to his grandmother, and there she lived in great state. His formal visits to Steeton as a boy do not appear to have been looked forward to with pleasure, and old Lady Fairfax was regarded with awe rather than with affection. Afterwards, the deaths of William Fairfax and of his wife and children at Steeton, in rapid succession, was another reason for disliking the place ; and now, in 1712, it had been uninhabited for many years.

Steeton ceased to be the residence of the family. The wings were pulled down, the old chapel was abandoned and desecrated,¹ and what remained of the mansion was turned into a farmhouse. The family pictures² were eventually removed to Newton Kyme, as well as the fine old tapestry, the oak panelling, and some of the carved stones, and stained glass from the chapel windows.

The avenue was planted at Newton Kyme in 1712, and is now 173 years old. Originally the drive from the Tadcaster road was through some very finely wrought-iron gates, down the avenue to the house. The little ivy-covered church was a few yards to the

¹ Finally pulled down in 1873.

² Lady Fairfax (Alice Curwen), who lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth ; Sir William Fairfax ; his two sons William Fairfax and General Thomas Fairfax ; and William's son William, five pictures. They are mentioned in the will of the last William Fairfax as heirlooms, and are now at Bilbrough, except the large picture of Sir William Fairfax, which is at the York Exhibition.

east, with the door from the Fairfax pew opening into the garden. The manor house in which the Admiral's mother lived is described as having been very small. A new and larger house was to be built, but only by degrees. It was to be paid for out of income, and was not to be finished for some years.¹ Meanwhile the Admiral and his family lived in the house in Micklegate, at York. Besides his wife and two children, the family circle included his two unmarried sisters, Frank and Thea, and very often his young orphan nephew, William Spencer, with his mother.

Being deprived of active employment in his profession, Robert Fairfax turned his attention to local politics and to the duties of his position. After having led a life of constant employment and activity for so many years, he could not remain idle. This, no doubt, accounts for his preference for a town life, where there was more of that stir and excitement to which he had been accustomed in the navy. He retained his town house in Searle Street, and generally lived in Micklegate when he was in Yorkshire. He contemplated taking his old uncle's advice, and standing for the city of York at the next general election.

¹ Robert Fairfax of Steeton, Esq., hath built a pleasant seat at Newton near Tadcaster, and given communion plate to the church there.—Thoresby's *Ducat. Leod.* App., p. 119.

CHAPTER XVI.

YORK IN THE DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE.

ROBERT FAIRFAX came among neighbours to whom his name was very well known when he fixed his residence in the city of York. When his ancestor Sir William Fairfax married Isabella Thwaites, the heiress of the Lardners, in the sixteenth century, he inherited the estates of Bishop Hill and Davy Hall within the walls, and from that time the Lords Fairfax often made their residence in York. During the siege of 1644 the authority of Sir Thomas Fairfax prevented any gun from being pointed at the minster. When St. Mary's Tower, containing the records, was blown up, Colonel Charles Fairfax offered rewards to the soldiers who saved any of the documents, and he himself, after diligent search, rescued the rhyming charter of King Athelstan, granted to St. John of Beverley. Henry Lord Fairfax restored to the Minster the famous horn of Ulphus which had been lost during the siege. The husband of Frances Fairfax, Sir Thomas Widdrington, who was Recorder of York, was the author of the first history of the city. Brian Fairfax had long resided at Bishop Hill, and made it a place of resort for local antiquaries and men of letters. For many years Thomas, the fifth Lord Fairfax, had dispensed lavish hospitality in his house at Castle Hill, and the benefac-

tions of the family had been liberal and numerous. When the Admiral established his home in Micklegate, his name alone was enough to remind the citizens of York of all that his family had done for them and their predecessors during several centuries. He received a hearty welcome.

In the days of Queen Anne York was, in reality, the second city of the kingdom. It was the residence not only of wealthy citizens, but, during part of the year, of the neighbouring nobility and gentry. Twice a year the assizes filled the city, and there were also the recently established annual races on Clifford Ings. These race gatherings had commenced in 1709, and in 1713 the race for the King's cup was inaugurated, afterwards changed to 100 guineas. The Fairfax family had taken a lead in Yorkshire as breeders of horses at Denton and Nunappleton, and Brian Fairfax was learned in the pedigrees and capabilities of racers. But it was Sir John Ramsden of Byrom who won the first cup. The city derived great benefit from these gatherings, and the people enjoyed the new amusement thoroughly. A very comely crowd assembled on Clifford Ings.¹ Drake assures us that in those days as now, 'the people were very well made and proportioned, the women remarkably handsome, it being taken notice of by strangers that they observe more pretty faces in York than in any other place.'

The successful trading of industrious citizens led to the embellishment of several streets with handsome houses. Mr. Davies² refers to the buildings erected by

¹ The racecourse was removed to Knavesmire, under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham. The Grand Stand was built there by Carr in 1754.

² *History of the York Press.*

Alderman Redman in Aldwark, at this period, as good examples of domestic street architecture. One of the most influential families was that of the Thompsons; and Alderman Henry Thompson¹ had recently built a fine house at Castle Hill, and constructed a carriage road thence to his country seat at Escrick. A still more powerful family in the constituency and in the city council was that of the Robinsons. They had amassed great wealth, and had bought a country seat at Newby. The representative of this family was Sir William Robinson,² who had been created a baronet, had served the office of Lord Mayor, and had been member for the city since 1697. By marrying the daughter of Mr. Aislaby, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of South Sea scheme notoriety, his descendants acquired the estate of Studley Royal. His town residence at York was at the upper end of Blake Street, afterwards inhabited by Dr. Burton, the antiquary, and author of 'Monasticon Eboracense.' Scarcely less influential was Mr. Benson, whose wealth enabled him to build a mansion in Bramham Park,³ and whose ability secured for him the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the reactionary government of Harley and Bolingbroke.

The families owing their positions to the trade of York did not, in those days, forget nor despise their origin. Their handsome houses in town were as much frequented by them as their country seats; and this continued residence among their neighbours created an agreeable society, and gave increased life and movement to the old city. Society received additional importance

¹ Ancestor of Lord Wenlock.

² Ancestor of the Marquis of Ripon.

³ The predecessor, but not the ancestor, of Mr. G. Lane Fox of Bramham.

by the proximity of the residence of the Archbishop, and by the further infusion of a clerical element from the Minster Yard.

Dr. John Sharp was Archbishop of York when the Fairfaxes came to live in Micklegate. The son of a successful tradesman at Bradford, he was born in 1664, took his degree at Cambridge, and became a leading preacher in London. He temperately, but firmly, opposed the proceedings of James II., and was rewarded, on the death of Dr. Lamplugh in 1691, with the See of York. Dr. Sharp was one of the most excellent of the Protestant Archbishops. He gave unremitting attention to his duties; he only promoted the clergy of his own diocese, and always for reasons connected with their fitness, and was alike gentle and fearless. He was a friend of literature and literary men, and had himself collected a cabinet of coins. At Bishopthorpe he planted and laid out the garden, and especially devoted his care to what he called his 'Temple of Praise.' It was a grass walk hedged on each side with yews so thick and high as to completely shade the walk, except at noon. On one side of it there was a small maze growing considerably higher. The entrance to it, at each end, was through arches made in a lime hedge, the view through the arches being bounded by a hedge of hornbeam at one end and a fruit wall at the other. In this retreat, with nothing to be seen but verdure and the open sky above, the Archbishop spent many happy hours, especially in the last years of his life. He lived to the age of seventy, and died at Bath in 1714.

The deanery of York had been occupied, until 1702, by the learned Dr. Gale, whose immense erudition had been devoted to the work of elucidating the ecclesiastical history of the city and minster. His large acquaintance

with literary men, and his high reputation as a scholar and antiquary, attracted men of similar tastes to the northern capital, and tended to raise the tone of its society. Dr. Gale was succeeded at the deanery by the Hon. and Rev. Henry Finch, son of the Earl of Nottingham, a liberal-minded and hospitable dignitary. His brother Edward, the Rector of Wigan, and a Prebendary of York, lived with the dean for a great part of the year.

Dr. Gale had taken a leading place in the literary society of York, and he was surrounded by cultivated and intellectual companions. Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds, one of the most accurate and indefatigable among the antiquaries of those days, often paid visits to York. From 1670 to 1683 the learned Dr. Martin Lister resided in the city, writing and publishing some of his earlier scientific works there. Mr. Davies says that 'he was induced to settle at York owing to his family connection with the Fairfaxes, who were highly influential persons in that city and neighbourhood.'¹ He gathered around him a club of *virtuosi*. Among them John Lambert, the son of Cromwell's general, was an excellent amateur portrait painter. Some of his pictures, displaying considerable merit, are at Lord Ribblesdale's seat at Gisburne. Thomas Kirke was an ingenious and careful student of antiquities. William Lodge, a relation of Thoresby, was an engraver and draughtsman as well as a traveller and linguist. Francis Place was a designer and engraver who did numerous etchings of shells and insects for Dr. Lister's books, and drew some of the views for the great works of Drake and Thoresby. His portraits in crayons were admired, and his mezzotints are considered to possess extraordinary merit. He used

¹ *Yorkshire Arch. and Top. Journal*, II., p. 297.

to make long sketching excursions with his friend Lodge. Some of the members of Dr. Lister's club survived until long after he left York. Place, who lived in the old manor house, which in those days was divided into several tenements, died in 1728, at the age of eighty-one. At one time he set up a manufactory of a superior kind of earthenware in the manor house. Henry Gyles was an eminent glass painter at York, whose work was admired before the art of staining was revived. He died in 1700, but he is said to have established a school of glass painters at York which maintained a reputation for nearly a century.¹ The architectural embellishment of York was making progress, owing to the increasing wealth of the citizens, and the leading master builder was Mr. Etty, a name which again became famous in our own time.²

The leading physician of York was Dr. Clifton Wintringham, who had graduated at Cambridge, and practised for thirty years, from 1712 to 1742. He built a handsome house in Lendal, on the site of the church and churchyard of St. Wilfrid. It stood a little back from the street, with trees planted before it, and has the mask of Æsculapius over the entrance. It is now used as a lodging for the judges.

The tone given to York society by Dean Gale and Dr. Martin Lister left its effect on a succeeding generation after they had passed away; a generation of which the Dean's accomplished sons, Roger and Samuel Gale, were ornaments. The literary tastes of a portion of the upper classes thus encouraged the establishment of printers and booksellers.

¹ Drake (p. 330) says that his art died with him, but the survival of a school established by him is attested in Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists*.

² William Etty, the eminent artist, was born at York in 1787, and died in 1849.

John White settled in York in 1680, married the heiress of his predecessor, and set up his printing office opposite the Star in Stonegate. He printed the earlier works of Dr. Martin Lister, and he had the courage to publish the manifesto of the Prince of Orange in November 1688, when it had been refused by all the printers in London. For this service William and Mary appointed him their Majesties' printer for York. He died in 1715, and his widow, Grace White, carried on the business, bringing out the first newspaper ever published in the city in 1719, called the 'York Mercury.' Dying in 1721 she was succeeded by her husband's grandson, Charles Bourne.

It was in 1714, the year before his death, that old Mr. White engaged the services of an Irish assistant, who had been recommended to him from London. This was Thomas Gent, then just beginning his career. The young fellow walked most of the way from London, and at about noon one day he knocked at Mr. White's door in Stonegate. It was opened by a very pretty girl. This was Alice Guy, Mrs. White's head hand-maiden, with whom the susceptible young Irishman fell desperately in love. She ushered him into a room where Mrs. White lay ill in bed, and the old printer was at his dinner by the fireside. He was sitting in a noble arm-chair, with a good large pie before him, of which he made the young journeyman partake heartily. Gent had a guinea in his shoe lining, which he pulled out to ease his foot; and Mr. White pleasantly said it was more than he had ever seen a journeyman earn before. Pretty Alice Guy was courted both by the printer's grandson, Charles Bourne, and by his journeyman. But after a year or two it became known that Gent had broken his apprenticeship at Dublin. He

was dismissed and returned to London. The coast was thus clear for young Bourne, and on the death of Mrs. White he succeeded to the business and married his beloved Alice. They lived happily together for three years, when Bourne died, leaving all he possessed to his wife.

Gent was thunderstruck when he heard that his sweetheart was married to his rival. For a long time he was in despair, but as soon as the news reached him of Bourne's death, he got into the coach, posted off to York, married the widow, and succeeded to the business in Coffee Yard. 'Here,' he tells us, 'their useful art, to which the sons of learning are infinitely obliged, is performed after a neat manner.' Gent was a poet and an author as well as a printer, and he published some very quaint topographical works of his own.¹

The leading bookseller in York was Francis Hildyard. His father was a major of Horse in the Royalist army, and belonged to the Ottringham branch of the very ancient family of the Holderness Hildyards. He was in fact a second cousin of that valorous Sir Robert Hildyard of Winestead who was made a knight banneret for his prowess on Marston Moor. The son Francis began business in York, as a bookseller and publisher, before 1685, for in that year he published his first sale list. He was an upright and enterprising man, with literary tastes, and his industry and good judgment were rewarded with success. His shop was in Stonegate, at the sign of the 'Golden Bible,' and there he died in 1731.²

¹ Towards the end of his life Gent sunk into poverty. He died, at the great age of eighty-seven, in 1778.

² His son John Hildyard carried on the business until his death in 1757. He was succeeded by John Hinxman, at whose death in 1763 the shop was taken by John Todd and Henry Sotheran. Their partnership

The citizens of York lived over their shops comfortably and well, generally dining, like old Mr. White the printer, at noon. Victuals were cheap in those days, and comparatively plentiful; a Scotch bullock 4*l.* 4*s.*, a carcass of mutton 1*l.* 10*s.*, a lamb 1*s.*, a hog 2*l.* 10*s.*, a fat goose 2*s.*, a fowl 10*d.*, a gallon of ale 2*s.* The people were well to do, and had time to amuse themselves occasionally, to take an interest in politics, and to become strongly excited at election time.

The main outlines of the city, with its old wall and bars, all the churches, and the glorious Minster towering above them, the Guildhall, and the manor house and ruins of St. Mary's Abbey—all these are the same. But of course nearly all the houses have been rebuilt, only a very few surviving from Queen Anne's time. The Mansion House was not built until 1726, the Assembly Rooms in Blake Street rather later. The principal alteration is in the bridge over the Ouse. In the early part of the last century the old bridge was standing, with its great central arch 17 yards high by 27 wide, and the two smaller arches on each side, which were built in the days of Queen Elizabeth. On this bridge was erected the chapel of St. William, long disused and desecrated, and the Council Chamber of the city, where the Sheriff's Court was also held. Underneath it was the prison called *Kidcote*. Beyond the bridge, Mickle-gate led up to the Bar and the great north road to London by Tadcaster. It contained several good houses, besides that of Admiral Fairfax, and the 'Falcon'

continued until 1774, when Todd was left in sole possession. He died in 1811, and was succeeded by his sons John and George Todd. John survived George and lived until 1837, when Robert Sunter succeeded him. All this information respecting the printers and booksellers of York is from Mr. Davies' admirable and most interesting *History of the Press of York*.

inn, where parcels were left for him. The three principal inns were the 'Black Swan,' the 'George,' and the 'Three Crowns,' all in Coney Street.

The old mansion of the Fairfaxes in Bishop Hill, to the east of Micklegate, extended from the street of Bishop Hill to Skeldergate, running along the river bank. The great Lord Fairfax left it to his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham, who enlarged it almost to the dimensions of a palace, and in the heyday of his extravagance it was often the scene of brilliant festivities. George Aislaby, whose house was in the Minster Yard, lost his life in consequence of a quarrel arising at one of the balls given by the Duke. Thinking that Miss Mallory was staying too late, he played a trick upon her by shutting the gates. For this act of disrespect to a lady he was challenged to fight a duel by Mr. Jennings, and was killed. The late Mr. Gray remembered the gates which shut in Miss Mallory; they were removed about sixty years ago. In the time of Queen Anne, the palace of the Duke of Buckingham was fast falling into ruin. It was the object of a Chancery suit between branches of the Fairfax family and Lady Betty Windsor, to whom the Duchess had bequeathed her rights.

The estate of Bishop Hill eventually came to the son of Admiral Fairfax, who established a good title, and bought off Lady Betty¹ for 200*l.* But meanwhile the

¹ Lady Betty was the daughter of the first Earl of Plymouth, by Ursula, daughter of Sir Thomas Widdrington and Frances Fairfax. She was, therefore, a cousin of the great Lord Fairfax's heiress, the Duchess of Buckingham. She attended the Duchess in her last illness, who left her everything. But everything consisted only of disputed titles and debts. Lady Betty Windsor afterwards married Sir Francis Dashwood (his fourth wife), but died childless. There was a long correspondence, between the Hon. Dixey Windsor, her brother, and the Admiral's son Thomas, in 1729 and 1730, respecting Lady Betty's claim to Bishop Hill, which ended in a compromise. She gave up her claim for 200*l.*, after long

buildings remained in a ruinous state, and the large gardens were neglected. At Micklegate the Admiral's house was conveniently situated, both with regard to business in the city and to visits to his property at Steeton and Newton Kyme, and here he prepared to contest the York election for 1713.

holding out for 400*l*. Dixey Windsor, born in 1672, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and for many years member for the University. He died childless in 1743.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS AT YORK.

WITH the spring of 1713 came the news of the peace of Utrecht, negotiated by the Tory Government of Queen Anne, in which Robert Benson, one of the members for York, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The peace had been made by England at the price of all the objects of the war, and of a shameful desertion of her allies. Deepest shame of all, the people of Catalonia had been abandoned to the vengeance of Philip V. Against this the Duke of Buckingham, Admiral Fairfax's kinsman, protested, although he himself held office in the Tory ministry. The peace was proclaimed on May 4, 1713, exactly eleven years after the breaking out of war. The great questions which agitated the country when Parliament was dissolved in the following August were the terms of the recent disgraceful peace, the security of the Protestant succession, and the exclusive predominance of the Established Church. The dissolution was immediately followed by the issue of writs for a new Parliament. In those days a majority was generally secured by the party in power. The members for York were Sir William Robinson and Mr. Robert Benson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The former had a very safe seat. He had been member for the city since 1697, had

served the office of Lord Mayor in 1700, and he commanded the votes of more than half the constituency. In politics he was a trimmer. Robert Benson had sat in the two previous Parliaments for York, and had been in office since June 1711.

Mr. Benson was created a peer, with the title of Lord Bingley, in July 1713,¹ and a vacancy was thus created in the representation of York. Admiral Fairfax, at the invitation of a numerous body of friends, headed by Alderman Redman and Mr. Hildyard the bookseller, determined to stand. The canvass was an extensive one, as all freemen of the city had votes, and many lived at Leeds, and even more distant places. His opponent was first in the field. He was Mr. Tobias Jenkyns, Lord Bingley's uncle; and the new peer was at work, canvassing for his relation, within a few days of his own creation. The following is his letter to Mr. Askham of Thursday Market, who, however, gave his vote and interest, including Lord Bingley's letter, to Admiral Fairfax.

Mr. Askham,—As soon as it was publick I was not to offer my service to the city, I desired Mr. Wickham to write to you for to let you know Mr. Jenkyns would be a candidate, the nearness of my relation makes me very solicitous for his success, and I should take it kindly if you would let him have the advantage of your friendship, it was very useful to me and I hope you are satisfied I did my endeavours to shew I was sensible of it, and I do assure you I am still your assured friend,

BINGLEY.

¹ He died in 1730, leaving Bramham Park (which was his creation), 100,000*l.*, and an estate of 7,000*l.* a year, to his only child Harriot Benson. In 1731 she married George Fox Lane, who was created Lord Bingley in 1762, and died in 1772, his only son having died before him childless. He left Bramham to his nephew, whose grandson, George Lane Fox, Esq., is the present possessor.

The canvassing went on briskly all through August, and the excitement kept on increasing as the nomination day approached. Mr. Jenkyns had the support of the Bensons, Thompsons, Agars, and Mr. Darcy Preston;¹ but Sir William Robinson stood aloof from both the other candidates. The chief supporters of Admiral Fairfax, in York, were the Dean, Alderman Perrott, Alderman Redman, Mr. Lund the Seal-keeper, Mr. Hildyard the bookseller, Mr. Askham, and Mr. Hardwick, a leading solicitor. Towards the end of August the Admiral went to Leeds to canvass the York freemen there. He had good friends at Leeds in the loyal Alderman Milner,² who had just set up a fine statue of Queen Anne in a niche of the Town Hall, at his own expense; in Ralph Thoresby, the learned antiquary, whose father had fought under Lord Fairfax; and in Mr. Cookson, the Mayor. The Admiral's cousin, Dr. Barwick Fairfax,³ also came down from London to help. Accompanied by Mr. Thoresby he addressed several of the freemen of York, and there were hearty promises of support.

¹ Afterwards Town Clerk. He was son of the organist of York Minster, by Elizabeth, daughter of Darcy Conyers of Holtby. Mr. Darcy Preston bought the estate of Askham Bryan near York, and died in 1749. His son, the Rev. John Preston, was Rector of Marston and Prebendary of York, and his grandson was Admiral Darcy Preston.

² Alderman Milner was the purchaser of Nunappleton in 1711, the old Fairfax property, sold by creditors of the Duke of Buckingham. He is alike the ancestor of Sir Frederick Milner, Bart., and of Guy Fairfax, Esq., of Steeton and Bilbrough, descendant and representative of Admiral Fairfax, whose mother was Evelyn, daughter of Sir William Milner, Bart.

³ Thoresby writes of Dr. Fairfax, who canvassed for the Admiral at Leeds, as 'son, brother, and uncle of the lords of that name; with whom about the Admiral's election for the city of York.' Dr. Barwick Fairfax was a younger son of Henry, fourth Lord Fairfax, brother of the fifth, and uncle of the sixth Lord. He was the Admiral's playfellow when they were children together, being two years his junior. His home, at Toulston, was a short mile from Newton Kyme.—*Thoresby's Diary*, II., p. 195.

The nomination day at York was on September 7, 1713. Mr. Jenkyns demanded a poll, and there was a most tumultuous polling day. The Jenkyns party organised a scheme for preventing the other side from coming to the polling place. The Fairfax partisans retaliated, and there were a number of free fights, ending in a general engagement with fists and sticks. The uproar was deafening, and at every lull in the storm there were furious accusations of unfairness in the polling place. Only one person appears to have been seriously beaten, and that was Mr. Jenkyns' foot boy. He was described as 'a most violent stickler, and abusive to the last degree, even to some of the bench of aldermen, and his beating was occasioned by most intolerable insolence.' At last the poll was closed, and the majority of votes was declared to be for Robinson and Fairfax.

Mr. Jenkyns declared that numbers of unauthorised persons had voted, and demanded a scrutiny, in order to compare the Lord Mayor's books with the votes. In accordance with an agreement between the candidates, the scrutineers met at the George Inn, in Coney Street, on September 9, at 7 A.M., for early hours were kept in those days. Alderman Perrott and Mr. Hardwick represented Admiral Fairfax. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Darcy Preston were for Mr. Jenkyns. Unfortunately Mr. Harrison was an exception to the rule of early rising. He did not put in an appearance until eleven in the forenoon. The scrutineers worked until eight in the evening, and adjourned until seven next morning. Again Mr. Harrison was late, so that much time was lost, as no business could be done in his absence. The scrutiny was finished in three days, although Mr. Jenkyns demanded a further delay of a week, in hopes

of vitiating the election by some technical flaw. This was refused, and the Sheriffs declared Sir William Robinson and Admiral Fairfax to be duly elected members for the city of York. The Admiral had a majority of 33. The numbers were—for Sir William Robinson, 1,368; for Admiral Fairfax, 835; for Mr. Jenkyns, 802.

After warmly thanking his supporters at York, Admiral Fairfax went to Leeds on the same grateful errand, dining with the Mayor on October 7. Sir Arthur Kaye,¹ member for Yorkshire, his brother-in-law, Sir Bryan Stapleton of Myton, and Thoresby, the antiquary, were among those who welcomed the new member on this occasion.² It was the Mayor's annual feast, when Thoresby's cousin Cookson was succeeded by Mr. Rookes.

Among the numerous congratulations received by Admiral Fairfax, one of the most cordial was from the lawyer friend he had made in Searle Street, the Prothonotary of the Common Pleas.

Swifts, September 27, 1713.

Dear Sir,—I congratulate you on your late election at York. There is not one of all your numerous acquaintance was more rejoiced and sincerely glad to hear of your being chose a Member for that city than I was. My Lord Treasurer³

¹ Sir Arthur Kaye's grandfather was John Kaye of Woodsome, who was created a baronet by Charles I. in 1641. He was a Royalist colonel, and died in 1662. His son, Sir John Kaye, was M.P. for Yorkshire, and married Anne, daughter of William Lister of Thornton, and niece of Sir Martin Lister who married Admiral Fairfax's aunt Katherine. Sir Arthur died in 1726, leaving only a daughter, who married Lord Dartmouth.

² *Thoresby's Diary*, II., p. 196.

³ Alluding to the disgraceful job of the Lord Treasurer (Godolphin) in

may now see you are beloved, respected, and valued, though he has had the misfortune not enough to know you, or else must have encouraged and justly preferred so great merit, which in the opinion of all unprejudiced men has long since been your just due. May God bless you and preserve you in health and wealth, and in such a station you yourself most desire. May Old England ever flourish under the government of a House of Commons full of such worthy unbiassable Members; may your family flourish in health and in a sense of duty to so good a husband, father, and master, and may our friendship still inviolably continue is the hearty and sincere desire of your most obliged friend and most humble servant,

JOHN COOKE.

In November Admiral Fairfax went to London with his family, and established himself in Searle Street, ready for the opening of Parliament, which was to take place in February. At this time he had a large correspondence with naval men, and with people seeking naval appointments for friends. His popularity among his brother officers gave him considerable influence with those among them who held commands as admirals; especially with his great friends Wishart, Whittaker, and Baker, the two latter, like himself, heroes of Gibraltar, the former his old colleague at the Admiralty. Jobs were frequently perpetrated to the detriment and often to the ruin of deserving officers, similar in kind, though differing in degree, to the greater and most notorious of all, long remembered as the Dursley job. Sometimes resolute remonstrances checked these abuses; and Fairfax had the pleasure of obtaining redress for Richard Ronzier, his old first lieutenant in the 'Torbay.' Captain Ronzier showed his gratitude by frequent

forcing the Admiralty to promote Lord Dursley over the heads of Fairfax and scores of other deserving officers.

letters to his old captain, giving him all the naval news.¹

He also obtained the desired appointment for the young officer whose interests are urged upon him in the following letter from his kinsman, Mr. Grimston of Grimston Garth.

York, December 23rd, 1713.

Sir,—Since you left us I have disposed of my neice Goche to Mr. Medley, a Lieutenant of the ‘Sterling Castle,’ and thinking itt more for his advantage to be in a flag begs you will use the interest you have with Sir John Wishart, to make him a Lieutenant in his ship. His character is very good, and I believe by this time Sir John is addressed in his behalf by several. I hope your recommendation of him will be serviceable, for he thinks you will prevail. He is yet with me but will be in readynesse to leave us upon notice of the first ffreinds commands. I beg your pardon for this trouble, and join with my Dame in service to your Lady.

I am, dear Sir, your aff kinsman and servant,

THO. GRIMSTON.²

To Robert Fairfax Esq., Member of Parliament
in Cook’s Court, Lincoln’s Inn.

¹ Captain Richard Ronzier was put into the ‘Somerset,’ on a vacancy occurring, by Sir Edward Whittaker, who commanded in the Mediterranean. When Sir Edward was relieved by Sir John Norris, Ronzier had been confirmed. Yet the new Admiral superseded him for no other reason than to promote a young friend of his own, who could not get post rank at once unless Ronzier was removed. It was this piece of injustice which Admiral Fairfax took up, and he obtained redress for Captain Ronzier.

² The mother of Thomas Grimston of Grimston Garth was a first cousin of the Admiral’s mother. Dorothy, Mrs. Grimston, was daughter of Sir T. Norcliffe, by Dorothy, daughter of Lord Fairfax of Gilling, and sister of Lady Stapleton, Mrs. Fairfax’s mother. Thomas Grimston was born in 1654, and married Dorothy, daughter of Sir J. Legard of Ganton, in 1670. He died in 1737. His sister Dorothy married Nathaniel Gooch, Esq., of Hull, in 1684. Mrs. Gooch died in 1700, her husband in 1705, leaving an orphan daughter to Mr. Grimston’s care, who married Lieut. Medley, R.N. Medley became a captain in 1721, and rose to be Vice-Admiral, and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean in 1745, where he died at his post, after long and almost continuous service, in 1747.

Admiral Fairfax only made one more attempt to obtain employment for himself. Old Sir Richard Haddock had held the appointment of Comptroller of the Navy since 1688, and he was now in his eighty-fifth year. He died in January 1715. In 1714, as the retention of the post by a man so bowed down by years as to be unable to do the work was detrimental to the public service, a vacancy was expected. Fairfax, therefore, submitted his claims to succeed to the Comptrollership to Lord Bolingbroke and also to William Bromley, the other Secretary of State. The Admiral had an interview with Bolingbroke on January 8, 1714, and was very civilly received, being promised that his claims should be submitted to the Queen. There was some further correspondence, and the Admiral again stated his case to both Secretaries of State on July 6. But the vacancy did not occur until the next reign. Admirals Fairfax and Baker both had good chances, but finally Sir Charles Wager¹ received the appointment of Comptroller of the Navy, in succession to Sir Richard Haddock. The appointment bore date February 17, 1715.

The new Parliament met on February 16, 1714, and Sir Thomas Hanmer, a Tory in favour of the Hanoverian succession, was chosen Speaker. The Queen delivered the Speech from the Throne on March 2, in which she congratulated her people on the restoration of peace,

¹ Charles Wager was an excellent seaman. His great action was the defeat of the Spanish galleons in the West Indies and the capture of one very rich prize in 1707. On this occasion his captains seem to have behaved rather like those who served under and deserted Benbow. For this action Wager was knighted, and became a Rear-Admiral in 1708. He was Comptroller of the Navy from 1715 to 1718, and First Lord of the Admiralty from 1733 to 1742. He died in 1743, aged seventy-nine; and there is a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. It was Sir Charles Wager who despatched Anson on his voyage round the world.

and on their deliverance from a consuming war. She also spoke strongly against seditious publications, and against those who pretended that the Protestant Succession was in any danger.

Admiral Fairfax attended to his Parliamentary duties with great regularity. Thoresby was at the House on May 13, and mentions in his diary: 'I had Admiral Fairfax's good company in the lobby of the House.'¹ There were no less than seventy-eight petitions, against the return of members, to be heard. Among them was one got up by Mr. Jenkyns against the return of Admiral Fairfax, signed by forty-four citizens. Its allegations were that, owing to the partiality of the sheriffs, many persons who wanted to vote for Mr. Jenkyns were not allowed to come to the poll; that sufficient time was not given for the scrutiny; that several who had no right to vote were permitted to poll for Admiral Fairfax; that the election was one continued riot for many hours, and that no endeavour was used by the sheriffs to suppress it; that the way into the polling place was blocked by the sheriffs' agents, who refused to suffer several persons who would have polled for Mr. Jenkyns to come in, while they gave free entrance to all who polled for Fairfax; that Mr. Jenkyns' friends were grievously beaten and bruised by the Fairfax agents; and that by these illegal and corrupt practices the Admiral had been unduly returned.

The supporters of Admiral Fairfax were very active in preparing a counter-petition, which received more than double the number of signatures. The draft was prepared by Mr. Francis Hildyard, the bookseller, who brought it up to London in May. It declared that the petition of Mr. Jenkyns contained many false and

¹ *Diary*, II., p. 210.

scandalous misrepresentations of matter of fact relating to the election; that the sheriffs acted with the greatest impartiality and candour; that some of Mr. Jenkyns' party tried to stop all passages, and prevented any but their own party from polling for a long time; that this unwarrantable proceeding was the sole cause of the riot; that every endeavour was used to prevent unauthorised persons from polling; that the poll books proved that more of such votes were admitted and taken for Mr. Jenkyns than for Admiral Fairfax; that the rudeness and violence of Mr. Jenkyns' party, both in their language and behaviour, frightened many respectable persons from the poll; and that there was ample time allowed for the scrutiny.

The committee had to decide between these two very opposite statements, the hearing of the York petition being fixed for June 19, 1714. The finding was that Mr. Jenkyns' petition should be dismissed with costs.

During this Parliament there was much discussion of the question whether the Elector of Hanover should be invited to come to England during the Queen's lifetime; but the session was chiefly remarkable for the passage of the Schism Act, a measure which showed how unfit the Tory party was to be entrusted with power. It was the joint product of Bolingbroke, Sir William Wyndham, and Dr. Atterbury. Its object was to prevent education by Dissenters, to prohibit Dissenters from keeping schools even to teach their own children, and to make all education a monopoly of the Church of England. The Whigs, of course, opposed it to a man, Robert Walpole, Hampden, and Stanhope joining in the debate. The Dean of York's brother, Lord Nottingham, also spoke with horror of this atrocious measure.

Admiral Fairfax voted against it, although many of his supporters were in favour of it. The third reading was carried in the Commons by a large majority, but the Lords only passed it by a majority of five. It remained a dead letter, a barren record of Tory misrule, until it was repealed in the next reign. Such exhibitions of intolerance reconciled the people of England to a German dynasty.

Admiral Fairfax occupied himself in the study of economic questions, and though his commercial knowledge was limited, he invited information from his constituents, and endeavoured to form correct opinions. The following letter on the subject of a duty on buckrams was addressed to him by Mr. Cookson, late Mayor of Leeds :—

Leeds, June 28th, 1714.

Worthy Sir,—I see that a duty of 15 per cent. is proposed upon buckrams. I have writ some letters to Sir Arthur Kaye about an imposition which the Custom House made us pay for those goods, due as they pretended by a bill past 2 years since, for laying a duty on *painted and stained linnens &c.*, which however the House hath this Session explained, having been petitioned about it, both from London and this place: and now, in the end of the Session, some enemy to the woollen manufacture has put a clause into the last money bill to charge them with 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, whereas they already pay about 20 per cent. Now if you please to consider the inconveniency that attends so great a duty on those goods, I hope youll not only oppose it yourself, but engage all the honest Members who are your countrymen and acquaintance, and well wishers to our manufactures, against it.

For this reason I now take the freedom to acquaint you what buckrams are, and how used. Buckrams are a sort of strong linen cloth dyed into several colours, most green red and yellow, in which we wrap up our cloth which we send to

foreign markets, which preserves it from soiling or dirt, and so renders a piece of cloth more portable from one market to another without damage; and they are used for no other purpose. Now as the House of Commons are particularly careful not to burden the woollen manufacture with any taxes, that we may sell cheaper abroad than any other nation; I desire youll observe how much this 15 per cent. will amount to in the year, for the small quantity of cloth which I myself export, which I do assure you will be no less than 40*l.* per annum. Now you must consider what I pay upon the buckram I must charge upon the cloth, so that the duty you lay upon buckrams is indeed a duty on the woollen manufacture. I beg your consideration of this matter. I am informed Sir Arthur, by reason of his indisposition, has been obliged to come into the country; or else he is so thoroughly informed of this affair that I needed not have given you this trouble; which however I know youll pardon, being so much for the good of your own county. I have only to present you and all friends with my humble service and to tell you that I am Sir, your much obliged Servant,

WM. COOKSON.¹

I acquaint you above how much the duty may affect me in particular, that you may guess from my mite how much it may affect this town, and by consequence much more the other trading parts of the nation.

Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714, and her Hanoverian successor was immediately proclaimed as George I. At York, owing to the death of Dr. Sharp, a new Archbishop had been enthroned on the 24th of the previous March. This was Sir William Dawes, an amiable

¹ William Cookson's father settled in Leeds in 1652. The son was born there in 1669, and was Mayor in 1712, 1725, and 1738. He died in 1743. He married Susanna, daughter of Michael Idle, Mayor of Leeds, in 1690, whose sister, Ruth Idle, was mother of Thoresby the antiquary. So that Cookson's wife was a first cousin of Thoresby. Mr. Cookson's grandson, of the same Christian name, was Mayor of Leeds in 1784 and 1802, and died in 1811.

and moderate divine, and one of the most popular preachers of the day. He took a leading part in the proclamation of the new King at York. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who was then living at Middlethorpe, near Bishopthorpe, witnessed the ceremony. She says, 'The Archbishop walked next the Lord Mayor, and all the county gentry followed, with greater crowds of people than I believed to be in York, vast acclamations, and the appearance of a general satisfaction. The Pretender afterwards dragged about the streets and burned. Ringing of bells, bonfires, and illuminations. This morning all the principal men of any figure took post for London.'¹ Admiral Fairfax, as member for the city, was in the procession, but he returned to London immediately, to be present when George I. arrived in England.

For this reason he was unable to be at York when he was elected an Alderman of the city on August 23, 1714. This election gave rise to almost as much excitement as that for members of Parliament, the Admiral's return being violently opposed by the Jenkyns party. The following letters from trusty supporters describe their canvassing proceedings. Mr. Hildyard wrote:—

Honored Sir,—At my coming home out of the country last Thursday night, I found myself honored with a letter from you about the next election for Members of Parliament. The next morning I communicated it to Mr. Thomas Gill who was well satisfied with the remembrance of him, and since has not been wanting to your service. Next day I talkt with the Dean who is heartily in your favour. I told him of Mr. Greaves, the verger, being a stickler against you. He said he would speak to him and the rest of the freemen

¹ *Letters*, I., p. 214.

belonging to the Miuster, and that day, after prayers, he spoke both to Mr. Greaves and to the rest of 'em, which has had so good an effect as has stopt Mr. Greaves' intermeddling, and doubt not but will deter him from voting against if not oblige him to vote for you; altho' Mr. Jenkyns had not one in the whole city more devoted or more zealous for his service than him. It also had that effect on old Mr. Langwith that, by the Dean's order, he went to those belonging to the church to solicit their votes for you, which he has actually done. This will no doubt give a lucky turn to a great many that before voted against you. You are, I assure you Sir, much obliged to the Dean and his brother, and it well deserves a speedy letter of thanks. If you think fit you may intimate that I informed you how much you are obliged to 'em for so kindly espousing your interest. As to my own particular, I assure you Sir you need no fresh assurances of my utmost endeavours to serve you as well in this as in anything else you may command. I do assure you Sir that next morning after my return home, hearing that endeavours had been used for Mr. Jenkyns, I lost no time but went immediately into the city, and I hope I have not only confirmed my friends to stand by you, but I am sure have gained over some that were before opposers, and have promised of others who were neutrals before, now to vote for you. I do not find that you have lost the least of the interest you had. In truth, in my judgment you will outpoll him a considerable number beyond what you did before, especially if we can keep my Lord Mayor¹ staunch, as we hope we shall. Alderman Perrott and myself shall use our utmost to do it: and I believe we both have an interest in him. But if you be chosen Alderman this day, as I hope you will, there will not, I think, be the least room to doubt of the election. Sheriff Dobson is sneakt off, and gone over to Mr. Jenkyns, for what reason I know not, but perhaps a kind smoothing letter from you might bring him back, for I always looked upon him as a mere shuttlecock. He is the Dean's apothecary and I intend to put the Dean upon speaking to him. Your old friends, Sir, are as heartily for you as ever, and you may be assured that no endeavours that prudence can suggest

¹ William Redman.

shall be wanting in him who is, with the greatest sincerity and application, your most faithful humble servant to command,

FRANCIS HILDYARD.

York, August 23d, 1714.

My son presents you with his humble service and a tender of whatever he can serve you in.

Honored Sir,—I doubt not but by this post you will have a large packet of letters, yet I hope you will excuse me if I add mine to the trouble, for I could not forbear to congratulate you upon your success last Monday, and to wish you much joy of the Aldermanship, which doubtless will establish your interest, and is the greatest mortification imaginable to all the Jenkins party, and driven them into despair; that it is questionable now whether he will attempt any opposition.

Yesterday, Sir William Robinson, with several of his friends, went round the city to offer his service, and only begd a single vote. I hope ere long I shall have the honor to wait upon you, upon the like occasion, and with as good success.

Not to be farther tedious to you, I beg leave to subscribe myself, your most humble servant to command,

FRANCIS HILDYARD.

York, Aug. 25th, 1714.

Other letters of congratulation poured in. One from Messrs. Bell and Scourfield urging him to come down soon, and declaring that they were the first to drink his health as Alderman. Mr. Stephenson wrote to say that it was not without great difficulty that the Admiral's friends got up to the voting place, there being deep designs to prevent it. His election day was one full of rejoicing, with ringing of bells and drinking of his good health, while his enemies were snarling at home, not able to bite. Alderman Thompson and Alderman Pawson were, sad to relate, so inveterate against the Admiral, especially the latter, that the very women of

those names sent for tradesmen and threatened them. Finally it was Mr. Stephenson's opinion that Sir William Robinson was making interest for Jenkyns underhand.

Mr. Lund, the Seal-keeper, one of the most uncompromising of the Fairfax party, also wrote his congratulations:—

York, August 25th, 1714.

Sir,—This post will bring you several accounts of your being elected Alderman, on which honour I congratulate you. It was a hard fought battle and all schemes made use of, and upon my word we were as artfully opposed. The particular account of the votes I shall refer to other letters sent by persons then present, but I am told you only had it by a majority of four. People's countenances are now quite altered of both sides, and most of the Jenkins party look like persons buried and dug up again. I was in the thick of them yesterday and they began to make flutters but were immediately silenced, and in their very looks you may see despair. I hope some of them will follow my advice in persuading their friend Mr. Jenkins to retire, for in my opinion there will be nothing in the election. My Lord Mayor, I hear, deferred declaring himself till after the election of Alderman, and, I am now told, he is heartily in your interest. The Dean too, so youll now want nothing of an addition except the Archbishop's, which I hope by this time you have procured. Your letters came to several of your friends the last thing, and I can promise you have given great satisfaction, which I can assure you, if they had been omitted, might have proved the contrary. For I see resentment daily by some, if they are not taken notice of, and youll think it a slavish thing (as I am sure I do) to court people after such a manner, but its what they expect. I hope for the future youll not meet with so extravagant an expense. Alderman Thompson, Justice, and Hutton gave you their votes because you stood in no need, which you may thank them for accordingly. I shall add nothing further but that I am your hearty well wisher and humble servant,

JOHN LUND.

These letters give us some insight into the electioneering business of Queen Anne's time. Meanwhile the good Queen had passed away, and George I. landed on September 18. The coronation was on October 20, 1714, after which Admiral Fairfax went down to York, to make a personal canvass for the next Parliament. The dissolution took place on January 17, 1715. This time, in spite of all the sanguine hopes and anticipations of his supporters, the Admiral lost his election. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who was then living at Middlethorpe,¹ reported that both Lord Carlisle and the wealthy family of Thompsons had given their interest to Jenkyns.² She tried to persuade her husband to come down and stand for York. 'There are people,' she wrote, 'who had rather choose Fairfax than Jenkyns, and others that prefer Jenkyns to Fairfax, but both parties separately have wished to me that you would have stood.'³ The decision, however, rested with Sir William Robinson, who told his voters to split for Jenkyns. The numbers were—for Sir William Robinson 1,388, for Mr. Jenkyns 1,255, for Admiral Fairfax 844. The Admiral had lost no adherents, indeed he polled more than in the previous year, but the intrigue which secured Robinson's voters for Jenkyns settled the question.⁴ In retiring from Parliament, Robert Fairfax finally left his town house in Searle Street.

¹ Lady Mary was married to Edward Wortley Montagu in August 1712. His father was a son of the heroic Admiral, Earl of Sandwich, who fell so gloriously at Solebay; his mother was the heiress of the Wortleys. On the accession of George I. his cousin, Charles Montagu, was created Earl of Halifax, and became First Lord of the Treasury. Edward Wortley Montagu was made one of the Lords, and Lady Mary left Yorkshire and came up to London. Her husband had found another seat. In 1716 he accepted the Embassy at Constantinople.

² *Letters*, I., p. 225.

³ *Ibid.* I., p. 223.

⁴ At the next general election, in 1722, Robinson and Jenkyns withdrew.

During his residence in London the Admiral and his wife kept a hospitable table, and often received constituents from Yorkshire, and old naval friends, at their house. Their son was now seventeen, was soon going to Oxford, and gave satisfaction to his parents from being equally attentive to his studies and fond of field sports and all country pursuits. The little daughter Katherine was thirteen. A pretty picture had been painted of her, with wreaths of flowers in her lap; and I think it is this young lady to whom Thoresby refers when he mentions having visited 'Mr. Fairfax's ingenious and pious daughter.'¹ Brian Fairfax had died, at a good old age, in 1711; but his son Brian Fairfax, the Commissioner of Customs, had a house in Panton Square, and was just commencing the collection of his large and valuable library.² His agreeable society added to the pleasure of a residence in London.

Although Admiral Fairfax lost his election as member of Parliament, he received some recompense for his services by being elected Lord Mayor of York for 1715. His ancestor William Fairfax had held a high city office, that of Bailiff, in 1249, nearly five

The members for York were Sir William Milner, Bart., of Nunappleton, son-in-law of Sir William Dawes, the Archbishop of York, and E. Thompson. Sir W. Milner came in at the head of the poll, 1,421, Thompson 1,399, Tancred Robinson (son of Sir William), who was unsuccessful, 1,076. Admiral Tancred Robinson's brother William was created Lord Grantham in 1761, ancestor of the Marquis of Ripon.

¹ *Diary*, II., p. 248.

² Brian Fairfax (junior) died unmarried on February 12, 1747, at the age of seventy. His portrait is at Leeds Castle, as well as several family relics which had belonged to him. A catalogue of his precious library of 2,343 volumes was printed in 1756, as it was to have been sold by auction. But the whole was bought by Mr. Child and taken to Osterley. The books were thus kept together for 130 years longer; but they were inherited by the Earl of Jersey, and sold by auction in May 1885. Amongst them there were ten books printed by Caxton, several by Wynkyn de Worde, the first edition (1536) of the Coverdale Bible, and other priceless treasures.

hundred years before, so long had this most ancient family been connected with the northern capital. The Admiral entered upon his office in January, with Tancred Robinson and Richard Denton as sheriffs. The Aldermen who had proper houses of their own seldom removed to the Mansion House, and the Admiral continued to reside at Micklegate.

Towards the close of the period of office of Admiral Fairfax, the disturbances broke out in favour of the Pretender, in Northumberland and Lancashire. For some time there was great alarm throughout England, and the naval Lord Mayor of York made prompt arrangements for the defence of the city, and the repulse of the rebels if they should venture to come in that direction. He was not only indefatigable in arranging defensive measures, but he preserved many people in their allegiance by his private influence. On November 10, 1715, the rebels laid down their arms at Preston, in a most inglorious manner, and the scare was at an end. Lord Mayor Fairfax received a special letter of thanks from Lord Townshend, the Secretary of State, for his loyal and efficient conduct on this occasion. The Judges of Assize were also commanded by the Government to thank him publicly for his services.

After his term of office was over, Admiral Fairfax continued to reside at Micklegate, dividing his time between his magisterial duties in the city, the management of his estates, and business connected with the affairs of those for whom he was guardian or trustee. His amiable disposition, sound judgment, and steady business habits secured for him a high position among his neighbours, and he was one to whom all friends and relations turned for advice and assistance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BILBROUGH.

THE complicated affairs of Lord Fairfax, as regards his estates in Yorkshire and the claims of creditors, had occupied much of the Admiral's time and attention since his friend's death. At last the principal creditors filed a bill in chancery to compel the trustees of the young Lord to sell the estates for the payment of the debts, including heavy mortgages. Admiral Fairfax could not bear that the old property of Bilbrough, with the tomb of the great Lord, should pass out of the family, and he, therefore, proposed to be a purchaser. The sales were decreed. Mr. Ibbetson, a Leeds merchant, was declared to be the best purchaser for Denton, which thus passed out of the family. Pictures, the old family Bible, family papers, the dress of the great Lord Fairfax, and other relics were sent to Leeds Castle in Kent, the seat of the young Lord's mother, which he was to inherit. Four pictures from Denton were given to the Admiral.¹ Bilbrough was sold to Admiral Fairfax for 7,523*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, possession being decreed on May 8, 1716. The purchase consisted of the whole township of Bilbrough, except the lands belonging to Newark and Hemsworth schools in Sandwith. But he

¹ Of Thomas, first Lord Fairfax ; of Ferdinando, second Lord Fairfax ; of Colonel Charles Fairfax of Menston ; of the Archduchess Mariana, Queen of Philip IV. They are now at Bilbrough.

admitted five other persons to buy distinct freeholds under him, his own share being the largest, and including the manor, the trust of the tithes, and the presentation to the living. On July 14 the tithes and right of nomination at Bilbrough were formally conveyed to the Admiral, and on August 26 Mr. Bernard Bankes, the Denton agent, sent him an old Bible and two Prayer-Books which were heirlooms in the family, by direction of his young ward, the sixth Lord Fairfax.¹

Bilbrough is on the left of the road going from Tadcaster to York, on high ground whence there are beautiful views over the great plain of York, bounded to the westward by the rocky height of Almscliffe and the Otley Chevin. The parish contains 1,446 acres. The rich pasture land rises gently from the high road to the tree-crowned hill called Ainsty Cliff, of which Andrew Marvell sang. There is a slight depression in the ridge beyond, where the street of the village is built, and there is another rise to Ingrish (corrupted from Ingle edge), where the land is 150 feet above the level of the sea. Ingrish formed one in the chain of beacons between Lancashire and the North Sea, where a soldier was stationed in former times ready to light up the signal. In the Bilbrough parish register there is an entry of a 'daughter of George Teasdale, soldier at the beacon.' Bilbrough is bounded on the south by the old Roman road, separating it from Steeton in the parish of Bolton Percy; on the east by Colton and Askham; on the west by Catterton and Healaugh, a tract of moor intervening between the two townships in those days; and on the north by Askham Richard and Angram.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bilbrough is peculiar

¹ See Appendix B.

and curious. The place was originally held *in capite* by Ralph Paganell, one of the followers of William the Conqueror, who also received a grant of the church dedicated to the Trinity in Micklegate, York. In 1089 he gave this church as a cell to the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Martin Marmoutier on the Loire, near Tours, to be perpetually held by that French monastery. The priors of Trinity at York were always appointed by the Marmoutier abbots, and, among other provisions for their support, Paganell gave them tithes described as ‘Decima garbarum de Bilbrough, et certorum clausorum infra dominium de Sandwith.’ Consequent upon this grant, the services of Bilbrough Church, from the Conquest to the Reformation, were provided for by one of the Benedictine monks from Trinity Priory at York. The abbot of Marmoutier had the exclusive patronage of this priory, and its priors were neither admitted nor confirmed by the Archbishops of York, so that no regular catalogue of them is preserved.¹

Edward III. confirmed all the privileges and possessions of the Abbey of Marmoutier, and when other alien houses were suppressed, this was suffered to remain, by consent of one of the Parliaments of Henry VI. In the time of Edward III. Bilbrough belonged to Roger de Bascy, son of Walter de Bascy, who was Mayor of York in 1290.² There was a small village called Sandwith, in the north-western part of Bilbrough parish; but when Edward IV. marched to York, after the bloody battle of Towton in 1460, there was a feeble rally of Lancastrian fugitives in the houses at Sandwith. The village was consequently razed to the ground, and no vestige of it remains save the name applied to some

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* iv., p. 680 (ed. 1823).

² *Kirkby's Inquest* (Surtees Society), Drake, p. 391.

of the fields. At that time Bilbrough was held by a family named Norton.

John Norton, in his will dated February 6, 1464, desired that his body might be interred in the church of Bilbrough, in a vault between the church and a chapel then newly built. His other bequests were 13s. 4d. to mend the street in Bilbrough village, 6s. 7d. to mend the part of the high road within the parish of Bilbrough, 8s. to mend Sandwith lane, and 6s. 7d. to Bilbrough Church. He left five marks for the new church tower when the parishioners should be disposed to build one, and 20s. for a stone to place over his body. To the boy whom, for the love of God, he maintained in his home, he bequeathed 20s., and to a girl at Brantingham, sister of the recently deceased parson, one cloak. He desired, and with his whole will ordained, that the chaplain of the chantry of St. Saviour, newly erected and founded in the parish church of Bilbrough, should have an annuity of six marks (4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) for ever. His manor of Bilbrough was left to his wife for her life, and then to his son and heir William. His executors were his wife Margaret, his son William, and the chaplains Gilbert Salesbury and William Dryver. Sir William Stapleton, in whom he had special confidence, was named supervisor of the will.¹

Margaret, the widow of John Norton, made her will on April 24, 1506, and it was proved on May 2. She desired to be buried in the tomb of her late husband. She left six silver spoons to her grandson Christopher Norton, and desired that her son William should find a priest to sing for her, for a year. She left 12*d.* to Sir Thomas Oglethorpe, the curate of Bilbrough, her primer and books of prayer to her

¹ *Test. Ebor.* iv. 92.

daughter Joan Nelson, and 3*s.* 4*d.* to each of the children of her son William, to whom she bequeathed the residue of her property. Finally she left all her bees towards keeping up a light in the chapel of Bilbrough Church, as long as it shall please God to preserve them.

At the dissolution, the revenues of Trinity Priory at York were reported to be 196*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*; ¹ and in 1537, by a deed dated July 5, Henry VIII. granted the tithes of corn and hay at Bilbrough, as well as the manor, to Sir Leonard Beckwith, a great speculator in confiscated church property in those days. In 1554 Edward VI. granted all tithes in Bilbrough, 'lately in the tenure of Sir Leonard Beckwith, and formerly belonging to the priory of Trinity in York,' to John Wright and Thomas Holmes. In 1556 the tithes and manor were purchased by Sir William Fairfax of Steeton.

Here, in the old manor house at Bilbrough, the purchaser's grandson Thomas, afterwards first Lord Fairfax, was born in 1560. This manor house stood in the high field at the back of the churchyard and of the present Bilbrough Hall, enjoying a superb view over Tadcaster and the rich vale of York. The ownership of Bilbrough was afterwards in dispute for a long time between the two Fairfax branches of Steeton and Denton. During this period the manor house fell into ruin, and the stones were allowed to be taken away for building material in the village. At length, through the mediation of Lord Mulgrave, President of the North, the controversy was amicably settled in 1609. The Steeton branch received Newton Kyme,

¹ The revolting crimes related by Burnet (quoting from two of Henry's visitors) of the Monks of Trinity 'not to be believed,' says Dugdale.—Tanner, *Not. Mon.*, cxxix., 5.

and Bilbrough became the property of Lord Fairfax of the Denton branch. The heads of the two branches married Lady Frances and Lady Mary Sheffield, daughters of the Earl of Mulgrave.

Ainsty Cliff (or Bilbrough Hill), with its noble clump of trees, which is said to have been a landmark for ships coming up the Humber,¹ was a favourite resort of the great Lord Fairfax during his declining years at Nun-appleton. Hither he would ride several times in the week from his noble mansion away in the low country near the banks of the Wharfe, and here he would sit and meditate in the long summer afternoons. He enjoyed the wide prospect over that plain of York where the old warrior had fought and conquered in many battles, and to which he had restored the blessings of peace. Andrew Marvell, who lived at Nunappleton for two years (1650–52) as tutor to the great Lord's daughter Mary,² addressed a poem to Lord Fairfax on Bilbrough Hill, his favourite resort.³ He also wrote a Latin poem comparing the two hills of Bilbrough and Almscliffe.

When Lady Fairfax died on October 16, 1665, the great General selected the chantry built by John Norton at Bilbrough as the burial place for himself and his wife. He himself died on November 12, 1671, and a description of the altar tomb erected to his memory in the Norton chantry will be found in my life of the great Lord Fairfax.⁴ By his will, dated November 8, 1667, he left the manor of Bilbrough to his daughter, the Duchess of Buckingham, for her life, and then to the heirs male of his grandfather. The codicil is dated November 11,

¹ Drake : also Andrew Marvell in his poem.

² Afterwards Duchess of Buckingham.

³ 'Upon the hill and grave at Billborrow, to Lord Fairfax.' It will be found in Mr. Grosart's collected edition of *Marvell's Poems*.

⁴ Pp. 396, 397.

1671. In it he left all the tithes of Bilbrough to his domestic chaplain, Mr. Richard Stretton, provided that he supplied the office of a preaching minister there, or procured one to do it. Afterwards the tithes were left to the testator's successor, Henry, fourth Lord Fairfax, and his heirs, for the use and behoof of a preaching minister to be nominated by the said Henry and his heirs. In those days the tithes of Bilbrough were only worth 40*l.* a year, and, in accordance with the provisions of the codicil, Mr. Stretton nominated the Rev. William Topham as preaching minister of Bilbrough. Mr. Stretton¹ died in 1712, when the whole of the 40*l.* came to poor old Mr. Topham, who survived until 1720.

On the death of his old friend Mr. Topham, whom the Admiral had known since he was a child, the living of Bilbrough was given to Mr. Sowray, a nephew of Mr. Hardwick, the lawyer at York, and one of the Admiral's most active supporters.² The position of the preaching

¹ See the *Life of Stretton*, by Matthew Henry, the Commentator, and in Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorials*.

² Mr. Sowray died in 1755. He was succeeded from 1755 to 1760 by Mr. Swaine. In 1760 the Rev. Guy Fairfax, the Admiral's grandson, succeeded as preaching minister of Bilbrough. In his time there was a great question and lawsuit respecting the tithes. In 1777 the sum of 40*l.*, paid since the time of the great Lord Fairfax, was found to be far below the value of the tithes. The Rev. Guy Fairfax, therefore, demanded either the tithes in kind or a fresh and more just composition, at the same time offering to abide by an amicable arbitration. The farmers refused, and an action was brought against them to oblige them to account for the tithes. They responded that 40*l.* a year had been payable from time immemorial in lieu of tithes. On June 6, 1782, Chief Baron Skinner decreed that the farmers must pay the tithes in kind. This decision raised the income from 40*l.* to 180*l.* a year, besides 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* still paid for Masses for the soul of old John Norton. The Rev. Guy Fairfax died very suddenly, when performing the service at Newton Kyme, on September 7, 1794. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Lambe, who, dying in 1821, was succeeded by the Rev. Benjamin Eamonsen. The farmers then raised another point. Their lawyer contended that the *decima garbarum* mentioned in the grant of Bilbrough tithes to the Priory of Trinity, and to which Lord Fairfax succeeded, only referred to crops of corn and did not include grass. Chief

minister at Bilbrough was quite peculiar. The tithes had always belonged to a foreign monastery, independent of the Archbishops of York, down to the time of the Reformation, and then they became the property of laymen. Lord Fairfax, by his will, left them in trust to his heirs to maintain a preaching minister or chaplain of their own, who was under no ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It would be interesting to know whether the oaths under the Act of Conformity in 1662 were applied to Mr. Topham. There certainly would have been no power to dispossess him, as it was a private chaplaincy. He had no spiritual district assigned to him by the ordinary, and no cure of souls. There is no glebe, 'except a small churchyard,' and no parsonage. The income of the preaching minister consists of the tithes received under the will of Lord Fairfax, and 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for praying for the soul of John Norton.

When Admiral Fairfax became Lord of the Manor in 1716, he found the old manor house destroyed, but a house had been built at the foot of the hill, near the church, in which Thomas March, the agent, resided. It had become a freehold, but the Admiral reserved the use of a room in it for the transaction of business.¹ The

Baron Alexander decided against the farmers on November 11, 1830. This once more raised the income from 180*l.* to 270*l.* a year. In 1854 Mr. Eamson was succeeded, as preaching minister of Bilbrough, by his nephew, the Rev. Joseph Powell Metcalfe. Bilbrough became a Rectory under the District Church Tithes Act of 1865. The church was rebuilt in 1873, the chantry of St. Saviour, containing the tomb of the great Lord Fairfax, being preserved intact. It was erected previous to 1464. The rebuilding of the church was done at the sole expense of the late Mr. Thomas Fairfax of Steeton and Newton Kyme, who also built the school house.

¹ This house was enlarged in 1751, and the line of the road leading from the village to the moor was altered. William March sold the house to a lawyer named Agar, who added to it, and it was then called Bilbrough Hall. He let it to T. L. Fairfax, Esq. of Steeton during his father's lifetime, from 1802 to 1809, and his son, the late Thomas Fairfax, Esq., was born

March family was allowed to use the Fairfax pew¹ in the chantry of St. Saviour, where stood the fine altar tomb of the great General and his wife. The humbler tomb of John Norton stood under the archway opening from the nave into the chantry. Care was taken to preserve old landmarks. The clump on Ainsty Cliff was not to be touched, and though, in 1717, March was allowed to fell all the timber round the old spring above the church, five great ash trees were reserved by the Admiral's special order.

There was a moor between the townships of Bilbrough and Catterton, with rights of common, which were quite undefined and gave rise to frequent disputes. In 1718 there was a pitched battle on the moor between the young men of the two places. It was indecisive, because it degenerated into a series of single combats all over the moor, which were briskly kept up until dusk. Mr. Joseph Brooksbank,² the lord of the manor of Catterton, requested Admiral Fairfax to induce his people to keep the peace. The Admiral made a similar request to Mr. Brooksbank. At last an amicable meeting of the people of the two townships was arranged to take place on the moor. This meeting unfortunately ended in another battle, and many young men came

there. Mr. Agar eventually sold it to the Rev. Robert S. Thompson, who died in 1862, aged eighty-four. His son, Captain Childers Thompson, again sold it to Mr. Fairfax, who thus became the owner of the house he was born in. It is now the residence of his grandson, Guy Fairfax, Esq., of Steeton and Bilbrough.

¹ Mr. March, in 1717, reported that the pew was then the same as it had been in the great General's time, who himself had it enclosed, and stopped up the door into the chantry at the west end. Since the General's death, the occupiers of Mr. March's house had been allowed to use it.

² He purchased Healaugh in 1717, and died in 1726. Mr. Joseph Brooksbank married Mary, daughter of R. Stamp, Esq., of Reading, and is the ancestor of the present Mr. Edward Brooksbank of Healaugh and Catterton.

home with broken heads. It was not until May 1723 that the matter was settled through the mediation of Admiral Fairfax and Mr. Brooksbank. It was agreed that a deep ditch should be dug down the centre of the moor, from Thwaites Lane due south to the closes called Escars, the work being done in equal halves by the people of Bilbrough and Catterton.

By the purchase of Bilbrough, Admiral Fairfax added considerably to the extent of his property, and preserved an estate in the family which had belonged to the Fairfaxes for nearly two centuries. When the transfer was completed he received a gratifying letter¹ from the young Lord Fairfax, in which he says, 'I have executed the conveyance of Bilbrough to you. I hope you have a good bargain, and heartily wish you and yours good success with the estate. Your affectionate kinsman and servant,

‘FAIRFAX.’

¹ Dated from Somerset House, on July 24, 1716.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE END.

IN the last years of his life Robert Fairfax reaped the reward of a long course of upright conduct, of devotion to duty, and of habitual regard for others. He was not forgotten by old friends when he himself was obliged to retire from the active pursuits of life. The care of people dependent upon him gave him abundant occupation. He was surrounded by affectionate relations, and his children had given him no anxiety.

Old naval friends constantly supplied him with news of the profession in which all the best years of his life had been spent. Among them his most frequent correspondent was Captain Ronzier, his old first lieutenant in the 'Torbay.' In 1718, Ronzier sent the Admiral very full details of Sir George Byng's action with the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. Ronzier commanded the 'Essex' (78), and behaved with great gallantry, capturing the Spanish ship 'Juno.' Another correspondent was Rupert Billingsley, who had been a lieutenant in the 'Kent,' and had afterwards commanded the 'Lichfield,' taking many prizes in the German Ocean; but he died comparatively young in 1720.

A very pleasant correspondence, too, was that which Admiral Fairfax kept up from 1715 to the year of his death with Mr. Jeyes Seawell, of the Pay Office, who

was also cashier of the Victualling Department. Mr. Seawell forwarded the half-pay of 182*l.* 10*s.* half yearly, and on each occasion sent a budget of naval news. In these letters we get a further insight into the Admiral's character. We hear of acts of kindness and generosity, and of anonymous gifts to Greenwich Hospital, unknown to all save Mr. Seawell, who faithfully kept the secrets confided to him. Every year a cask of good Yorkshire ale was sent from York to Mr. and Mrs. Seawell, in a ship which brought back the empty casks. Occasionally there came, with warm and cordial thanks, a present of choice snuff for the Admiral, from Mrs. Seawell.

Among other presents sent to the Admiral, one has been preserved, from Henry Fairfax, his eccentric bachelor cousin at Toulston, who had once served as a volunteer under him in the 'Somerset.' It was a receipt for making mum.

The way of making Mum, as it is recorded in the House of Brunswick and was sent from thence to General Monk.

To make a vessel of 63 gallons the water must be first boiled to the consumption of a third part, let it be brewed with seven bushels of wheat malt, one bushel of oat malt, and one bushel of ground beans, and when it is tunnd, let not the hogshead be too much filled at first; when it begins to work put to it the inner rind of the fir three pounds, of the tops of fir and birch of each one pound, of Carduus Benedictus dried three handfuls, flowers of Rosa Solis three handfuls, of Burnet, Betony, Marjoram, Avens, Penny-royal, flowers of elder, wild thyme, of each one handful and a half, seeds of cardamum bruised three ounces, bay berries bruised 1 ounce, put the seeds into the vessel. When the liquor hath wrought a while with the herbs, and after they are added, let the liquor work over the vessel as little as may be, fill it up at last, and when to be stopt, put into the hogshead ten new laid eggs, the shells not crackt or broken, stop all

close, and drink it at two years old, if carried by water it is better.

Dr. Egidius Hoffman added watercresses, brooklime, and wild parsley, of each six handfuls, with six handfuls of horse-radish rasped in every hogshead. It was observed that the horse-radish made the Mum drink more quick than that which had none.

Mum is mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in the 'Antiquary.' Mr. Oldbuck drank it for breakfast instead of tea or coffee, and it is there described as 'a species of fat ale, brewed from wheat and bitter herbs, of which the present generation only know the name by its occurrence in revenue Acts of Parliament, coupled with cider, perry, and other excisable commodities.'¹

The York friends and supporters, as a body, continued on excellent terms with the Admiral, and there were mutual exchanges of friendly expressions of regard, as well as remembrances of a more substantial kind. There may have been some who took offence at imaginary slights, such men as are alluded to in Mr. Lund's letter. This is alleged in a spiteful letter from John Le Neve, which will be given presently. But the letters that have been preserved, furnish ample proof that Admiral Fairfax did not forget old friends. His presentation of the living of Bilbrough to Mr. Hardwick's nephew is one proof of that. Another is supplied by the dedication of his 'Antiquities of York City' to Admiral Fairfax by his chief supporter, Mr. Francis Hildyard, the bookseller. Here was a clear proof of the cordial relations which continued to subsist between them.

The 'Antiquities of York City' is little more than a

¹ *Antiquary*, chap. xi.

list of Lord Mayors and Sheriffs, with a few notes. But it was the first work of the kind that was ever published, and is interesting for that reason. It was printed by Mr. White in 1719, and published by Hildyard. The dedication is addressed to 'Robert Fairfax, Esq., Alderman of the city of York,' and thus begins:—'To publish the antiquities of the city of York, without some acknowledgment how propitious your name and family have been to this ancient city, would be injurious and ungrateful to its benefactors.' Mr. Hildyard then refers to the preservation of York Minster, during the siege, by Lord Fairfax, and to the Admiral's services to the city as member, alderman, and lord mayor.¹

The building and alterations at Newton Kyme were finished in 1720, and from that time the Admiral and his family lived there for part of the year. During the last year of his life he did not leave the home of his childhood. The pictures from Steeton and Denton, and those that had belonged to his mother, and the Steeton tapestry, with other family treasures, were arranged in the new house. A family Bible was commenced, a thick quarto with black leather cover, embellished with silver monograms of Robert and Esther Fairfax and

¹ The list of Lord Mayors and Sheriffs was first published at York anonymously in 1664. The author was Christopher Hildyard, a barrister and antiquary, brother of Sir Robert Hildyard of Winestead. The greater part of Francis Hildyard's book was a reprint of that of his kinsman Christopher. This is acknowledged on the title-page; and it is added that there are notes and observations in the new edition by James Torre. The celebrated antiquary James Torre had been dead some years, and his son Nicholas Torre declared that his father had never been concerned in the work in any way. In reply, Francis Hildyard asserted that James Torre had borrowed from him the papers of Christopher Hildyard, and returned them newly arranged, with notes and observations of his own, intending that Francis Hildyard should print them. Nicholas Torre demanded a sight of his father's manuscript, or some part of it. Mr. Hildyard could not comply with this demand, and so the dispute ended.—See Davies's *Memoir of the York Press*, p. 137.

clasps.¹ The richly bound Bible and Prayer-Books sent from Denton were retained as heirlooms.² The Admiral's books, which had been his companions at sea, formed the nucleus of a library: Captain Sturmy's 'Mariner's Magazine,' Eden's 'Book of Travayle,' Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' and others; to which were added some valuable books which had belonged to Mrs. Fairfax's first husband, Mr. Thomlinson. Newton Kyme was to be the home prepared for the Admiral's son and his descendants.

Young Thomas Fairfax was now of age, and was a great comfort to his father. He had taken his degree, had travelled in France, and was preparing to take his father's place as a worthy representative of a great county family. The Denton branch disappeared from England, the Gilling branch became extinct, and Thomas Fairfax eventually became the sole representative of the name: 'of an illustrious house, a house that for learning and valour has no peer among the families of Yorkshire.'³ Young Mr. Fairfax received the greater part of the half-pay from his father, and often had a quiet dinner with Mr. Jeyes Seawell, of the Pay Office, and his wife, when it was paid to him in London. He was fond of literature, but he was also an ardent sportsman, and, in after years, he was the author of a book on field sports which was popular in its day, and went through two editions.⁴

¹ Entries have been made in it by each succeeding head of the family ever since. The Bible was printed at Oxford in 1697. The companion Prayer-Book was printed in 1706, and has a portrait of Queen Anne. On the flyleaf, 'April 16, 1713, Mrs. Esther Fairfax her book.'

² See Appendix B.

³ Canon Raine.

⁴ *The Complete Sportsman or Country Gentleman's Recreation*, by Mr. T. Fairfax (12mo, 263 pages). There is no date on the title-page of the first edition. The second appeared in 1795, twenty years after its author's death.

A portrait was taken of Catherine, the Admiral's daughter, when she was about seventeen, a very pretty girl with light brown hair. She was beloved by young Henry Pawson, whose father, Alderman Elias Pawson, had been one of the Admiral's most strenuous opponents—'a great stickler for Jenkyns.' But this young Montague refused to inherit the hatreds of his family, and threw himself at the feet of the daughter of Capulet. There was, however, no tragedy. Old Elias Pawson died in 1715, and his son was a free agent. The Admiral liked the young citizen, and thought only of his daughter's happiness. The wedding was at Newton Kyme on August 23, 1720, the bride having just reached her eighteenth year, the bridegroom being twenty-four. They lived at York, and afterwards at Coxwold.¹

The Rector of Newton Kyme was the Rev. Nicholas Rymer, who had married the Admiral's cousin Frances, daughter of the fourth Lord Fairfax. This lady had married in disobedience to her father, and the couple lived very quietly at Newton Kyme for the rest of their lives.² The lady's father did not continue his resentment, for Thoresby mentions that Mr. Rymer preached at Denton when he visited Lord Fairfax.

The Admiral's growing infirmities warned him that he was not likely to live to any very great age. His

¹ There were six children—Henry; Robert, born in 1721; Elias, born and died in 1722; Martin, born and died in 1724; Charles and Catherine died in 1730, aged three. Henry Pawson died on January 24, 1730, aged thirty-five, and was buried at St. Mary Bishophill; Mrs. Pawson died on March 20, 1767, aged sixty-five. Only Robert and Henry survived her.

² Mr. Rymer died in 1725, and was succeeded by the Rev. Nicholas Gyrling, who had a valuable library, containing several Elzevirs. He died in 1767, leaving all his books to Thomas Fairfax, Esq., the Admiral's son. He had reached the great age of ninety-two. The next Rector was the Rev. Guy Fairfax, grandson of the Admiral, who built the present rectory house.

two sisters had continued to live with him, but Frances, who had reached the age of seventy, died before her brother. She was buried at Newton Kyme on July 22, 1723, and the Admiral put up a monument to her memory. Robert Fairfax had made his will on June 16, 1721. He left all his landed estates to his son Thomas and his heirs; but he was anxious that, under any circumstances, and even in the case of failure of such heirs, the old name of Fairfax should be continued. In that case he left the estates to his daughter, Mrs. Pawson, and her heirs on condition that they took the name of Fairfax. If they failed, the estates were to go to his nephew, William Spencer of Bramley Grange, and his heirs, on the same condition.¹ He placed Lord Fairfax of Leeds Castle next in the entail, and lastly his other heirs. He left the house in Micklegate to his wife for her life, and also the furniture in the room at Newton Kyme called the 'Wrought Bedroom,'² together with the plate that had belonged to her before her marriage. There was also an annuity to his sister Alatheia, and a gift of 50*l.* to the poor of Newton Kyme, Bilbrough, Steeton, and Street Houses. His son was residuary legatee, and his wife and son were the executors.

Robert Fairfax lived entirely at Newton Kyme during the last year of his life. He died there on October 17, 1725, in his sixtieth year, and was buried in the church under the Fairfax pew. His two sisters, Bessy (Mrs. Spencer) and Alatheia, survived him.³

¹ In 1726, the year after the Admiral's death, his nephew, William Spencer, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Henry Eyre of Bramley. He had a son William, who succeeded to Bramley and died in 1790, and a daughter Sarah, married to Thomas Foljambe, Esq., of Aldwark.

² This room was hung with the tapestry from Steeton.

³ Mrs. Spencer (Elizabeth Fairfax) is asserted to have been buried at Sheffield on August 2, 1708, in Hunter's *Hallamshire*. But she is referred to by Admiral Fairfax, in his will, as being alive in 1721.

Alathea died in 1744. Mrs. Fairfax continued to live in York. She survived to stand as godmother to two of her grandchildren—Robert, who succeeded at Newton Kyme, and Guy, who became Rector of Newton Kyme and Bilbrough. She died in the year 1735, at the age of eighty, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Bishophill, at York. There are two portraits of the Admiral's wife, and a miniature painted when she was very old.

A good portrait was painted of Admiral Fairfax in the last years of his life, nearly full length; but the artist is unknown. The face is that of a handsome elderly man, with calm, amiable expression. He is in a full flowing wig, cravat with long hanging ends, blue coat, with sleeves open at the wrists showing loose shirt sleeves. The left hand rests on a globe, and in the right he holds a pair of compasses.¹

Thomas Fairfax was twenty-seven years old when he succeeded his father. His first care was to erect a monument to his memory, which was placed against the west wall of the Fairfax pew in Newton Kyme Church. It is of white and grey marble, adorned with urns, a ship under sail, and the Fairfax arms. The inscription is long, one or two of the sentences are oddly worded, and it is not in the best taste. But it was written in the fulness of the young man's heart, and was well intended. (See opposite page.)

His son, in saying that 'he conceived it for his honour under certain circumstances to refuse a higher rank,' refers to the Admiral's refusal to serve unless justice was done to him when Lord Dursley was promoted over his head. The sentence is ambiguous, and

¹ The picture is 49 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 40 inches. It was photographed for Mr. Hailstone's *Yorkshire Worthies*.

Underneath

LIE THE REMAINS OF ROBERT FAIRFAX OF STEETON
 IN THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF YORK, ESQ. ;
 FORMERLY A COMMANDER AT SEA. IN WHICH SERVICE
 HE CONCEIVED IT FOR HIS HONOUR, UNDER CERTAIN
 CIRCUMSTANCES, TO REFUSE A HIGHER RANK.
 WHEN HE HAD QUITTED THIS EMPLOYMENT HIS ROYAL
 HIGHNESS, THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, SUFFERED HIM
 NOT LONG TO RETIRE, BUT WELL KNOWING HIS SUFFICIENCY
 IN NAVAL AFFAIRS, CALLED HIM TO HIS COUNCIL OF
 ADMIRALTY.

IN THE LAST PARLIAMENT OF QUEEN ANNE HE SAT AS A
 MEMBER FOR THE NEIGHBOURING CITY, OF WHICH HE
 CONTINUED A MAGISTRATE UNTIL HIS DEATH.

THE DUTIES OF THESE STATIONS HE DID CONSTANTLY
 DISCHARGE WITH THE UTMOST FIDELITY AND MOST
 RELIGIOUS EXACTNESS ; A CONDUCT SUITABLE TO
 THOSE QUALITIES, WITH WHICH HE WAS EMINENTLY ENDUED
 PIETY, COURAGE, SIMPLICITY.

IN HIS PRIVATE CHARACTER HE DID INDEED EXCELL UNDER ALL
 THE RELATIONS OF A SON, A BROTHER, A HUSBAND, A FATHER,
 A KINSMAN, AND A FRIEND, STILL PRESERVING THE
 SAME ILL-FATED HONOUR AND INTEGRITY, WHICH ALONE DID
 OR COULD OBSTRUCT HIS PUBLICK ADVANCEMENT.

HE DIED IN THE COMMUNION OF THE ESTABLISHED
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND (IN WHICH HE HAD LIVED A CONSTANT
 AND CONSCIENCIOUS COMMUNICANT) ON THE XVII DAY OF
 OCTOBER IN THE YEAR 1725.

AGED UPWARDS OF 60 YEARS.

TO THE MEMORY OF THIS EXCELLENT FATHER AND
 TRULY PIOUS CHRISTIAN, HIS MUCH LAMENTING
 SON HATH ERECTED AND INSCRIBED THIS MARBLE.

VIVE MEMOR QUAM SIS .EVI BREVIS.

scarcely expresses what was intended. It is also unfortunate that Mr. Fairfax should have used such a curious adjective as 'ill-fated,' as applied to honour and integrity. What he wanted to convey was that the Admiral's honour and integrity stood in the way of his worldly advancement. The rest of the inscription is not fairly open to hostile criticism, except as regards its unusual length.

Yet, two years afterwards, Mr. Fairfax received a letter containing a most spiteful and malignant criticism of the epitaph. As this letter was written by a man who was not unknown to the literary world of his day, it may not be amiss to insert it here. It is as follows:—

To Mr. Thomas Fairfax, to be left with John Wood, Esq., at his Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, London.

Newton, October 20th, 1727.

Most Learned Sir,—It being my province to give an account of all the remarkable monuments, tombs, epitaphs, and inscriptions in any of our English churches: I cannot but admire (above all that I have yet seen) the superfluity of ingenuity in one, in an obscure church in the county of the city of York; and if you are acquainted with the Author (as I have been told you are) you may do well to admonish him to amend the following blunders.

1st. Considering the many Saint-like virtues assigned the deceased, why should not the word remains be read reliques.

2d. A Commander at sea is too extensive a word, but I am apt to suppose the author was here upon his guard lest he might be caught leeing.

3d. As to his refusing a higher Rank, my Lord Dursley¹ does not believe one word of it.

4th. His sitting in the last Parliament of Queen Ann as a magistrate till her death, makes him above the Speaker, and wants explaining.

¹ He was Earl of Berkeley then, not Lord Dursley.

5th. As to the three qualities so much boasted of viz^t. piety, courage, and simplicity, the two first are generally denyed, but as to the last *convenit inter omnes*.

6thly. As to his excellence, in relation as a brother he got quit of them all to make way for himself, as to a husband I hear its objected that he made but niggardly allowances to his wife, and as to his excellence as a father it is most conspicuous, (if in anything) in his breeding of a son, which money was (as most think) thrown away, not remembering the old adige

‘Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.’

And as to his excelling as a friend, Lambert, Scourfield, Buckston, Clapham, Yates, Stephenson &c. are living witnesses, who having spent much time and money at his election, were despised and unknown as soon as the Pole was over.

7th. Honour may be sometimes ill timed or undeservedly conferred, but ill-fated honour is an heteroclite to every grammarian that has learnt it for the due joinings, or can but write a legible hand.

8th. And lastly I cannot but remark the scrap of false latin with which he concludes.

‘Vive memor quam sis brevis ævis.’

Why not ‘memor esto brevis ævi.’ Please to remind him of *ne sutor ultra crepidum* when he meddle with Latin, and also please to let him know without amendments on these eight heads I cannot give this well designed inscription a place in my book: however I am, dear Sir, yours at command from the zenith to the nadir,

LE NEVE.

The writer of this garbage was John Le Neve, the Weever of that period,¹ but it does not appear how the Admiral and his son had excited the rancour of his small mind. No doubt they were quite unconscious of

¹ John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* was published in 1631. A folio of 871 pages, sold at the sign of the Golden Lion in Little Britain.

the offence, whatever it may have been. The letter was preserved.¹

Thomas Fairfax, owing to the care and good management of his father, succeeded to a larger property than had ever been possessed by the head of the Steeton line. Besides the three estates of Steeton, Bilbrough, and Newton Kyme which he inherited, he established his title to the estate of Bishophill, in York. On May 27, 1730, he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of John Simpson, Esq., of Babworth. She was, as we are told by the Hon. Dixie Windsor, a very agreeable and accomplished lady. Thomas Fairfax, after having been owner of Newton Kyme for nearly half a century, died in London on April 2, 1774. His wife, of whom there is a portrait, died at York in 1780, aged eighty-one. They had six children, and the line was continued by their second son.²

¹ John Le Neve was the son of a mercer in London, and was born in 1679. His father died when he was at Eton, and he became the ward of his distant kinsman, Peter Le Neve, the learned Norroy King of Arms. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1694, but never took a degree. Marrying his cousin Frances Boughton, he had eight children, and he took orders at the age of forty-three, owing to pecuniary difficulties, for his books did not pay. In 1707 he published *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae*, Bishop Kennet being the real author. His *Monumenta Anglicana* are collections of inscriptions on monuments in various churches. There were five volumes published 1717-19. He had collected a vast number of inscriptions which were never published. Le Neve was Rector of Thornton-le-Moor in Lincolnshire. He died in 1741, aged sixty-three.

² Their eldest son Robert, who succeeded, was a most benevolent and rather eccentric old bachelor. He was born at York in 1732, succeeded in 1774, and died in 1803. The second son, John, was in business at Liverpool, and afterwards settled at Bath, having married Jane Lodington, a Lincolnshire heiress, by whom he had an only child, Thomas Lodington Fairfax. He succeeded his brother Robert in 1803, and died in 1811, aged seventy-seven. The third son was the Rev. Guy Fairfax, Rector of Newton Kyme and Bilbrough, who died in 1794.

Thomas Lodington Fairfax of Steeton was born at Liverpool on May 30, 1770. In 1799 he married Theophania, daughter of Edward J. Chaloner

The life of Robert Fairfax is one of those which furnish sufficient incident and material for reflection, to make it worthy of being recorded. Without any remarkable talent, or any great advantages, he was endowed with and made use of two faculties which secure success. He had the gift of being able to take trouble, and he had the desire to do well. Besides these motives of action, he also felt strongly the duty involved in the inheritance of a great name, and that he was bound to hand it down unspotted, as he had received it, to his descendants. These incentives influenced him through life. In the early years of his sea life, when he was struggling through many difficulties to a position in the navy, another strong motive for exertion was his earnest love for his mother, and the desire to please her. These various faculties and motives of action kept him in the straight path. He became a good officer and a thoroughly efficient seaman. In an emergency—and in the days when main masts went over the side on the smallest provocation, emergencies were of frequent occurrence—he was full of resource. In action he was brave, prompt, and perfectly cool. During the last year of his service afloat he had considerable experience as an adminis-

of Lincoln, by whom he had one son, Thomas Fairfax, and three daughters. He died at Newton Kyme in 1840.

Thomas Fairfax of Steeton was born at Bilbrough on November 2, 1804. He was at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1836 he married Constantia, daughter of George Ravenscroft, Esq., by whom he had three sons, Thomas Ferdinand, Reginald Guy, and the Rev. Charles Fairfax, and three daughters. He died at Newton Kyme on November 24, 1875.

Thomas Ferdinand Fairfax of Steeton was born on October 6, 1839. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Grenadier Guards. In 1869 he married Evelyn, daughter of Sir William Milner, Bart., of Nunappleton, and had three children, Guy, Brian, and Evelyn. He died at Newton Kyme on February 8, 1884.

Guy Fairfax of Steeton was born at Nunappleton on April 13, 1870.

trator, and he acquitted himself well. He brought that experience to bear, when he took his seat at the Board of Admiralty, with advantage to the country.

Retiring from the navy in the prime of life, he took all his excellent qualities on shore with him. His retirement was to involve no rest, no idleness. He at once became a careful manager of his estates, a painstaking and generous trustee for his relations and friends. He was an active magistrate and an eager politician. His life at York was one of great activity and great usefulness. The generous acts of kindness done by Admiral Fairfax were only known to one man besides himself, they would have remained a secret for ever had it not been for the accidental preservation of some letters. Such a man secured the love and reverence of his relations, and of numerous friends in all ranks of life.

He reaped his reward in the return that he received. The love of some, the gratitude of others, prevented his last years from being dull or unhappy, and when he died he must have left a blank which time only could fill up.

There are many lives which are more full of stirring incident, more exciting to read about, more striking from the contemplation of vast genius and commanding ability, but there are not many which convey more useful lessons to ordinary men. He who would contemplate the earnest and successful exercise of faculties which we all possess, and the gradual and steady advance in life of an ordinary man with average abilities, but actuated by noble motives, will find some satisfaction in perusing the life story of Robert Fairfax.

The Admiral's cousin, Elizabeth Bladen, wife of Edward Hawke, was mother of that illustrious naval commander, Lord Hawke of Towton, hero of the Battle of Belleisle, and First Lord of the Admiralty. Thus good service continued to be done in the navy, for many more years, by another descendant of the valiant Sir William Fairfax of Steeton.

APPENDIX.

A.

INVENTORY AT STEETON HALL 1558.

(See page 5.)

The Inventorye of Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, Knyght, laite dysessed.

The Inventorye Tryptyte Indented of all the Goods and Chatelles whiche laite was Sir William Fairfax of Stetin, in the Countie of the Citie of Yorke, Knyghte, deceased, appraised by Barnard Pape, Richard Shepley, Conrard Stephenson, Richard Brackman, and Oswyn Hedwyn, the xvth Day of Novembre, in the Year of our Lord God A Thousand Five Hundreth Fifty and Eight.

<i>In the Hall.</i>	£	s.	d.
In Primus, One Table with a frame and a Carpettr		vi	
Item, one Swayre Table and a Cobbert . . .		iiij	
Item, hangyngs of Buckram and Say in the same		v	
Item, landirons		v	
Item, one Buffet Stole			vi
Sum		xx	vj

<i>In the Parler where he lay.</i>	£	s.	d.
In his Purfe in Gould and Money	xij	vi	viij
Item, one Dublete		x	
Item, one Paire of Hoyfe		v	
Item, one Velvet Jerkyn		viij	
Item, one Paire of Butts with Spurres		vi	
Item, one Sword with a Dager		v	
Item, one Hatt and a Cap		vi	viij
Item, one Gowne of Caffry fured and Garded with Velvet		xxv	viij
Item, vj Shirts		xx	
Item, one Blake Cloke		xij	iiij
Item, one Cloke of Fresada		xij	iiij
Sum	xix		viij

In the Gallare.

	£	s.	d.
Item, one Standinge Bed with hangings of Dornex and the Teaster of Satten and burges with Chamlett, One Matters, a Feather bed, A Tel- ster, and a Coveringe		j	vij
Item, in the said Chamber ij Hangings of Ares Warke	ij		
Item, one coveringe of a bed		ij	iiij
Item, ij Chists and a Coberd		vij	
Item, ij Charres		j	
Item, iiij hangings of Buckram		iiij	
Item, one Plate Candilsticke		ij	
Sum	vj	vij	iiij

In the South Chamber.

Item, one Standinge Bed, the Teaster of Read Velvet and Blake, One Matres, One Feather- bed, a bolster, one Fustane Blankitt, and a Cotton Blankitt		xxxij	iiij
Item, one duble coveringe belonginge to the said bed		l	
Item, one hanginge in the said Chamber		x	
Item, ij Chist's and one Coberd		xij	iiij
Item, ij Sandirons		iiij	
Item, one Whit Cap of Dames flowered with Gold	ij		
Sum	vij	x	vij

In the Great Chamber.

Item, one Standinge Bed, a Matres, a Feather bed, a Bolster, a Pare of fustane Blankitts, A Teaster of one Watered Velvett, the hangingt of Read and Grene sarsanet	ij		
Item, one duble Coveringe	ij		
Item, hangings in the said Chamber		xxx	
Item, one table with Tresles and the Carpette and one Counterpoynte	vij		
Item, one Small Table with a Carpette		v	
Item, ij Coberts and ij Carpetts		vi	
Item, iiij Chares		iiij	
Item, vj fawromes		ij	
Item, iiij Qwyssings		iiij	
Item, one Latyne Candilsticke			xij
Sum	xvj	xj	

In the Indermer Chamber.

	£	s.	d.
Item, one Standinge Bed, A Matres and Feather bed, A Bolster, A Coverlett, a Teaster of Tapstere and Curtains of Say, and a Coveringe .		xxx	
Item, iij Hangings of Ares Warke		xl	
Item, one Coberd with a Carpett		iij	
Item, one Chaire			vj
Sum	iij	viiij	vj

In the New Chamber.

Item, one Standinge bed, A Matres, A Feather bed, A Bolster, ij Whit Fustan Blankitts, One Twyle, A Teaster of Blew Damaske and Velvet, with Flowers and Curtens of Stuer Dornex	iij		
Item, a Coveringe for the Same		xxx	
Item, hangings of Ares Warke	iij	x	
Item, one Velvet Qwyshinge		ij	vj
Item, iij Chaires, iij Buffet Stollles and a fawrome		iiij	
Item, ij Landirons		iij	iiij
Sum	vij	ix	x

In the Indermer Chamber.

Item, one Standinge Bed and a Matresse		x	
Item, one hanginge of Saye		iij	
Sum		xiiij	

In the Ryder Chamber.

Item, one Standinge Bed, a Matress, a Feather bed, a Bolster, ij fustane Blankitts, ij Coverletts, One Coveringe, A Teaster of Say, and Curtens of Dornex		xxvj	viiij
Item, hangings of Buckram in the fame Chamber with a piece of Tapestere		vij	
Item, one Swayre Table, a Chare and a fawrome .		ij	iiij
Sum		xxxvj	

In St. George Chamber.

Item, one Stocke bed, a Feather bed, ij Pillowes, one Coverlett, and a Coveringe		v	
Item, one Stocke Bed, a Matress and a Bolster .		iij	iiij
Item, hangings of Ares warke	x		
Sum	x	xiiij	iiij

U

<i>In the Great Parlour.</i>		£	s.	d.
Item, a Standinge bed, a Matress, a Feather bed, a Teaster, a Blew damaske flowred, a Bolster, and a Coveringe			xl	
Item, one Table, with a Frame and a Carpett .			x	
Item, Hangings of Buckrame			vij	
Item, one Coberd, with a Counterpayne . . .			v	
Item, one Chaire, with two formes				xvj
Item, ij Playte Candilstickes			ij	
Sum		ij	v	iiij

In the Lowe and Hye Studye.

Item, v Garnyshe of Pewder Vessels	x		
Item, one Irone Stedye		xx	
Item, one Candilsticke of Playte			xij
Item, iij Chists		v	
Item, one hanginge of Ares		xl	
Item, one Carpett		xx	
Item, iij Cotes of Playte		xx	
Item, ij Chists		iiij	
Item, ij Stollas		ij	
Sum	xv	xvij	

In the Butre.

Item, iiij Pewder Candilstickes, and iij of Latten .		vij	vj
Item, one dossen blake Potts			viiij
Item, v Stands and ij Tubes		ij	
Item, ij Guges			viiij
Item, one Dossen Twylt Napkins		vij	
Item, one Diaper bord Clothe		vij	
Item, four bord Clothes		xij	iiij
Item, ij Toweles			xx
Item, x paire of Shetts, Lyne and Samon . . .		xxiij	iiij
Item, Codwaires			iiij
Sum	xij	x	viiij
Item, one Cheste in the Chapell			iiij
Item, one Iron chimley			vj
Item, Woll	xij		viiij
Sum	xij	x	viiij

In the Brew-house.

Item, one Lead, a Mashe fate, a Gilfate, and a Killing-tub			xl
Item, ij Bulginge Tubes			ij
Sum			xlij

<i>In the Kitchine.</i>		£	s.	d.
Item, iij Brasse potts and a posnett			xx	
Item, iiij Brassinge Mortars and ij Pesteles			xxx	
Item, viij Spetts			xviij	
Item, v Paire of Rakes, iij Gallow-bawkes, and one Iron Chimley			xj	
Item, one Chawfindyshe				xij
Item, one great Pott with iij handles			xl	
Item, one Copper Pane, and one Brasse Pott			xlvi	
Item, iiij Brasse Potts, and iij Fryering Panes			xiiij	iiij
Sum		x	vj	viiij
Item, xxij Kyen, the price	xxxij			
Item, xij fate Stotts	xxvj			
Item, ij fate Oxen	iiij			
Item, iiij fate Quyees	v	vj	viiij	
Item, vj Quyees	xij	x		
Item, x Stotts of iij Yeres old	xiiij	vj	viiij	
Item, xxiiij Gwenter Nowt	xviij			
Item, xxvj Calves	vj			
Item, vj Bulles	vij	xiiij	iiij	
Item, lxxvj Wedders	xiiij	iiij		
Item, vj Topes		xx		
Item, lxxij Yowes	xij			
Item, a hundredth Lames	x			
Item, xv Swyne			l	
Item, l Lods of Hay in the Closes and about the Hall	x			
Item, in the Laithe of Wheat and Rye, lxxx Quarters	xxiiij			
Item, in Barlye, xxiiij Quarters	vj			
Item, in Ottes, xvj Quarters		liij	iiij	
Item, in Reye, iij Quarters		xv		
Sum	cciiij	ij	iiij	
<i>The Playte.</i>				
Item, one gilte Boll, weinge xxx Unces, at vs. iiijd. the Unce	viiij			
Item, ij Standige Cuppes with Covers gilte, weinge xliij Unces, at vs. iiijd. the Unce	xj	ix	iiij	
Item, one other gilte Boll with a Cover, weinge xxxix Unces, at vs. iiijd	x		viiij	
Item, iij Pottes gilt with Covers, weinge xliij and a half, at vs. iiijd.	xj	xij		
Item, ij Saltes with a Cover gilte, weinge xxiiij Unces and a half, at vs. iiijd. the Unce	vj	v	iiij	
Sum	xlviij	xiiij	viiij	

	£	s.	d.
Item, one greate potte parcel, gilte, weinge lviiij Unces and a half, at iijs. xd. the Unce	xiiij	ij	ix
Item, other pott parcell gilte, weinge xxxij Unces, at iijs. xd. the Unce	vij	xiiij	viiij
Item, one Watter pott pcell. gilte, weinge xvj Unces and a Yuartern, at iijs. xd. the Unce .	iiij	viiij	
Item, one Ure pcell. gilte, weinge xxv Unces, at do.	v	xvj	vj
Item, one other Ure, weinge xviiij Unces, pcell. gilte, at iijs. xd. p. Unce	iiij	ix	v
Item, one plaine Boll pcell, gilte, with a hyndehed, weinge xxxij Unces, at iijs. xd. the Unce .	vii	xix	
Item, one punched Boll pcell. gilte, weinge xxx Unces, at iijs. xd. the Unce	vij	xiiij	
Item, ij Chaste peces, weinge xix Unces and a half, at iijs. xd. the Unce	iiij	xiiij	
Item, one pece of Chyne of Gold, weing xiiij Unces, at lviijs. Unce	xl	vj	
Sum	lxxxxvj	xiiij	vj
Item, one goblett Pcell. gilt, weinge xj Unces and a Quarteron, at iijs. xd. the Unce	liiiij	iiij	
Item, one Ayll pott Pcell. gilte, weinge x Unces .		xlviij	iiij
Item, one old Scott Salte, ij Spones, weinge viij Unces and a Quartron, at iijs. xd.		xxxix	x
Item, one Stone pott, with a cover, and a fote of Silver, weinge iiij Unces, at iijs. xd.		xiiij	vj
Item, other Stone pott, with a cover, gilte, weinge an Unce		v	iiij
Sum	viiij	ij	v
Item, in Gold and Silver	mxliiiij		
Item, one Table clothe of Diaper of v yerds Longe		xv	
Item, iiij Twylt Table clothes of xvj yerds Longe .		xviij	
Item, iiij Diaper Towelles of xxiiij yerds Longe .		xx	
Item, ij Table clothes of Lyne, of x yerds Longe .		x	
Item, ij Towelles of Lyne, of vij yerds		ij	iiij
Item, iiij Payninge Clothes			xij
Item, ij Payninge Clothes			xij
Item, iiij Diaper Napkins		ij	viiij
Sum	mxlvij	ix	ij
Item, a Hundreth Shep abowed the Place	ix		
Item, Score Quartern Barle	xxv		
Item, in Peys, xvi Quarters	iiij		
Item, xj Quarters White	iiij	viiij	
Sum	xlij	viiij	

	£	s.	d.
Item, ij Mares and iij Folles in the Place . . .	v		
Item, one Mare and her Folles		xl	
Item, ij Twenter Fylles		xxxvi	
Item, one White Mare and her Folle		xl	
Item, one Graye Mare and a Folle		xxxij	iiij
Item, one Graye Fille		xxvj	viiij
Item, ij Graye Twenter Staigs		xl	
Item, a Bay Stoned Staige		xxvj	viiij
Item, one Graye Staige	iiij		
Item, one Bald Horse		xviiij	iiij
Item, a Graye Staige	iiij		
Item, one Graye Horse		xl	
Item, one Bay Staige		xxxij	iiij
Item, one Blake Stoned Horse		xlvi	viiij
Item, Hustlement about the Hall and the Hawswes	xl		
Sum	xxxj	xxvj	

Goods at Dynton.

Imprimis, vij Calves on the Place		xljij	
Item, lx Twenter Shep Wethers, Gemers and Tuepes	vij		
Item, iij Kyen and Two Quyes	vj		
Item, xi Old Yowes		xxij	
Item, ij Yonge Kyen and iij Quyes	v	x	
Item, one Whit Stott		xxx	
Item, vj Twenter Quys and Stotts	iiij		
Item, ij Stotts, Price		xliij	
Item, lxij Lames, Price	iiij	x	
Item, xxiiij Wethers, Price	xvj		
Item, one Mare and her Folle		xxxiiij	iiij
Item, ij Mares, price		xxx	
Item, one Staige		xxiiij	iiij
Item, xxvj Lods of Hay	vij		
Item, one Feather bed, with Bolster and Pillow		vij	
Item, ij Mattresses		vj	viiij
Item, one Teaster of Dornex		iiij	
Item, Curtings		viiij	
Item, one Counterpoynt		ij	iiij
Item, iij Coverletts, price		v	
Item, iij pair of Shetts		x	
Item, one Sarmon Bordclothe			xvj
Item, viij Napkyns		ij	iiij
Item, ij Carpets		iiij	
Item, ij Silk Quishens		iiij	
Item, ij Quishens of Leather			viiij
Item, one Basyn and Ure		v	

	£	s.	d.
Item, ij Tyn Gobletts			xij
Item, ij Salts of Tyn			viij
Item, one Pewder Flagett			xvj
Item, ij Chargers		iiiij	
Item, Pewder Dishes		xij	
Item, vj Sawzers		iiiij	
Item, xij Playte Trenchers		viij	
Item, iiiij Powdeshares			xvj
Item, vj Stone Potts			xij
Item, one Kneyfe with a Forke			xij
Item, iiiij Juges with Covers			xvj
Item, v Candilstickes		v	
Item, one other Candilstucke			xx
Item, ij Pillowe Beres			xvj
Sum	lxvj	vj	viij

Debts owinge to the said Sir William Fairfax.

Imprimis, of the Executors of John Good	xiiiij		
Item, of John Lovell		xxvij	
Item, of Mr. Aske		xxxvij	
Sum of all the Goods and Debts	mviijix	ij	v

Debts owinge by the said Sir William Fairfax.

Imprimis, to Thomas Harp	viiiij		xij
Item, to John Kelsay		xl	
Item, to Smith of Bolton		xxvj	
Item, to Hewitt Tailler		xlviij	
Item, to William Allen		xxxiiij	iiiij
Item, to Thomson of Wetherby		xx	
Item, to Vincent Lelame, for making Guy Fairfax appel		vj	iiij
Sum	xviij	viij	viij

Legacies and Funerallcs.

Item, to Henry Fairfax	ccc		
Item, to Brygate and Ursele	decc		
Item, to Elizabeth Rocklay	cc	Marks.	
Item, to the Childrene of Robert Roklay	c	Marks.	
Item, to Sawssan	c	ditto.	
Item, to William Hawmond	x		
Item, for Blake Clothe	cviiij	iiij	
Item, to Mr. Hall	xviij	x	viij
Item, for Torchcs and Wax	vj		
Item, Money payd at the Buriall	xvj		
Item, to Humfrey Erereton for his Cott of Arms and other Necessaries	vj	xiiij	iiiij
Sum of the Lagacies, Funerallcs and Dett	mvlxxxiiijx	vj	iiij

NOTE ON STEETON
IN THE
'ANALECTA FAIRFAXIANA.'

Written by Colonel Charles Fairfax of Menston.

These notes were taken by my brother William Fairfax about 1614.

Steeton was built by Sir Guy Fairfax A°. 14 Ed. IV.

Upon the Gate House att Steeton, cutt in stone, quarterly 1.3 barrs gem over all a lion rampant with a rose on ye shoulder, 2 a chevron betwixt three hynds heads erased, 3 as 2, 4 as 1: with a helme, but the crest not visible, Two angels supporters.

In ye chappel.

1. Percy single.
2. Percy quartered with Lucy.
3. Semy de flower de lizes. Beaumont, but the charge mistaken.
4. Nevile. Argent on a saltire gules.
5. Hastings. Argent a maunch sable.
6. Under all (made for Sir Nicholas Fairfax Knight of Rhodes) one completely armed in antique forme, in the right hand a speare, on his left arm ye Cross of St. George.
7. Lord Scroop. Azure a bend or.
8. Or a bend gules.
9. Ryther quartered with Aldburgh.
10. Vaire (or chequy) argent and azure a fess gules, quartered with azure fretty or chevrony or, a chief of the second.

B.

THE FAIRFAX BIBLE.

An old Bible and two Prayer-Books were sent to Admiral Fairfax by the son of his cousin and old friend the fifth Lord Fairfax, on August 26, 1716.¹

The Bible is sixteen inches long by eleven and a half, bound in crimson velvet richly embroidered with gold. On the upper side were the arms of England, surrounded by a garter with motto, lion and unicorn supporters, helmet and crest. On the under side there was a large shield in the centre, and four shields, one at each corner. The large shield, on the under side, is embroidered with the arms of the See of Durham impaling the arms of Bishop Richard Neile, afterwards Archbishop of York. The two upper shields have the arms of the Sees of Lincoln and Lichfield, the two lower those of Rochester and Westminster.

On the back there are eight divisions, each with quatrefoil and other embroidery.

On the title-page there is a portrait of Queen Elizabeth. The book includes the Apocrypha, and is in black letter. At the end, the colophon is as follows:—‘Imprinted at London in powles churchyarde by Richard Jugge printer to the Queen’s Majestie,’ but no date.

¹ When I wrote the *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* I was misinformed on the subject of these books. I there stated that the first Lord Fairfax presented them to his son Ferdinand in 1612 (see page 10 and note). This of course is impossible, as Neile did not become Bishop of Durham until 1617, and his arms impaling those of the See of Durham are embroidered on the side of the Bible. The statement in the footnote that the books were given for the use of the Church at Newton Kyme by the sixth Lord Fairfax requires explanation, which is given in the present account of the books.

On the fly-leaf of the Bible there are the following notes:—

Anno Dom. 1612.

THOMAS FAIRFAX SON AND HEIR OF SIR FERDINAND FAIRFAX.
was baptized at Denton the 25 of January.

This Bible was given to me by my Lord Fairfax, which I do give to my son Thomas Fairfax after my decease, dated the 14th of January 1672.

FRANCES FAIRFAX.

Below there is a book plate of Lord Fairfax, a Baron's coronet, no crest, horses for supporters, motto, and arms.

The larger Prayer-Book, thirteen inches by eight and a half, is bound in crimson velvet richly embroidered with gold. Letters I. R. (James I.) arms of England with supporters, garter and motto, helmet and crest (of the time of James I.) on both sides. The embroidery is in better preservation than that of the Bible. Date 1620. The book is in black letter.

The smaller Prayer-Book eleven and a half inches by seven and a half, also bound in crimson velvet and gold. On the upper side are the arms of England of James I., on the under side the arms of Bishop Neile, and of his different Sees, as on the Bible. Embroidered back. Date 1617. It is also in black letter. Both the Prayer-Books have book plates of Lord Fairfax.

The original owner of the books was Archbishop Neile, son of a tallow-chandler in King Street, Westminster, who died when the future Archbishop was a baby. Richard Neile was born in 1562. He was sent to Westminster School by his mother at a time when Edward Grant, the most noted Latinist and Grecian of his time, was Head Master. Dr. Grant advised his mother to apprentice him to a bookseller in Paternoster Row. But luckily for the boy he was noticed by Dean Goodman, who gave him a scholarship at St. John's, Cambridge. He was described as 'a poor and fatherless child, but of good hope to be learned.' Taking his degree in 1584, he became chaplain to Robert Cecil. He was Dean of Westminster in 1605, and Bishop of Rochester in 1608. He is then described as 'Vir mediocriter doctus sed predicator mirabilis.' He was made Bishop of Lichfield in 1610, of Lincoln in 1613, of Durham in 1617, of

Winchester in 1627, and Archbishop of York in 1632. Wood says 'the number of his translations is unparalleled in the English Church.'

Bishop Neile was a very complacent courtier, if the story told in the life of Waller can be relied upon. He was Clerk of the Closet to James I., and one day Neile, Bishop of Durham, and Andrewes of Winchester were in attendance on his Majesty. The King said, 'May not I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in Parliament?' 'God forbid, Sire, but you should,' answered Neile, 'you are the breath of our nostrils!' 'Well, my Lord of Winchester, what say you?' asked James. 'Sir, I have no skill to judge Parliament causes,' replied Andrewes. 'No puts off, answer me presently,' persisted the King. 'Then, Sir,' said the Bishop of Winchester, 'I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it.' It is said of Bishop Neile that he was munificent, that he spent large sums on the repair of episcopal buildings, and that he made Durham House in the Strand the general resort of men of learning. He died as Archbishop of York on October 31, 1640. His son, Sir Paul Neile, was knighted at Bishopthorpe in 1633, dissipated a large fortune, and died in 1685.

The books were evidently embroidered for Dr. Neile while he was Bishop of Durham 1617-27; because his arms are impaled with those of the See of Durham, and at the corners are the arms of Lichfield, Lincoln, Westminster, Rochester, his previous preferments.

They became the property of the Fairfax family before the death of Archbishop Neile; and were, therefore, probably presented by him. The reason for this conclusion is that in the entry of Thomas Fairfax's baptism, his father is designated as Sir Ferdinand Fairfax. If Sir Ferdinand's father had been dead, the entry would have been Ferdinand Lord Fairfax. So that the entry must have been made before the death of Thomas, first Lord Fairfax, which took place on May 2, 1640. Archbishop Neile died on October 31, 1640. The Bible was, therefore, given to Sir Ferdinand Fairfax by Archbishop Neile at some time between the year 1632, when he was translated to York, and May 1640.¹

¹ On the other hand, it is possible that the entry may have been made as 'Sir Ferdinand Fairfax,' because that was the father's title at the time

The books continued to find a home at Denton during the time of Ferdinand second Lord, Thomas third Lord, and Henry fourth Lord Fairfax. The fourth Lord, in 1672, made a present of the books to his wife Frances, the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Barwick of Toulston. On her death in 1684 she left them to her eldest son Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, who died in 1710. He left all his real and personal property, which was not sold to pay his debts, in the hands of Trustees. His son Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, only had a life interest.

In 1716 Denton was bought by Mr. Ibbetson of Leeds. The old Bible and Prayer-Books were then sent to Admiral Fairfax, one of the Trustees under the will of the fifth Lord. The following note from old Bernard Bankes, the superannuated agent at Denton, accompanied the parcel.

*For the Honble. Robert Fairfax Esq., at his House at Newton.
By the cair of Wm. Lofthouse, carrier.*

Honour'd Sir,—This Bible and two Common Prayer Books are ordered to be sent to you, for the use of the Church at Newton Kyme, as a present from my Lord Fairfax. Your most faithful, humble servant,

BER. BANKES.

Aug. 26, 1716.

The mother of Bernard Bankes had been the maid of Lady Fairfax, the great Lord's wife. This Ellinor Bankes, by the will of the great Lord Fairfax, received an annual payment of 6*l.* from the farm held by Christopher Wright at Bilbrough. Her son became agent at Denton, and was a very busy man, making money by breeding and selling horses. Next he began lending money to the young Lord, and actually had a mortgage of 1,000*l.* on Bilbrough. In 1716 he was very old.¹

when the baptism of Thomas took place, though not necessarily when the entry was made. In that case the books may have been acquired after the death of Archbishop Neile, from his son Sir Paul Neile, who probably sold his father's effects at Bishopthorpe.

¹ Bernard Bankes is mentioned in the *Fairfax Correspondence* published in 1849. On November 11, 1700, he was one of the witnesses when Thomas, Lord Fairfax, made entry at Nunappleton as heir male after the death of the Duke of Buckingham (II. p. 265).

In 1712 (October 16), in a letter to the sixth Lord Fairfax, Admiral Fairfax mentions that the young Lord's father had given orders to Bankes

Lord Fairfax had no power to present the Bible and Prayer-Books to the church at Newton Kyme, as he only had a life interest in the personalty left by his father, and they were heirlooms.

No doubt the statement to the effect that he intended to give them to the church, in Mr. Bankes' note, was due to a blunder or misunderstanding on the old man's part. The books were not suited for use in church. Their rich bindings would have been rotted by the damp in a very short time, and they are printed in black letter. The gift was not made. The Bible and Prayer-Books continued to be heirlooms in the Fairfax family, but the Admiral presented the church with communion plate.

In 1725, the year of the death of Admiral Fairfax, the Rev. Nicholas Gyrling became Rector of Newton Kyme. Mr. Gyrling died in 1767, at the great age of ninety-two, and left all the books at the rectory to Mr. Thomas Fairfax, the Admiral's son. The will is dated November 4, 1767.

The Admiral's grandson, the Rev. Guy Fairfax, was Rector of Newton Kyme from 1767 to 1794, and built the present rectory house. The Bible and Prayer-Books were probably lent to the rector at that time, and were left in the rectory through forgetfulness. There they remained during the time of three rectors and received much injury. As regards the Bible, the royal arms are entirely gone, the gold threads on the supporters are loose and frayed, the arms of Lichfield are half gone, those of Westminster quite pulled out, and only distinguishable by the impression on the velvet. The silver field of Rochester is also half gone. The embroidery on the larger Prayer-Book is all in good preservation, but that of the smaller Prayer-Book is much frayed and injured. The supporters and baldrekin of the royal arms are a good deal worn, the arms of

to let him have a number of lime trees from Denton, for an avenue at Newton Kyme (II. p. 246).

On September 5, 1712 Brian Fairfax wrote to young Lord Fairfax, urging him to look after his estates, and to get a rental from Mr. Bankes (II. p. 237).

Bankes also had orders to destroy the deer at Denton.

Mary, the unmarried daughter of the fourth Lord Fairfax, left Bernard Bankes and his wife 2*l.* 10*s.* in her will.

Lichfield and Westminster quite gone, and those of Bishop Neile badly injured.

At last these interesting books were restored to their rightful owner, Mr. Thomas Fairfax of Steeton and Newton Kyme, in 1855. They were at once secured from further injury. A special table was made for them with a glass case, and they were kept in the library at Newton Kyme as precious family relics. Mr. Fairfax died in 1875, and they were inherited by his son Lieutenant-Colonel T. Ferdinand Fairfax, who possessed them until his death on February 8, 1884. They were then inherited by his widow, who took them, in their case, to Bilbrough Hall, and holds them as heirlooms for her son. They have been the property of the Fairfax family for upwards of 250 years.

C.

FAIRFAX PICTURES AT BILBROUGH.

THOMAS, FIRST LORD FAIRFAX. (Half length, 30 in. × 24 in.) A fine open face, with pleasant honest expression, hair brushed off the forehead, square white beard and moustache. A ruff, white doublet, and black scarf. Arms and supporters in left hand corner. The picture came from Denton. Now at Bilbrough. Replica at Leeds Castle. It has been photographed by the Arundel Society, and for Mr. Hailstone's 'Yorkshire Worthies.'

FERDINANDO, SECOND LORD FAIRFAX. (Life size to below the knees, 54 in. × 42 in.) Seated; in a loose magisterial gown, with armour laid aside. Rays of the sun descend upon the armour with the words '*Hinc illa.*' It is signed '*Bower ad fecit, 1646.*' From a letter preserved at Leeds Castle, from the second Lord to his son, dated Bath, June 30, 1646, we learn that Bower was a pupil of Vandyke. This picture came from Denton, and is now at Bilbrough. It is said to have been engraved by Hollar. Photographed by the Arundel Society, and for Mr. Hailstone's 'Yorkshire Worthies.'

THOMAS, THIRD LORD FAIRFAX. (Life size to below the knees, 50 in. × 40 in.) Thick imperial and moustache, thin sallow face, the wound received at Marston Moor on the left cheek. Thick dark hair. In armour, with blue sash. Helmet in background. There is a replica at Althorpe, by Walker. It was at Denton, and after passing through several hands, became the property of T. Fairfax, Esq., of Steeton and Newton Kyme, in February 1849. Now at Bilbrough. It has been photographed by the Arundel Society, and for Mr. Hailstone's 'Yorkshire Worthies.'

THOMAS, FIFTH LORD FAIRFAX. A miniature set in garnets. It was left in the will of Miss Elizabeth Fairfax to her brother, Robert Fairfax, Esq., of Steeton and Newton Kyme, in 1800.

CHARLES FAIRFAX, of Menston, son of the first Lord Fairfax. (Half length, 29 in. \times 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Short brown hair and moustache, white turn-down collar over a complete suit of armour. It came from Denton. Now at Bilbrough. The words 'Thomas, Lord Fairfax,' now very faint, have been erroneously painted on the upper part at some subsequent time.

ARCHDUCHESS MARIANA (Queen of Spain). (Life size to half way down the skirt.) Originally full length, but cut at both ends to fit a wainscot panel at Denton. Now at Bilbrough. Red hair and rosy cheeks, Austrian lip. Ruff and lace collar, red body embroidered with gold, red skirt with white slashes over a hoop. Sleeves slashed at the elbow, lace cuffs. One hand rests on the back of a chair, a fan in the other. Came from Denton. Now at Bilbrough. This Queen made her voyage from Antwerp to Spain in 1649, when Lord Fairfax was commander-in-chief of the English army, and a Councillor of State of the Commonwealth. The picture was probably presented to him at that time.

MABEL (CURWEN), wife of Sir William Fairfax of Steeton. (45 in. \times 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Life size, seated. This lady died in 1624. Small pale face, dark hair, black gown and gold lace bodice, lace cuffs and bracelets, large ruff, in one hand an embroidered glove. Came from Steeton, and mentioned in the will of William Fairfax, 1694. Now at Bilbrough. Artist unknown.

LORD SHEFFIELD (Earl of Mulgrave). President of the North 1602-1610. (23 in. \times 18 in. on panel.) Long face, large aquiline nose, square dark beard, white satin doublet, robes and collar of the Garter. Down to a little below the shoulders. Came to Newton Kyme in 1848. Now at Bilbrough.

LADY FRANCES SHEFFIELD, wife of Sir Philip Fairfax of Steeton. (21 in. \times 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. on panel.) This lady died in 1615. Lace cap, pale face, starched lace collar, purple and black dress with pearls. Came to Newton Kyme in 1848. Now at Bilbrough.

SIR WILLIAM FAIRFAX of Steeton, slain before Montgomery Castle Sept. 1644. (Life size, full length, 82 in. × 52 in.) Mr. Scharf remarked, 'A strange picture, well, freely, and clearly painted.' Hair dark, moustache light brown. A mole at the corner of the right eye. Breastplate and steel gauntlets, large black sash over the shoulder, and tied in a bow at the thigh, yellow leathern doublet, and white boots with three flaps. Armour on the ground. Battle in the distance. This picture is mentioned in the will of William Fairfax of Steeton, 1694. Lent to the York Exhibition.

There is also a miniature by Cooper of this Sir William Fairfax.

GENERAL THOMAS FAIRFAX, son of Sir William Fairfax of Steeton, died 1712. (Half length, 28½ in. × 23 in.) Long flowing brown wig, armour and lace cravat, in an oval. Smiling, humorous face. A replica at Leeds Castle. Mentioned in the will of his nephew William Fairfax of Steeton, 1694. Now at Bilbrough.

WILLIAM FAIRFAX, eldest son of Sir William Fairfax of Steeton, who succeeded. Died 1672. (Half length, 29 in. × 24 in.) Dark hair, long oval melancholy face, white handkerchief in a knot round the neck, armour with gold headed nails. Mentioned in the will of his son William Fairfax of Steeton, 1694. Now at Bilbrough.

CATHERINE (STAPLETON), wife of William Fairfax of Steeton. Died 1695. Pale face, with a gentle quiet expression, and dark hair in the fashion of Lely. White stomacher and black gown. Left to her son Admiral Fairfax in her will. Now at Bilbrough.

SIR MILES STAPLETON of Wighill, brother of the above Mrs. Fairfax. (Life size to half way down the thigh, 49 in. × 39 in.) A young man with pale face, in armour having gold nail heads, holding a baton. White cravat with falling ends. Battle in the background. Left to her son Admiral Fairfax by Mrs. (Stapleton) Fairfax. Now at Bilbrough.

ISABELLA STAPLETON, wife of Colonel Boynton, and her sister-in-law MISS BOYNTON. Two young ladies seated. School of Lely. (58 in. × 39 in.) The one in black with fair hair is

Mrs. Boynton. Her sister-in-law is in yellow. Pinks in Mrs. Boynton's lap. She died in 1688. Left to Admiral Fairfax by his mother. Now at Bilbrough.

WILLIAM FAIRFAX of Steeton, born 1664, died 1694. (Half length, $28\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $23\frac{1}{2}$ in.) A sketch by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Good-looking youth, light brown hair, blue coat with silver lace, open in front, long white cravat. Left to his mother in his will, 1694. Now at Bilbrough.

ROBERT FAIRFAX. I. (Half length, $28\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $24\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Painted in 1696, at the age of thirty. Brown hair, broad forehead and large eyes, a straight nose, and closed lips. The countenance of a firm, strong-willed young man, with a pleasant expression. Lace cravat, red cloak fastened at the shoulder, and white sleeves. In an oval. On the left a ship in the distance, with red ensign, and St. George's cross at the main. At Bilbrough.

II. (Half length, 29 in. \times $24\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Painted in 1708, by Dahl. Aged forty-two. Powdered wig and red coat. At Bilbrough.

III. Miniature of the same period, at Bilbrough.

IV. (Nearly full length, to the knees, $49\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 40 in.) Painted when an Admiral, towards the end of his life. He died in 1725. Long flowing wig, falling on the shoulders, cravat with long falling ends, blue coat open and loose at the wrists. One hand rests on a globe, a pair of compasses in the other. Photographed by Mr. Hailstone for his 'Yorkshire Worthies.' At Bilbrough.

ESTHER FAIRFAX. I. The Admiral's wife. She died in 1735. A child on her lap, and dog. Lent to the York Exhibition.

II. Half length in white, dark hair. At Bilbrough.

THOMAS AND CATHERINE FAIRFAX, with a dog. Children of Admiral Fairfax. The boy in coat and wig. Lent to the Exhibition at York.

CATHERINE FAIRFAX (*Mrs. Pawson*), daughter of Admiral Fairfax. I. Child in pink and white dress, with basket of flowers. (29 in. \times 24 in.) At Bilbrough.

II. ANOTHER PICTURE OF MRS. PAWSON. Young lady, fair hair, in a white gown with red scarf. (Half length, 29 in. \times 24 in.) At Bilbrough.

MRS. FAIRFAX (*Elizabeth Simpson*), wife of Thomas Fairfax of Steeton, son of the Admiral. Married 1730, died 1780, aged eighty-one. In white, with a dog on her lap. Lent to the York Exhibition.

THOMAS L. FAIRFAX of Steeton and Newton Kyme, born 1770, died 1840. Miniatures, on one side a boy of twelve, on the other aged about sixty. At Bilbrough.

MRS. FAIRFAX (*Chaloner*), wife of the above. A miniature. At Bilbrough.

MRS. FAIRFAX (*Ravenscroft*), wife of Thomas Fairfax, Esq., of Steeton and Newton Kyme. A miniature painted in 1838 by Ross. At Bilbrough.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL T. FERDINAND FAIRFAX of Steeton and Newton Kyme, born 1839, died 1884. (Life size, $50\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $39\frac{1}{2}$ in.) In the uniform of the Grenadier Guards. Painted by Lucas. At Bilbrough.

COUNTESS FITZWILLIAM. ($11\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.) In blue, with red scarf. At Bilbrough.

LADY BETTY FITZWILLIAM. (Half length, 29 in. \times 24 in.) White, with blue scarf. At Bilbrough.

OTHER PICTURES.

DIRK MAAS. Two pictures ($11\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Cavaliers taking leave of a lady. Horses at a trough.

HONDEKOETER. ($55\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $40\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Peacock in centre on a stone, over it two pigeons, under, two partridges, ducks, kingfisher, palace and fountain in the distance.

RACHEL RUYSCH. ($17\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 12 in., on panel.) Thistles and butterflies.

Nine other pictures of the Dutch School, including a fine Rembrandtish Head, and a Girl praying.

SEA FIGHT. ($45\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $34\frac{1}{4}$ in.) Maltese and Turkish ships.

BATTLE OF MALAGA. (43 in. \times $21\frac{1}{2}$ in.) English and French in line. On panel.

TALL MAN-OF-WAR ($49\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $42\frac{1}{2}$ in.), bows on, sails loose.

STAINED GLASS FROM STEETON.

(Now at Bilbrough.)

I. Arms of *Fairfax*.

II. A shield of seven quarterings: 1, *Fairfax*; 2, *Malbis*; 3, *Etton*; 4, *Mauley*; 5, *Culthorpe*; 6, *Arghom*; 7, *Thwaites*.

III. Sir Nicholas Fairfax, Knight of Rhodes. Shield of the Fairfax arms, helmet and crest. Figure in long black cloak, complete armour, cross embroidered on the shoulder. Spear in right hand, left resting on the shield.

CARVED STONES AT BILBROUGH.

I. Large slab, 6 ft. 2 in. \times 3 ft. 2 in. Arms of Fairfax and Thwaites quarterly impaling Curwen and Brus quarterly. On the Fairfax side a thistle, and under, '*Fare Faceto A° Eliz. the 37.*' On the Curwen side a thistle, and under, '*Si Je n'estoy, 1595.*' It was originally over the porch at Steeton, but on the ground there for many years, and neglected. Then placed over the door at Newton Kyme. Now in the wall at Bilbrough, since October 28, 1884.

II. Crest (hind's head erased) on a helmet. Stone, 2 ft. 10 in. This was the Malbis crest. The stone stood over the gatehouse at Steeton. Now at Bilbrough.

III. Slab, 1 ft. 11 in. \times 2 ft. 6 in. Helm and baldrekin, beneath them a shield quite defaced, with angel supporters. In 1614 it was on the gatehouse at Steeton, and described by William Fairfax in a letter to his brother Charles (see '*Analecta*

Fairfaxiana'). The coat of arms was the Fairfax three bars gemelles, over all a lion rampant with a rose on its shoulder, quarterly with the arms of Malbis, a chevron between three hinds' heads erased. Now at Bilbrough.

IV. A small slab, with a shield containing six quarterings : 1, *Fairfax*; 2, *Malbis*; 3, *Etton*; 4, *Mauley*; 5, *Calthorpe*; 6, *Arghom*. It was originally at Walton Hall, then put into the gable of Kyme Lodge. Now let into the north wall at Bilbrough, since October 1884.

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