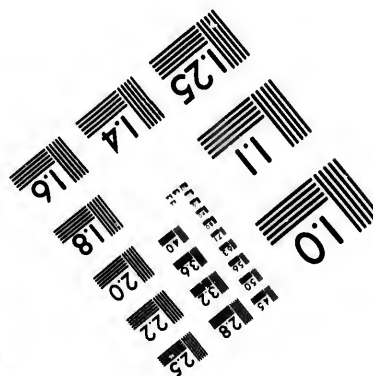
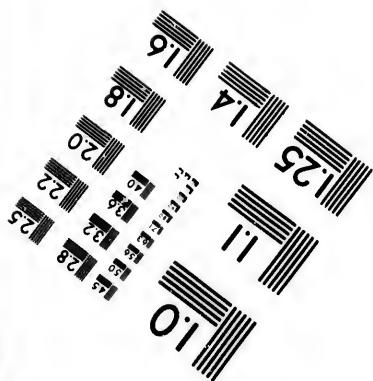
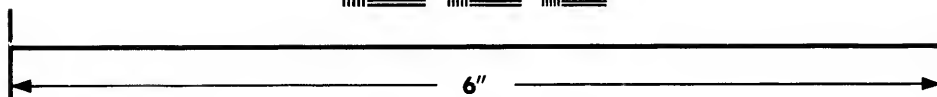
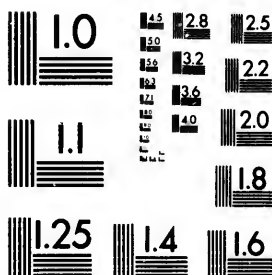


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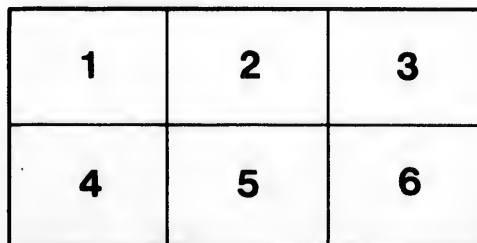
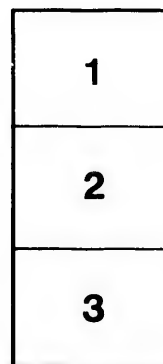
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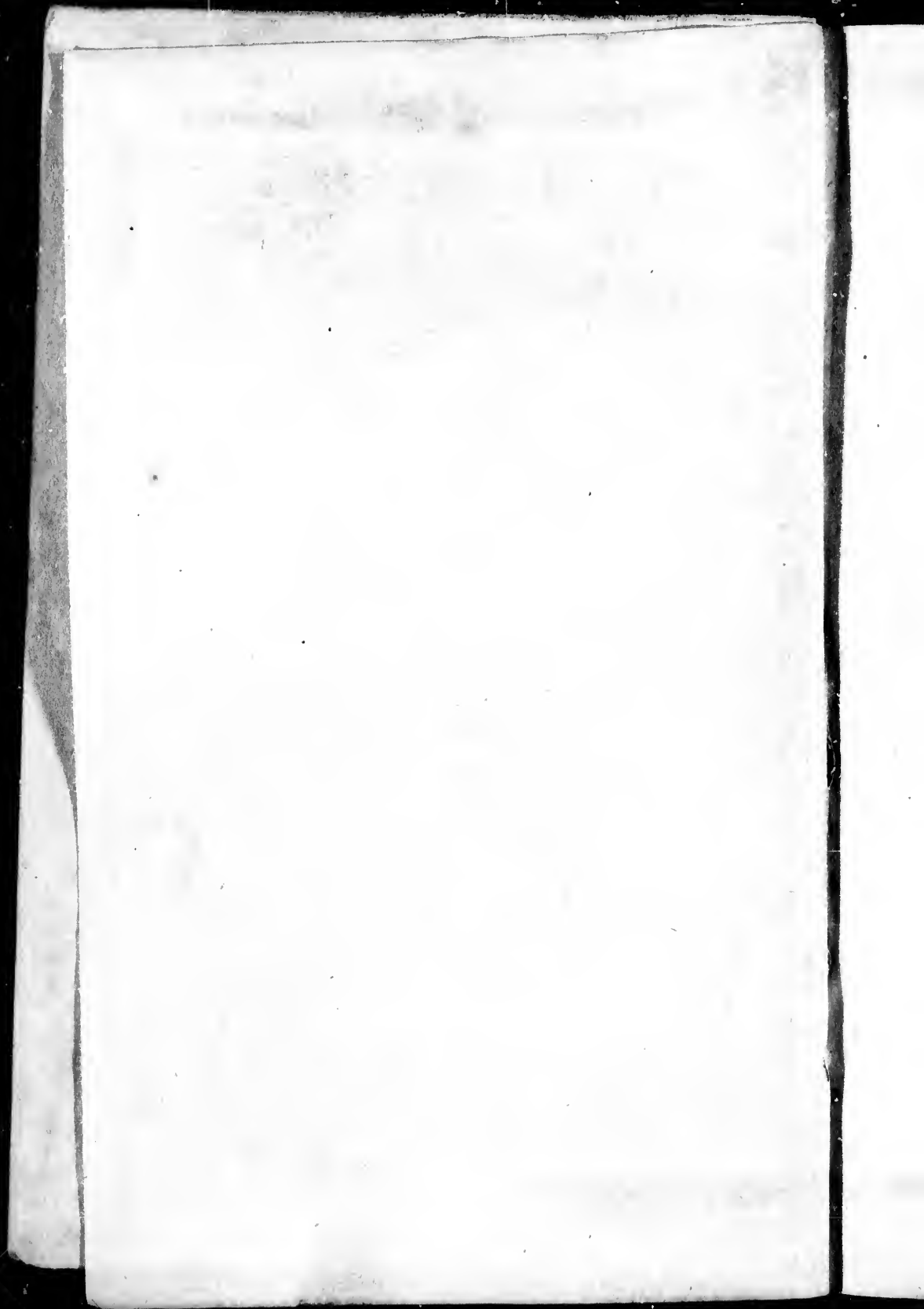
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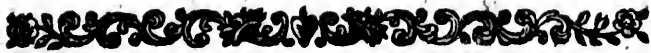
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P R E F A C E.



THE kind reception this work has already met with, from the public, makes it altogether unnecessary to detain the reader at his entrance, with a needless and ceremonious introduction; and yet it might be esteemed a kind of rudeness to decline making any application of this sort at all. It may be proper therefore, to observe, that the desire of shewing a just gratitude for the approbation bestowed upon this history, has excited the utmost care in revising, correcting, and where it seemed expedient, adding, and illustrating in some places, that the great end of this design might be better answered.

In the compass of this history, the principal naval transactions are represented from the earliest account of time down to the present reign; from whence it appears, that the claim of this nation to the dominion of the sea, is not only as ancient, as any memorial of past time whatever; but that it has been also constant and invariable, through a long course of ages; maintained with great spirit by our ancestors, and transmitted by them, as an invaluable blessing to their posterity.

As to the facts that are related, they are chiefly collected from our best historians, and the authorities upon which they are grounded are carefully cited, so that nothing is advanced without evidence; and where writers have differed as to the circumstances of great events, particular notice is taken of those variations, that the reader may have it in his power to form a true judgment upon the whole, as also to see what has been controverted, and what not.

*As foreign authors have also recorded many of these transactions, their works have likewise been consulted; due regard paid to
them*

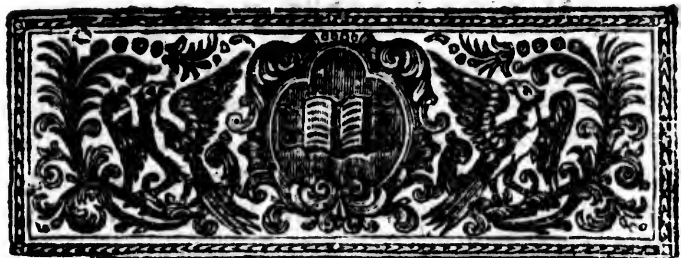
P R E F A C E.

them where they appear to have deserved it, and where either from partiality, or misinformation they have deviated from the truth, no pains have been spared in pointing out and proving their mistakes; but with as little acrimony as possible, though they have sometimes taken great liberties with the English writers they contradict. This will be found in many respects highly useful, not only, as it serves to fix the credit of particular facts; but as it also serves in some measure to shew the real characters of several authors, their views in writing, and the regard due to them upon other occasions.

At the close of every reign, there is a brief detail of the progress of navigation, commerce, discoveries, and whatever else seems to have a relation to maritime power, that the gradual increase of it may appear in a proper light, and reflect due honour on the princes, great ministers, and worthy patriots, who have patronized or supported these national points, and that the consequence of neglecting them might be also seen, which was the more necessary, because many errors have prevailed, and become popular upon this subject.

The personal history of famous seamen, is as fully and fairly represented, as was possible from the best materials that could be procured; neither will the reader find in their memoirs any spirit of party, which indeed would be inexcusable, since, whatever a man's party may be, if he has contributed to the service of his country, by defending her interest, humbling her enemies, or promoting her commerce, his memory ought to be preserved with the highest veneration.

These are the principal points treated of in the following sheets, and they cannot fail of giving pleasure to such as have a due regard, for the glory and prosperity of this island. To such alone this work is consecrated, and may the honourable actions of our illustrious seamen, in the present and succeeding ages, furnish materials to some abler pen! And thereby put it in his power to shew, that the lessons which have been taught us by our ancestors, and the great examples they have left us of public spirit, and zeal for their country's good, have not been lost on their descendants.



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The NAVAL HISTORY of the BRITONS, before they were invaded by the ROMANS during their continuance in BRITAIN; and afterwards, to the coming of the SAXONS. Containing the transactions of about one thousand, seven hundred and forty years.



H A T the ancient history of *Britain*, or rather of the *Britons*, before the coming of *Cæsar* into this island, is not a little obscure, as well in respect to their exploits by sea, as in regard to the succession of their princes, and the settlement of their civil government at
VOL. I. B home,

2 NAVAL HISTORY

home, is a point so generally agreed on, that I will not trouble the reader with any disputes about it. But this matter is carried much too far, when it is asserted, that the histories of those times deserve not either reading, or notice; that they are mere fables, and idle tales, void of all authority or probability.

It is true, that this lofty stile is highly taking with critics, who very readily reject what they cannot understand, but this may be sometimes too hastily done, as I conceive it is here. Camden^a disliked the *British* history of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and his authority drew others to treat it with contempt. But, since his time, through the indefatigable labours of many industrious men, other ancient authors have been published, which plainly shew that much true history is to be met with, even in that book, though embarrassed with fiction. Besides, it is now out of dispute, that *Geoffrey* was no forger, or inventor of that history; but that he really translated it out of the *British* language, in which tongue it is still extant^b.

FROM this history, which in many circumstances is supported by others of better authority, we have various passages in relation to the naval power of the *Britons*, before *Cæsar's* expedition. Now, that these are not altogether incredible, must appear from the reason of the thing, on one hand; and, on the other, from what may be cited from writers of unquestionable credit.

TWO arguments result from our very situation; for, first, the people, whoever they were, *Gauls* or *Trojans*,
who

^a *Britannia*. p. 6, 7. Edit. 1594. 4^o. See a Refutation of Camden's Objections in Mr. Thompson's copious Preface to his Translation of *Geoffrey of Monmouth's* History; and the most learned Sir John Price's *Defens. Hist. Britan.* ^b *Usserii Britain. Eccl. Primordia.* See also *Lewis's British History*.

who planted this country, must have come to it by sea, and consequently must have had some skill in maritime affairs, even prior to their settling here. Secondly, the surrounding seas, the convenient ports, and the prospect of the opposite shore, must, doubtless, have encouraged them when settled here, to practise, and thereby extend, that skill in navigation, which, as I have said, they must have had before they came hither. Hence I think it might have been rationally concluded, that our *British* ancestors had performed something worthy of notice at sea, before the *Roman* invasion, even though there had been no records to attest their actions.

Polybius ^c mentions this island and its commodities. *Lucretius* ^d also takes notice of it, and these were both writers elder than *Cæsar*. ^e The author of the book *de mundo*, which goes commonly under the name of *Aristotle*, speaks of the *British* islands, and distinguishes between *Albion* and *Hierna*, that is, between *England* and *Ireland*. *Athenæus* ^f tells us, out of *Moschion*, that the main-mast of king *Hiero's* great ship was found by a swine-herd in the mountains of *Britain*, and by *Phileas Tauromenites* conveyed into *Sicily*; and *Solinus* ^g speaks of an altar engraven with *Greek* characters, which *Ulysses* met with in *Caledonia*. It is not easy to conceive how so remote a country should be so well known in those times; if the *Britons* had not both power and commerce by sea. But, to put this matter out of dispute, the learned Mr. *Selden* ^h owns himself convinced, even by *Cæsar's* writings, that

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^c Hist. lib. xi. ^d De Nat. Rer. lib. iii. ^e Aristot. opera. Tom. ii. p. 206. Edit. Aurel. Allobrog. 1606. ^f Deipnosophist.
^g Polyhist. cap. 35. ^h Mare Clausum Lib. ii. cap. 2.

4. NAVAL HISTORY

the ancient *Britons* had a considerable sea force; which he conceives was either weakened, or totally destroyed in the defeat which *Cæsar* gave to the *Veneti*, to whose assistance it was sent.

HAVING thus shewn that, for any thing the critics know to the contrary, the facts preserved by our *British* historians may be true, I shall proceed to mention some of them that are for my purpose, insisting on such arguments as offer themselves in support of these transactions; there being, as I conceive, as much honour to be acquired from the retrieving truth out of our fabulous stories, as in extracting it from *Greek* poets, or from oriental authors; which has, however, been the business of most of the great men famed for learning amongst us. This I say, not to lessen their reputation, or raise my own, but out of a design to heighten that of my country; by shewing that the inhabitants of this island have always been, what I hope they always will be, lords of those seas which surround it.

THE first naval expedition, celebrated by *British* writers, is that of the planting this island by *Bruto*, or *Brute*, * of which there is a large, and, in many of its circumstances, no doubt, a fabulous account in *Manmouth*¹; but that the story had a ground of truth, may be easily proved. That this island was inhabited as early as this expedition is placed, appears from the trade of the *Phenicians*, and from its populousness at the time of *Cæsar*'s invasion. That the story of *Brute* was no invention of *Geoffrey*'s, is clear, from our having the same account in *Henry* of ^k *Huntingten*, who did

* A. A. C. 1195. ¹ Hist. Brit. lib. i. Alured. Beverl. An-
 nal. lib. i. p. 10, 11, 12. Ric. Viti. Hist. Brit. lib. i. ^k Proem.
 Hist. et in Epist. ad Guarin.

did not borrow from him; and in *Giraldus Cambrensis*¹, who though he condemns the *British* history published by *Monmouth*, yet in the same breath asserts the story of *Brute*; and which is still more to the purpose, from the authority of *Saxon* writers, whose testimony, in this case, is of unquestioned credit. As to the objection, that foreign writers knew nothing of this, it may in some measure be removed, by observing that, as they give very bad accounts of their own original, we need not either wonder at, or regret, their giving none of ours. Besides this, *Ammianus*^m takes notice, that part of the flying *Trojans* landed in *Gaul*, whence, our antient history says, they came hither. If so, then they possessed this island in right of their naval power; which dominion, as it began in them, so it shall be our principal business to shew it has by their posterity never been since lost.

ONE of the most early exploits after this, was that of king *Belinus*ⁿ, who is said to have taken the king of *Denmark* prisoner, and to have obliged him to become tributary. Afterwards, † passing with his brother *Brennus* into *Gaul*, they with the joint forces of that country, and their own, invaded *Italy*, and sacked *Rome*; ‡ after which, *Belinus* returned home, and reigned here with great glory. That this story is liable to some exceptions must be owned; and, indeed, what history of so great antiquity is not? but that it is not altogether improbable, appears from hence; that *Pausanias*^o, a learned *Greek* author, speaking of the expedition of the *Gauls* under *Brennus* into *Greece*, says, that they called their order of drawing up squadrons of horse, three

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in

¹ *Cambria Descriptio*, cap. 7. apud Camden. Angl. Norman. &c. ^m Hist. lib. xv. ⁿ Gal. Mon. Hist. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. Alured. Beverl. lib. i. p. 16. Vit. Hist. lib. iii. † A. A. C. 388. ‡ A. A. C. 387. ^o Lib. x.

6. NAVAL HISTORY

in front, *Trimarchia*, which is pure *British*; for *Tri*, in that language, signifies three, and *March*, a horse. *Gorguntius*^p, the son of *Belinus* attacked the king of *Denmark*, (which must have been by sea) slew him, and conquered his country*. These were the exploits of the inhabitants of the fourthern part of the isle. As for the *Scots*, they appear to have had a very considerable naval force, by which they held in subjection all the adjacent isles, long before the coming of *Cæsar*; and this corroborates the other facts strongly.

THE commerce of the *Britons* could not but be very considerable, even in these early times; for, besides the trade they drove with the *Carthaginians*^q in the western part of the island, they also trafficked with the northern nations, as appears by the flight of *Brennus*^r, when he quarelled with his brother, to a king of *Norway*; for it cannot be supposed he would retire to an absolute stranger; or, if he had, that he should so soon return with a potent fleet. Their intercourse with all the maritime provinces of *Gaul*, is indisputable; nor is it a light argument of their perfect acquaintance with the arts and sciences then known, that the youth of those provinces were sent hither for instruction. But what is most to our purpose, and which clearly demonstrates that, at this time, they had the dominion of their own seas in the most absolute degree, is what *Cæsar*^s himself says, *viz.* That he could get no information concerning the country, or ports, of *Britain*; because the inhabitants permitted none but merchants to visit their isle, and even restrained those from travelling up into the country. The imposing such rules, shews the power of which they were then possessed.

IT

^p Hist. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. * A. A. C. 375. ^q Strabo. Geog. lib. i. ^r Hist. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. ^s De Bello Gallico, lib. iv.

It is indeed objected, that *Cæsar*¹ and other ancient authors speak but in mean terms of the *British* vessels, telling us, they were made of wicker covered with hides, which, therefore, were very unfit to have opposed the *Roman* fleet; and this they suppose to be the reason, that the *Britons* never assayed to grapple with the *Romans* at sea. There is, however, nothing solid in this, for one of the reasons why *Cæsar* inclined to attack *Britain*, was, because it's inhabitants succoured the *Gauls* both by land and sea; the fleets, therefore, that they sent for this purpose, were certainly stout ships, and not the leathern boats which they used in fishing on their own coasts, and to the use of which the *Romans* afterwards confined them. The true cause why they did not oppose the *Romans* by sea, was the loss of the best part of their fleet before, which they had sent to the assistance of the *Veneti*². As for the *Scots*³, they were engaged in reducing the isles, which a little before had thrown off their yoke, as their own historian tells us: and, after all, *Gildas*⁴ severely reflects upon this very circumstance of their not drawing together a fleet; which would have been absolutely absurd, if he had known the *Britons* at that time had no ships of war. To sum up all, *Cæsar*'s⁵ own relation is sufficient to shew that there is nothing pressing in this objection; but that the *Britons* made such a defence as their circumstances would allow, and the nature of his attempt required.

THIS expedition of *Cæsar*'s may seem to fall without the limits of this work, since they contended with him not

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at

IT

¹ De Bello Civil. lib. i. cap. 54. Solin. Polyhist. cap. 35. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iv. ² Selden. Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 2. ³ Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 14. ⁴ Epit. de Excidio Britan. ⁵ De Bello Gallico, lib. iv.

at sea, but on shore. It was, however, a naval expedition on his side, and undertaken chiefly for the sake of securing the dominion of the sea to the *Romans*: wherefore I conceive it will not be thought an unjustifiable digression in me, to touch on some remarkable circumstances. *Cæsar's* first expedition † was with a fleet of eighty ships, and a few galleys, on board of which he embark'd two legions². He attempted to land on the opposite coast of *Kent*, where he found a *British* army ready to receive him, who performed their parts so well, that even these *Roman* veterans were astonished, and contrary to their usual custom, betrayed a dislike to fighting: whence we may justly infer that this was not the first time the *Britons* had to do with invaders. The emperor³ *Julian*, a writer of distinguished parts, introduces *Julius* as leaping from his ship to encourage his frightened soldiers; but *Cæsar* himself tells us, that it was the Standard-bearer of the tenth legion, who, by this desperate action, encouraged the army to gain the shore, from which, with much difficulty, they drove the *British* inhabitants⁴. After this, *Cæsar* encamped on *Barham Downs*, where he waited a supply; in which, meeting with some disappointment, the *Britons* again gave him battle, and, as he owns, were repulsed with difficulty enough; insomuch, that when he had repaired his fleet, he judged it the wisest thing he could do to return to *Gaul*, and this accordingly he did, embarking his forces at midnight⁵. Happy had it been for the *Britons*, if, after so glorious a contest for the preservation of their freedom, they had concerted

† A. A. C. 52. ² Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 1. Vit. Hist. Lib. iv. Cæs. de Bello Gallico. lib. v. ³ Cæsar, ib. ⁴ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 25. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 3. ⁵ De Bell. Gall. lib. v. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 5.

certed proper measures for giving him as good a reception, in case of his making a second attempt; but they were deficient in discretion, though not in valour, and quarreling amongst themselves, *Mandubratius*, a traitor to his country, fled to *Gaul*, in order to invite his return.^d

CÆSAR was at that time returned to *Rome*; but his lieutenants in *Gaul* were providing a navy according to his directions, which consisted of no less than eight hundred sail, on board of which, when he came back, *Cæsar* embark'd a numerous army for *Britain*. He landed again in *Kent* †, without meeting any resistance; the *Britons* being astonished at the sight of ten times the force with which they had before contended. The *Romans* marched as far as the river *Stoure*, where, in a short space, the *British* monarch *Caswallan* engaged them with a formidable army. In this battle, the *Romans* forced their enemies to retreat; but in the evening, the *Britons* boldly attacked the *Roman* camp, and, when they found themselves unable to keep it, charged quite through the forces appointed to defend it, and recovered their Fastnesses. *Cæsar* marching forwards towards the *Thames*, *Caswallan* caused the ford where he was to pass, to be stuck full of sharp stakes, remaining with his army on the opposite shore, in order to have taken advantage of that confusion this contrivance must have occasioned; but the design was betrayed, and *Cæsar* past somewhat higher. The place, however, retains the name of *Coway Stakes*, near *Oatlands*, and is another proof that the *Britons* knew how to fight by land and by water. After this, *Caswallan* managed the war without fighting set battles, 'till *Cæsar* stormed his capital, which

^d De Bell. Gall. Hist. lib. v. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 7, 8.

† A. A. C 51.

which is thought to have been *Verulam*, near *St. Alban's*, and that some of the *British* princes submitted to *Cæsar*, when he also thought proper to make terms; ^e which *Cæsar* readily granted him, that he might be rid of this business with honour, which, if we believe his own commentaries, he effected; but we know that *Asinius Pollio* ^f said of those memoirs, that they were written with little accuracy, and small regard to truth; and *Suetonius*, as to this particular action, tells us, that he was fairly beaten by the *Britons* ^g; which may derive some credit to what our own histories say of this matter.

ON his return to *Rome*, *Cæsar* consecrated to *Venus* a military ornament, embroidered with *British* pearl ^h, a circumstance slight in appearance, but of consequence to my purpose, since by this consecration it is intimated, that *Cæsar* arrogated to himself the dominion of the sea; whence *Vincula dare Oceano*, to give laws to the ocean, and *Britannos subjugare*, to subdue the *Britons*, became convertible terms with subsequent authors, who all endeavour to place *Cæsar's British* expedition in this, as in far the most glorious light ⁱ.

AUGUSTUS, when he had settled the empire, thought of paying this island a visit ^j, but arriving in *Gaul*, he there heard of the revolt of the *Pannonians*, which obliged him to change his design ^k. Seven years after, however, he resumed it, and came again into *Gaul*, where ambassadors from *Britain* met him; and, on their promising to pay

^e Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 8, 11. Vit. Hist. lib. iv. Cæs. de Bell. Gal. lib. v.

^f Apud. Sueton. in vit. Jul. Cæs. cap. 56.

^g In vit. Jul. Cæs. cap. 25. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 11. Hor. Epod. vii.

^h Solin. Polyhist. cap. liv.

ⁱ Selden Mare Clausum, p.

1288. int. Oper. Tom. iv.

^j A. A. D. 1.

^k Hor. Carm.

lib. I. Od. 35.

Of the BRITONS.

II.

pay him tribute, he desisted a second time †. Finding, next year, that they did not keep their words, he prepared a third time for the invasion of *Britain*; but the inhabitants prevented him, by sending ambassadors, who offered in the capitol, sacrificed to the *Roman* gods, swore obedience in the temple of *Mars*, promised to pay tribute duly; and, which is more to our purpose, undertook to yield certain duties for the goods by them exported: which is a plain indication, that the *Romans* chiefly sought an acknowledgment of naval dominion, or superiority at sea¹. During the reign of *Tiberius*, the *Britons* kept fair with the *Romans*, by their prudence in this particular; for when some of the soldiers of *Germanicus* had been wrecked on their coast, they not only received them kindly, but sent them back to him safely. Thus these wise emperors maintained the reputation of the *Roman* power, without running any further hazards against a people martial in their dispositions, unenervated by luxury, tenacious of liberty, and yet useful as allies^m.

THE felicity of this country was then, as indeed it generally is, owing to the wisdom, courage, and public spirit of its prince. The name of this excellent monarch was *Cunobeline*, who reigned many years, and with great reputation; but in the latter part of his life, there fell out a misfortune in his family, which proved fatal to his subjects. One of his sons, whom the *Latin* writers call *Ad-minius*, behaved so ill, that his father was obliged to banish him; and he, like an abandoned traitor, repaired to *Caligula*, who had succeeded *Tiberius* in the empire, and excited

† A. C. 8. ¹ Langhorne's Introduction to the History of England, p. 83. Hor. lib. iii. Od. 5. ^m Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

Alban's,
Cæsar,
ch Cæ-
his busi-
n com-
Pollio †
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Venus a
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Paul, he
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Cæf. de
cap. 56.
r. Epod.
sum, p.
r. Carm.

cited him to invade his country in his worthless quarrel *. Nothing could be more welcome to that vain, and yet pusillanimous, prince, than this application; he, therefore, made such preparations, as if he really intended to subdue the whole island *. But weighing with himself the danger of such an enterprize, he resolved to content himself with an imaginary conquest. He sent the letters of *Admi-nius* to the Roman senate, as testimonies of the submission of the *Britons*; he built a mighty watch-tower upon the coast fronting *Norfolk*, as a monument of his pretended subjugation of the *Britons*, which, in after times, served for a kind of *Pharos*, and was called in the language of the natives *Britenhuis*, i. e. *Domus Britannica*, the *British* house; and, to compleat all, he drew down his army to the sea-shore, and having disposed them in battallia, he then commanded them to fill their helmets with cockle, and other shells, calling them the spoils of the ocean, due to the capitol, and to the palace °; which act of his, though it sufficiently spoke his vanity, yet it farther demonstrates, that the dominion of *Britain* and the empire of the ocean were held to be the same thing: and the greater *Caligula's* folly was, in thus arrogating to himself a victory he had never gained, the more glorious we must esteem that conquest would have been, the very notion of which made him so vain. *Cunobeline* did not long outlive this emperor; yet he was so happy as to die before the *Romans* set foot again in *Britain*.

H E

* Vit. Hist. lib. iv. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. Cap. 2. * A. D. 41.
 ° Vit. Hist. lib. iv. Sueton. in Calig. cap. 44. Oros. lib. vii. cap. v.

HE was succeeded by his son, whom the *British* writers stile *Gwydyr* ^p, a brave and generous prince, of whom the *Latin* historians say nothing; because the *Romans* gained no great honour by their wars against him. He, in the very beginning of his reign, refused to pay them tribute, because some *British* fugitives, who fled to the *Romans*, had not been delivered up; which shews that the *Britons* were incapable of bearing injuries, even from the lords of the world. Among these fugitives, there was one *Bericus*, a man of parts, but a traitor; he encouraged the emperor *Claudius* to think of invading and conquering *Britain* ^q. Accordingly he sent over his lieutenants, who began and prosecuted the war with success, and afterwards crossing the sea, himself subdued a great part of *South Britain* ^r, through the valour of his legions, and the intestine divisions of the *Britons*, who, had they been united, would undoubtedly have compelled him to quit the island ^r. For this conquest the emperor triumphed, and his lieutenant *A. Plautius* was allowed an ovation. On account of this victory he was complimented by the poets of his time, as the conquerer of the ocean, and the sovereign of the sea. *Suetonius* ^s tells us, that among the spoils of his enemies, he placed a *naval* crown by the *Civic*, in testimony of his having vanquished the ocean; and *Seneca* the tragedian celebrates this victory in the following lines: ^t which at once expresses, how high an idea was then entertained, of so extraordinary a discovery, and how much glory was supposed to arise, from this maritime victory.

En,

He

* A. D. Orof. lib.

^p Hist. Britan. lib. iv. Cap. 12. ^q Matt. Westm. ad A. D. 44. ^r A. D. 45. ^s Dio. Hist. lib. lx. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 17. ^t In vit. Claud. cap. 17. ^u In Octavia.

En, qui Britannis primus imposuit Jugum,
Ignota tantis Classibus textit freta.

*By him first vanquish'd, were the Britons shewn,
And Roman navies sail'd thro' seas unknown.*

YET we must not suppose, notwithstanding these pompous marks of conquest, that the *Britons* were absolutely subdued; the contrary of this appears plainly from the *British* histories; and, not obscurely, even from the *Roman* writers. *Arviragus*, who is supposed to have been the youngest son of *Cunobeline*, inherited the virtue as well as the dominions of his father, and after long harassing the *Romans* as an enemy, consented at last, upon honourable terms, to become their friend. That this martial monarch had rendered himself exceedingly formidable to *Rome*, might, if all other proofs of it were lost, be deduced from the following passage in *Juvenal*, where, bitterly inveighing against the gluttony of *Domitian*, he introduces one predicting, from the taking of an overgrown turbot^u,

Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.——

*Some mighty king thou shalt a captive make,
On Britain's throne Arviragus shall shake.*

The irony of this passage could not have been sharp or cutting, if this *British* king had not been a very potent prince, and one whose reputation was at once thoroughly established, and universally known.

THUS

^u Sat. iv. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 14. Vit. Hist. lib. iv. See also Lewis's British History, and Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 96.

THUS are we imperceptibly fallen as low as the reign of *Domitian*; yet some passages there are remarkable enough to oblige us to return to the mention of those reigns, which intervene between his and that of *Claudius*. The glorious enterprize of *Boadicea*, who, in the time of *Nero*, attempted and almost atchieved the driving the *Romans* entirely out of *Britain*, having no relation to maritime affairs, falls not within my province. Under the reign of *Vespasian*, who had himself commanded with great reputation in this island ^v, *Julius Agricola*, was sent general into this island ^{*}. He was a wise governor, as well as an excellent officer, signalized himself in the beginning of his administration, by the reduction of *Mona*, or *Anglesey*; [†] by the assistance, however, of *British* troops, who passed the narrow arm of the sea, which divides that island from *Britain* on horseback; and thereby surprized the inhabitants, so that they were vanquished, rather by fear, than force. Under the reign of *Titus*, *Agricola* projected a noble scheme; that of fixing the bounds of the *Roman* empire in *Britain*, and securing its subjects from the inroads of the barbarous nations inhabiting the northern part of the island. [‡] I speak this in conformity to the language of the authors, from whose authority I write; and not with any intention of blemishing the reputation of those gallant people, who so worthily defended their liberty against the *Romans*. In the prosecution of this design, *Agricola* advanced farther north, than any of his predecessors had done [†]; and observing, that two arms of the sea, almost cut in sunder one part of the island from the other, he resolved to fortify this *Peninsula*, and thereby shut out the *Scots* and *Picts*, which he accordingly

THUS

^v Tacit. in Agric.
Hist. lib. iv.

^{*} A. C. 72.
[†] Tacit. in Agric.

[‡] Idem, ibid. Vit.
[†] A. C. 85.

ingly performed². In the *Latin* tongue, these arms of the sea are called *Glota* and *Bodotria*; which most of our writers render the friths of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*; but they are with greater propriety stiled the friths of *Clyde* and of *Forth*.

HAVING thus secured the *man* province from all danger, he began to make the necessary dispositions for invading *Ireland*, as well as for examining and subduing the remaining part of *Britain*. With this view he fitted out a considerable fleet, and ordered it to sail northwards, looking into all the creeks and bays, in order to gain an exact knowledge of the coast, while himself and the army marched forward by land. This exceedingly alarmed the northern nations, who, as the *Roman* writers observe, gave all for lost, now the secret of their seas was discovered. The *Caledonians* defended themselves with great obstinacy against *Agricola*, but with indifferent success; and, in the mean time, were terribly harassed by the fleet, which put now into one port, then into another, and at length surrounded the island, and, if we may believe the ² *Roman* authors, subdued the *Orkades*, or islands of *Orkney*. * However, it is certain, that after having completed their design, this navy returned to the *Portus Rutupensis*, or as it ought rather to be read, *Rutupensis*, which is conceived to be *Richborough*, near *Sandwich*. This expedition gained great honour to *Julius Agricola*, and was looked upon, in those days, as a most heroic act; the boundaries of *Britain* being esteemed, by the *Romans*, the utmost limits of the world, as appears plainly from the accounts we have in *Tacitus*: and if any doubts remain as to his impartiality, since *Agricola* was his near relation, we may

² *Idem*, *ibid*.

² *Idem*, *ibid*.

* A. D. 72.

may put the fact out of dispute, by citing what *Juvenal* says on the same topic ^b.

— Arma quidem ultra

Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

*We, fame, beyond Juverna † have pursu'd,
And ev'n the distant Orkneys have subdu'd;
Our forces now remotest Britons fright,
In northern climates hardly reach by night.*

HISTORY informs us, that this expedition of *Agricola* was in the summer, which accounts for the last line, since in that season the *Romans* certainly found the days very long in the northern part of the isle; whence they concluded, that the inhabitants were content with a slender portion of rest: which seems to be the true meaning of their being satisfied with a short night. The tyrant *Domitian* taking umbrage at the great exploits of this excellent person, recalled him to *Rome*, and there took him off by poison ^c.

UNDER the reigns of the succeeding emperors, *Nerva* and *Trajan*, there happened little of consequence in this island; but the emperor *Adrian*, who succeeded *Trajan*, understanding that the northern nations made frequent incursions into the *Roman* province, came over hither; and, after gaining frequent advantages over them, he resolved to take the same method which *Agricola* had formerly done of bounding the province by a wall, or military entrenchment; which he accordingly cast up, and, as the manner of those

VOL. I.

C

times

^b Sat. ii.

† Ireland.

^c Tacit in vit Agric.

times was, strongly fortified. † This wall is said to have extended about eighty *Italian* milēs, from *Eden* in *Cumberland* to *Tyne* in *Northumberland*; though others say, it was from *Gabrosentum*, now *Gateshead*, or *Gateshead*, in the bishoprick of *Duram* to *Carlisle*, thereby abandoning a tract of country, seventy miles long and a hundred and forty broad, to the *Scots* and *Picts*; yet on his return to *Rome*, he caused a new coin to be struck, whereon he is stiled the restorer of *Britain*^d. In the reign of *Antonius Pius* one *Lollius Urbicus*, acted as his lieutenant in *Britain*, who was very successful in his wars against the northern nations, * and who having driven them beyond the friths of *Clyde* and *Forth*, re-edified *Agricola's* wall, and restored the *Roman* province to its full extent. ‡ About this time, *Sejns Saturninus* was *Archigubernus* of the *Roman* fleet here,^f but whether we are to understand thereby, that he was admiral, or arch-pilot, is doubtful. In succeeding times, the *Scots* and *Picts* recovered the country they had lost, and gained so many advantages over the *Romans*, that the emperor *Severus* came over in person, and with infinite difficulty, repulsed these invaders, * losing no less than fifty thousand men in the war; and at last was content to re-edify *Adrian's* wall, which he fortified with strong towers or bulwarks, assuming thereupon, the surname of *Britannicus Maximus*^e. He died at *York*, and, his body being burnt at *Aikham*, there is still to be seen a great mount of earth

† A. D. 123. ^d Dio hist. lib. lxxix. Spartian. in vit. *Adrian*. cap. ii. *Bed.* lib. i. cap. 5. ^e *Jul. Capitolin* in vit. *Anton.* ‡ A. D. 142. ^f *Pandect.* lib. xlv. tit. ad *Senatus*. consult. *Trebellian.* * A. D. 210. ^e *Herod.* lib. iii. *Spartian.* in *Severo*. *Dio. Histor.* lib. lxxvi.

earth raised upon that occasion, and called by the inhabitants *Sever's Hill* ^b.

IN the succeeding distractions of the *Roman* empire, *Britain*, like the rest of its provinces, fell into the hands of various masters, stiled by their own party, emperors, and by the rest of the world, tyrants. Amongst these, there is one who deserves to be remembered in this history; since how bad soever his title might be, he made a good prince to the *Britons*, and, which is still more to our purpose, carried the maritime power of this country so high, as not only to vindicate his own independency, but also to strike a terror into the whole *Roman* empire. It is true, many historians treat him as a notorious usurper, which seems to be a little hard; since those they stile emperors had no other title than what they derived from fighting on land, which seems to afford him some colour of right, in virtue of his power by sea. But, be that as it will, his story is sufficient to shew, that the *Britons* in the *Roman* provinces were, at this time, remarkable for their skill in naval affairs, and were able to set out such fleets as made them terrible to their neighbours.

DIOCLESIAN and *Maximian* having shared the empire between them, the latter, who possessed the western parts, finding the coasts much harrassed by pyrates of several nations, but chiefly *Saxons* and *Franks*, made choice of one * *Caius Carausius*, a man of known valour, to command the *Roman* fleet, for scouring the seas. ¹ Most writers say, that this man was a *Menapian* by birth, and of very mean descent: certain *Scotish* authors claim him

C 2

for

^b Vit. Hist. lib. 5. Oros. Lib. vii. cap. 17. Eutropius, lib. viii. Bed. lib. 1. cap. 5. Langhorn's Introduction to the history of England, p. 123. * A. D. 288. ¹ Nennius apud Camden. in Rom. Britan. Aurel. Victor. cap. 39.

for their countryman, ^k and with great appearance of truth. This charge he executed with equal courage and conduct; but, as the *Roman* historians say, not so honourably as he ought: yet, if we consider his future actions, and that these writers were the creatures of the emperors against whom he fought, we may safely doubt whether the character they give *Carausius*, ought to prejudice him in our opinions. They tell us, that, instead of chastising the pyrates as his duty directed, he too frequently admitted them to composition, and finding this policy discovered, he had recourse to another, neglecting to take them, till they had enriched themselves by a multitude of prizes, and then seizing them with their ill-got wealth to his own use. *Maximian* being informed of these practices, conceived a suspicion of his intending to set up for himself; which scheme, if this officer really had it in his head, he furthered, by endeavouring to prevent it. The method he took, was, by commissioning a person to assassinate *Carausius*: which failing, this cunning commander improved, to his advantage; for crossing with a strong squadron of ships over into *Britain*, he there persuaded a great part of the *Roman* army, and the *Britons* in general, to embrace his party, and so assuming the purple robe, he declared himself emperor, and maintained that dignity against all the power that his rivals could oppose him with. Besides this island, he held the port of *Gessoriacum*, now *Bulloigne* in *France*, and the adjacent coast, whence he so harassed *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, by his fleets, that, however averse *Maximian* might be to such a partner, he was at length compelled to purchase peace, by owning this man
for

^k Fordun Scotchchronicon, lib. ii. cap. 38.

for emperor of *Britain*: and there are still extant some of his coins, having on one side his head, with this inscription, IMP. CARAUSIUS. P. F. AUG. On the reverse, the portraits of two emperors joining hands, alluding to this agreement with *Maximian*. This coin is of silver, and found no where but in *Britain*¹.

HOWEVER he acquired the emperor, it is on all hands agreed, that he held it very worthily; for he governed the *Britons* with great justice and equity, maintained the dominion of the sea against all competitors, with much resolution: and, when the northern nations, that is to say, the *Scots* and *Picts*, began to vex his subjects with incursions, he made war upon them; and, having beat them in many engagements, he recovered all that the *Romans* had ever held in *Britain*, and, as some say, erected, as a mark of his conquest, that celebrated monument of antiquity, called *Arthur's Oven*; though other affirm this to be a temple of the god *Terminus*, and erected by another hand. When he had thus signalized his courage and conduct at their expence, he made peace with these nations, wisely foreseeing that he should, sometime or other, stand in need of their assistance against the *Roman* emperors, who he knew waited only for a favourable opportunity of exerting their hatred against him^m. He took care likewise by all means possible to increase his fleet; and which shews him to be a very politic prince, he negotiated a treaty with the *Franks*, and other nations, who were seated on the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and who were become famous for their

C 3

power

¹ Eutropius, lib. ix. Bed. Hist. lib. i. cap. 6. Aurel. Victor. in Casario. Speed's Chronicle. p. 254.

^m Hist. Brit. lib. v. cap. 3. Vit. Hist. lib. v. Fordun Scotichronicon, lib. ii. cap. 37. 38, 39. Bed. lib. i. cap. 6.

power at sea ; whereby it was stipulated, that they should send a strong fleet into the *Mediterranean*, which passing through the streights of *Gibraltar*, should join his navy in the *British* seas, and act in conjunction against the *Romans*. This, certainly, is a transaction worthy of being recorded in our naval history ; unless we have so far lost the spirit of our ancestors, as to be proud rather of being slaves to *Rome*, than of contesting the sovereignty of the sea, with that haughty people.

THE *Romans*, justly alarmed at so formidable a confederacy, which in an instant deprived them of any safe passage by sea, began to provide for putting a speedy end to this war. In order to this, *Constantius* and *Maximio* both applied themselves to raising forces by sea and land. The former undertook to march with an army into the territory possessed by the enemy in *Gaul* ; while the latter, from the naval magazines on the *Rhine*, fitted out a fleet of a thousand sail. While this was doing, *Constantius* besieged *Carausius* in *Bulloigne*, who, having the sea open, defended himself without much trouble, and thereby convinced his enemies, that while he held this advantage, of a thousand sail. While this was doing, *Constantius* having found a way to block up the port by a work of a new contrivance ; *Carausius* had no means of safety left, but by breaking through the *Roman* camp, which with a few gallant followers, he performed in a dark night ; and, embarking in a small ship, crossed over to *Britain*, where he had a strong fleet, and a powerful army. He quickly repented of this wrong step, when he was informed, that the very night after his departure, the sea had carried away all the works of the *Romans*, and left the port open. The next thing *Constantius* did, was to draw together all
the

the ships that could be had from every part of his dominions; and having stationed strong squadrons on the coasts of *Britain, Spain, and Gaul*, to prevent *Carausius* from joining his confederates, he sailed in person with the rest of his fleet through the streights of *Gibraltar*, to meet the *Franks*, whom he defeated so absolutely, and pursued his victory so closely, that there was not a man of them left^a. In the mean time *Carausius* employed his time in preparing the best he could for the defence of *Britain*; but one *Allectus*, a considerable officer in his service, and whom he had always treated as his bosom-friend; supposing that his death would put him in possession of all his power, treacherously murdered him, when he had reigned seven years, and then assumed the purple*.

THIS Allectus was far from having either the capacity, or the fortune, of his predecessors; though all our historians agree, that he kept his dominions and his forces. He was for some time superior in power at sea; but he employed that superiority, rather as a pyrate, than as a prince, sending out his squadrons to spoil the adjacent coasts of *Gaul*, and to interrupt the trade of all the *Roman* provinces. *Constantius* saw this with impatience; but, at the same time, took all the necessary precautions for putting an end to it. At length, he found himself strong enough to fight *Allectus* by sea; and with this view, sailed from the coast of *Gaul* towards that of *Britain*. *Allectus*, with an navy no way inferior to his, lay then at the *Isle of Wight*, whence on the first intelligence of the departure of the *Roman* fleet, he stood to sea, in order to intercept it; but it so happened, that *Constantius*, by means of a fog, passed him, and land-

C 4

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^a Eutrop. lib. ix. Bed. lib. i. cap. 6. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 25. Paulus Diac. lib. x. cap. 41. Aurel. Vict. cap. 39. Fordun Scotichronicon. lib. xi. capi 40.

* A. D. 294.

ed safely in *Britain*; which he had no sooner done, than from a foresight that the *British* fleet would infallibly beat his in a fair sea-fight; he caused his ships to be set on fire, that his soldiers might have no hopes of escaping, but by beating their enemies. *Allectus* quickly returned to *Britain* and put himself at the head of a small body of troops; but perceiving that the hearts of the people were entirely alienated from him, and that he was thereby become inferior on land, to those over whom he had a superiority at sea, he grew in a manner distracted; and, engaging rashly with *Asclepiodotus*, who commanded a party of *Roman* troops, his forces were routed, and himself having thrown away his purple robe, after a desperate defence was slain*. He held the empire, or rather bore the title of emperor, about three years; and there is yet extant a gold coin of his with this inscription, IMP. C. ALECTUS. P. F. AUG. On the reverse, SALUS AUG°. He seems to have lost himself by his rashness; for he certainly fought before the main body of the troops came up. These consisted of foreigners of all nations, drawn to his service from the hopes of pay; and who, as soon as they knew of his misfortune, resolved to satisfy their expectations, by plundering those they came to preserve. With this view they possessed themselves of *London*; but, as they entered the city, a new mischance befel them. Part of the *Roman* army, severed from the grand fleet at sea, by the mist before mentioned, landed at the mouth of the *Thames*, and entered the city immediately after them. Upon this an engagement ensued, wherein the foreigners were defeated, and cut

* A. D. 296. ° Aurel. Victor. in *Cæsarib.* Eutropius ubi supra. Eumen. Paneg. Constant. *Cæsar.* Speed's chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's history of Britain, p. 120.

cut to pieces; their commander, whose name was *Gallus*, endeavouring to save himself by flight, was pushed into and drowned in a little brook, called from thence in the *British* tongue, *Nant-Gall*, and by the *Saxions*, *Walbrook*.

In succeeding times, when the government of the *Roman* empire came to be better settled, proper officers were appointed for maintaining both civil and military government in *Britain*; but above all, due care was taken of naval affairs, and garrisons were placed in various ports, and particularly these which follow, *viz.* *Othona*, which *Camden* took to be *Hastings* in *Suffex*: *Dubris*, which certainly was *Dover*: *Lemmanis*, which was either *Hythe* in *Kent*, or some place near it; perhaps *Lime-Hill*: *Brannodunum*, *Branchester* in *Norfolk*, not far from the washes: *Gariannonum*, *Yarmouth*: *Regulbium*, *Reculver* in *Kent*: *Rittupis*, or *Rittupæ*, *Richborough* near *Sandwich*: *Ande-ria*, *Newenden* in *Kent*, and the port of the *Adurni*, now *Alkrington* to *Ederington*, near *Shoreham* in *Suffex*.

CONSTANTINE the great, as he was born in this island, so he was extremely careful of its concerns. On his death, and the division of the empire among his sons, it fell to the share of *Constantine* the eldest. After his murder, his younger brothers, *Constantius* and *Constans*, were both here, and *Gratianus* was by them made general of *Britain*. The emperor *Julian* sent over *Lupicinus* to repress the *Scots*, in which he was very successful.

Under

^p Hist. Britan. lib. 5, cap. 4. Vit. Hist. lib. v. Camden. Description. Britan. in Trinobant. Speed's chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's History of Britain, p. 120. ^q Selden Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 6, 7. ^r Sozomen. Europ. Vit. Hist. lib. vi. ^s Paulus Diaconus, lib. xi. cap. 18. Victor. in Valentin. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xiv. ^t Bed. lib. i. cap. 1. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx.

Under the emperors *Valentinianus* and *Valens*, *Theodosius* performed great things in this island, and having recovered the country between the two walls, he erected it into a province by itself, and called it *Valentia* ^u. After this, *Maximus* was general of the *Roman* forces in this island; who, having vanquished the *Scots* and *Picts*, was declared emperor by his army ^{*}. He carrying on great wars on the continent, transported thither the flower of the *British* youth, which was one principal cause of the misfortune that befel his country; for after a reign of six years, he was vanquished, and put to death in *Italy*; and so *Britain* returned to the obedience of the *Roman* emperors ^v. The emperor *Theodosius* sent over *Chrysanthus*, who governed here very worthily all the time of his reign ^z. In the nonage of the emperor *Honorius*, new disturbances were created by the *Scots* and *Picts*, which induced *Stilico*, who was the emperor's guardian, to send *Vitorinus* to command here, who having expelled the invaders, refortified the wall, and placed a legion in garrison to defend it; the same worthy person took care also to restore the maritime force of the island, whereby he secured it from the insults of those pyratival nations, who now began to infest the sea. *Claudian* in his panegyrick on *Stilico*, attributes all this to him; because done by his order, and by an officer acting under his authority. For thus he introduces the isle of *Britain* speaking to his patron ^{*}.

Me

^u Idem, lib. xxvii. *Claudian*. de Bello Getico, & in laud. Theodosii. ^{*} A. D. 381. ^v *Zozim. Hist.* lib. iv. *Fordun Schotichronicon*. lib. ii. cap. 42. ^z *Pomponius Lat.* in Theodosio. ^{*} A. D. 396.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Iemen
Movit, & infecto spumavit remige Thetys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis^r.

*Me too, by neighbours when almost devour'd,
Thou, Stilico, sustain'd—tho' Ireland pour'd
Her Scots abroad, and cover'd all the sea
With hostile fleets.—But now restor'd by thee
Those Scots, tho' join'd with Picts, I fear no more
Nor dread each changing wind should bring the Saxons o'er.*

BUT when *Alarick* the Goth made his first irruption into *Italy*, *Victorinus* with his legion was recalled out of *Britain*^z; and the affairs of the empire falling continually from bad to worse, the *Roman* forces he left behind, thought themselves at liberty to elect, in conjunction with the *Britons*, a prince of their own, or (as the phrase was in those times) an emperor. Accordingly they chose, and murdered, two in less than six months^a: then they set up one *Constantine*, merely for his name's sake, * who in a short time aspired to greater things than the bare dominion of *Britain*. On this account, he, like his predecessor *Maximus*, assembled the utmost force of the island, and therewith passed over into *Gaul*; where, by the help of these forces and his fleet, he performed many great things, till

^r Paneg. Secund. de Laud. Stilic.

^z Camden. Roman. Britan. Gulielm. Malmesbur. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 1.

^a Zof. Hist. lib. vi. Bed. lib. i. cap. 9.

* A. D. 047.

till the emperor *Honorius* made war against, and subdued him ^b. The *Britons*, in the mean time, were brought to the last extremity by the *Scots* and *Picts*, insomuch that the remainder of the *Romans*, giving the country for lost, at least for the present; buried their treasures, and transported themselves to other parts ^c. However, even after this, on their humble application to *Honorius*, *Ætius*, general of the forces in *Gaul*, had orders to send over a legion; which he did, and repeated the same favour some years afterwards ^d. This last legion was commanded by one *Gallio*, who having repaired, or rather rebuilt the wall, originally raised by *Severus*, and fortified the coast against the sudden invasions of the pirates, who then infested the *British* seas, plainly told the people, that the affairs of the empire would not permit them to pass over any more; but that for the future they must think of defending themselves as well as they could: and after many exhortations to behave with constancy and courage in the cause of their country, he embarked all the *Roman* troops * and left the *Britons* to their fortunes ^e.

THUS about four hundred and eighty years, according to the computation of the learned *Selden*, or four hundred and seventy, as the *Saxon* chronicle informs us, after the first invasion of this island by *Julius Cæsar*, the *Romans* quitted it, and all the rights they could pretend to ^f. For, this being a voluntary abdication, nothing can be plainer, than that they left the *Britons* as free as they found them.

And,

^b Beda, lib. i. cap. 1. Sozom. lib. ix. cap. 13. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 42. ^c Chron. Saxon. ad Ann. 418. ^d Pauli Diaconi, Hist. Miscel. lib. xiv. ^e A. D. 430. ^f Bed. lib. i. cap. 12. Gildas de Excid. Britan. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. iii. cap. 12. Zozim. Hist. lib. vi. Chron. Saxon. ad Ann. 435. ^f Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 9.

And, as it is evident that this nation exercised the dominion over the circumjacent seas, before the coming of the *Romans*, who likewise contended, that the possession of this island gave them a title to the like sovereignty; nothing can be more apparent than that it now reverted to the *Britons*. I say, nothing can be more evident, if we admit that the *Romans* acquired any right by conquest; which may seem doubtful, since they never subdued the whole island: and if so, the *British* title to this dominion, remained unimpeached. We are next to enquire, what the effects were of this desertion of the isle by the *Romans*, and in what situation the naval affairs of the *Britons* remained, when they were just left to themselves. A difficult task indeed, considering the dubious authority of the authors of whom we are to make use of; but a task necessary to be performed: since the dominion of the sea must have rested somewhere, we shall do our best to shew it rested with them.

THE *Scots* and *Picts* no sooner understood that the *Britons* were abandoned by the *Romans*, than they began to form designs not only of pillaging, as they were wont to do, the southern part of the island, but for making an absolute conquest thereof, or at least of a good part of it, which accordingly they attempted with a numerous army, and with a great fleet. † The first thing they did, was to demolish the wall, that it might be no obstacle to future incursions; then landing their forces behind the *Britons*, they so astonished them with numbers, that, they relinquished all thoughts of defence. These inroads having destroyed the chief cities, and interrupted agriculture, a famine

† A. D. 433.

mine ensued, which, however grievous to the *Britons* in one respect, was yet of service to them in another; for it destroyed multitudes of their enemies, compelled the rest to retreat, and so gave them time to recollect themselves^s. The issue of their deliberations, was, the sending over the bishop of *London* into *Armorica*, or *Britany*, in *France*; to demand assistance of their brethren settled there; and the reason assigned for this, in the *British* history, is very just and reasonable; for the bishop was charged to represent the chief cause of their weakness, to be the planting of that country, by the emperor *Maximus*; and the leaving there the greatest part of the *British* navy. This representation, had a proper effect upon the king of *Britany*; who, though he could not himself pass over to the assistance of his countrymen, yet, he sent over his brother *Constantine*; with a squadron of stout ships, and, two thousand men. This *Constantine* was crowned their king by the *Britons*, and by them surnamed *the Deliverer*, because he fought valiantly and successfully against their enemies, and, ruled worthily for ten years^h.

I KNOW very well, that many of our best writers reject this *Constantine*, and, would persuade us, that there never was any such prince; but that the whole is a fiction of the author of the *British* history. This notion, however, is so thoroughly refuted by a very learned writer, who long studied, and perfectly understood the *British* records, that I cannot conceive any impartial critic will censure my following his opinion, when they have carefully perused,

^s Hist. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 3. Vit. Hist. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. lib. i. Johan. de Fordun. Schoticron. lib. iii. cap. 11.

^h Hist. Brit lib. vi. cap. 4, 5. Vit. Hist. lib. vii. Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 138.

perused, and duly weighed his reasons¹: but what chiefly prevailed upon me, to follow the *British* history in this point, is, the authority of the *Saxon* annals, published by the late learned bishop of *London*. For these annals place the retreat of the *Romans* in 435; and the coming of the *Saxons* in 443; which is the very year after this king *Constantine* died; and though these annals do not mention him, yet, as they tell us nothing of what passed in that interval, I can see no cause why we should not rather follow the account given us by the *British* authors, of things which happened in this space of time, than leave such a chasm in our history, merely because other writers, who, none of them profess to write of the succession of the *British* kings, say nothing of this prince. Especially, since the *Scotch* historians own him, and there are other convincing proofs, from *British* record, of his having really reigned here; though perhaps there may be some error as to the length of his reign.

AT the time of his decease, he left three sons, *Constans*, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and *Uter*, fir-named *Pendragon*. *Constans* the eldest, was a very weak man, and by his father, destined to be a monk; the other two were children. *Vortigern*, a *British* nobleman, of great power, took *Constans* out of his monastery, and, to serve his own purposes, made him king. He governed for a time in his name; and, when he thought himself strong enough to rule without him, he caused him to be put to death, and then seized the kingdom; the children of *Constantine* flying to *Britain* †. This *Vortigern* it was, who, as the *Saxon* authors tell us, invited their countrymen over into *Britain*. He was, as all writers

¹ See Lewis's Ancient Hist. of Great-Britain, p. 157.

† A. D. 438.

writers agree, a very bad prince, who, by his tyrannical government, encouraged the *Scots* and *Picts* again, to invade the southern parts of the island, and so alienating the minds of his subjects from him, that he durst not rely on their assistance, even for the defence of their country : This is so rational an account of his strong inclination to foreigners, for which he is unanimously upbraided by all our authentic historians, that I cannot doubt its being truth *. The first *Saxons* who arrived, were *Horfa* and *Hengist*, two brothers, with their followers ; by whose assistance, *Vortigern* repulsed the *Scots* and *Picts*, and settled himself effectually in the kingdom. To fix them, without whose assistance his security could not continue here, he gave them lands in *Kent*, where they landed ; as also in the north, after they had beaten his enemies. These *Saxons* came over in three ships ; but, having thriven so well here, *Hengist*, who was a wise man, prevailed upon the king, first to give him leave to build a castle, and then to bring over a fresh supply of his countrymen, which he accordingly did, in a squadron of eighteen ships. With them, came over *Rowen*, the daughter of *Hengist*, a very beautiful and artful woman, whom *Vortigern* married, quitting for her sake, his former queen, by whom he had three sons ; and, inviting over, by her suggestion, a vast number of *Saxons*, he thereby so irritated the *Britons*, that they resolved to depose him ; which accordingly they did, and set up his son ¹.

THE

* Hist. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 9. Vit. Hist. lib. vii. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. Gildas de Excidio Britan. G. Malmesb. de gestis Reg. Angl. lib. i. ¹ Chronicon. Saxon. ad Ann. Dom. 449. Witi-kin'. de rebus Saxon. lib. i. Hist. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 10, 11, 12.

THE name of this young prince was *Vortimer*, a brave and worthy man †. He immediately raised an army, and as fast as he could, equipped a fleet, while his degenerate father meanly sided with strangers, against his subjects. The *British* writers say, that *Vortimer* defeated the *Saxons* in four battles; the first on the river *Derwent*; the second, at *Ailesford*, in *Kent*, where *Horfa* was slain; the third was on the sea-shore, on the loss of which, they fled to the *isle of Thanet*, where they thought they should have been safe; but *Vortimer* having now raised the spirits of his subjects, and withal got together a considerable fleet; the *Saxons* found themselves obliged to try their fortune in a naval engagement, in which they were beaten for the fourth time, and obliged to fly home, leaving their wives and children behind them in the *Isle of Thanet*, nor had they ever returned, if *Vortimer* had lived; but he was shortly after poisoned, by the contrivance of his mother-in-law^m. It is true, the *Saxon* chronicle takes no notice of any of these battles, except that of *Ailesford*; wherein they say, they were victorious; but acknowledge that *Horfa* was there killed; which concession, with the circumstance of the *Saxons* never owning they were beat at all, seems to support the credit of the *British* history.

AFTER the death of *Vortimer*, the *Britons* unaccountably invited *Vortigern* again to the throne. He, persisting in his old sentiments, recalled *Hengist*, who soon brought over such crowds of *Saxons*, that, when the king would have restrained him, it was not in his power; inasmuch, that after some fruitless struggles, he at length fled into

VOL. I. D. Wales

† A. D. 4631.

^m Hist. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 13, 14. Vit. Hist. lib. vii.

Wales, and left the best part of the island to their mercy: and thus, as their own writers agree, not more by their own valour, than by the weakness of an uxorious king, the *Saxons* first seated themselves in *Britain*.

In this period of time, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, the second son of *Constantine*, was become a man; and, being invited by the *Britons* to prosecute his claim to the crown, he got together a good fleet, and embarking thereon ten thousand men, landed at *Totness* *. The first thing he did, was to pursue *Vortigern*, whom he defeated and killed; and then turned his arms against the *Saxons*, whom he defeated also in several battles; and in one of them, killed the famous *Hengist*, either in fight, or, as the *British* history reports, after he had made him prisoner †. It is true, there is no notice taken of this in the *Saxon* annals; but then they say nothing of what happened in that year; but tell us in the next, that *Esa* succeeded *Hengist*, which is a circumstance very favourable to the account which we have given: since as we before observed, there is no instance of their commemorating any defeat, though in setting down their victories they are very exact. After this victory, *Aurelius* made a peace with the *Saxons*, and was, not long after, at their instigation poisoned. It is very remarkable, that *Baulet Diaconus* ° mentions this british king, and tells us, that by his valour he supported his sinking country.

UTHER, Sir-named *Pendragon*, that is, dragon's head, from his bearing the head of a dragon in his Ensigns ‡, succeeded his brother, and carried on the war against the *Saxons* successfully sometimes, and at others was much distressed by them; so that he was constrained to treat them

* A. D. 481.
Hist. lib. vii.

† Hist. Britan. lib. viii. cap. 5, 6, 7. Vit.
° Hist. Miscel. * A. 500.

them as the *Æthelb* afterwards did the *Normans*; that is, to yield them provinces, and content himself with homage, instead of absolute sovereignty; and therefore, under his reign, we find several *Saxon* principalities established in this island. It likewise appears from the *Saxon* annals, that several battles were fought against the *Britons* in his reign, though he is never mentioned; because, in those annals, they speak of no *British* princes, except such as were by them either beaten or killed. In his reign also the kingdom was invaded from *Ireland*; but by the courage of this prince the enemy was repulsed, and the public tranquillity restored; to preserve which, he equipt a very considerable fleet, and this together with his dominions, he left to his son the famous *Arthur*.

This prince whose glory like that of many other martial monarchs, turns more to his prejudice than advantage, by giving an air of fable to his history, and bringing his real deeds in question, through the extravagant pains bestowed by those who recorded them; this worthy prince, I say, atchieved great things, and intended greater. Our learned antiquary *Leland*, long ago vindicated the reputation of his victories against the cavils of the critics; who, because they do not find things exactly written in barbarous times, when indeed it is well they were written at all, will have them to be absolute fables; as if the memory of facts could not out-live their circumstances, the contrary of which every day demonstrates to be a truth. My design will not permit me to say more upon this subject; nor indeed had I said so much, if *Arthur* had not been one of the most eminent of our naval heroes. For he, as the

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British

British history informs us, which Mr. *Selden* did not disdain to transcribe, annexed to his kingdom of *Britain* the six insular provinces, viz. *Ireland*, *Iceland*, *Gotland*, the *Orcades* or *Orkneys*, *Norway* and *Denmark*^a, which throwing off the yoke under the reign of his successor, were afterwards recovered by king *Malgo*, though held by the *Britons* after that but for a little time.

THUS we have brought down the naval history of this ancient nation to the time of its declension, and their being compelled by the *Saxons* to retire into *Wales*, and the counties adjacent thereto, where, according to their own historians, the *Britons* for several ages preserved some maritime strength. If any should esteem this so much time thrown away, and should surmise that it had been better we had begun our history lower, that we might have written with more certainty; the answer is ready, and I hope satisfactory. Many of our wisest antiquaries are of opinion, that we derive our excellent constitution from the *Britons*, their laws being translated by the command of *Saxon* princes, and incorporated with their own. If then their constitution might be the model of ours, why not their naval dominion the source of ours? We are the descendants of the *Saxons*; but then, they were the successors of the *Britons*, and did not think it beneath them to claim under them in this respect. Thus the glorious king *Edward I.* in a letter he wrote to the pope, in asserting his sovereignty over *Scotland*, derives it from the conquest of *Arthur*; so that, it seems, his acts were matter of record and history then; though in the eyes of some they pass for fables now. On the whole, therefore, if it be right to trace a title as
high

^a Hist. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 10. Vit. Hist. lib. viii.

high as possible, that is, as high as vouchers can be found to support it; we are well justified as to the pains we have taken; and as to the certainty of later records, as we state them in their proper periods, we lose nothing by shewing whence they were derived.

It may not be amiss to observe, that we follow some very great authorities, in paying this respect to the *British* history. *Cambden* himself though he suspects it in the gross, yet supports many historical passages in his great work of the description of *Britain* from *Nennius*, and other *British* writers. The *Scottish* historian *Buchanan*, though he treats the work of *Jeffrey of Monmouth* with great contempt, yet he acknowledges the history of *Arthur*, and gives more light into some parts of it than any other author. The profound *Selden*, who studied our antiquities with equal application and judgment, proceeds likewise in this track. To conclude, the immortal *Shakespeare*, whose works proclaim him as great a patriot as he was a poet, shewed a strong inclination to preserve the memory of our *British* worthies, by dedicating to their honour several of his plays, such as, the tragedy of king *Lear*, *Cymbeline*, *Lochrine*, &c. and the sublime *Milton* had thoughts of doing the same; though he seems to have altered his mind when he wrote his history.

IF so little certainty, occur in what the world has generally esteemed matters of moment, we may very well suppose, that there is less still to be gleaned up, from ancient writers, within this period, in reference to *Commerce*, yet something there is, for what was there, save the thirst of gain, that could establish a regular intercourse, between countries so distant, as *Phœnicia* and the *British* isles. Yet such a correspondence there was, nor are we left quite in the dark, as to the motives upon which it was founded.

The *Phœnicians* in those early days the greatest traders in the world, visited these islands for the sake of their tin, which was excellent in its kind, and of which they had great plenty, and for this reason they bestowed upon them the name of *Cassiterides*¹, the reader will permit me to give him two instances with respect to the commercial spirit of those ages, which are equally instructive and entertaining.

It was in *Spain* in which the *Phœnicians* had potent colonies and fruitful territories, that they fixed the *Staple* of their trade with those islands beforementioned, and so jealous it seems, they were of having their route to the *British Indies* discovered, that a ship laden with tin being chased by a *Roman* vessel of greater force, the captain and owner, wilfully run her on shore, that he might have a chance for drawing his eager enemy into the same misfortune, or at least, be secure of preventing his rich cargo from falling into his hands, and thereby tempt the *Romans* to think of opening a passage to those islands themselves. This conduct of his, was not only approved, but applauded by his countrymen, who made him ample satisfaction for his cargo. We are indebted for this intelligence to *Strabo*², one of the most learned and authentic writers of antiquity. The other passage is to be met with in *Solinus*

¹ Strab. Geogr. lib. iii. p. 147. These islands are stiled *Cassiterides* from the greek word *cassiteros* which signifies tin; just as from the latin word *stannum* we have formed *stanneries* to signify tin works. In the like manner among the *Indian* nation called the *Drangi*, there was a city named *Cassiteron* from its being a great mart for tin. *Stephans*, de urbibus. also mentions in the *Indian* sea an island called *Cassitera* for the same reason.

² Geogr. lib. iii. p. 175. Where we have express mention that the *Romans* were exceedingly solicitous to intercept some of these tin ships.

mus, who assures us, that the inhabitants of the *Cassiterides* would not part with their valuable commodities for *money*, but insisted upon having *goods for goods*; now this could not arise from a spirit of barbarity, for the use of money was known to the *Britons*, though the metal they made use of for that purpose, was either copper or iron, but flowed from a spirit of *traffic*, and there is nothing absurd in supposing, that they either re-exported these *foreign* commodities, or manufactured some of them, and then sold them to other nations^u; there being no greater skill required for that, than for extracting and refining metals.

The goods and commodities of *Britain* in those early times were corn, cattle, hides, hounds, pearls, lead, tin, silver, and gold. The two first metals were of their own growth, but for the two last, I presume they had them from other nations in exchange. In process of time, when by their intercourse with the *Romans*, they were grown more polite; the *Britains* no doubt extended their trade, and tho' we have no authorities to enable us to give a distinct account of this matter: yet there is a passage in *Tacitus*, which proves it in the general very strongly, for he assures us, that the people of *Cornwall* by their constant intercourse with tra-

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ders,

^u De Britannis cap. xxv. He says they have no mercats there, and will deal with strangers no otherwise than by barter. But *Strabo* in the place before cited mentions them as a sober and civilised people, who wore commonly black garments, and particularly an inner or under robe reaching down to their ankles, girt under their breasts with a girdle, and walking commonly with staves in their hands.

^v I might have cited *Strabo* also, in support of what is here advanced. He informs us that notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the *Phœnicians*, this navigation could not be long concealed from the *Romans*. *Publius Crassus* was the first of their captains who visited these isles, who found the inhabitants very much addicted to peace and commerce by sea.

ders, became more courteous and civil, then the rest of their countrymen ^w. And the same observation occurs in another antient writer ^x; so that notwithstanding the obscurity in which this subject is involved, we have the clearest certainty, that our ancestors even in the most early times, knew the value of their native commodities, and in consequence of that knowledge, procured for their own use, those of other nations; and therefore these facts, drawn from *Greek* and *Latin* writers, whose authorities alone will pass for evidence with the critics, ought at least to have so much weight, as to render what is said to the same purpose in the *British History* of our intercourse with northern nations not altogether so incredible, or ridiculous, as some would represent it.

THERE can be no doubt made, that when the *Romans* had fully reduced all the southern part of this isle, and had introduced their customs and manners among the natives, they must have made a great change in the face of affairs, introduced a more elegant and sumptuous way of living, which consequently was favourable to trade; and we have just reasons to believe, caused abundance of good towns to be erected in places that were held convenient in that respect ^y. It is the conjecture of a most learned and judicious prelate, that *London*, called by the *Romans* *Augusta*, owed its rise to this ^z; but for my part, I rather believe, that it was a fortress and port too in the time of the *Britons*, and that it was afterwards altered, rebuilt and re-

^w Tacit. in Vit. Agric. ^x Diodor. Sicul. ^y See what our learned Camden says upon this subject, in his admirable *Britannia*, speaking of the Romans in Britain. ^z Bp. Stillingfleet in his Discourse concerning the Antiquity of London, in the Second Volume of his *Ecclesiastical Cases*.

re-peopled by the *Romans*. We may form some judgment of the size of the towns in those days, by what several historians relate of the mischief done here, and at *Verulam*, by the *Britons*, when they endeavoured to throw off the *Roman* yoke under queen *Boadicea*. They then destroyed both *Verulam* and *London*, and in these two places, they cut off, as one historian says, seventy thousand ^a, or as another affirms, eighty thousand citizens ^b. Now, at that time, it is agreed, that *London* was not so considerable a place as *Verulam*, and besides, the *Roman* general had withdrawn out of *London*, all who were willing to quit the place; so that as *Tacitus* expressly tells us, there were none left behind, except such as through age and infirmities were unable to leave it, or such as were so taken with the delights of it, that even the approaching danger could not induce them to leave it ^c. If therefore in such circumstances, such numbers were killed in two places only, we must conclude from thence, that the country under the obedience of the *Romans*, was very populous. Yet in succeeding times, and when they were blessed with a long and general peace, the *Roman* dominion much farther extended, and beyond all comparison better settled, the southern parts of *Britain* must have been in a far more flourishing condition.

WE have very large, and very accurate accounts of the several colonies planted, the many fortresses raised, and the disposition of the great roads, which, with infinite diligence

^a Tacitus in Vit. Agric. See also our excellent countryman Mr. Bolton, in his most judicious and elegant work, entitled, *Nero Cæsar*.

^b Dio in Xiphilin. p. 168. See also Eutrop. Epitom. Hist. Rom. lib. vii.

^c It is observed by Tacitus, that it was the great opulence of these places which exposed them to the fury of the *Britons*.

ligence, and no less skill, the *Romans* caused to be raised through all parts of *England*. We have very learned, and very curious dissertations upon their inscriptions, coins, and other antiquities, which have escaped the sharp teeth of time, and have been preserved to our days; all which plainly shew, that they were a very ingenious and polite, as well as a great, a wise, and a brave people^d. But still there seems to be wanting a political view of the *Roman* government in *Britain*, and of its effects, towards which, as occasion offered, we have given some hints in this chapter; but, without doubt, the thing deserves to be considered much more at large; and if it was attempted by any learned and able person, it would, without question, afford both entertainment and instruction.

THIS would be now a much easier task than in former times, when so little was known of those matters, that must be previously understood, before any certain and distinct notions could be formed about it; but when these matters are tolerably well settled, and when there is no longer any difficulty of obtaining a tolerable view of the state of *Britain*, while it remained a *Roman* province, it would be much more useful to endeavour at collecting a rational view of their government, civil and military, the number of the inhabitants of their several towns distinguished into proper classes, the strength of their forces maintained here at different times, the several improvements that were made while they were in possession of the island; for that they did make great improvements, their historians affirm, and the monuments still remaining prove; all
which

^d See the many discourses of our famous antiquaries Camden, Selden, Burton, &c. but more especially Horsey's *Britannia Romana*.

which would contribute to give the generality of readers better ideas of the *Roman* power and wisdom, than they are like to attain from the reading of dry discourses, about the difference of letters upon inscriptions, or the use of this or that instrument in sacrifices*. That during the flourishing state of the *Roman* empire, their provinces here, had a full share of this prosperity, and that the *Britons*, who lived in subjection, copied their manners, till they were corrupted by their luxury; which, with the share they had frequently taken in the civil wars of the empire, rendered them an easy prey to barbarous invaders, is commonly known, and well enough understood; but as to the particulars before-mentioned, which would enable us to make a comparison between the condition of the people in this island, then, and in succeeding times, we know very little, and our want of knowledge in this respect, has been the source of a great variety of errors, that one would wish to see confuted and exposed, as they deserve†.

* I do not pretend to condemn these inquiries, but only to wish they were conducted and applied to some more material points.

† What gives me concern, is, to see our writers, so enthusiastically fond of *Roman* power, and so unreasonably severe upon the ancient *Britons*.



C H A P. II.

The Naval History of the SAXONS from their first seating themselves in this island, to their being subdued by the DANES; containing the Space of about five hundred Years.

WE have very copious accounts of the ancient Saxons, before they transported themselves out of Germany, as well in other authors, as their own ^a. They defended themselves against the Romans with equal firmness and success, manifesting the love of liberty, not only by a generous contempt of death in the field; but also by studiously avoiding luxury in times of peace; for which they are, deservedly famous ^b. On the declension of the Roman empire, they became noted for their pyracies at sea; insomuch, that the emperors were forced to create a new officer here in Britain, called the *Count of the Saxon Coast*, purely to repel their invasions ^c. In succeeding times, they infested the coasts of France as well as Britain, and began to threaten greater exploits than they had hitherto undertaken ^d. We must, however,

^a Witichindus de rebus Saxon. Tacit. de morib. German. Sidon. Apollinar. Ammian. Marcellin. Hist. lib. xxviii. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 15. ^b Tacit. ubi supra. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xiv. cap. 3. ^c Notit. Dignitat. Occid. cap. 72. Joseph Scaliger. ad Aufon. lib. ii. cap. 6. & Guliel. Camden. in Britan. p. 96. ^d Ethelwerd. Hist. lib. i. Henric. Huntingd. lib. ii. Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Epist. ad Numantium.

however, observe, that they were stiled pyrates only by their enemies, who felt the effects of their arms; for, as to themselves, they looked on this course of life as a noble and necessary employment, for reasons which will presently appear.

THE Saxon writers say, that they were invited into Britain by king *Vortigern*, in order to assist him against the *Scots* and *Picts*; but as we before observed, the *British* historians differ from them in this particular, and assert, *Hengist* and *Horsa* landing with their forces in *Kent*, king *Vortigern*, who was then at *Canterbury* sent for them, and received them into his service, without any previous invitation. This account is very natural, and the circumstances attending it highly deserve the reader's notice. As soon as they were brought before him, says my author*, he cast his eyes upon the two brothers, who excelled all the rest both in nobility, and gracefulness of person; and having taken a view of the whole company, asked them of what country they were, and what was the occasion of their coming into his kingdom? to whom *Hengist* (whose years and wisdom entitled him to a precedence) in the name of the rest, made the following answer. Most noble king, *Saxony*, which is one of the countries of *Germany*, was the place of our birth, and the occasion of our coming, was to offer our service to you, or some other prince. For we were driven out of our native country, for no other reason, but that the established usage of the kingdom required it. It is the custom of that place, that, when it comes to be overstocked with people, our princes from all provinces meet together, and command all the youth of the kingdom to assemble before them: then casting lots, they make choice of the strongest, and ablest of them, to go into foreign climates,

* Hist. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 10. Vit. Hist. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 443.

mates, to procure them a subsistence, and free their native country from a superfluous multitude of people. Our region therefore of late being actually over-stocked, our princes met; and, after lots cast, made choice of the youth which you see in your presence, and have obliged us to obey the custom that had been established of old. And us two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, they made generals over them, out of respect to our ancestors who enjoyed the same honour. In obedience, therefore, to laws so long held sacred, we put out to sea, and, under the happy guidance of (*Woden*) *Mercury*, have arrived in your kingdom.

THE *Saxon* annals acknowledge, that *Hengist* and *Horfa* came with no more than three ships; but that the fertility of the *British* soil, and the vices of its inhabitants induced them to think of sending for more of their countrymen, in hopes of seating themselves here^f. Another of their historians gives still a fairer and a fuller account of this matter. The *Saxons*, says he, made for some time a civil return to the *Britons* for their friendship; but by degrees, perceiving the country to be of a large extent, the soil fruitful, and the inhabitants little inclined to feats of arms; considering further, that themselves and many of their brethren were destitute of settled habitations, they began to find fault with their pay, to murmur at the quantity of provisions that were furnished them; and, daily encreasing their numbers, they, at last, on these frivolous pretences, made peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, and, in conjunction with them, turned their arms upon the poor *Britons*^g. In order to have a just notion of this matter, the reader must be informed,

^f Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 449.
Saxon. lib. ix. cap. 2.

^g Witichindus de rebus

informed, that two *Saxon* chiefs, *Ocha* and *Ebissa*, with forty stout ships, had waisted the *Orkneys*, and afterwards seated themselves and their followers, in the western isles and coasts of *Scotland*, which on the invitation of *Hongist*, they quitted, in order to share in his fortunes. Though most of our writers call these invaders by the common name of *Saxons*; yet, in truth, there were three *German* nations, whence issued those swarms of foreigners, who now took possession of this island, viz. the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*. The *Saxons* erected here three principalities, viz. the east, south, and west *Saxons*. The *Angles* were, for some time, distinguished into *East-Angles*, *Mid-Angles*, *Mercians*, and *Northumbrians*. As for the *Jutes*, they settled in *Kent*, and in the isle of *Wight*; and, in this last mentioned place, their posterity remained so long unmixed, that, several ages after, the west *Saxons* called the inhabitants of that island *Jutes*.

For some time after their first settlement, they frequently encouraged fresh supplies, and sometimes whole colonies to come over; but, after they had secured their possessions, and fixed their respective principalities, they applied themselves entirely to the care of things at home, and very imprudently concluded, that keeping up great armies would secure them from foreign Invasion. It was near three hundred years before they became absolute lords of that part of the island, which they called *England*; and in this space, one *Saxon* prince or other entertaining all new comers in his service, with a view of defending his own

^h Nennius Hist. Britan.

ⁱ Chronicon. Saxon. p. 12, 13. Gul. Malmesb. de gestis Reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 1. Henric. Huntingdon. Hist. lib. ii. Vit. Hist. lib. viii.

^k Chronicon. Saxon.

ad Ann. Dom. 743.

own dominions, or encroaching on those of his neighbours, there were few rovers on the coast. But, in process of time, the *Saxons* changed their policy, and, by studying to keep the island to themselves, created a greater mischief than that which they endeavoured to avoid; for, while they received and employed foreigners in their wars, their intestine divisions did not depopulate their kingdoms, one evil balancing the other. Yet, now, the consequence of this management, and their altering their conduct, brought upon them a greater mischief; for it drew over such shoals of strangers in hopes of employment and settlement, that the *Saxons*, in their own defence, were obliged to fortify their coast. Though they had the example of the *Britons* before them, they suffered themselves to be distressed for want of a naval strength; not having learned, as yet, that unerring maxim in policy, *that power is best preserved, by the use of those means, by which it was obtained.*

In one thing, they either followed the old *British* model, or brought the like custom with them from *Germany*, viz. allowing a pre-eminence to one of their princes, who, while the rest governed only within their respective dominions, had the superiority over the whole; and thence, by way of distinction, was stiled *King of the English Men*¹. This office, in some sort, resembled that of a *Dictator*, and, like it, was sometimes useful, sometimes detrimental; and, at last fatal to the people. *Offa*, the eleventh king of the *Mercians*, having attained this dignity, began to shew a disposition of ruling absolutely over his neighbours; for which he was better qualified than any of his predecessors,

¹ See Speed's Chronicle, in his account of the Saxon government.

fore, having parts, as well as power, superior to most of his contemporaries *. His ambition, however, united the *British* princes in *Wales*, and the *Saxon* kings in *England*, in an alliance against him; but he baffled their united force, as much by his wisdom, as by the strength and success of his arms. To secure himself against the incursions of the *Britons*, he threw up a strong entrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river *Dee*, and, running along the mountains, ended at the fall of the *Wye*, near *Bristol*. This stupendous work, the *Britons* called in their own language, *Clawdh Offa*, and the remains of it are still known by the names of *Offa's Ditch* ^m; and having thus secured himself on this side, he turned his forces against his *Saxon* neighbours. They, in their distress, applied themselves to *Charles* the great, king of *France*, for protection, who wrote letters in a high style to *Offa*, exhorting, or rather commanding, him to desist from his enterprizes. But these, instead of producing the desired effect, engaged that magnanimous prince to turn his thoughts on the proper means of securing his dominions from foreign attempts, which he soon saw could no other way be done, than by keeping up a naval force. He therefore applied himself to the raising a considerable fleet; which rendered him so formidable, that *Charles*, who was already very powerful, and who became afterwards emperor, and in a manner lord of the continent, was glad to embrace his friendship; and accordingly an alliance was negotiated between them, by *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*, a person distinguished for his great learning, and other accomplishments, of which we have

VOL. I.

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still

* A. D. 755. ^m Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. ii. Ethelwerd. Chronic. lib. ii. cap. 19. Roger. Hovend. p. 409.

still remaining many authentic testimonies ^a. This step procured *Offa* both peace and reputation, during the remainder of his life; so that, in spite of the efforts of his enemies, he died quietly, after a glorious reign of thirty-nine years †, leaving to his successors this useful lesson; *that he, who will be secure on land, must be supreme at sea* °.

It must be observed, that it was under the reign of this prince, that the *Danes* first set foot in *England*; and, if they had always met with such a reception as they then did, they had ve. probably abandoned all hopes of fixing here; for they were immediately forced to put to sea, and some of them were slain ^p. A little after his death, they began to infest the coast of *Northumberland*, where they did incredible mischief; spreading themselves over the country, like locusts; and when they had eaten up all they could meet with, where they first landed, hoisted sail for some new place. It happened unfortunately, that the remains of the *Britons* had still so inveterate a hatred against the *Saxons*, that, instead of joining with them to repress these new invaders, which was certainly their interest, they, on the contrary, assisted them against their old oppressors. *Eggbryht*, king of the *West-Saxons*, having raised himself to the sovereignty of *England*, equitted a fleet, and defeated a *Danish* squadron of thirty-five ships, at *Charmouth*, in *Dorsetshire*, with prodigious slaughter; yet this did not hinder them two years after, from landing with a vast force in *Wales*, where they were joined by their confederates the *Britons*. King *Eggbryht* opposed them, both with a fleet and army; and though he was not able to

^a Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 5. Alcuin. Oper. in Epist. p. 1669. † A. D. 795. ° Chronicon Saxon. p. 65.

^p Ibid. ad Ann. Dom. 787.

to do much by sea, yet, coming to a general engagement on shore, he defeated the enemy, compelling the *Britons* to fly to the mountains, and the *Danes* to their ships^a. This kind of war was long continued, and exceedingly weakened the *Saxons*. Their authentic chronicle informs us, that king *Ethelstan*, in the life-time of his father, commanded the *British* fleet, and, off *Sandwich*, defeated the *Danes* in a bloody battle, taking nine of their ships, and obliging the rest to leave the coast; yet, soon after, they returned with three hundred and fifty sail; and, landing, took *Canterbury*, and other places; and afterwards *London*^r. From this time forward, the *Saxons* in a manner abandoned all thoughts of naval affairs, and sought only how to fortify their cities, and to defend themselves as well as they could against their barbarous enemies, after they were landed. This was a fatal mistake; for, by thus permitting the enemy to land without interruption, small Bodies of *Danes*, whom they might easily have cut off, had they attacked them separately, united themselves into irresistible armies; and, being by degrees accustomed to conquest, and driving the inhabitants from the coasts, they at last thought of settling, and being themselves equally proud and lazy, made a kind of slaves of the country people, obliging them to plow, sow, and reap for them as their masters.

SUCH was the situation of things, during the reigns of *Ethelwolf*, *Ethelbert*, and *Ethelred*; so that when *Alfred*, or *Elfred*, came to the throne ‡, he had, properly speaking, a kingdom without subjects. The country was destroyed;

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all

^a Ibid. ad Ann. Dom. 833, 835.
851. ‡ A. D. 871.

^r Ibid. ad Ann. Dom.

all the cities and great towns demolished, and the people worn out by continual fatigue, having been sometimes compelled to fighting nine or ten battles in a year. In short, their wealth, their strength, their spirits were exhausted; and, instead of attempting to defend themselves as they were wont, they began every where to submit to the *Danes*, and to embrace rather a settled slavery, than a precarious freedom, in a country, now become a desert, and where it was a difficult matter to find subsistence, even when for a small time released from the fear of enemies. The king, though in this low condition, did not despair of the public safety; but with equal vigour and prudence applied himself at once to the management of the war, and to the conduct of public affairs; so that, in a short time, encouraged by his example, the *Saxons* began to resume their spirits, and in many battles defeated the *Danes*, compelling them, as often as it was in their power, to quit their country; and, when they found this impracticable, permitting them to live amongst them upon reasonable conditions, and in a regular way*.

THERE were two maxims which the king steadily pursued, and thereby extricated himself from his troubles. The first was, fighting the enemy, if possible, at sea; of which we have frequent instances in the *Saxon* chronicle, and almost always with advantage; by the steady pursuit of which method, he had constantly a fleet, and considerable numbers of experienced sailors. But, as it was impossible to guard all the coasts of his dominions; and, as the

* After. Meneven. in vit. Alfræd. Mag. Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gestis Reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. 4. Henric. Huntingdon. Hist. lib. v. p. 349. Roger. Hoved. p. 416. Ethelwerdi Chronicon. lib. iv. cap. 3. Chronicon. Saxon. p. 82.

the enemies squadrons were frequently superior to his own, he was sometimes obliged to fight on shore; and, in this case, he likewise used all imaginable expedition, that the enemy might not have time, either to gain intelligence, or to get refreshment. His other maxim was, to have always in his court the ablest men, not only in the sciences, but also in arts; and to converse with them frequently and familiarly. By this means he came to the knowledge of many things, by a comparison of informations, of which even those, from whom he learned them, were ignorant; and by his superior judgment, so adapted the intelligence that he received, as to render his small force successful, both at sea and land, against his numerous enemies.

IN maritime affairs, he was particularly skilful; and, as we have authentic memoirs of his reign, one cannot but be amazed at the sagacity he discovered in providing a kind of ships of a new construction, devised by himself; which gave him infinite advantages over people continually practised in naval armaments, and whose experience, therefore, ought to have rendered them his superiors in this art. He considered with himself, that, as the fleets of these invaders were frequently built in a hurry, hastily drawn together, meanly provided, in respect to victuals and rigging, and crowded with men, a few ships of a larger size, built in a new manner, of well seasoned materials, thoroughly supplied with ammunition and provision, and manned by expert seamen, must at first sight, surprize; and, in the course of an engagement, destroy numbers without any great hazard to themselves. In pursuance of this project, he caused a certain number of ships to be built, capable of holding, each, sixty rowers, and as in that double, in all other respects, to the largest ships then in

use. These he sent to sea, with an express prohibition, either to receive, or give, quarter; but to put to death all who fell into their power^t. Instructions perfectly suited to the design on which these ships were fitted out; and to the circumstances the king's affairs were then in. In saying this, we only copy ancient authors; who, are loud in the praises of *Alfred*, and take abundance of pains to possess their readers with high ideas of his wisdom, courage, and other virtues. But it will, perhaps, be more satisfactory, the nature of this work, especially, considered, to examine this matter a little more closely; and thereby convince such as will pay a proper attention, that things were really as these writers have stated them; and, that there was something highly useful, and, at the same Time, very extraordinary, in this invention; which, as we have seen, was entirely due to this monarch's sagacity and penetration.

THE learned sir *John Spelman*, who wrote an accurate life of this famous prince, seems to be in much uncertainty on this subject; he is not able to determine, whether they were ships, or gallies; nor can he well reconcile the heighth of the vessels to the number of rowers; but, after having intimated many doubts, and cleared none of them, he leaves the reader in that perplexity into which he brought him^u. In the first place, then, it appears from good authority, that they were gallies; which takes away all difficulty about the rowers, since, in the *Mediterranean*, these sort of vessels are common, because they are convenient;

^t Chronic. Saxon. pag. 98. Henric. Huntind. Histor. lib. v. Gul. Malmesbur. de gestis regum Anglorum. lib. ii. cap. 4. Rog. Hoveden. p. 420.

^u Life of king *Ælfred* the great, p. 150, 151.

nient; for the same reason which inclined king *Alfred* to make use of them, the facility of running with them close into shore, or up into creeks. That they might be longer, higher, and yet swifter, than the vessels in common use, in a duplicate proportion, which is the true sense of what ancient writers say of them, may be easily conceived; and thence their great utility arose. We have seen that, in point of numbers, the king had no hope of equaling his enemies; by this contrivance, he removed that difficulty which seemed otherwise insuperable. For, with a squadron of these ships, he was not afraid of attacking twice or thrice the same number of the enemy; because the force of his ships rendered those on board them, able to deal with as many as they could grapple with; and, in case of the enemy's having either the weather-gage, or some other accidental advantage, their swiftness enabled them to bear away; as, on the other hand, the ports were all their own. As to their instructions, we cannot call them cruel; because, whatever their enemies might think of themselves, they were certainly esteemed by the *Saxons*, and with good reason, enemies to mankind; incapable, as experience had convinced them, of keeping faith, and, therefore, altogether unworthy of mercy. On the other hand, this severity was necessary for two reasons; first, in respect to self-defence. These ships, though large in comparison of other vessels, were, however not large enough to carry prisoners with any safety; for we cannot apprehend that they carried, exclusive of their oars, above a hundred and twenty men, if so many. *Secondly*, it was prudent for example sake, in order to strike a terror into these rovers, that they might be thereby hindered from infesting this island, and inclined rather to prosecute their designs on some other coast. Add to all this another circum-

stance, preserved to us in the *Saxon* chronicle, and *Alfred's* wisdom will from thence most incontestably appear. These gallies were built after the model of the *Frisian* or *Danish* ships *; so that they were wholly strange to the enemy, who for a long time knew not how to board them; though their courage might be great, and themselves, for the age in which they lived, able seamen.

BUT it is now time to descend to facts, of which some are very well worth the reader's notice *. The same year that few of these ships were first built *, six pirates of an unusual bigness, infested the *Isle of Wight*, and the coasts of *Devonshire*. The king immediately ordered nine of his new ships in quest of them, with instructions to get, if possible, between them and the shore. Three of the pirates, as soon as they perceived them, ran a-ground; but the other three stood out to sea, and boldly engaged the king's ships. Of these, two were taken, and all the men killed: the third, indeed, escaped; but with five men only. They then attacked the ships which ran a-ground, and killed a great number of men. At length the tide took them off; but in so battered and leaky a condition, that it was with much difficulty they reached the coast of the south *Saxons*, where, again running on shore two of their vessels, the men endeavoured to escape; but were taken, and carried to *Winchester*, and there by order of the king were hanged. The third vessel, though the men in her were grievously wounded, escaped; and, in this single year, not less than twenty ships, with all the men on board

* Chronic. Saxon. A. D. 897.

* Hen. Huntingdon. hist. int. script. post Bedam. p. 350, 351. Rog. Hoveden, p. 420, 421. Chron. Saxon. p. 98. Chron. Joan. Brompton int. x. histor. ad A. D. 897.

board them, were destroyed; on the south coast only: which sufficiently demonstrates, what mighty advantages were derived from this happy invention of the king's. If the reader should enquire how this superiority at sea was lost, we must observe, that it was very late in the king's life, before his experience furnished him with light sufficient for this noble design, which very probably his successors wanted skill to prosecute; though, as will be hereafter shewn, they were moved by his example, to make great efforts for preserving their territories on shore, by maintaining the sovereignty of the sea.

THOUGH this care of his own fleet was very commendable, yet the concern he shewed for the improvement of navigation, the extending the commerce of his subjects, and the discovering and describing far-distant countries, deserves still higher commendation; because the first might be, in some measure, ascribed to necessity, and ended only in the good of his own kingdom; whereas the latter was incontestably the fruit of an heroic genius, and might have been of use to all the nations of *Europe*. It was in order to further these views, that he kept constantly in his court, at a very great expence, the most eminent men for worth and knowledge of all nations, such as *Gauls, Franks, Germans, Frisians, Armorican Britons*, besides the inhabitants of every corner of the *British* isles; of whom he enquired, and from whom he learnt, whatever was known in those days, which the sequel will shew, was more than any of the moderns imagine. Two instances have been transmitted, with authentic circumstances, from his time to ours. The first is, his sending persons to discover the utmost extent of the *Arctic* regions, and the possibility of a passage on that side to the north-east. The other, his correspondence with
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the *Indies*. Facts so extraordinary in themselves, of such high importance in respect to the subjects of which this work treats, and hitherto left in such obscurity, by those who ought to have given us a better account of them, that I presume my dwelling upon them, will be considered rather as a just tribute to *Alfred's* glorious memory, and to the honour of this nation, than as a tedious or unnecessary digression.

SIR *John Spelman*, who, as I before observed, considering the time in which he wrote, hath left us an excellent history of this monarch, tells us ¹, that he had been informed, there was in the *Cotton-Library*, a memorial of a voyage of one *Osther a Dane*, performed, by this king's procurement, for the discovery of a north-east passage. This paper, he says, he could never see; but he judged, and I think with reason, that it contained nothing more, than the relation of that voyage, printed in the collections of *Hakluyt* and *Purchas*, which are in every body's hands; and, if there had been no better account of the matter, even that would have deserved much attention. There is, however, a much more perfect copy of this relation, inserted in the *Saxon* version of *Orosius*, made by king *Alfred* himself ², whereby it appears, that *Osther*, for so he is called in this authentic manuscript, was a native of *Halgoland*, which lies in 66° of north latitude; a man of great substance, of more than ordinary skill in navigation, and perfectly acquainted with the commerce

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¹ Life of king *Ælfred* the Great, p. 151.

² There is a fair copy of this among Junius's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The narrative here mentioned, together with a Latin translation of the Saxon original, is inserted in the appendix to the Latin version of Sir John Spelman's life of *Alfred*, published by Walker, whence these facts are taken.

of the north. He surveyed the coasts of *Norway* and *Lapland*, by the direction of king *Alfred*, and presented him not only with a clear description of those countries, and their inhabitants, but also brought him some of the horse-whales teeth, which were then esteemed more valuable than ivory, and gave him a good account of the whale-fishing. This, probably, encouraged the king to send *Wulfstan*, an *English* man, to view these northern countries, of which he also gave him a relation. Both these narratives are written with such accuracy, in point of geography, so much plainness and probability in respect to facts, and are intermixed with such just and prudent observations, that whoever shall take the trouble of comparing them with what the famous *Olaus Magnus*, archbishop of *Upsal*, wrote many hundred years afterwards of the same countries^a, will stand amazed, and readily confess, that the age of *Alfred* was an age of good sense, and far superior in knowledge to those which succeeded it, there being nothing of fable or improbability in what *Chithor* or *Wulfstan* deliver; but all exactly conformable to what the discoveries of the last and present age have taught us. Hence, I must beg leave to infer, that what we read of fleets sent so far north by the *Britons*, is far from being so incredible, as some critics would make us believe; for we can hardly imagine, that *Alfred* should ever think of such an expedition, without some previous informations; and that he might have these from the *Britons*, will appear very probable, if we consider what is related in their histories; and that *Asser* of *St. David's*, a
learned

^a The title of this book is, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, &c. It was printed originally at Rome, in 1555, in folio; and there is an English translation, in 1658.

learned *Briton*, was one of this king's most intimate friends, and wrote the memoirs of his reign ^b, addressed to himself, which are yet extant.

As to the *Indian* voyage, it was occasioned chiefly by the king's charity, who, hearing of the distress of the christians of St. *Thomas*, resolved to send them relief. The person he made choice of, was one *Suitbalm*, called in latin *Sigelmus*, a priest, who honestly executed his commission, and was so fortunate as to return back, bringing with him an immense treasure of *India* goods, and amongst them precious stones, perfumes, and other curiosities, of which the king made presents to foreign princes: as the reward of so acceptable a service, *Sigelmus* was made bishop of *Sherburn*; and *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his *pontifical history*, gives us a distinct account of this voyage, and tells us, it not only struck with wonder such as lived in the time when it was performed, but was considered with admiration, even in the age in which he lived; adding, that *Sigelmus* had left to his church several of these *Indian* curiosities, as unquestionable evidences of so extraordinary a thing ^c. It is true, that *Affer* of St. *David's*, whom we before-mentioned, says nothing of this *Indian* voyage, though he is very particular in whatever relates to the power, splendour, or reputation of that monarch. But it would be a rash and unjust conclusion, to argue from his silence, that no such voyage was performed. *Affer*, as appears from a passage in his memoirs, wrote them in the year 893, at which time *Sigelmus* was not returned. But it is very remarkable, that under the year

^b The last edition of this venerable work was printed at Oxford, A. D. 1722, 8vo. ^c Gul. Malmesbur. de gestis pontific. Anglorum, lib. ii. p. 247, 248.

year 887, which was that wherein *Sigelmus* set out, *Affer* celebrates the king's extensive correspondence, and the great court that was paid him by princes, and other persons of eminence, in all parts of the world, and he particularly mentions letters from *Abel* patriarch of *Jerusalem*, which he saw and read^d; and these very probably, were the very letters which occasioned the king's sending *Sigelmus*. Add to this, that *Affer* died soon after the return of this great traveller, who succeeded him in the bishoprick of *Sherburn*^e; so that the whole of this narration is perfectly clear, and well connected. It may not be amiss to observe, that these christians of *St. Thomas*, inhabit the peninsula of *India*, and, that the commodities which *Sigelmus* is said to have brought back, are precisely those of their country. Sir *John Spelman* observes further upon this subject, that, the value and use of these curiosities being little known here, the king sought out for artists of all sorts, particularly goldsmiths and jewellers, for the working of them: and such were the defects of those times, and so excelling was the faculty of the king in every thing he turned his hand unto, as that even in those works also, the artificers themselves, and their arts, received improvement from his invention and direction, while they followed his genius and manufactured that he designed to them^f. And, as if there was something peculiar in the fortune of this prince, we have still remaining a proof of what is here advanced; I mean, a jewel richly wrought, dug up in the island of *Athelney*, which was the king's retreat when he fled from the *Danes*, in the beginning of his

^d Annal. rer. gestar. Ælfredi magni, p. 58. Chron. Joan. Brompton. ad A. D. 887. ^e Gul. Malmesbur. ubi supra. ^f Spelman's life of Ælired, p. 204.

his reign, and where he afterwards founded a monastery. This curious relick is yet preserved in the *Ashmolean* collection of curiosities, and, besides its excellent workmanship, hath a *Saxon* inscription to this purpose, *ÆLFREDUS ME JUSSIT FABRICARI, i. e. ALFRED directed this to be made* *. Having thus, to the utmost of my ability, cleared and justified these naval expeditions performed near a thousand years ago, I return now to the thread of my history, and to an account of what the *Saxons* performed at sea, after this wise monarch had shewn them the use and importance of a naval force.

* *EDWARD* succeeded his father *Alfred*, and proved a very great prince: however, his reign was disturbed, both by intestine divisions, his cousin *Ethelwald* pretending to the kingdom, and by foreign invasions of the *Danes*, who, at the request of this *Ethelwald*, came in the fourth year of the king's reign, in vast numbers into *England*. King *Edward*, finding it impossible to hinder their landing, drew together an army as soon as he could, and followed them into *Kent*; where he engaged them, and in a bloody battle killed *Eric* the *Danish* king, and *Ethelwald* who had stirred up this war. But, finding that he was still disturbed with new swarms of these northern rovers, he had recourse to his fleet; and, having drawn together a hundred ships upon the coast of *Kent*, he successfully engaged the enemy, and forced the greatest part of their fleet on shore; and then, landing himself, defeated their forces in a bloody battle, wherein, tho' he lost abundance of men, yet he entirely defeated his enemies, killing most of their chief commanders upon the

* *Annal. Ælfred. magn. p. 170, 171.*

* *A. D. 901.*

the spot. By degrees he raised his reputation so high, not only by his military exploits, but by his gentle government and wise provision for his subjects safety, that all the petty princes throughout *Britain*, congratulated him of their own accord on his success, willingly owned him for their lord, and humbly desired his protection. The very *Danes* who were settled in the island, took the same method of securing themselves against his arms: but within a very short space after this extraordinary mark of good fortune he died; and in a short space after his younger brother, who had succeeded him ^h.

* *ETHELSTAN* succeeded his brother, and gave early proofs of his being the worthy grandson of the great *Alfred*. He discovered, from his first ascending the throne, a great dislike to that policy, which his predecessors had used, of suffering the *Danes*, and other strangers, who, by force, had seated themselves in the island, to become legal possessors, in consideration of some small acknowledgment, and a feigned subjection, which was sure to last no longer, than they had a fair opportunity of revolting. This was, certainly, a right maxim; and one may safely affirm, that this monarch was the greatest politician; and, at least, as great a captain as any of the *Saxon* kings. He wisely judged, that there was no executing his scheme without a considerable force; and therefore he kept his army, and his fleet in constant readiness ^h. At the beginning of his reign, he made, or rather renewed, the alliance subsisting between his brethren; and *Constantine*, then king of *Scots*, conceiving that, as their interests were
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^h Chron. Saxon. p. 99. * A. D. 925. ^h Chron. Sax. p. 3. Gul. Malmesbur. de gestis reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6. Hen. Huntindon. lib. v. p. 351. Roger. Hoveden. p. 422.

the same, this would bind him to a due performance of the treaty: in which, however, he was mistaken; for *Constantine* suddenly broke it; either out of caprice, or from an apprehension of *Ethelstan's* power. Immediately upon this, the *Saxon* invaded *Scotland* with a royal army, and wasted its coasts with a mighty fleet; which brought *Constantine* to a submission, much against his will, as he discovered some years after. As soon as *Ethelstan* was retired, the *Scot* began to intrigue with the *Britons* on one side, and with *Anlaff*, whom most of our historians stile king of *Ireland*, but who in reality was a *Danish* prince, settled there by conquest on the other. In consequence of these negotiations, the *Britons* marched northwards, with a great army; where they were joined by the whole force of the *Scots*: *Anlaff* coming at the same time to their assistance, with a more numerous fleet than had ever been seen in those seas. *Ethelstan*, instead of being dejected at the sight of so many and so powerful enemies, resolved to decide the quarrel, by attacking them both at sea and land, at the same time; which he accordingly performed with equal valour and success. In this battle, there fell five kings, and seven *Danish* chiefs †. It was the bloodiest engagement that, till then, had ever happened in this island; and in the *Saxon* chronicle, there is a most elegant account of it. By this grand defeat, king *Ethelstan* effectually carried his point, and rendered himself the most absolute monarch that had ever reigned in *Britain* †. The use he made of his victory, was, effectually to secure his Dominions, by taking from the petty princes, such places as he judged to be dangerous in their hands;

† A. D. 938.

‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 112, 113, 114.

hands; and in all probability he would have effectually established the *Saxon* power, if he had long survived; but he died about a year after, having swayed the scepter, some say, fourteen, others, sixteen years.

† *EDMUND*, his brother, succeeded him in the throne, and found himself under a necessity of contesting the possession of it with his old enemy *Anlaf*, and his associates; whom he defeated, and with whom he afterwards made peace; but, finding that there was no dependance upon the faith, either of the *Danish* or *British* princes seated in the north, he seized on the kingdom of *Northumberland*, and added it to his own dominions, giving *Cumberland* to the king of *Scots* as his feudatory. He had no great occasion for naval armaments, the same of his brother's power preserving him from foreign invasions; so that, after a short reign, he left his crown to his brother *Edred*^k. This prince had scarce assumed the regal dignity, before he was assailed by his old enemies, the *Scots* and *Danes*; against whom he had not so great success as his brethren; not through any fault of his, but rather by the treasonable practices of some of his powerful subjects. His nephew *Edwy*, stepped after him into the throne; and disobliging the monks, they have transmitted to posterity an account of nothing but his vices^l. It should seem, however, that, during the reign of all these kings, the naval power of the *Saxons* was continually increasing, of which we shall see immediate proof; and to this we may ascribe their not being plagued with any of those invasions from the north, which had so much disturbed their predecessors.

VOL. I.

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† *EDGAR*,

† A. D. 941. ^k Gul. Malmesbur. de gest. reg. An. lib. ii. c. 7. ^l Spred's Chronicle, p. 369.

66 NAVAL HISTORY

† *EDGAR*, very justly stiled the great, succeeded his brother *Edwy*; and from his first ascending the throne, demonstrated himself worthy of being the heir of *Alfred* and *Ethelstan*. He thoroughly understood, and successfully pursued their maxims; for he applied himself, from the beginning of his reign, to the raising a mighty maritime force; and to the keeping in due subjection all the petty princes. In one thing only he was blameable; that he gave too much into foreign customs, and indulged the *Danes* in living promiscuously with his own people; which gave them an opportunity of knowing thoroughly the state of all parts of the nation, of which they made a very bad use in succeeding times. In all probability, he was led into this error by his love to peace, which indeed he enjoyed, much more than any of his ancestors had done. But he enjoyed it, as a king of this island ought to enjoy it; not in a lazy fruition of pleasure, unworthy a prince; but by assiduously applying himself to affairs of state; and by an activity of which few other kings are capable, even in times of the greatest danger. But it is necessary to enter into particulars, since we are now come to the reign of that king, who most clearly vindicated his right to the DOMINION of the SEA, and who valued himself on his having justly acquired the title of PROTECTOR of COMMERCE.

As to his fleet, all writers agree, that it was far superior to any of his predecessors, as well as much more powerful than those of all the other *European* princes put together; but they are by no means of the same mind, as to the number of ships of which it was composed. Some fix it at three thousand six hundred^m; others, at four thousand

† A. D. 957.
gorn. ad A. D. 975.

^m Roger Hoveden. p. 426. Florent. Wi-

thousand^a; and there wants not authority to carry it so high, as four thousand eight hundred^o. However, the first seems to be the most probable number; and therefore to it we shall keep. These ships he divided into three fleets, each of twelve hundred sail, and kept them constantly stationed; one on the east, another on the west, and the third, on the north coast of the kingdom: neither was he satisfied with barely making such a provision; he would likewise see that it answered the ends for which he intended it. In order to this, every year after *Easter*, he went on board the fleet, stationed on the eastern coast; and, sailing west, he scoured all the channels, looked into every creek and bay, from the *Thames* mouth to the lands end in *Cornwall*. Then, quitting these ships, he went on board the western fleet, with which, steering his course to the northward, he did the like, not only on the *English* and *Scotch* coast, but also on those of *Ireland*, and the *Hebrides*, which lie between them and *Britain*; then, meeting the northern fleet, he sailed in it to the *Thames* mouth^p. Thus surrounding the island every summer, he rendered any invasion impracticable, kept his sailors in continual exercise, and effectually asserted his sovereignty over the sea. As a further proof of this, he once held his court at *Chester*; where, when all his feudatory princes had assembled, in order to do him homage, he caused them to enter a barge; and, sitting four on one side, and four on the other, they rowed, while he steered the helm; passing thus in triumph on the river *Dee*, from his palace to the monastery of *St. John*, where he landed, and

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received

^a Chron. Joan. Brompton. ^o Matthæus Florileg. ^p Hen. Huntingdon. hist. lib. v. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. p. 426, 227. Alured. Beverlac. Annal. lib. viii.

received their oaths to be his faithful vassals, and to defend his rights by land and by sea: and then, having made a speech to them, he returned to his barge, and passed in the same manner back to his palace. The names of these princes were, *Kenneth* king of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* king of *Cumberland*, *Maccusius* king of *Man*, and of the isles; and five petty kings of the *Britons*. When the ceremony was over, the king was pleased to say, that his successors might justly glory in the title of kings of the *English*; since, by this solemn act, he had set their prerogative above all dispute¹. *John Fox* blames this speech, as an instance of the king's pride and vanity²; which was owing to a narrowness of mind; for surely the king intended no more than to secure his just rights, as his speech declared, and thereby to distinguish between a wise act of policy, and a mere pompous parade.

IN the winter, he travelled by land through all parts of his dominions, to see that justice was duly administered; to prevent his nobles from becoming oppressors; and to secure the meanest people from suffering wrong. These were the arts by which he secured tranquility to himself; while he kept foreigners in awe, and his subjects in quiet. By being always ready for war, he avoided it; so that, in his whole reign, there happened but one disturbance; and that, through the intemperate fury of the *Britons*, who, while he was in the north, committed great disorders in the west. On his return, he entered their country with a great army; and, that they might feel the

¹ Gul. Malmesbur. hist. lib. ii. cap. 8 p. 50. Florent. Wigorn. ad An. Dom. 347. Henr. Huntingd. hist. lib. v. Roger. Hoved. Annal. p. 426. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. ² In his Acts and monuments.

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the effects of plundering, suffered his soldiers to take whatever they could find: but when he saw the people reduced to extreme misery, he rewarded his army out of his own coffers, and obliged them to restore the spoils; by which he left those, whom he found rebels, the most affectionate of all his subjects *. Well, therefore, might our ancient historians boast as they did of this prince; and say, that he was comparable to any of the Heroes of antiquity. In truth, he far surpassed them; for, whereas many of them became famous by acts of rapine and robbery, he established his reputation on a nobler foundation; that of reigning sixteen years, without a thief found in his dominions on land, or a pyrate heard of at sea †. One thing more I must mention, as being much to my purpose, though slighted by many of our modern writers. It is the preamble of a decree of his, made in the fourteenth year of his reign; wherein his stile runs thus. *Ego Edgarus, totius Albionis Basileus, necnon Maritimorum seu Insularum Regum circumhabitantium, &c.* That is, I *Edgar*, Monarch of all *Albion*, and sovereign over all the princes of the adjacent isles, &c. which plainly asserts his naval dominion †. As he lived, so he died, in peace, and full of glory †. Happy had it been for his successors, if, with his dominions, they had inherited any portion of his spirit. But, alas! governed by women, and ridden by priests, they quickly broke to pieces that mighty power which he bequeathed them.

His son *Edward*, a child, succeeded him; but, by that time he had reigned three years, he was, by the contri-

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vance

* Ranulph. Higden. in Polychron. lib. vi. † Roger. Hoved.
p. 426. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 947. Alured. Beverl. Annal.
lib. viii. † Guliel. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. c. 3.
† A. D. 975.

vance of his mother-in-law, basely murdered, to make way for her son *Ethelred*, who mounted the throne after his decease; but who was entirely governed by this dowager queen, his mother *. In six years after the death of *Edgar*, the strength of the nation was so far sunk, that a *Danish* squadron, consisting of no more than seven ships, infested the coast, and plundered *Southampton* w; and, in a few years after, they ravaged and burned all the coast; in-
 somuch that, in 991, the king, by the advice of *Siricus*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, made a treaty with the *Danes*, and endeavoured to bribe them by a subsidy of ten thousand pounds, to forbear plundering; which gave the first rise to that infamous tribute, called *Danegeld* x. This produced an effect which might have been easily foreseen, though quite contrary to what was intended; for the *Danes* committed greater rapines than ever; supposing, that the worse they treated the king's subjects, the larger sums they should extort, for a promise to be gone. Thus the king was compelled to take that method at last, to which he should have had recourse at first, viz. raising an army and fitting out a fleet. And now, when he had done this, his general betrayed him; whereby the *Danes* for that time escaped, though a little after they returned, and were defeated y. These, however, were but slight mischiefs, to those which followed; for, when it is once known, that a kingdom is weakly governed, new enemies will daily rise. In 993, came *Unlaff*, a famous pyrate, with a fleet of ninety-three ships, to *Stanes*, and having wasted the country on both sides the *Thames*, they went
 down

* A. D. 978

991: Gul. Malmesburi. de gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10. Beverl. lib. viii.

w Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 981.

y Chron. Saxon. A. D. 992.

x Ibid.

Alured.

down the river again, and committed new outrages on the coast of *Kent*. The king sent an army to oppose them, which they beat, and killed the general who commanded it. Afterwards, they landed in the mouth of the *Humber*, and committed new devastations. The next year, *Anlaff*, duke of *Norway*, came before *London*, with a fleet of ninety-four sail, and endeavoured to burn it; but the citizens defended themselves so well, that, at length, he was forced to desist; then, marching into *Kent* and *Hampshire*, he compelled the country people to furnish horses for his army; which put it in their power to commit such horrid devastations, that the king, being unable to protect his subjects, had recourse to a composition; and, having sent commissioners to treat with *Anlaff*, it was agreed to give him sixteen thousand pounds, on condition that he should never again set foot in *England*: and, which was rare amongst men of his profession, he religiously kept his word. In 997, a great fleet of strangers entered the mouth of the *Severn*; spoiled all the adjacent countries with fire and sword, and afterwards destroyed *Cornwall*, and *Devonshire*; and, having collected an immense booty, carried it off to their ships. The next year they committed the like outrages in *Dorsetshire*; where an army was sent to oppose them; which did little. In 999, they came into the *Thames*, and, marching through *Kent*, the king met them at *Canterbury*, with his forces, so that a battle ensued; wherein, through some ill management, the king was defeated with great loss; this loss seems to have roused the nobility: for, immediately thereupon, it was determined, in a great council, to raise a numerous army, and to fit out a strong fleet; which was accordingly done: but the old management continuing, these mighty preparations, says my author, ended, in nothing more than exhausting the purses,

and breaking the spirits of the people; whereby their enemies were encouraged to trample on them more and more. The next year, the fleet were hindered from acting all the summer, by contrary winds, to the great loss and dissatisfaction of the people. In 1001, new disorders of the same kind happened; and, one of the king's admirals deserting with a great part of the fleet, he was constrained again to think of treating, which accordingly he did, and purchased peace for twenty-four thousand pounds: and yet, the very next year, he found himself so streightned, that he had no other way of setting his people at liberty, than by a general massacre of the *Danes*, throughout *England*. This, however, proved but a temporary as well as barbarous expedient; for, in a few years, they were in as bad a condition as ever; infomuch, that through the fury of the *Danes*, and the treachery of his nobility, the king was able to do nothing, but oppress his subjects, by raising vast sums, to be given to their enemies; for, in 1007, the *Danes* had thirty thousand pounds at once².

THESE oppressions convinced all the honest, and loyal part of the nation, of the necessity of arming themselves, and of exerting their utmost force to rid them of these barbarous guests. In order thereto, a new, and general tax was laid, for raising and supporting a fleet and army. According to this scheme, every three hundred and ten hides of land were to find a stout ship; and every eight hides a coat of mail, and helmet; by which a great force indeed was raised; and yet, through treachery, however, had little effect³. It is plain, that this tax, or subsidy, was imposed

² Chron. Sax. p. 127,—136. Gulielm. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10. Henr. Huntingd. Hist. lib. 5. Alured Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. p. 114. ³ Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1008.

sed with judgment, and by common consent; it grew, therefore, thenceforward, an annual charge upon the people; and is that tax we so often meet with, in ancient writers, under the name of *Danegeld*; and from which *Edward*, the Confessor, is said to have freed his subjects. The reader must distinguish this subsidy, raised upon the *English* nation, from the money occasionally paid to the *Danes*; though they both go under the same denomination. The first was raised at such times, and in such proportions, as necessity required; and was, properly enough, called *Danegeld*; as it was given to pacify those invaders. The second was, a regular, settled imposition, not much unlike our land-tax; and was properly called, in the *Saxon* tongue, *Heregyld*, i. e. *Soldier's Money*; and received the name of *Danegeld*; because it was originally given to raise a force to fight the *Danes*. It must have amounted to a vast sum in those days; since the *Saxon* chronicle informs us, that by it, when first imposed, there was a prodigious fleet set on foot, such a one as, till then, had not been seen: now, if we take this in a very limited sense, and allow it to signify not a greater fleet than *Edgar's*, but superior to any of his stationary squadrons; even this would be a very great thing^b. The consequence of clearing this point, will appear in the succeeding part of the work: in the mean time, let it be observed, that the nation submitted to this grievous tax, in order to maintain a naval force, sufficient to have preserved the dominion of the sea; which, questionless, might have been effected, had the money they gave been faithfully applied. But such were the delays, such the disorder in all their military preparations,

^b Selden. *Mare Clausum*. lib. ii. c. 11.

tions, that the people were fleeced, the service neglected, and the unfortunate king *Ethelred*, who, for any thing that appears in history, was a very brave, well-meaning prince; acquired the surname, or rather was stigmatized with the opprobrious nickname of *The Unready*. This is a disagreeable subject; which nothing but the love of truth, and the desire of preventing such mischiefs, by fairly exposing their causes, could have prevailed upon me to have dwelt on so long. It was my duty, as an historian; and, how unwillingly soever, I have performed it.

It would, however, be to no purpose to swell this work, with a long detail of the misfortunes which befel this prince, and his son, the valiant *Edmund*, who for his many hardy acts in the service of his country, was surnamed *Ironfides*; since these are fully related in all our histories: and indeed, there is great reason to suspect, that the stories we meet with therein, are rather amplified than abridged. Two things, however, deserve the readers notice in this great revolution. The first, that, after once the spirits of the people had been sunk, by raising on them a great sum of money to purchase peace, they never afterwards could be revived; but things daily declined, and the chief persons in the realm sought to secure an interest in the conqueror, by betraying those whom they ought to have defended; so that the reduction of *England* was not so much owing to the number and force of the enemy, though these were very great, as to the treachery of the few, the dejection of the many, and the disputes of both among themselves; their naval force, even when they were lowest, being more than sufficient to have defended their coasts, had it been properly conducted. But being sometimes betrayed by their admirals, at others distressed for

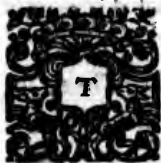
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want of provisions, every little accident discouraged them, and any considerable loss disheartened them quite. The conquest of such men could not be hard. The second observation I have to make is this; that no sooner *Swain*, king of *Denmark*, found himself superior at sea, than he set up a title to the kingdom; which sufficiently shews, that this island is never longer safe, than while it is the first maritime power: whence the importance of our navy is made too manifest to be denied, and by which we may be convinced, that as our freedom flows only from our constitution, so both must be defended by our fleets.



C H A P. III.

The Naval History of the DANES, from the peaceable settlement of CANUTUS on the throne, to the restoration of the SAXON line; and from thence to the death of king HAROLD: containing the space of about forty-eight years.



THE writers of our ancient history, being many of them monks, did not well distinguish between foreign nations, but called all the invaders of this kingdom, from whatever quarter they came, *Danes*; because the first who troubled the *Saxons* in this way, were of that nation. In like manner foreigners called them *Normans*; which seems to be a contraction of northern men. Their practice of scouring the northern seas, and plundering wherever they came, made them infamous in the eyes of others,

76 NAVAL HISTORY

others, though it passed among themselves for an honourable way of making war. The northern nations were always extremely populous; and, when they found themselves crowded, their custom was to equip a squadron of ships, on board of which went some of their chiefs, followed by a body of such men, as were willing to run their fortunes. At this time they were Pagans; and it must be owned, the structure of their religion was very favourable to these sort of enterprizes, representing them rather as effects of heroism, than as acts of robbery. In process of time, as they grew more civilized; they began to change their notions, and affected settlements, wherever they found themselves strong enough to make them. It is not our business to enter deeply into their history, since it is evident enough, that they attained their dominion here by their power at sea, which is the only thing that brings them under our notice. But, if it were, there has been lately published at *Copenhagen*, a very compleat history of the acts of the *Danes* in foreign countries, particularly in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; all of which they long harassed, made settlements in all, and were expelled from them all, through their making an ill use of their power^c.

WHEN *Swain*, king of *Denmark*, invaded this country, about the year 1013, it was in revenge of the death of his countrymen; and there were, at that Time, so many great men here of *Danish* extraction, and the rest were

^c The title of this curious book runs thus, *Gesta & Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam; præcipue in Oriente, Italia, Hispania, Gallia, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Belgio, Germania & Sclavonia. Maximam partem ipsi Scriptorum, non Exoticorum minur, quam Domesticorum, verbis adumbrata. Hafniæ 1741.*

were so much disaffected to their natural prince, that the foreign invader soon found encouragement to set up a title by election, as is, though somewhat obscurely, intimated by some of our historians; but plainly and fully asserted by the *Danish* writers. Indeed, the defection at that time was so general, that *Ethelred* abandoned his kingdom, and retired into *Normandy*; and, if *Swain* had lived, it is doubtful, whether he might not have kept the possession. But, he dying in the beginning of the next year, the *Danes* in *England* declared for *Canutus* his son, and the *Saxons* recalled king *Ethelred*^d. However, after the death of the last mentioned prince, *Canutus* had a strong party, who adhered to him, especially among the clergy; so that, at length, king *Edmund Ironside*, by the persuasion of one *Eadric*, who had betrayed his father during his whole reign, entered into a treaty with *Canutus*, whereby it was agreed, that they should reign jointly: after which king *Edmund* did not live long, and so the whole fell to *Canutus* by survivorship. Some of our authors indeed write, that *Edmund* was murdered by the contrivance of *Eadric*; but for this there seems to be no solid foundation. The *Saxon* annals say plainly, that he deceased on the feast of St. *Andrew*, in the year 1016, and, that he was buried with his grandfather king *Edgar*, at *Glastonbury*^e.

* *CANUTUS* ascended the throne by the general consent of the nation, and, in the second year of his reign, raised an extraordinary subsidy, or *Danegeld*, in order to pay off his fleet. This amounted to seventy-two thousand pounds for the rest of the kingdom, and eleven thousand

^d Chron. Saxon. p. 144, 145.

* A. D. 1017.

^e Ibid. A. D. 1016.

thousand pounds for the city of *London*: after which he sent back his fleet and forces to *Denmark*, excepting forty ships which he kept to guard the coast. He was a very wise and brave prince, and, from the time he assumed the crown, did all that was in his power to conciliate the affection of his new subjects; which he so happily effected, that they served him faithfully in his wars, for the recovery of some part of his foreign dominions, which were lost during his stay here. Thus, in 1027, he sailed with a fleet of fifty ships with *English* forces on board into *Norway*, out of which having driven *Olaf*, who had set himself up for king, he the next year returned into *England*. Two years after, he invaded *Scotland* both by land and sea, and obliged that king to submit to his terms^f, and, throughout his whole reign, this prince carried his prerogative in naval affairs as high as, or rather higher than, any of his predecessors, as the learned Mr. *Selden* justly observes, and very fully proves from records and history^g. Indeed it was very easy for him so to do, being king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as well as *England*.

He intended to have made his son *Hardiknute*, whom he had by *Emma*, the widow of his predecessor *Ethelred*, the heir of his kingdoms; but, he being in *Denmark* at the time of his decease, his eldest son *Harold* * sur-named, from his swiftness, *Harefoot*, found means to raise a party amongst the nobility, and possessed himself of the kingdom. Some writers tell us, that his brother *Hardiknute* prepared a great fleet with an intent to have invaded his dominions;

^f Pontan. hist. Dan. lib. v. Guliel. Malmesbur. de gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. cap. 11. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. Ran. Higden. in Polychron. Chron. Saxon. p. 150.—154. ^g Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 12. * A. D. 1336.

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dominions; but, as to this, the *Saxon* chronicle is silent; nor is there any thing memorable recorded in his reign. It is said, that he raised the *Danegeld*, or subsidy, for the maintenance of sixteen ships, which was, it seems, the stated tax in the latter part of his father's reign; and, from what follows, it will appear, that this was a very reasonable imposition: but then it must be considered, that, in the days of king *Canutus*, his *English* subjects had nothing to fear; and, from this circumstance it is probable, that the case was the same under *Harold*^b. He died after a reign of little more than four years, and was succeeded by his brother *Hardiknute**, who coming with a large fleet to take possession of the kingdom, he that very year raised the *Danegeld* to sixty-two ships. The following year he levied twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine pounds, and fixed the subsidy for the future, at thirty-two ships. His uncle *Swain* being in danger of losing the kingdom of *Norway*, he sent a fleet from *England* to his assistance; which did not, however, answer the end he proposed: and, a little after, he died suddenly at a wedding, and with him ended the dominion of the *Danes* in *England*, in less than twenty-eight years after the coming of *Canutus* to the crown¹.

EDWARD the confessor, the son of king *Ethelbert* and queen *Emma*, succeeded his half-brother *Hardiknute*†, and proved a very great prince in the opinion of the monks, and a very weak one in the sentiments of better judges. In the beginning of his reign, he kept up a fleet of thirty-five sail; but, afterwards falling out with the earl

^b Chron. Saxon. p. 154, 155. * A. D. 1039.
155, 156. † A. D. 1041.

¹ Ibid. p.

80 NAVAL HISTORY

earl *Godwin* and his sons, their quarrels threw the whole kingdom into distraction; insomuch, that in the year 1046, a pyratial squadron, consisting of no more than twenty-five ships, commanded by *Lothen*, and *Yrling*, came to *Sandwich*, where they landed the forces on board them, who immediately spoiled all the adjacent county, and carried off the prey they took to their ships. Afterwards, they retired to the island of *Thanet*, intending from thence to have plundered the coast at their leisure; but, by this time, the militia rose, and not only prevented them from landing, but streightned them so much where they were, that with great difficulty they escaped. Then, falling on the coasts of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, they committed the same outrages there; and, at last, sailed away to *Flanders*, with the wealth they had got, without meeting with any interruption from the king's ships. The next year the king was himself at sea with a fleet, and was able to do little; earl *Godwin* and his sons, having almost all the power, while the king had an empty title, with which he was little contented. *Swain*, earl *Godwin*'s eldest son, falling out with his family, as well as the king, committed great outrages on all the coast. His father too, being disobliged, had recourse to a naval armament, to oppose which, the king fitted out a fleet of fifty sail; but, whether it was through the intrigues of the earl, or the weak management of the king, so it fell out, that, after all these preparations, a treaty ensued, in consequence of which, the earl entered once more the king's favour, and (with his sons) was declared the king's best subject. Such was the doctrine of those times! after the death of this great nobleman, his sons *Harold*, and *Tostigo*, succeeded him in his dignities, and used them rather for their own conveniency, than with any respect to the

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the royal authority. It must, however, be owned; that they reduced the *Britons*, who had taken up arms under their king *Griffith*, who was killed in the action: yet *Tostigo* made so bad a governor in *Northumberland*, where the king had placed him, that the people expelled him; nor could he be restored, though his brother *Harold* was sent with an army for that purpose: which so disgusted him, that he sailed with a squadron of ships into *Flanders*; where, like his eldest brother *Swain*, he turned pyrate, and began to think of pillaging, by sea, that country, the inhabitants of which would not suffer him to plunder them on land. In the midst of these confusions, king *Edward* died *, as weakly and irresolutely as he lived; without securing the succession to *Edgar Atheling*, his intended heir, and who had indeed a better title than himself; which threw the nation into great confusion, and gave *Harold*, the son of earl *Godwin*, an opportunity of seizing the crown, to which he had no title at all †. An act equally fatal to himself, and to the people, since it occasioned the *Norman* invasion, and the absolute exclusion of the *Saxon* line, the monarchs of which had deserved so well of their country, by making good laws, encouraging arts, and defending both by their arms. But, before we proceed to this revolution, it will be necessary to say somewhat of the character of *Harold*, as well as of his administration; for though he was a very ambitious, and consequently a very bad man, yet he wanted not some qualities that were truly worthy of a prince.

VOL. I.

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* A. D. 1066 † Gul. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 13. Henr. Huntingd. hist. lib. vi. p. 365. Roger. Hoveden: Annal. p. 439. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon: p. 154,—171.

THE principal persons about king *Edward* at his death were such as had been of earl *Godwin's* faction, and therefore countenanced a report spread by *Harold*, that the king had appointed him his successor, which we find in the *Saxon* chronicle¹: and yet, in that very book, there are many things which are inconsistent with this account; such as the owning that the king sent for his cousin *Edward*, the father of *Edgar Atheling*^m, and, that after the death of *Harold*, *Edgar* should have been kingⁿ, though his right was no way helped by that circumstance; but stood just as it did before, at the time of king *Edward's* death. Such as say, that *Harold* took the crown, as being more fit to wear it than an unexperienced boy, like *Edgar*, seem to speak the truth^o. *Harold* had all the qualities necessary to have rendered him popular in an elective kingdom. He was of a great family, equally allied to the *Saxons* and *Danes*, very brave in his person, and well versed in the art of war; but, above all, jealous of the honour of the nation, and very desirous of maintaining his independency on land and sea^p. He had, however, great difficulties to struggle with. A great part of the nation were dissatisfied with his title, and paid him an unwilling obedience. *William* duke of *Normandy*, laid claim to his crown, and began to raise an army to support that claim. Add to this, that his brother *Tostigo*, who had quarrelled with the late king, and with his own father, appeared on the coasts of *Yorkshire* and *Northumberland*, with

¹ Chron. Saxon. p. 172. ^m Ibid. p. 169. ⁿ Ibid. p. 173.
^o Reg. Hoved. hist. lib. vi. p. 367. Ingulph. hist. apud script. post Bedam, p. 900. ^p Roger. Hoved. Annal. prior. p. 447. Gul. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. ult. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. p. 122.

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with a fleet of fifty sail. Earl *Edwin* encountered him on his landing, defeated his army, and afterwards destroyed a great part of his fleet; so that, with no more than twelve ships he escaped to *Scotland* ¹.

ON the first news of his brother's invasion, *Harold* prepared to march northwards, in order to prevent, if possible the fatal consequences of this man's malice, whom he knew to have both courage and ability, considerable interest at home, and potent allies abroad: nor did he desist from his design on the news of the check he had received by his late defeat, knowing that his restless temper would not suffer him to be long before he endeavoured to revenge this affront. Indeed, he found an opportunity sooner than he could have expected; for he was scarce arrived in *Scotland*, before he heard of a new pretender to the crown which his brother wore. This was *Harold Harfagar*, that is, *Fair-haired*, king of *Norway*, who set up a title by descent, and, to support it, put to sea with a fleet of three hundred sail, and a numerous army on board. With him *Toftigo* joined, and both, sailing up the *Humber*, landed their forces, and began to direct their march towards *York*. The two great earls, *Edward* and *Morker*, instantly assembled all the forces they could raise, in order to to oppose them. A battle quickly ensued, in which those earls were totally routed, and, in consequence whereof, the king of *Norway* possessed himself of *York*. King *Harold*, no way discouraged at this ill news, ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and in the mean time marched in person against the enemy, who lay in an intrenched camp,

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which

¹ Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Roger. Hoved. p. 447. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vi.

which they conceived to be impregnable. But the king having first forced *Stanford-Bridge*, ever since stiled *Battel-Bridge*, attacked them with such vigour, that, after a long and bloody dispute, he forced their intrenchments, killed both *Harold Harfager* and *Tostigo* upon the spot; and his admirals at sea having like success in beating the *Norwegian* fleet, *Olaf* the son of *Harold Harfager*, was glad to capitulate, and to agree to embark the scattered remains of his army on board twenty vessels, and to give up all the vast spoil they had taken, with the rest of his father's navy, to the conqueror, which agreement or capitulation was presently put in execution^r.

THIS was one of the greatest victories that we find recorded by our historians; for, in the beginning of this expedition, the king of *Denmark* had conquer'd the *Orkneys*: and, indeed, considering the force with which he invaded it, there was no small probability of his reducing *England*. By this defeat, the king entirely frustrated that design, and, besides ridding himself of so formidable an enemy, acquired a vast treasure, and greatly augmented his fleet; but, as success generally shews a man in the truest point of light; so, the king on this occasion, discovered some ill qualities which he had hitherto concealed; for, instead of dividing the rich booty he had taken, or so much as a part of it, amongst his army, he laid hands upon the whole; which greatly weakened their affection to him, and made his soldiers less willing to hazard their lives in the service of so hard a master. On the other hand, the duke of *Normandy* had been labouring, by a
variety

^r Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Gulielm. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. iii. p. 94. Roger. Hovden, p. 448. Ingulph. hist. p. 900.

variety of methods, to draw together such an army, and such a fleet, as might enable him to prosecute the title he had set up to the *English* crown; which, at last, by dint of mighty promises to foreigners, as well as his own subjects, he accomplished. His forces consisting of *Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Bretons*, he embarked on board a prodigious number of ships, few of which were of any great force, though all fit enough for transports. Upon the 28th of *September* 1066, he landed safely at *Pevensey* in *Suffex*; and no sooner saw his troops on shore, than he burned his useless fleet, which he knew was no way able to engage that of the *English*: and having done this, and raised a strong fortification, he began to march farther into the country *. *Harold* had the news of this expedition quickly transmitted to him in the north, whence he marched with great diligence with his forces, flushed indeed with their late victory; but, by so rude a service, much diminished in their numbers, their spirits also abated by discontent. The king, however, taking council from the present situation of his affairs, behaved towards them more graciously than he had lately done; and, by sending for the nobility, and representing to them the danger to which themselves and their country, as well as himself and his title, were exposed, gained considerable recruits: so that, by the time he arrived at *London*, his army was again become very considerable; only his soldiers stood in need of refreshment. But *Harold*, fearing the ill effects of delays, and rejecting the propositions made him by an ambassador, sent from duke *William* to meet him at *London*, continued to move on towards *Suffex*, in order to

* *Chroniques de Normandie Ingulph. hist. Ord. Vital, &c.*

determine the fate of the kingdom, by a decisive battel; notwithstanding his brother *Grithus* used many prudent arguments to dissuade him, advising him to entrust the army to his care, and to remain at *London*, in order to take proper measures, in case things went not so well as they wished.

ON the 13th of *October*, the king arrived near *Hastings*, where the enemy lay encamped; and, though some proposals of peace were again made him, he remained firm to his first opinion of trusting the decision of all to the sword. The next day, being *Saturday*, he disposed his forces in order of battel, giving the van to the *Kentish* troops, and reserving the *Londoners* for the centre, where he fought in person with his two brothers. The duke of *Normandy*, on his side, did all that could be expected from a great captain, and one inured to arms from his very youth. The contest was long and bloody, suitable to the value of the prize which was to be the reward of the victor. But the *Normans*, making use of long bows, as yet not well known to the *English*, had thereby a great advantage, which turned the fortune of the day, and gave them a victory every way compleat. King *Harold* drawing the choicest of his troops about his royal standard, fought it out bravely to the last, falling by a shot he received under the left eye, which pierced to his brain. With him fell his brothers *Grithus* and *Leofrick*, and of private men 67,974. We need not wonder, that this engagement alone secured the kingdom to duke *William*; especially, if we reflect on the hard-fought battel in *Yorkshire* but a few months before: for two such actions might well exhaust the strength of a nation, almost continually harrassed for some hundred years before by the

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*Danes*¹. Yet the *Saxons*, if they had been well-united, might have had, at least another struggle, but their intestine factions contributed as much to their ruin, as the force of the invader. For, one part of the nation adhering to *Edgar Atheling*, the undoubted heir of the crown, and another inclining to espouse the party of the great earls *Edwin* and *Morker*, this division disabled both. Thus ended that monarchy which, from the time of *Hengist*, had endured about six hundred years; and, as it began through personal valour, so the same spirit was preserved even in its termination; for, as a learned writer of those times informs us, the last king *Harold* was a man in gentleness of nature equalled by few, in martial virtue surpassed by none, having most of those great qualities which render princes glorious, and who, if the event had corresponded with probability, seemed born to repair the decayed state of his country². He left behind him four sons. It is very remarkable, that three of these, *Godwin*, *Edmund*, and *Magnus*, had interest enough after the death of their father, to carry off the greatest part of his fleet; which enabled them to make many attempts, as we shall hereafter see, against the power of the *Normans*: but, proving always unsuccessful, they at length retired to *Denmark*, where they were kindly received, and where, tormented by a quick sense of their misfortunes, they languished out the remainder of their lives. I should not have taken notice of this circumstance, but that it serves to explain the succeeding part of our history, and shews

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¹ Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Gulielm. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. iii. Henr. Huntingdon. hist. lib. vi. Roger. Hoveden. p. 448. Ingulph. hist. p. 900, 901. ² Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1066.



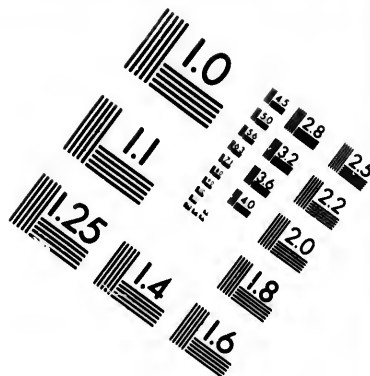
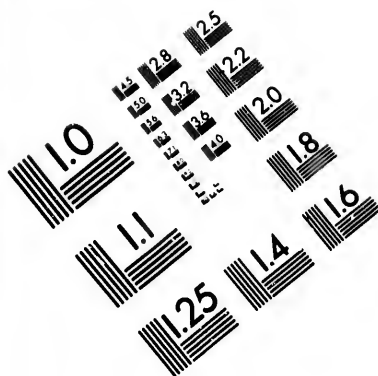
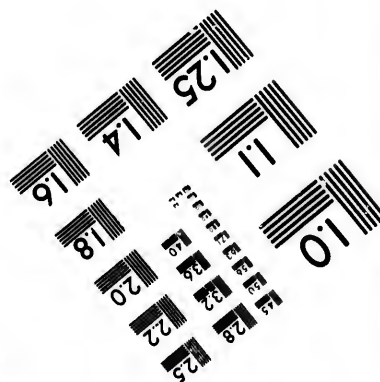
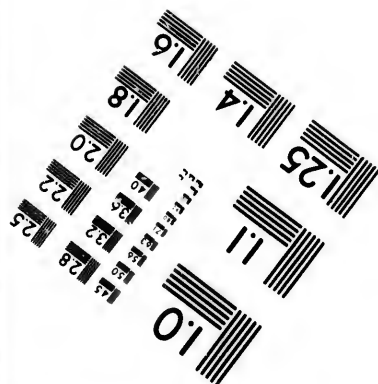
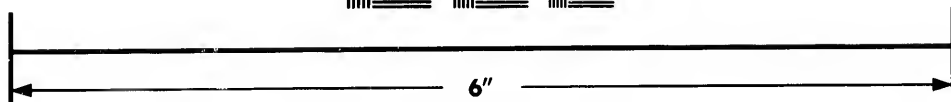
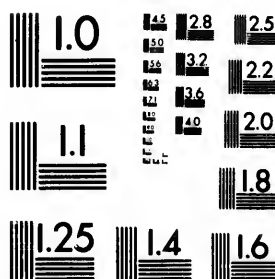


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how the *Norman* power at sea came to be so low, for a considerable space after the conquest; as well as why the northern princes were so ready to give assistance to such as undertook to disturb this new possessor of the *English* crown: in which scheme we shall find persons, who had very different interests, concurred, upon the old maxim in politics, that, in acting against a common enemy, the principles of particular parties may and ought to be suspended.

WE ought, now, to take a view of the commerce of the *Saxons*, and to enquire into the use they made of that dominion of the sea, to which they set up so loud a pretence. It so happens, indeed, that we have in this respect but very indifferent materials as to direct facts. But whoever will consider what kind of men the writers of those times were, and how little likely they were to understand traffick, he will not so readily misconstrue their silence, as some critical writers have done: by which I mean, he will not conclude, from thence, that the *Saxons* had little or no foreign trade; since, if they had ever so much, monks and ecclesiastics were not like to be acquainted with it. However, it may be truly asserted, that the trade of the *Saxons* was very considerable before the *Norman* conquest, perhaps more considerable than for some time afterwards; and that this is not either a bold assertion, or a groundless conjecture, we shall be able to make out by a variety of arguments, which, for the honour of our country, deserve to be duly considered.

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^w Chron. Saxon. p. 173. Gul. Malmesb. Huntingdon. Hoveden &c.

IN the first place, then, let us observe, that the correspondence between our princes, and those of the continent, is one good argument in favour of the nation's commerce: for it cannot be believed, that the greatest princes of *Europe*, would either enter into treaties with obscure and barbarous nations, bestow their daughters on the princes of such people, or receive from them their daughters to be partners in their beds and thrones. Yet we see, that *Charles* the Great of *France* entered into an alliance with king *Offa*, as he also did with the king of *Scots*; and, as to marriages, *Ethelwolf* the father of king *Alfred*, married the daughter of the emperor *Charles the Bald*; king *Ethelred* married *Emma*, daughter to the duke of *Normandy*; and as to the princesses of *England*, they were married all over *Europe*, to the most illustrious sovereigns: nay, even in their distress, when the sons of *Edmund Ironside* fled abroad for protection, one married the emperor's daughter, the other the daughter of the king of *Hungary*. Now, it is impossible for us to conceive, how the worth and quality of such persons should be known in these distant places, if there had not been an extensive commerce between the subjects of the *English* kings, and those of these princes. Add to this, that *Asserius Menevensis* informs us, that king *Alfred's* court was constantly crowded with persons of distinction; and, that he was extremely careful in procuring the best artists of all kinds, from different parts. Again, the public, and private buildings of the *Saxons*, demonstrate, that they were not either a rude, or unfociable people; but rather the contrary: since they were exceedingly elegant, for the time in which they were raised; and we know, by experience, that this kind of taste is the pure effect of extensive commerce. We may likewise observe,

serve, that the very claiming the sovereignty of the sea, is a plain indication of our driving a great trade upon it; since those only desire this dignity, who know the importance of it; and, as our claims in this respect, are elder, and more explicit than those of any other *European* nation, we must conclude, that the value of this right was earlier understood here, than elsewhere. These are general reasons only: I will now offer some, that are more particular.

WE had greater opportunities, of understanding naval affairs in this island, than perhaps any other nation ever had; for, before the *Roman* invasion, the *Britons* had some skill in navigation, and had fitted out considerable fleets: they, afterwards, improved in this, as in all other arts, by adding the *Latin* learning to their own; whence we find them, under *Carausius*, *Maximus*, and *Constantine*, able to bear up against all the maritime force of the *Roman* empire. The *Saxons* were not destitute of skill in naval affairs, before their arrival here; for we read, that they distinguished time, by the ebbing and flowing of tides^x; a kind of knowledge, which, notwithstanding all the boasts of the *Greeks*, *Alexander's* seamen had not acquired, even when he made his *Indian* expedition^y; and in which it appears, neither *Cæsar*, or any of his soldiers, were well versed at the time of his invading this island^z. It was therefore highly natural, when these nations were in some measure mixed together; and, by degrees also, were blended with the *Danes*: I say, it was highly natural

^x Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Ol. Worm. in Fastis Danicis. lib. i. cap. 2. ^y Arrian. Exped. Alex. Mag. lib. xi. ^z De Bello Gallico. lib. v.

ral for them, to push their genius for maritime affairs, as far as it would go. And this leads me to another argument; which, is drawn from the vast number of ships, that it is apparent, we had at all times, from the fleets fitted out by the *Roman* governors, and by the *Saxon* princes, especially *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Ethelred*: since navies cannot be built in a season or two; or, if they could, would prove of little use in a country destitute of seamen. Lastly, our coin is a proof of our commerce. There were under the *Saxon* kings, variety of mints, no less than seven in *London*; and the laws relating to coinage are very numerous. Now, since silver was never a commodity of our own, it follows, that this coinage, must have arisen from the profits, or, to use a modern phrase, from the balance of trade, in our favour. I presume, I may add to this, a law-made by king *Edgar*, for reducing all weights, measures, &c. to one standard. Now, this was to remedy an inconvenience, that must have crept in, by trading with different nations; and, so introducing their measures: and the scope of the law on the other hand, proves, that the legislature in those days, had a just respect to commerce; and was inclined to do any thing which might facilitate it; all which, taken together, in my opinion, doth abundantly make good my assertion; and demonstrates, as far as the brevity of this design will permit, the commercial genius of our ancestors, the *Saxons*, to whom we stand indebted for the chief prerogatives of our crown, I mean, in comparison with the other powers of *Europe*; and that generous spirit of freedom, which is the soul of our excellent constitution, and which the princes of the *Norman* line, endeavoured, but in vain, to extinguish.

SINCE

SINCE the publishing the first edition of this work, I have heard some persons of good sense and great judgment complain, that in some places, I have studied brevity too much, and that particularly, they would be glad to see this point of the *Saxon* navigation and commerce better explained; not that they at all doubt the truth of what I have advanced upon the credit of our most learned and best historians, but that being pleased with the hints given them upon these subjects, they are inclined to see them more largely handled, and for the sake of such persons, I shall take the liberty of adding a few remarks, which, till I knew that it was acceptable to my readers, I judged it a kind of presumption in me to make.

THE vessels built by king *Alfred* for resisting the *Danes*, and which were so very serviceable in that respect, appearing to be a very singular and material point, some have wished that I had more plainly described them, which I would most certainly have done, if it had been in my power. Those vessels were built, not only by the direction of the king, but in a new manner which was of his own invention; and the writers who have preserved an account of them, tho' they are certainly competent Witnesses as to the fact, yet were they very far from being proper judges of the manner. They can tell us what the king did, and what were the effects of his doings, but how, or upon what principles he constructed these new invented ships of his, was out of their way to enquire, and consequently what they could not be expected to declare. This being so, it would be a thing preposterous to pretend to lay it down as a fact that king *Alfred's* new ships were built in this manner, or in that, all that I meant to suggest, was, that the king built these ships longer than usual, and in such

such a proportion, as made them at once stronger and swifter, than any with which that age were acquainted.

THE candid and ingenious reader will readily allow, that we had good reason to commend the superior skill of the king, who made that a *Science*, which to others was but a *Trade*. There were, no doubt, in that age, abundance of shipwrights, who knew how to put vessels together, so as to make them sound and tight, and good sailors too, as things went at that time of the day. Yet it does not appear, that the king asked their advice, but on the contrary, he directed their labours, and commanded that ships should be built of a new and very different make, from those that were then in use. He was well acquainted with the *Danish* ships, and saw, that tho' they were very convenient for transporting troops, yet that very circumstance might be turned to their disadvantage, by employing against them vessels of a different make, longer, higher, and stronger, and of a very different proportion in respect to breadth, which is a plain proof, that he had made himself master of the principles of ship-building, and knew how to vary the form in constructing vessels so, as to fit them for different uses and services, which if the knowledge of those times was half so gross as modern writers are willing to represent, it was certainly a very great and wonderful discovery.

IT is also highly probable, that tho' the king gave directions to his ship-builders, and perhaps a model of the form in which he would have his new vessels built, yet he did not acquaint them with the principles upon which he went, or explain to them the reasons why vessels built in this new form, were swifter, and stronger, than those of the enemy; but kept that within his own breast, as a great secret of state. His naval architects might be, and in all probability

bility were, men of as great skill, and as extensive capacities, as any of their times; but then their knowledge was of a very different nature from that of the king; they might be great artists in their way, but they were still mechanics; and tho' they knew how to build what were esteemed the best ships in this part of the world, yet were they far enough from penetrating into the causes of things, or from apprehending clearly the reasons upon which those rules were founded, by which they were guided in their profession, and which experience had gradually introduced.

WE have the more likelihood, that this was the true state of the case, from the other circumstance, that the king made great improvements in the art of building ships for traffick. Hence we plainly see, what he contrived, was not the effects of experience, that, is an application of what he had seen, or heard, that others performed to his own affairs; or flowed from a lucky thought which was found to answer upon ~~him~~; but arose entirely from his great sagacity, which enabled him to see to the very bottom of this art, and put it in his power to assign the just proportions of vessels destined for any purposes whatever, as his ship-wrights were capable of building, and equipping vessels of any dimensions, provided they had the scheme of such vessels given them, in case they were of a new invention. These trading vessels, were, without doubt, of quite another form, than those warlike gallies fitted out against the *Danes*, and consequently far less expensive; for broad, large, and roomy vessels, such as are fit for carrying most sorts of merchandize, and more especially bulky, and coarse goods, are, in every respect, far less expensive than vessels built for strength and swiftness.

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I SHALL be extremely well pleased if these additional thoughts upon so important a point of history give the satisfaction desired, which I hope it will, more especially if it be considered, that I propose to treat these points as an historian, and am therefore concerned to state facts clearly, and from good authorities, not to write dissertations upon such subjects as may be fairly presumed to lie equally out of the reach of my own, and the peruser's curiosity. Whatever *Alfred's* skill in naval architecture might be, there is very little room to doubt, that the practical part of it continued long after his decease, and proved no inconsiderable cause of the maritime force of his successors. All this time however, the *Danes* were exercising themselves in naval expeditions, and as their strength and courage grew; so by the introduction of luxury, and its perpetual companion, civil dissensions, the power and publick spirit of the *Saxons* declined.

It may be however remarked in their favour, exclusive of what has been before said upon that subject, that they certainly cultivated the arts of peace and commerce, with equal industry and success. All that part of this island under their dominion, was thoroughly peopled, and full of great towns, adorned according to the mode of those times, with fair churches and great monasteries, which were at once testimonies of the piety and wealth of that nation. Their ecclesiastics and their nobility frequently travelled into foreign regions, and brought from thence rarities of all sorts, to enrich their own country, the flourishing condition of which was what principally allured the *Danes*, who had the same appetite for riches, though they took a different method of procuring them, and spoiled by force of arms such as were grown opulent, through the long continuance of peace.

WE must likewise observe, that the incorporations of cities and boroughs, was the work of the *Saxons*, as manifestly appears from the very terms that are still in use, and which are not to be understood or explained, but from a competent knowledge of their language and history. This is at once a clear and a most conspicuous testimony of the true spirit of that government, which, while in its vigour, provided for the safety and prosperity of the people, by securing the liberties and properties, and by encouraging the industry and integrity of all ranks and degrees of men, which was the true reason, that the laws of *Edward the Confessor*, that is, the laws and constitutions of his predecessors, collected and restored by him, were so universally approved and contended for by the *English* nation, as their peculiar blessings and birthrights after the conquest, as will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

BUT above all, traders, artificers, and manufacturers of every kind, were especially protected and encouraged under the *Saxon* government. They had their respective guilds or societies for regulating and promoting their affairs, and it is very remarkable, that there was no less attention paid to the establishment and extension of these lesser fraternities, calculated to maintain order and justice amongst such as got their living by their labour, than of the larger corporations, which is a truth that all who are acquainted with our records and ancient histories will readily admit; and therefore it would be very unnecessary for us to insist longer upon this topick, tho' to mention it was highly material.

THE *Danes*, after the first fury of war was over, and when they came to be united to and incorporated with the

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Saxons, began by degrees to embrace their notions, and to visit foreign nations, as well in a commercial, as in a hostile manner; and tho' their historians are more inclined to preserve the memory of the latter, than the former, yet there is nothing clearer than this matter of fact, by which the subjects of the *Danish* monarchs were enabled to pay those prodigious taxes that from time to time were levied upon them, and by which the treasury of *Canutus* the Great was so amply supplied, that when he took a journey to *Rome*, he made a more magnificent appearance there than any christian prince, who in those superstitious times had honour'd that capital with his presence, and is recorded to have spent and given away such immense sums of money, as filled all *Europe* with amazement.

BUT altho' the *Danes* settled in *England*, departed from the manners of their countrymen, yet those who remained at home, retained in a great measure the martial spirit of their ancestors, and held in the highest contempt every kind of trade except that of war. We shall see, however, that notwithstanding they long kept up a claim to this country, they were never able to recover it; because after a few disappointments their naval power sunk, and they were no longer able to equip such numerous fleets as were requisite for the undertaking such expeditions. I mention this circumstance here, that the reader may have an opportunity of observing, how soon a naval force is worn out, when, employed only to serve the purposes of ambition; and this, notwithstanding all the care and pains that can be taken to keep up the spirits of a nation, and to support an exact discipline; for *Canutus* the Great, enacted and published a body of laws for that end, which they would certainly have answered, if the thing had

been possible in nature. This observation will very much confirm what has been before advanced, in respect to the great fleets that for the course of upwards of a century, were maintained by the *Saxons* for the defence of their coasts. These were certainly supplied with seamen from the ships employed in commerce, the only effectual and lasting method of maintaining maritime power.

It will not appear any formidable objection to this, if that the *Danes* settled in *Normandy* grew so strong, as not only to maintain their possession of that country, but to attempt and succeed in their scheme of invading this. For they had in a great degree altered their measures, and by the conveniency of their ports, had fallen into a considerable share of commerce, as appears both in their history and laws. It is true, that the old martial spirit reigned amongst their nobility, who still disdained any other profession than that of arms; yet this did not hinder a great part of their people from betaking themselves to quite another course of life, by which they drew such wealth into that country, as enabled their dukes to live in splendor and magnificence, and furnished them with the means of making such powerful armaments, as could never have been set on foot, but by princes whose authority upon such occasions, could extract out of their subjects coffers, those treasures that by their industry they had obtained. The spoils derived from military excursions, and the riches accruing from prædatory expeditions are quickly wasted, and from the instability of fortune, seldom admit of recruits; but in countries blessed with commerce, tho' the madness of princes may occasionally lavish away great sums, yet the returns of peace give their subjects an opportunity of recovering again, and repairing the breaches that have been made by such mistakes.

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Of WILLIAM the Conqueror. 99

HITHERTO, I have treated things more largely than I proposed to do in my accounts of the subsequent reigns, down to that of *Henry VII.* because this period hath been much neglected; and, from an unwillingness to search into the records of antiquity, we have been made to believe, that, before the *Roman* conquest, the inhabitants of *Britain*, were an inconsiderable people; which we have shewn to be very false. But, from the time of *William*, furnamed the conqueror, our modern histories are more fruitful; and therefore, we may indulge a greater brevity here. However, we shall take notice of every thing that is material, or that may contribute to the reader's having a just notion of the state our naval affairs were in, under the reign of our monarchs, respectively, as well as of the remarkable expeditions in their times.



CH A P. IV.

The Naval History of ENGLAND, during the reigns of the princes of the Norman race, viz. William, stiled the conqueror; William Rufus; Henry Beauclerk; and Stephen: containing the space of about eighty-eight years.



OF all the foreign princes, who in a course of ages have ascended the *English* throne, *William*, duke of *Normandy*, seemed to promise the best, in regard to the maintainance of the honour and dignity of the crown. which he assumed. He was in the

prime of his life, if we consider him as a prince, being about forty-three years of age, when he came hither; had been a sovereign from his very childhood, and maintained his right, in the dutchy of *Normandy*, against the king of *France*, and other troublesome neighbours, with such constancy and courage, as, at length, procured him success, and fixed him in the full enjoyment of the dominions left him by his father ^a. He had great opportunities of being acquainted with the *English*, before his coming hither; by the near relation between king *Edward*, the confessor, and his father, duke *Robert*; and the long stay that king made in *Normandy*, while the power of the *Danes* subsisted in *England*. This occasioned a great intercourse between the *English* and *Normans*, during the reign of that king; who rendered himself suspected to the former, by his extraordinary kindness to the latter: which might possibly grow from a mixture of fear, as well as love; since he had no other support against the power of earl *Godwin*. This it was, induced him to invite duke *William* hither, in his life-time; and accordingly he did make him a visit ^b; and this was undoubtedly, the chief motive to his feeding him with hopes of being his heir. As to the title of king *William*, it is not requisite, that we should enter into a minute discussion of it; and therefore, it will be sufficient to observe, that he claimed three different ways. First, by donation from king *Edward*; secondly, by right of arms; whence, in succeeding times, he was sur-named *The Conqueror*; and, thirdly, by election: to which some have added a fourth title, by grant from the pope; though this was

^a Oder. Vital. Guliel. Gemetic. Les Chroniques de Normandie.

^b Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 54.

Of WILLIAM the Conqueror. 101

was no more than an approbation of the first. However he came by the crown, he certainly condescended to have his right recognized by the people; and promised solemnly at his coronation, to govern as his *Saxon* predecessors had done; though he afterwards did not act quite so conformable to his oath, as his subjects expected. To say the truth, he was of a stern and arbitrary disposition; which did not very well agree with the temper of this nation; and from this discordancy, between the king's humour and his subjects sentiments, as to their own rights, sprung the many disorders which happened during his reign, and the miseries brought thereby upon the people; of which, we have ample accounts in the histories of those times^c.

HE was too wise a king, not to discern the importance of a naval power; and too high spirited a prince, to suffer any of the prerogatives, claimed by his predecessors, to be at all prejudiced by his conduct. But, in the beginning of his reign, he found himself, as we have before observed, under great difficulties in this point. He had, at his coming from *Normandy*, drawn together all the shipping that could be had, as appears, by his delaying his expedition for some time, for want of vessels; as also, from the number employed, which was not less than nine hundred; and all these, as we have heard he burned. The greatest part of the *English* navy, was carried away by the sons of *Harold*, and other malecontents, so that he could hardly bring together even an inconsiderable fleet; and yet the king resolved to take some care of a matter of so great importance, before his return into *Normandy*. With this view, he pas-

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^c Chronic. Saxon. Ingulph. Histor. Guliel. Malmesb. Henric. Huntingd. Roger. Hoveden. Eadmer. Alured Bevesl. Simeon. Dugelm. Joan. Brompton.

sed into *Kent*; where the natives, having first procured a recognition of their rights, delivered up to him, the castle and port of *Dover*, which was what he principally wanted. Here, he placed a strong garrison; and, having by this time got together some ships, appointed a squadron for a guard of the coasts; and embarked a part of his army, with the chief persons in *England*, whom he carried with him, as hostages for *Normandy*; intending to return, as he did, with a greater force, to secure himself against any defection of his new subjects, as well as from foreign invasions, with both which he was threatened ^d.

IN the third year of his reign *, that storm, which he had foreseen, burst upon his dominions; and, under any other prince but himself, would, in all probability, have been fatal. Our modern historians, especially, relate this so lamely, that their readers can scarce form any just idea of the danger the nation was in; which is one reason for our giving a detail of it: and besides this, it is of so great consequence to the subject of which we are treating, and so fully proves the impossibility of keeping *Britain*, without having a superior force at sea, that it would be inexcusable in us, either to omit, or to curtail it. Immediately after his return from *Normandy*, the king began to treat the *English* pretty severely; whereupon, many of the most considerable persons retired out of the kingdom; some one way, some another. The two great earls, *Edwin* and *Morker*, with many others of the nobility, and not a few of the clergy, went into *Scotland*; where *Edgar Atheling*,

^d Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 1067. Gul. Malmesh. de gestis Reg. Anglor. lib. iii. Henr. Huntingd. Hib. vii. Ingulph. Hist. p. 900, 901. * A. D. 1069.

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Of WILLIAM the Conqueror. 103

Atheling, and his family, took shelter; and from whence, they very soon invaded the north part of *England* ^c. Other lords fled to *Denmark*, to king *Swain II.* who had always kept up a claim to the *English* crown; and who, therefore, readily yielded credit to their assurances, that, if he would but send a force sufficient to give them encouragement, the *English*, especially in the northern parts, would throw off the *Norman* yoke, and declare for him. He, therefore, equipped a considerable fleet; some copies of the *Saxon* chronicles say, 240; others make them 300 sail; and sent them, under the command of his brother-in-law *Osborn*, his sons *Harold* and *Canutus*, and some of the *English* fugitives; well provided with all things necessary, and with a considerable body of forces on board: so that nothing less than subduing the whole kingdom, was the intent of this expedition ^f.

Few undertakings of such consequence, and wherein so many persons of different interests were concerned, had, in the beginning, so good success, as that of which we are speaking; for the *Danish* fleet having favourable winds, and fair weather, came safely into the mouth of the *Humber*; and there embarked the forces, about the middle of *August* 1069, as we are told by *Matthew Paris* ^g. They were immediately joined by *Edgar Etheling*, the earls *Edward* and *Morker*, the famous earl *Waltheof*, and abundance of other persons of distinction, with a great army, composed of *English* and *Scots*; and then moved directly towards *York*, which king *William* had caused to be strongly fortified. The governor, whose name was *Mallet*, re-

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^c Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068.
1068. Pontanus. Hist. Dan. A. D. 1068.

^f Chron. Saxon. A. D.
^g Hist. Angl. vol. i. p. 6.

solved to make an obstinate defence. With this view, he ordered part of the suburbs to be set on fire, that the *Danes* might not lodge in them on their approach; but, through some negligence, the fire caught the city, and burnt a great part of it before it could be extinguished; which gave the *Danes* an opportunity of gaining it almost without a stroke: after which, they attacked the citadel, took it, and put three thousand *Normans* to the sword; on this success, as the *Danish* writers say, earl *Walthef* was left there with a strong garrison, and the main body marched directly towards *London*^h. The king, however, advanced to meet them with a considerable army, wasting and spoiling the northern countries, which he conceived well affected to the enemy, and, as some alledge, fought with, and gave a check to the invaders; but our gravest historians report the fact quite otherwise. They say, that, finding his troops much inferior to the enemy, he entered into a private treaty with *Osborn*, the *Danish* general, and offered him an immense sum of money for himself, with free leave to plunder the northern coasts, if he would be content to retire with his forces in the spring; which he accordingly accepted: so the king spoiling one way to revenge the infidelity of his northern subjects, and the *Danes* plundering the other, they, in the beginning of the next year, returned to their fleet in the *Humber*, and, embarking their forces, returned homeⁱ. But *Swain*, king of *Denmark*, being quickly informed, that his hopes were frustrated, by the covetousness and treachery of his brother,

^h Pontan. rer. Danicar. Hist. lib. v. Henr. Huntingdon, Hist. lib. vii. p. 369 Simeon. Danelm. A. D. 1069. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1069. Roger de Hoveden. p. 451. 452. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. p. 129. ⁱ Chron. Saxon. p. 174. Pontan. rerum Dan. Hist.

Of WILLIAM the Conqueror. 105

ther, rather than by the force of the *Normans*, he banished him, as he well deserved ^k. Thus ended an expedition which might have produced another revolution in our affairs, if the king's prudence had not been as great as his courage. The next year, the *Saxon* chronicles tell us, the *Danes* landed again in the *Isle of Ely*, to which abundance of malecontents had resorted; but, being able to do little, king *Swain* made a treaty with the king of *England*: but his fleet sailing homewards, laden with booty, was, a great part of it, forced into *Ireland*, and many of the ships, with all their treasure on board them, foundered at sea ^l. But as to this, the *Danish* writers are silent.

ABOUT the same time ^{*}, the sons of the late king *Harold* came out of *Ireland*, with a fleet of sixty-five sail, and landed in *Somersetshire*, where they committed great depredations, until *Ednoth*, who had been an old servant of their father's, marched against them, beat their forces, and obliged them to retire ^m. They made a second attempt the year following [†], with a fleet of sixty sail, landed near *Exeter*, plundered and burnt the country; but earl *Brien* raising forces, and fighting them twice in one day, forced them again to fly, with the loss of seven hundred men, and some of the principal nobility of *Ireland*, which so broke the spirits of that nation, as to discourage them from assisting the *English* fugitives any more ⁿ; so that the sons of *Harold*, *Godwin* and *Edmund*, retired into *Denmark*, where they were kindly received, and spent the remainder of their days.

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^k Adams. *Bremens. Pontan. lib. v.* ^l *Chron. Saxon, p. 177.* ^{*} *A. D. 1068.* ^m *Roger. Hoveden. p. 450.*
[†] *A. D. 1069.* ⁿ *Gul. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. iii.*

THESE accidents convinced the king of the necessity of having a fleet always ready; and, therefore, to this he turned his thoughts, and having collected as many ships as he was able, he employed them to hinder succours from coming to the rebels in the *Isle of Ely*, which gave him an opportunity of entering it by land, and reducing to his obedience, or destroying all who had taken shelter there*. In the seventh year of his reign, he attacked *Scotland* by sea as well as land, in order to be revenged of king *Malcolm*, who had constantly assisted all the disturbers of his government, and quickly brought him to accept a peace, on the terms he thought fit to prescribe°. † In the tenth year of his reign it appears, that his affairs were in better order than they had been at any time before. Yet it was not long, before a great conspiracy was formed in *England*; and the lords concerned in it, invited the *Welsh* to enter the kingdom on one side, while the *Danes* invaded it on the other. The king was at this time in *Normandy*; but, having just intelligence of what passed in his absence, he quickly returned into *England*, seized many of the conspirators, and disappointed them in their intended rising. The *Danes*, however, under the command of *Canutus*, the son of king *Swain*, came with a fleet of two hundred sail upon the coast, and even entered the mouth of the *Thames*; but, not finding their confederates in the posture they expected, and perceiving that the king had now a navy, as well as an army, they retired to *Flanders*, without undertaking any thing P.

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* A. D. 1072. ° Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1072. Alured Bē.
verl. Annal. lib. ix. † A. D. 1075. P Chron. Saxon.
p. 183. Henr. Huntingd. Hist. lib. vii. p. 369.

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Of WILLIAM the Conqueror. 107

FOR nine years after, the king remained quiet, with respect to the *Danes*, who were involved in so many troubles at home, that they had no leisure to vex their neighbours. This time the king employed in securing his foreign dominions, against the attempts of the king of *France*, in taming the *Welsh*, and in new-modelling affairs in *England*, so as to suit them to his own interest and inclination; as also to the raising a better force, than hitherto he had employed at sea, which in some measure he effected *. In the twentieth year of his reign, when he thought to have taken some rest from his labours, and was employed in settling his affairs in *Normandy*, he was alarmed with the prospect of a new danger, by receiving intelligence, that the *Danes* were making prodigious preparations for the conquest of *England*. Our writers are far from giving a good account of this matter; for, though they tell us, in general, that mighty things were intended, and a vast fleet drawn together, yet they give us no rational motives for this attempt: nor are they less deficient, in what they say of the issue of this design, *viz.* that the fleet was detained two years in the harbour by contrary winds; and, at last, the enterprize was given over, when they understood, the mighty preparations made in *England* to receive them. But we meet with a much clearer, and more probable story in the *Danish* authors.

THEY say, that king *Canutus IV.* as soon as he was thoroughly settled on his throne, began to form a design of asserting the title, which he believed his father *Swain* had left him to the crown of *England*; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the persuasions of his brother-

* A. D. 1085.

ther-in-law, *Robert* earl of *Flanders*, who promised him his assistance, and by the incitements of the *English* refugees, who assured him, that their countrymen were quite tired out with the intolerable oppressions of the *Normans*, and would certainly join him, if he landed with a force sufficient to protect them. Before he absolutely determined to make this expedition, he asked the opinion of his brother *Olaus* duke of *Sleswick*, who advised him to undertake it; as did also the states of the kingdom: upon which he drew together a prodigious fleet, little short of a thousand sail, and put on board them all sorts of ammunition and provision for the great body of troops he intended to embark therein. When all things were ready, he waited some time for his brother *Olaus*, and, at last, growing impatient, he went to fetch him out of his dutchy, where he found him plotting his ruin, instead of preparing for the voyage to *England*; upon which, he seized, and sent him prisoner into *Flanders*. During the absence of king *Canutus*, the conspirators on board the fleet gave out, that the provisions were not wholesome; that several of the vessels were leaky; that the king's mind was changed; and, that the best thing they could do was, to go every man to his own home; so that, when *Canutus* returned, he found both his fleet and army dispersed^a, which is certainly a better account of the miscarriage of this undertaking, than the long continuance of cross winds, to which some, or the effects of magical enchantments, to which others ascribe it.

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^a Pontan. ferum Danic. hist. lib. v. p. 197. Gal. Malmesbur. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. iii.

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OF WILLIAM the Conqueror. 100

CERTAIN it is, that king *William* brought over from *Normandy*, such an army as his subjects till then had never seen; for the maintenance of which, he not only oppressed the nation for the present, but, laying hold of the general consternation the people were in, ordered the famous *Doomsday-book* to be made, wherein taking an account of every foot of land in the kingdom, he knew, to the last shilling, how low they might be drained. I know some historians place this fact in another light; but I follow the *Saxon* chronicle, written in his own time, but with a truly *English* spirit; and, therefore, in this respect the best guide^r. To say the truth, this king, knew how to make advantage of all things; but, particularly, of misfortunes: for, in all the rebellions and invasions which happened during his reign, he constantly spared his *Normans*, and subdued the *English* by the arms of the *English*. So, on the rumour of this invasion, he first took occasion to fill the country with his foreign soldiers, and then pilaged the people for their subsistence, and to fill his own coffers. When the danger was over, he first sailed to the *Isle of Wight*, that it might appear he was not destitute of a naval force, in case his enemies resumed their projects; and then passed over into *Normandy* *. The next year he engaged in a war with *France*, in which, though he was successful, yet it cost him his life; for, advancing too near the flames of a city which he caused to be burnt, he caught a fever thereby, of which he died, on the 9th of
September

^r Chron. Saxon. p. 186. Ingulph. hist. Gul. Malmesbur. Matth. Paris. An excellent account of *Doomsday-Book*, the reason why it was made, and its contents, is to be found, in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 373. in Mr. Hearne's accurate edition. * A. D. 1086.

September 1087, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-fourth of his age. The *Saxon* chronicle tells us, that he was a diligent and active prince, and extremely jealous of his sovereignty, as king of *England*. *Wales* he subdued, and bridled with garrisons, and *Scotland*, preserved *Normandy* in its full extent against all the attempts of the *French*; and if he had lived two years longer, would have reduced *Ireland*, without employing arms*. In a word, he was, in *England*, a great king; and to his *Normans*, a good duke.

WILLIAM II. Sur-named *Rufus*, i. e. the red, from the colour of his hair, succeeded his father, though without so much as a plausible title; his brother *Robert*, having not only the pretence of birth, but likewise a plea of merit much superior to his. *William*, however, thought he might well attain by fraud, what his father had both taken, and kept, by force; and therefore, having the good-will of some of the clergy, he wisely determined, to procure that of the nation, by distributing among them his father's treasures. To this end, he made haste to *England*; and going to *Winchester*, where his father's wealth lay, he scattered it abroad in such a manner, that the poorest of the people, in every parish in *England*, felt the effects of it; so that, on his coming to *London*, at *Christmas*, he was received with all imaginable tokens of loyalty and affection†. He easily discerned, that his brother, duke *Robert*, would not fail to give him disturbance, and that, whenever he inclined to do it, a party would not be wanting

* Chron. Saxon. p. 190, 191. Alured. Beverl. Annals lib. ix.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 192. Gul. Malmesbur. de gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. iv. Henric. Huntingdon. hist. lib. vii.

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Of WILLIAM RUFUS. III

ing to assist him in *England*. He therefore, to secure himself in the first place, caressed all the *English* nobility; and, contrary to his father's maxims, preferred them to the *Normans*; not out of any love, but because the *Normans* were better affected to his brother. But, whatever the motive was, the thing itself was very beneficial to the people; for it once put arms again into their hands, and thereby gave them a power of obliging their princes to keep their promises longer than they intended. Another expedient of his, was of no less advantage; he permitted the *English* to fit out ships of force, to act against his enemies; and we shall quickly see what profit the king reaped from this indulgence^u.

ROBERT, the eldest son of the conqueror, was in *Germany*, when his father died; whence he quickly returned, to take possession of the dutchy of *Normandy*, in which, he met with no opposition[†]. When he was settled there, he turned his thoughts upon *England*, where his uncle *Odo*, earl of *Kent*, had formed a strong party to the support of his title. They surprized, and fortified several castles; and, if *Robert*, who had a good army in *Normandy*, and ships enough to transport them, had been as diligent in his own affair, as those, who abetted his interest here, he had certainly carried his point, and transferred the crown, to his own, from his brother's head; but he contented himself, with sending a few troops hither; which, however, landed without opposition, the king having no navy to oppose them. But, the *English*, observing that, after this, they began to pass the seas carelessly,

^u Roger. Hoveden. p. 461, 462. Johan. Brompton. Chron. int. x. scriptor. [†] A. D. 1088.

lessly, attacked them, as occasion offered, took their ships, and destroyed multitudes of men; so that in a little time, *Robert* was glad to desist from his pretensions to the kingdom; and the king, in the fourth year of his reign, invaded *Normandy*, both by sea and land; but, by the interposition of friends, their differences were composed, and, the brothers reconciled †.

THE year following, the king resolving to be revenged on the *Scots* *, who had invaded his dominions, while he was in *Normandy*; prepared to attack them, with a considerable land-force, and, at the same time, fitted out a great fleet. Duke *Robert*, who was then in *England*, was intrusted with the management of this expedition, which was far from answering the expectations raised thereby; for, the fleet not being ready till towards *Michaelmas*, there happened such storms on the *Scottish* coast, that abundance of ships were lost, and many more disabled; the army too suffered exceedingly, by the severity of the weather; and, after all, duke *Robert* was glad, by the interposition of *Edgar Atheling*, to make peace with *Malcolm*, king of *Scots*; which the king ratified, without intending to keep it ‡. After this, there is little occurs in his reign, as to naval expeditions; except frequent invasions of *Normandy*: which shews, he was superior at sea, and that he might have made a great figure by his maritime power, if he had been so inclined. But he had other views, and was particularly disposed to bring the *Welsh* under subjection; in order to which, he allowed the

† A. D. 1090. * A. D. 1091. ‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 197.
Alured. Beverl. lib. ix.

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the nobility on the borders, to undertake expeditions at their own expence, and for their own advantage.

An accident happened in one of these expeditions †, which shews how much maritime affairs were then neglected; and how imprudent a thing it is, to depend on armies without fleets. *Hugh* earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* earl of *Chester*, invaded the isle of *Anglesey*, and easily subdued the inhabitants, whom they plundered, and used very cruelly. But, in the midst of their success, one *Magnus*, a *Norwegian* pyrate, came from the *Orkneys*, which were then subject to the *Danes*, with a small squadron of ships, and, landing in *Anglesey* unexpectedly, defeated these insolent invaders; killed the earl of *Shrewsbury* upon the spot, and carried off all the spoil, that he, and his associates had taken. Not long after this, king *William* being informed, that the city of *Mans* was besieged, he resolved to go to its relief; and, though his nobility advised him to stay, till a squadron at least could be drawn together, yet he absolutely refused to make any delay; but, going on board a small vessel, obliged the master to put to sea in foul weather, for this wise reason, that he never heard a king of *England* was drowned; and so landing at *Barfleur*, with the troops he had in *Nor-mandy*, relieved the place. However some may commend this action, it was certainly neither prudent, nor honourable, as expressing rather an intemperate courage, than any sober resolution of maintaining his dignity, which would have been better provided for, by keeping a navy in constant readiness*. This appears also to have been the king's own sentiments; for, on his return to *England*

VOL. I.

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† A. D. 1099.
lib. ix.

* Roger Hoved. p. 465. Alured. Bev.

the next year, his first care was to put his marine in a better condition; and, having formed some new projects, he drew together a very considerable fleet, at the same time that he raised a very great army: but before all things could be got ready, he was taken off by a sudden and violent death. For going to hunt in *New-Forest*, he was shot accidentally by an arrow's glancing against a tree; so that, after fetching one groan, he died upon the spot. The current of our modern histories have fixed this fact on one fir *Walter Tyrrel*; but several ancient writers speaking of the king's death, do not mention this gentleman; and a contemporary author affirms, that he had often heard fir *Walter* declare, that he was in another part of the forest at the time of the king's death, and that he knew not how it happened. Thus the rumours of one age become history in the next. This accident fell out on the second of *August*, in the year 1100, when the king had reigned almost thirteen, and lived somewhat more than forty-two years. He was certainly a prince of high spirit, and quick parts; but had little tenderness for his subjects; and, tho' he made a better king, than his father, to the *English*, yet it was meerly because he had more need of them, as appeared by the difference of his conduct, in time of distress; and when the situation of his affairs were mended, through their assistance; for he was then as careless in performing, as he had been lavish before in promising; so that his death was looked on as a deliverance, though he left the succession unsettled, and all things in confusion.

HENRY,

† *A quodam ex suis sagitta occisus*, says the Saxon Chron. p. 277. Suger. in vita Ludovici Crassi.

HENRY, the youngest son of the conqueror, from his being bred to learning, sur-named *Beauclerk*, stept into the vacant throne, while his brother *Robert* was in the *Holy-Land* †. He had a bad title, yet varnished with many fair pretences; such as his being born after his father became king; drawing his first breath in *England*, and having ever shewn a great affection for his countrymen. Yet, the favour of the clergy, and particularly the archbishop of *Canterbury*, was the chief cause of his peaceable accession; as his being very rich, and knowing well how to distribute his money, gained him, after his accession, many friends. In the very dawning of his reign, he discovered an admirable talent for government, doing more good things than his brother had ever promised. He restored in a great measure, the *Saxon* laws; promoted virtuous and able men; eased the people of their taxes, and provided for the security of the seas; promoting also, to the utmost of his power, the trade and navigation of his subjects. Still more to ingratiate himself with the commons, he espoused *Matilda*, the sister of *Edgar*, king of *Scots*, who, was niece to *Edgar Etheling*, the true heir of the *Saxon* line. All this he did with great sincerity of heart, and not from those principles of *Norman* cunning, wherein consisted the seeming wisdom of his brother. He carried his affection for the *English* farther still, by doing them justice upon their oppressors; imprisoning the bishop of *Chester* in the *Tower*; who had been the principal adviser of *William Rufus*, in all his arbitrary exactions². In

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consequence

† A. D. 1100. ² Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1100. Gul. Malmesh. de gest. Reg. Ang. lib. v. Matth. Paris, p. 55. Eadmer. histor. Novor. lib. iii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.

consequence of all this, he either had, or ought to have had, the entire affection of his subjects. But his wisdom would not allow him to trust entirely to that; and therefore, as soon as he understood his brother *Robert* was returned into *Normandy*, and received there in triumph, he provided for the security of his dominions by the most natural method; that of increasing his strength at sea; and giving directions to his officers, who had the custody of the coasts, called in the language of those times, *Buts-carles*, to be vigilant in preventing all persons from coming out of *Normandy*, into *England*^a.

TIME plainly discovered the wisdom of the king's precaution; for duke *Robert*, who was returned with a great reputation, and who was a prince endowed with many amiable qualities, quickly renewed his pretensions to the *English* crown; preparing both a fleet, and an army, in order to pass over into *England* with greater forces, and hopes of better success than formerly. All our historians, however, agree, that, if king *Henry's* commanders at sea had done their duty, he would never have set his foot in this island by force. But it so happened, that, either out of hopes of profit, or from the natural levity of their dispositions, several of them inclined to the duke; and, as soon as they knew his fleet was at sea, went over with their ships, into his service; by which means, he landed safely, at *Portsmouth*, with a gallant army*. King *Henry*, however, had not been idle; but had a considerable force about him, when he received this news; upon which, he marched directly to *Hastings*, where

^a Roger. Hoved. p. 468, 469. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1100.

* A. D. 1101.

where he was joined by many of the nobility; though some of these too afterwards went over to his brother. When things were on the point of being determined by arms, and a second battel of *Hastings* seemed to be the only method of clearing the royal title, the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some other great men, interposed, and brought about an accommodation; by which, the kingdom was left to *Henry*, and a pension of three thousand marks, was reserved to *Robert*^b; who, after a stay of six months in his brother's court, returned into *Normandy*, very well satisfied: though he did not continue so long; perceiving plainly, when it was too late, that he who wanted resolution enough to contend for a kingdom, was not likely to preserve a dukedom in quiet: and this jealousy drew upon him in process of time, the very thing that he feared, as our historians relate at large, and as I shall briefly shew, so far as it concerns the subject of which I am treating.

AFTER various passages into *Normandy*, the king, at last, determined to make an absolute conquest of it, pretending, that he was ashamed to see his brother not able to live upon his revenues, though he had not been ashamed to take from him, as a gift, the pension of three thousand marks *per ann.* which he had forced him to accept in lieu of the crown. With this view he raised a great army, and a fleet proportionable, with which he crossed the sea*, and, in a short space conquered the greatest part of his brother's dominions. That stout prince, whose spirit was always superior to his power, resolved to hazard

^b Chron. Saxon. p. 209. Matth. Paris, p. 98. Gul. Malmesbur. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. v. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. * A. D. 1106.

all bravely in the field; rather than remain safe in his person, but stripped of his dominions. Full of this generous resolution, he gave his brother battel, wherein he shewed all the courage and conduct of an experienced commander; yet in the end was routed; taken prisoner, and thence forward never enjoyed either land or liberty more^c. The *English* writers are fond of remarking, that this conquest of *Normandy* happened that very day forty years, on which his father, by the battel of *Hastings*, obtained the crown of *England*; but, as to what they relate further, of duke *Robert's* having his eyes put out, and dying of spite, because the king sent him a robe that was too little for himself^d, they are facts very doubtful at least, and therefore not hastily to be credited.

As *Normandy* could not have been conquered without a considerable fleet, so it would quickly have been lost again, if the king had not been superior to his neighbours at sea; for the king of *France* was very desirous of settling up *William*, the son of duke *Robert*, and nephew to the king, for duke of *Normandy*. This obliged king *Henry* to make frequent voyages thither, and to be at great expence, as well in gratifying the *French* lords, as in maintaining an army and fleet for its defence, which did not, however, hinder him from chastizing the *Welsh*, when they took up arms against him, or from sending to the assistance of the christians in the *Holy-Land*, as great succours as any prince of his time^e. Indeed, his remarkable

^c Chronic. Saxon. p. 213, 214. Mat. Paris, hist. p. 62. Gul. Malmesbur. &c. ^d This is indeed affirmed by M. Paris, and some other writers of good authority: but the Saxon Chronicle is silent; and Malmesbury commends king Henry's kindness to his brother. ^e Gul. Malmesbur. de gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. v. Henric. Huntingdon. hist. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.

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able felicity in attaining almost every thing he undertook, put much in his power; and he had too elevated a soul not to use what he possessed.

HE received, however, in the twenty-first year of his reign * a very considerable check. For having settled every thing in *Normandy*, to his good liking, where for that purpose he had resided for some years, he resolved to return to *England*, with all the royal family. His only son *William*, whom he had made duke of that country, and who was alike the delight of his father and of the nation, ordered a new ship to be built, for the commodious carriage of himself, and many of his princely relations. These accordingly embarked on the 26th of *November*, the weather fine, and the wind fair. The prince, having made the hearts of the sailors merry, proposed to them a reward, in case they could out-sail the vessel in which his father was. In attempting this, they ventured too near the shore, and unfortunately, just as it fell dark, ran upon a shoal of rocks, then known by the name of *Shatteras*. The boat was presently put out, and the prince, with some few about him got into it, and might have been yet safe, if, moved by the cries of his sister, the countess of *Perche*, he had not returned with an intent to take her in; which gave so many an opportunity of crowding into the boat, that it sunk together with the ship, every soul perishing except a butcher, who very strangely escaped, by clinging to the main-mast^f. There perished by this misfortune about two hundred persons; which en-

* A. D. 1120. ^f Chron. Saxon. p. 212. Gul. Malmesbur.
Henric. Huntingdon. Matth. Paris, &c.

ables us to give some guess at the bulk and burthen of ships in those days ^g.

OTHER circumstances in this king's reign I find none, of weight enough to deserve mention; I shall, therefore, content myself with observing, that, by several laws relating to trade (particularly one, which gave every wreck to the owners, if a living thing was found on board) he manifested his attention to commerce, and his care of maritime affairs ^h. To this we may add, that the *Danish* prince of the *Orkneys*, made him frequent presents, as testimonies of his veneration and respect; and, though *Morchad* king of *Ireland*, whom the writers of that country stile *Murchertus O'Brian*, in the beginning of his reign, treated the *English* but indifferently, yet, on king *Henry's* threatening to prohibit all commerce with that island, he came to a just sense of his folly, and ever after behaved as became him towards the subjects of so great a prince ⁱ. It is in some measure wonderful, that, considering the many and great fatigues this prince underwent, he was not sooner worn out; but, as he was fortunate in all other things, so in this also he was happy, that he enjoyed a longer life and rule than his predecessors; deceasing on the second of *December* 1135, having reigned thirty-five, and lived near sixty-eight years ^k. He was a monarch of great endowments, improved by an excellent education, who sincerely loved the *English*, and had always a just regard to the honour of his crown.

STEPHEN

^g Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. p. 148. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 438. contains a very particular and curious account.

^h Selden. Jan. Angl. int. oper. tom. iv. p. 1009.

ⁱ Gul. Malmesbur. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. v.

^k Chron. Saxon. p. 237. Matth. Parris. Gul. Malmesbur. &c.

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STEPHEN earl of *Blois*, nephew, by the father's side, to the late king, and, by his mother, grandson to *William* the Conqueror, by cajoling the *English* lords, promising wholly to remit *Danegeld*, and to ease them in other particulars, attained the possession of the *English* crown, to the prejudice of *Maud* the empress; by the same arts precisely, whereby her father had defrauded his brother duke *Robert*. This king *Stephen* was a prince, who, abating his ambition, had few or no vices; brave in his person, a good officer, and who, in all probability, had made an excellent king, if he had come to the throne with a better title, and had thereby secured a more peaceable possession: but, being involved in wars and disputes, almost through his whole reign, and, having likewise given up or relinquished that tax, by which he should have secured the sovereignty of the sea, which promise he exactly kept, we need not wonder, that we have less to say of him than of the other *Norman* princes¹.

IN the third year of his reign, he, with a great fleet, considerable army on board, invaded *Normandy*; and, though *Jeffery* earl of *Anjou*; the husband of *Maud* the empress, did all that in him lay to defend it, yet he re-joined that dukedom to the *English* crown, intending to have bestowed it on his son *Eustace*. Long, however, his affairs had not this prosperous current; for, after many domestick troubles, his competitor *Maud* landed in *England*, and laid claim to the crown*. Though her retinue was very small, scarce a hundred and fifty in number,

¹ Chron. Saxon. p. 238. Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 74, 75. Gul. Malmesbur. hist. novel. lib. i.

* A. D. 1140.

ber, yet she quickly grew strong enough to give the king a great deal of trouble; nay, at length she became so powerful, that she took him prisoner, and sent him to be kept at *Bristol*, where, by her orders, he was put into irons; yet afterwards exchanged for her bastard brother, *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*. This potent lord, crossing over into *Normandy*, recovered it for his sister and her son *Henry*, and then returning, is recorded to have invaded the northern parts of the kingdom, with a fleet of fifty-two sail; which shews, how low the maritime strength of the nation was then fallen, and what mighty mischiefs follow from a contested succession, which, however it may end as to princes, is sure to be fatal to their subjects^m.

INDEED, this reign of king *Stephen*, if our best histories, and the *Saxon* chronicle especially, be worthy of credit, was most unfortunate for the people, exposing them to such miseries and misfortunes, as in times past they had never felt, and which would hardly meet with any belief now. Amongst all their grievances, this was none of the least, that there was a total stagnation of trade, much counterfeit money, and no security for foreign merchants; remedies for all which, are expressly provided by the treaty of peace made with *Henry* duke of *Normandy*, by king *Stephen*, in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was confirmed by the king's charter, whereof an authentic copy is preserved in *Holingshed's* chronicle, and no where elseⁿ. The king did not live long after

^m Gul. Neubrigen. lib. i. cap. 13. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 460. ⁿ Vol. ii. p. 62. edit. 1537. This was given to the editor by Serjeant Fleetwood, then Recorder of London, a great antiquary.

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after this settlement of his affairs; otherwise, he would, in all probability, have done his utmost to restore things to a better state; about which, when his mind was employed, he was carried off by a complication of distempers, on the 25th of *October* 1154, when he had reigned near nineteen years. A great captain, says *Matt. Paris*, and most of our other historians agree, as to his personal qualifications, a good king. Only that ancient and venerable book, the *Saxon* chronicle, which ends with his reign, speaks of nothing but calamities and misfortunes which happened therein: and yet this prince had a reputation for piety, and was remarkably kind to the monks; I mention this particularly, to shew the impartiality of that authentic history, which well deserves to be translated from the tongue of our ancestors, into modern *English*, and would afford such as prefer truth to fine language, much satisfaction.

ACCORDING to the method I have hitherto followed, I ought to speak now of such discoveries as were made within this space of time, or extraordinary acts performed by private persons: in respect to which, however, I shall not detain the reader long; because, in the first place, we have not much of this kind to note; and, secondly, what there is, hath been already examined by *Hakluyt*, and other collectors, and, therefore, may be presumed sufficiently known already. Such are the travels of *Alured* bishop of *Worcester*, in the year 1058, to *Jerusalem*°, the journey of *Ingulphus*, abbot of *Croyland*, to the same place; in 1004^p; both of which are private transactions, and

° Roger. Hoved. in parte priore Annal. p. 445. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 8. ^p Ingulph. histor. ap. script. post Bedam, p. 903, 904. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 9.

and only prove, that *English* men were as forward as any in those days, in undertaking such journies as might contribute to the increase either of their knowledge or reputation. As to the expeditions of *Edgar Atheling*, they are somewhat of a different kind, and are, in some measure, of national importance. His high quality, as the true heir of the *English* crown, made all his actions very conspicuous, during the times in which he lived; and, as he often found it troublesome staying at home, under the eye of such as, to his prejudice, were vested with supreme power, and bore him no good will; so he chose to signalize his courage abroad, in such expeditions as fell in his way. Thus he commanded a body of *Normans*, which were sent into *Apulia*¹, and, returning out of *Italy* with honour, he then applied himself to *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, who treated him with kindness and respect, and, with whom he went to *Jerusalem*; where he likewise gained so great reputation, that, first, the emperor of *Constantinople*, and then the emperor of *Germany*, would willingly have staid him in their courts: but he returned in 1102, and was four years afterwards, taken prisoner with duke *Robert* in *Normandy*². One of our most famous historians, who was his contemporary, reproaches him severely for his not accepting the offers that were made him abroad, and for his fond attachment to his own country; but, if we consider that his sister was married to the king of *Scots*, and that her daughter by that king was married to king *Henry*, in whose reign he returned, one cannot think that censure very reasonable, or that his
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¹ Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. iii.
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² Chron. Saxon.

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wasting the last years of his life in so obscure a retirement, that we know not where it was^a, or when, or how he died, appears more dishonourable to his memory, than to the writers of that age, who were so devoted to power, that they could not so much as do justice to the character of a man obnoxious thereto. *Athelard*, a monk of *Bath*, is said by *Bale*, to have travelled through *Egypt* and *Arabia*, in quest of knowledge; and that, on his return home, which was towards the latter end of the reign of *Henry I.* he published many learned works^b. *Leland*, a more accurate writer, tells us, he was a great traveller; but without any mention either of *Egypt* or *Arabia*; though he informs us, that he translated *Euclid's Elements* out of *Arabic* into *Latin*; and, that himself had seen another learned work translated by the same monk, from an *Arabic* treatise, entitled, *Erith Elcharmi*; which deserves to be remarked, because, very probably, these books were then first brought to the knowledge of learned men here; and, therefore, this man might be said to travel for publick advantage^c. *William of Tyre*^d, and *Robert Ketenfis* are both mentioned in *Hakluyt* from *Bale*, for learned men and travellers, as they were^e. The former flourished under king *Henry*, the latter under king *Stephen*; but, as to any thing farther capable of recommending their fame to posterity, I find not.

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^a Gul. Malmesbur. de gestis reg. Angl. lib. iii. p. 103. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 10. ^b Baleus de Script. Britan. p. 183. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 15. ^c Leland Comment. de Script. Brit. vol. i. p. 201. ^d Bal. de Script. Britan. vol. ii. p. 50, 150. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 16. ^e Bal. de Script. Britan. vol. i. p. 191. Hakluyt, ubi supra.

IT appears from the renewed charters of the cinque ports, that, as they were first incorporated by *Edward the Confessor*, so, during the reigns of the several princes mentioned in this chapter, they were particularly serviceable upon all occasions; whence it is evident, that there was a flourishing trade carried on from this coast, even in these times, and before them. As to the commerce of the river of *Thames*, and of the city of *London*, there is an ample testimony in the works of *William of Malmesbury*, who flourished under king *Stephen*; who assures us, it was then frequented by merchants of all nations, and so ample a storehouse of all necessaries of life, that, upon any dearth or scarcity of corn, the rest of the nation was cheaply and conveniently supplied from thence^r. The same writer observes as to *Bristol*, that a great trade was driven from thence to *Norway*, *Ireland*, and other places, whence the inhabitants were vastly enriched^z. Without doubt, the accession of the *Norman* dominions was of considerable use, in respect to trade; as was our former intercourse with the *Danes*, since it enlarged our correspondence with the northern part of the world, a thing always profitable to a country abounding with valuable commodities or manufactures, as will more clearly appear, even from our concise account of the succeeding reigns.

THE reader will observe, that we refer any advantages arising to the inhabitants of this island, from their falling under the same sovereignty with the dutchy of *Normandy*, to the succeeding reigns; since there is nothing more certain, than that under the government of the princes mentioned

^r De gest. pontif. Anglor. lib. ii.

^z Ibid. lib. iv.

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tioned in this chapter, they suffered severely. *William* the first, provoked by frequent insurrections in the *North*, and the assistance given by the *Scots*, to such as took arms against him, ruined the northern parts of his territories in such a manner, that they did not recover during this whole period. On the other hand, his son and successor *William Rufus*, demolished thirty-six good towns, in the fairest and most fruitful part of *England*, for the making that, which is still called the *new Forrest*. What is ascribed to rage in the one, and wantonness in the other, may, perhaps, be justly stiled the fruits of the same policy in both; for it looks as if the father had a mind to make war, a thing more difficult to the inhabitants of the *North*, by preventing their joining with the *Scots* so easily, or subsisting their forces conveniently when joined, and the son might possibly be willing to have that coast less populous, that the inhabitants might not be tempted to aim at preventing his return from *Normandy*, whenever his affairs carried him thither, as otherwise perhaps they might have done.

BOTH those monarchs seem to have had no tenderness at all for this country, but considered it as a farm, of which it was wisdom to make the most, while in their possession. *Henry* had indeed a heart if not entirely, yet in a good measure, *English*, under him the people began to recover again, and to grow wealthy, as the king did likewise; for it was in his time, that the revenue arising from the crown lands, was adjusted and fixed to a settled and certain rate, so as that it might be paid either in money or in provisions. As this shews, that the people were beginning to grow rich, so by attending his affairs at home, as well as he did those abroad, the king grew rich too,

too, infomuch, that at the time of his demise, he actually left in his coffers the sum of one hundred thousand pounds in ready money, exclusive of plate and jewels. This would have coined in our times to thrice that sum, but in reference to its real value, ought to be esteemed about a million. *Stephen* seized upon all this, and spent it in his wars, with much more. Better it had been, if he had spent it in his follies, for then it would have gone amongst the people, without prejudice to their industry, whereas his reign being a series of troubles, they were so often in arms, that they could attend to nothing else, which was the true source of that misery and poverty before-mentioned.

BUT to understand this, and many of our subsequent reflections perfectly, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the manner of dealing in those days, the nature of payments, and the value of gold and silver. As to the common people, in their ordinary way of trading in the country, they made but little use of money, and yet derived great advantage from the laws made for settling its value; since by those laws, the rate of most saleable goods were likewise settled. By which, exchange or barter was very much facilitated, and where commodities could not be brought to balance each other exactly, the difference was paid in money, that is, in silver, or in gold, according to the rates at which they were then fixed by law; so that none in their open dealings, could be over-reached, cheated, or wronged.

PAYMENTS, *ad scalam* and *ad pensum*, were by weight. Twenty shillings was then a pound, and the officers took sixpence over, called *vantage* money. This kind of payment was very ancient; when payment was made

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made *ad pensum*, the payer was to make good the weight, tho' he had allowed the six-pence over. To prevent fraud in the fineness as well as weight, part of the money was melted down, called *combustion*. There were two sorts of payments by combustion, real and nominal; real, when a sample of the money was put into the furnace; nominal, when a twentieth part of a pound was taken and accepted, in lieu of actual combustion; when money paid in was melted down, or the supplement made, by adding one shilling to each twenty, the ferme was said to be dealbated or blanché. So one hundred pounds thus paid into the *exchequer* after combustion, was said to be one hundred pounds blank. This was opposed to payments made *numero*, or by *tale*, which is our modern way. Computations, or at least payments were made by pounds, by marks, half marks, shillings, pence, &c. silver by marks, and half marks, ounces, and half ounces of gold. The mark of gold was equivalent to six pounds of silver, or six score shillings of silver. The ounce of gold was equivalent to fifteen shillings silver. The pound of silver was twenty shillings, the mark of silver thirteen shillings and four-pence, the shilling twelve-pence. It is requisite to have these notes before our eyes, when we are speaking of what passed in times at such a distance, for otherwise it will be almost impossible to prevent falling into great mistakes, about subjects of importance; as indeed several able historians have done, for want of attending carefully to these matters; which in all probability, they did not conceive so deserving their notice, and yet a disposition to negligence, is sometimes as fatal to the reader, as an inclination to falsehood.

BUT that I may not seem to expect more caution in others, than I have shewn myself; I think it may not be amiss, to give the public some account, of the reasons why I suppose, that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, found in the treasury of king *Henry* the 1st, was equivalent to near a million at this time. In order to this, it is necessary to acquaint the reader, that in the reign of that prince, the king's tenant, who was bound to provide bread for one hundred men, was allowed to compound, by paying one shilling in money. The very learned bishop *Fleetwood* supposes, that this was bread for one meal; but I am inclined to think, it was bread for a whole day; and I am induced to think so, because, in countries where this establishment has always prevailed, a *ration* of bread is still so accounted. In our times, I presume, that the value of bread for a day, may be computed at about two-pence, or rather more, and consequently bread for a hundred men, will come to sixteen-shillings and eight-pence; so that what could be then bought for one shilling, would cost almost seventeen now. Yet if we should hastily conclude from hence, that any given sum of money at that time, ought to be multiplied by seventeen, to find its equivalent in ours, we shall be much in the wrong. For, the shilling in those times, was thrice as heavy as our shillings, and therefore, was, in reality, worth three shillings; so that in fact, the bread, that would now cost sixteen and eight-pence, might have been had then, for as much silver as is in three of our shillings. According to this computation, one hundred thousand pounds then, would not be worth quite six hundred thousand now; but if we reflect, that a great part of this sum, must have been in gold, and that it is very reasonable to believe, the composition was
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not exactly set, or strictly set, it will appear, that the estimation I have made, is agreeable to truth, or, at least, not very wide of it.

It may not be amiss, after dwelling so long upon this subject, to explain another point, that is the difference between the *Saxon* and the *Norman* money, which in sound, was very great, tho' but very little in fact. The *Saxons* divided the pound weight of silver into forty-eight shillings, which, the *Normans* divided only into twenty; but then, the *Saxons* divided their shilling into five pence only, whereas, the *Normans* split theirs into twelve; from whence it follows, that the number of pence in the *Saxon* and *Norman* pound, were the same; and the pounds themselves exactly of the same value, as being in reality what the word implies, a pound weight of silver. It has been before observed, that great sums of money were paid in weight, and the reason of it, is not hard to be found; for the coin then current, was the silver penny, with a deep cross indented on the reverse; so that it might be easily broken into the halfpenny or farthing. This was convenient enough, therefore, for small matters, but not for great; and for this reason, all large payments were by the *scale*, and in cases of very great moment, it was stipulated, that it should be so; just as in succeeding times it was required, that payments should be made in *sterling* money, and as in ours, we use the phrase of good and lawful money of *England*.

WE collect most of these particulars, either from old records, from *monkish* historians, or from those ancient chronicles in rhyme, which are still preserved to us by the industry and care of a few men of a particular taste, tho' very little regarded by the many. It is, notwithstanding,

very certain, that points of this nature are highly important to the thorough understanding, the most useful and material parts of history; such as comparing the state and conditions, the manners and usages, the felicity and infelicity of past times, with our own, without which, historical reading is a mere amusement; which, how much so ever it may enable a man to talk, will, notwithstanding, scarce afford him the capacity of thinking or reasoning better. It is upon this account, that we see the common people, very apt, upon some occasions, to treat learning and learned men with contempt, because they are not able to answer readily such questions, as are proposed to them about matters in common use; and, it is this likewise, that recommends to them *Baker's* chronicle, and other books of a like nature, written in a familiar stile, and which descend to things which fall under daily notice, tho' they are but mean in point of composition, and are very frequently dark and inaccurate; which is indeed a good reason, why they should be corrected and set right, instead of being under-valued, and wholly neglected by men of parts and knowledge; for, after all, we can never expect to see an *English* history compleat, if there is not full as much respect paid to the discoveries made by antiquaries, as to the greater, and more shining events, which are recorded by those, who make the wars, and state intrigues of our monarchs, their principal care, and the great business of their writings.

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The Naval History of ENGLAND, during the reigns of Henry II. Richard I. John, Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. Richard II. containing the space of about two hundred thirty-five years.



HENRY II. ascended the throne, with universal consent, on the death of kind *Stephen*; having, besides his kingdom, large dominions on the continent, by various titles, *viz. Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, Main, and Tourain*; which rendered him extraordinary powerful. He was about twenty-eight years old, at this time, and esteemed as wise, and brave a prince, as that age produced. His first care, was, to restore the government to its former state, by rectifying the many disorders which had crept in, during the unsettled reign of king *Stephen* *. Having performed this, he projected the conquest of *Ireland*; for which, though he had many pretences, yet he thought fit to obtain the pope's bull, the rather, because the reigning pontiff, *Adrian IV.* * was by birth an *Englishman*. This favour he easily obtained, for the propagating the christian faith, toge-

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* Gul. Neubrig. Hist. Rer. Angl. lib. ii. c. 1.
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ther with the power and profits of the holy see, as by that instrument appears ^b. In order to this expedition, the king conferred with his great council at *Winchester*, but, his mother disliking the project, it was, for that time, laid aside ^c.

His next expedition was beyond the seas, in the fifth year of his reign [†], undertaken at a vast expence, with a great fleet and potent army, for the recovery of the earldom of *Toulouse*, to which the king pretended a title; but he was not so happy in this, as in his other expeditions; though he was so far superior at sea, that his enemies durst not contend with him on that element ^d. In the eleventh year of his reign, he employed both a fleet and army against the *Welsh* [‡], and afterwards was engaged in various disputes with the king of *France*, which obliged him to a long residence in *Normandy* ^e. In the sixteenth year of his reign ^{*}, he caused his son *Henry*, then about fifteen, to be crowned king in his life-time ^f; which, instead of contributing, as he supposed it would, to his peace and prosperity, proved the cause of very great calamities to himself and subjects.

ABOUT this time, the king resumed his grand design of conquering *Ireland*, to which he had various incitements. Some pretensions he formed, from its having been anciently subdued by the *Britons*. Another motive was, the injuries done to his subjects, by the piracies which the *Irish* committed, taking and selling *English* prisoners into slavery; but that which gave him the fairest occasion, was,

^b Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 28. ^c Ibid. p. 31. [†] A. D. 1159. ^d Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. c. 10. [‡] A. D. 1165.
^e Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 46. ^{*} 1170. ^f Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 25.

was, the tyranny of *Roderick O'Connor*, who, assuming the title of monarch of *Ireland*, oppressed the other princes in the island, and thereby forced them to seek the protection of king *Henry*. One of these, whose name was *Dermot*, king of *Leinster*, being driven out of his dominions, passed over into *Normandy*, where the king then was, and entreated his assistance; which was readily granted. But the king, like a politic prince, advised him for the present, to apply himself to some of his barons, to whom he granted a licence, to undertake an expedition in his favour. Accordingly, *Robert Fitz-Stephens*, in the month of *May*, in the year 1169, landed at *Wexford*, with a very small force; he was immediately followed by *Maurice Prendergast*, and these, by the assistance of king *Dermot*, having gained footing in the island, *Richard* earl of *Chepstow*, called commonly in our histories *Richard Strongbow*, who was the chief undertaker, went thither in person, and landed, the 25th of *August*, 1170, at *Waterford*, with a greater force, and in a short time reduced *Dublin*, and many other places. King *Henry* having advice of their unexpected success, began to take umbrage thereat, and published a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to return out of that island by a time prefixed, on pain of confiscation of their estates in *England*. But they, by assuring the king of their duty, and submission to his will, engaged him to revoke that order, and to come to an agreement with them, whereby he reserved to himself the sea-ports and coasts, and confirmed their inland conquests to the undertakers. The King, however, resolved to go over thither in person, and, for that purpose, drew together a considerable army, which he embarked on board a fleet of four hundred sail, and passed therewith from *Milford-Haven* to *Waterford*, where he landed, 25 *October*, 1171.

The appearance of so great a force, and the presence of the king, had such an effect on this country, then torn by intestine divisions, that, in a very short space, the king made this great conquest, which he had so long sought, and so vigorously endeavoured, without effusion of blood. Afterwards keeping his *Christmas* at *Dublin*, he there received homage and hostages of the several petty-princes, and even of the great king *Roderick O'Connor*; so that, if his affairs had permitted him to have remained there so long as he intended, he would, in all probability, not only have effectually reduced *Ireland*, but also left it in a quiet and peaceable state ^g. It was discords arising in his own family, that prevented this; for *Eleanor* his queen, his eldest son king *Henry*, his younger sons *Richard* and *Jeffrey*, entering into a conspiracy against him, and being supported therein by the power of the king of *France*, old king *Henry* was obliged, about *Easter*, to leave *Ireland*, and to return into *Wales*; which he did, without suffering any loss, having before settled the *English* conquests in that island, as he thought proper ^h. Of this war, we have a very distinct account, though interlarded with many superstitious circumstances by *Gerald Barry*, better known by the name of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, an eye-witness ⁱ.

THE king was engaged, by the unlucky accidents before-mentioned, in various wars for many years together; in all which, he supported himself with undaunted courage, and admirable conduct. In *Normandy*, he defeated the king of *France*, and the forces of his own son *Henry*:
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^g Roger. Hov. Annal. par. post. p. 526, 527. Matth. Paris Hist. Ang. p. 126. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 26. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 57.

^h Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 27.

ⁱ There is an English Translation of his Work in the first Volume of Holingshead's Chronicle.

the loyal nobility of *England*, in the mean time, not only repulsed the king of *Scots*, who had invaded the *northern* provinces of *England*, but took him prisoner; and the earl of *Flanders*, who had raised great forces, with an intent to have invaded *England*, was so awed by the king's success, that he was forced to give over his enterprize, and to disband his army; and these great things the king was chiefly enabled to perform by his superior power at sea, in which, though some contest happened between him and his son *Henry*, yet it was quickly over; for the king's fleet destroyed most of the rebel's ships, and many of their confederates; infomuch, that, wearied at length with repeated disappointments, and brought low by numberless defeats, his enemies were at length content to accept a peace on the terms prescribed them by the king; after which, he transported his victorious army on board a royal fleet into *England*, landing at *Portsmouth*, the 26th of *May*, 1175^k. The same year, *Roderick O'Connor* made a second and more full submission to the king^l; who, thereupon, transferred his title to that island, unto his son *John*, who, as some writers report, was crowned king with a diadem of *Peacock's* feathers, set in gold, sent to his father, by the pope, for that purpose. Some part of this story, however, cannot be true; since it appears, from the great seal, made use of by this prince, that he never stiled himself king, but lord only, of *Ireland*; into which country he also went † several years after, with a considerable army; and continued there for some time, though without performing any great matter^m.

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^k Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 67. ^l Roder. O Flaherty, in Ogyg. p. 441. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 68. † A. D. 1185. ^m Camden. Britan. p. 795. Roger. Hoved. Annal. p. 630. Speed's Chronicle, p. 469.

Even after these times of confusion, and notwithstanding all the expence they had occasioned, the king shewed the greatness of his mind, by giving extraordinary assistance to the christians, in the holy land; not only by licensing several of his nobility to go thither at their own charges, but also, by advancing large sums of money, and furnishing ships and arms *. How much there was of piety in these expeditions, I pretend not to determine; yet, certainly, the king's intent was good, and this good effect followed it; that his fame, and the reputation of the nation was spread thereby to the most distant parts of the world; insomuch, that the crown of *Jerusalem* was offered to the king; who, considering the state of his affairs at home, modestly declined it. Indeed, the troubles he had so happily quelled some years ago, broke out again in the latter part of his reign, when he was as unfortunate, as, of old, he had been happy; insomuch, that after undergoing a cruel reverse of fortune, occasioned chiefly by his being obliged to end these disputes by fighting by land, where his *French* and *Norman* lords often betrayed him; he was at length compelled to accept such terms of peace, as *France*, and his rebellious son *Richard*, would afford him; which affected him so sensibly, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which he died, on the 6th of *July*, 1189, when he had reigned near thirty-five years, and lived sixty-three °. He was the first prince of the royal house of *Plantagenet*, and was possessed of very extensive dominions. *England* he held in a fuller and more settled condition,

* Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 10. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. p. 641.
 ° Matth. Paris. Hist. Ang. p. 151. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 25,
 26. Roger. Hoved. Annal. p. 652, 653. Nic. Trivet. Annal.
 Vol. 1 p. 94. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 481.

tion, than his predecessors; restoring the antient laws, and abolishing *Danegeld*. *Scotland* he humbled more than any of his predecessors, kept *Wales* in strict subjection; subdued *Ireland*; and held all the maritime province of *France*, even to the mountains, which divide it from *Spain*; so that, as a foreign writer confesses, he justly claimed, and undeniably maintained his sovereignty over the seas¹, which he esteemed the most honourable prerogative of his crown.

RICHARD, succeeded his father king *Henry*, in all his dominions², as well on the continent, as in this island; and having adjusted all his affairs in *France*, amicably, with *Philip Augustus*, who was then king, he came over hither, to settle his domestick concerns; that he might be at liberty to undertake that great expedition, on which he had set his heart, viz. of driving the *Saracens* out of the *Holy Land*, in which he was to have king *Philip* of *France*, and other great princes for his associates³. Our historians speak of this, according to their own notions, and without any respect had to the then circumstances of things. Hence some treat of it with great solemnity, and as a thing worthy of immortal honour; while others again, consider it as a pure effect of bigotry, and blame the king exceedingly, for being led by the nose by the pope, and involving himself in so romantic a scheme, to the great danger of his person, and to the almost entire ruin of his subjects. I trust own that, to me, neither opinion seems right; yet,
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¹ P. Daniel, Histoire de la Mil. Franc. Tom. ii. p. 445.
² A. D. 1189. ³ Matth. Paris: Histor. Angl. p. 155. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. c. i. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 97. Galfrid. de Vins Salv. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. Johan. Brompton. Rad. de Diceto. Ran. Higden. in Polychron.

I should not have expressed my sentiments on this subject, if it did not very nearly concern the matter of this treatise. The power of the *Saracens* was then exceeding great, and they were growing no less formidable at sea, than they had been long at land; so that, if the whole force of *Christendom* had not been opposed against them, in the east, I see very little or no room to doubt of their making an entire conquest of the west; for, since they were able to deal with the joint forces of these princes, in the *Holy Land*, they would undoubtedly have beat them singly, if ever they had attacked them. How little soever, therefore, the popes are to be justified in their spiritual characters, in respect to these *Croisades*, they indisputably shew'd themselves great politicians. As to the particular case of *England*, though it might be hard on those who lived in those times, yet the nation, as a nation, reaped great advantages from it; for it not only excited a martial spirit, which in that age was necessary for their preservation; but it also raised a much greater naval force, than had ever been set on foot since the coming of the *Normans*, and, withal, carried the *English* fame to such a height, as astonished the whole world, and was the true source of that respect, which has ever since been paid to the *English* flag. But it is now time to return to the expedition.

THE articles of agreement between the two kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, are recorded at large in our own, and in the *French* historians; as also the naval regulations*, with which therefore I shall not meddle. One thing, however, is very observable, that when king *Richard* appeared with
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* Matth. Paris. Roger. Hoveden. and in Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 20. there is a very large Relation in English, drawn from John Fox, who had consulted all our historians.

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his fleet before the city of *Messina* in *Sicily*, it so much astonished the *French* king, that he, from that moment, conceived such a jealousy of king *Richard*, as could never after be extinguished. During the stay of our king in this island, a difference happened between him and king *Tancred*, which occasioned the attacking *Messina*, and taking it by the *English*; which, as our writers say, gave no small umbrage to king *Philip*; though the *French* historians affirm, that he abetted king *Richard*, and had a third part of the money paid him by king *Tancred* for his pains *. However that was, it is certain, that this last mentioned prince did, by a treaty of composition, agree to give king *Richard* sixty thousand ounces of gold, four large galleons, and fifteen gallies; by which accession of strength, the *English* fleet, when the king left *Sicily* to sail for *Cyprus*, consisted of thirteen capital ships of extraordinary burthen, one hundred and fifty ships of war, and fifty-three gallies, besides vessels of less size, and tenders. In their passage to *Cyprus*, they were sorely shaken by a tempest, in which several ships were lost, and a great number of men drowned, among whom were some persons of very great distinction. The ship in which *Berengaria*, daughter to the king of *Navarre*, and who was contracted to king *Richard*, was, with many other ladies of great quality, was very near perishing by their being denied entrance into one of the ports of *Cyprus*, by the tyrannical king of that island, whose name was *Isaac*; and, whom most of our historians grace with the high title of emperor. This, with the plundering such ships as were wrecked upon his coast, and making

* Abrege de l'Histoire de France, par Mezeray, Tom. ii. p. 595.

making prisoners of such persons as escaped drowning, so provoked king *Richard*, that he made a descent with all his forces, and, in the space of fourteen days, reduced the whole island, taking the king and his daughter and heirs, prisoners. Here he received *Guy*, formerly king of *Jerusalem*, with several other christian princes in the east, who swore fealty to him as their protector; and, having left two governors, with a considerable body of troops in *Cyprus*, he sailed from thence with a much better fleet than he brought with him; for it consisted of two hundred and fifty-four stout ships, and upwards of sixty galleys. In his passage to *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, he took a huge vessel of the *Saracens*, laden with ammunition and provision, bound for the same place, which was then besieged by the christian army. The size of this ship was so extraordinary, that it very highly deserves notice. *Matthew Paris* calls it *Dremunda*, and tells us, that the ships of the *English* fleet attacked it briskly, though it lay like a great floating castle in the sea, and was in a manner impenetrable. At length, however, they boarded and carried it, though defended by no less than fifteen hundred men, of whom the king caused thirteen hundred to be drowned, and kept the remaining two hundred prisoners. Another writer says, who were all persons of distinction. After this victory, the king proceeded to *Acon*, which he blocked up by sea, at the same time that his forces, in conjunction with those of other christian princes, besieged it by land; so that at length, chiefly by his means, it was taken, though defended by the whole strength of the *Saracens*, under their famous prince *Saladine* ^u.

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^t Hist. Angl. p. 163. ^u Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 22.
Matth. Paris. Roger Hoveden. Galf. de Vino Salvo. Mezeray.

THE *French* and *English*, took joint possession thereof *; but, king *Philip* was so sensible of his glory being eclipsed, by the superior merit of king *Richard*, that nothing would satisfy him but returning home, contrary to all the stipulations that he had made with the king of *England*. To this king *Richard*, with much ado, consented, upon his taking a solemn oath, not to invade any of his dominions, till king *Richard* himself should be returned forty days. King *Philip* left behind him the duke of *Burgundy*, with a body of ten or twelve thousand men, with orders to obey king *Richard* as captain-general of the christian forces in the *Holy-Land*; but with private instructions, as our historians surmise, to frustrate, as much as in him lay, all that king's undertakings; which, if it be not true, is at least very probable, since that duke acted as if he really had such instructions. But, notwithstanding this, *Richard* took *Ascalon*, *Joppa*, and other places, reduced the greatest part of *Syria*, beat the *Saracens* in several engagements, and, if his confederates had done their duty as well, would infallibly have re-taken *Jerusalem*, which was the principal design of the war. That he really intended it, appears from the testimony of a celebrated *French* historian, who tells, that the king had formed a project of acquiring mighty dominions in the east, and had for that purpose, given to *Guy* of *Lucignan*, the kingdom of *Cyprus*, in exchange for his title to the crown of *Jerusalem* *. But, at length, finding himself envied and betrayed by his confederates in the east, and having intelligence that his brother *John* sought to usurp his dominions at home, he made

* A. D. 1191. * Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 165. Nic. Trevet. Annal. vol. i. p. 124. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 30. Mezeray, p. 598.

made a treaty with *Saladine*, and resigned his pretensions to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to his near kinsman *Henry* earl of *Champagne*. Such was the conclusion of this famous expedition, which might have ended better, if that mixture of envy and jealousy, which is so rooted in the temper of our ambitious neighbours the *French*, had not inclined them rather to sacrifice all regard to honour, and all respect to religion, than suffer so great an enterprize, as that of taking *Jerusalem* would have been, to be atchieved by an *English* prince *.

THE king, having settled his affairs in the best manner he could in the east, endeavoured to make all possible haste home, but met with a sad misfortune in his passage; for being wrecked on the coast of *Istria* *, where, with great difficulty, he saved his life, he thought for expedition-sake, to travel by land through *Germany* incognito, taking the name of *Hugo*, and passing for a merchant; but arriving in the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, he was unluckily discovered, and made prisoner, by *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, with whom he had formerly had some difference in the *Holy-Land*, and who basely made use of this advantage to revenge his private quarrel. After he had kept him some time, he delivered, or rather sold, him to the emperor *Henry VI*, a covetous, mercenary prince, who was resolved to get all he could by him, before he set him at liberty †. The injustice of this proceeding, was visible to all *Europe*; but the dominions of the emperor, and of the *Austrian* prince, were so far out of the reach of *England*,

* Galfr. de Vino Salvo. Roger. Hoveden. Gul. Neubrig. * A. D. 1192. † Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. p. 172. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. p. 728. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 33.

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England, and withal, the enemies of king *Richard* were become so numerous and powerful, that instead of wondering at his remaining fifteen months a captive, posterity may stand amazed, how he came to be at all released; especially, since so large a ransom was insisted on, as one hundred and four thousand pounds: which, however, was raised by the people of *England*, though with great difficulty, part of it being paid down, and hostages given for the rest². In the spring of the year, 1194, the king returned into *England*, where he began to rectify all the miscarriages which had happened in his absence, and, perceiving that nothing could effectually settle his foreign dominions, but vigorous measures, and a war with the *French*, whose king acted as perfidiously as ever, he suddenly drew together a considerable fleet, embarked on board thereof a large body of forces, and, transporting them into *Normandy*, quickly disappointed all his potent enemies views; and, after five years war, brought him to think in earnest of peace³. Here, notwithstanding, I must take notice of one thing, which, however slight in appearance, is exceedingly material to my subject, I mean, the marriage of *Philip Augustus* with *Isemberga*, the daughter of *Canutus* the fifth, king of *Denmark*; which match was made with no other view, than to engage the *Danes* in the interest of king *Philip*, who intended to have employed their naval force against that of the *English*⁴: and sure a stronger proof than this cannot be offered, of our being masters of the ballance of *Europe*, notwithstanding

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² Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 173, 174. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 127. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 41. ³ T. Walsingham, Hypodigm. Neustrix. Matth. Paris, Roger. Hoveden. ⁴ Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 26.

the personal misfortunes of king *Richard*, in virtue of our superiority at sea.

IN the course of the *French* war, the king having gained a great victory in the neighbourhood of *Blois*^c, his troops possessed the enemies camp and baggage; whereby all the records, and charters of *France*, which then were wont to follow the court, wherever it went, came into the hands of the *English*, and through carelessness, were dissipated and destroyed †. At last, when king *Richard* was reconciled to his brother *John*, and had effectually quelled his foreign enemies, he was taken out of this life by an unaccountable accident. A certain nobleman having found a large treasure, hid in his own lands, sent a part of it to the king, who, thereupon, demanded the whole; which being refused him, he presently besieged this nobleman in his castle, and going too near the walls to give directions for an assault, he was mortally wounded by an arrow: though some say, that the wound was not mortal in itself, but was rendered so, by the ill management of an unskilful surgeon^d. However this might be, he deceased on the 6th of *April*, in the year 1199, in the 10th year of his reign, and the 41st of his age. He was a prince very justly surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, or *Lion's-heart*, since his courage carried him through all things; and his firmness was such, that it alike bound to him his friends, and daunted his enemies. A strong instance of which, we have in the message sent by *Philip* of *France*, to earl *John*, on the king's being released by the emperor,

^c Histoire de France par Mazeray, vol. ii. p. 601. † A. D. 1194.
^d Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 195. Roger Hoveden. Annal. p. 791. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. p. 134.

ror, viz. *That the devil was now let loose again, and therefore he should take the best care he could of himself*^e. Of all our princes, none better understood the value of a naval force, or how to use it; as appears, not only by the victories he gained in time of war, but by his establishing the laws of *Oleron*, for the regulating maritime affairs, and by the constant care he took in supporting the ports and havens throughout the kingdom, and encouraging seamen; whereby he drew numbers, from all parts of *Europe*, into his service, and by a like vigilance, in promoting and protecting commerce^f.

JOHN succeeded his brother, by virtue of his will, and not in right of blood; for, if that had taken place, the crown would have belonged to his nephew *Arthur*, the son of his elder brother *Jeffrey*. From the day of his ascending the throne, he was perplexed with foreign wars, and domestic seditions; and the latter hath had such an effect upon our historians, that there cannot be a more difficult task, than even attempting to draw this king's true character. Those, who allow him many virtues, are at a loss how to account for several of his actions; and those, who deny him any good qualities at all, are still more at a loss to render their relations consistent. That he had very just notions as to maritime force, and was extremely tender of his sovereignty over the seas, is more authentically recorded of him, than of any of our preceeding kings; for it appears, that, very early in his reign, he, with the assent of the peers at *Hastings*, enacted,

L 2

^e Roger. Hoveden. Annal. p. 729. ^f Joan. Selden, in dissertation. ad fletam. c. ix. Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 191.

acted, that if any of the commanders of his fleets, should meet with ships of a foreign nation at sea, the masters of which refused to strike to the royal flag, then such ships, if taken, were to be deemed a good prize; even though it should appear afterwards, that the state, of which their owners were subjects, was in amity with *England*^e. It cannot be supposed, that this striking to the royal flag was now first claimed; but rather, that, as an old right, it was, for the preventing unnecessary disputes, clearly asserted. If it had been otherwise, one would imagine that it would prove more still; since no prince, who was not confessedly superior at sea, could ever have set up, and carried into practice, so extraordinary a pretension^h. We may, therefore, conclude, that this, together with his warrant for pressing all ships into service, when he had occasion for transports, with other things of the like nature, were, in consequence of ancient usage, founded on the indubitable rights of his predecessors.

FROM his entrance on the government, the king of *France* shewed himself as much his enemy, as ever he had been his brother's; invading his territories on the continent †, under pretence of protecting prince *Arthur*; but, in reality, in order to aggrandize himself, and to unite *Normandy*, and other provinces, to the *French* crown. These stirs obliged king *John* to pass frequently into *Normandy*, with considerable armies; where sometimes he did great things, and sometimes little or nothing. Our historians, generally speaking, charge the king roundly with negligence, and want of spiritⁱ; whereas the king, in his days,

^g Selden. *Mare Clausum*. p. ii. c. 26.
1200.

ⁱ Roger. Hoveden. *Polyd. Virgil*.

^h Ibid.

† A. D.

days, attributed all his losses, to the want of fidelity in his barons *. The best way to learn truth, is to consult unprejudiced writers; and, in this case, it must be owned, that the *French* historians describe king *John* as a fierce and active prince, and, particularly, ascribe the great victory he gained at *Mirabell*, to * his extraordinary expedition, marching night and day with his forces, to the relief of his mother †. It seems, therefore, most probable, that the great men in these times, were in fault; and that they suffered themselves to be persuaded, that the humbling of their prince might prove the means of their own exaltation. This conduct of theirs lost the king the greatest part of his *French* dominions, and was also the cause of the disputes between him and his barons at home; who always thought themselves well entitled to their privileges; and yet seldom saw it convenient to yield the king their obedience. When, by their help, he might have preserved his territories on the continent, they denied their assistance; and yet, when they were torn from him, they clamoured at the loss. This so exasperated the king, who was certainly a prince of a very high spirit, that he resolved to conquer them, and to make one experiment more of the fidelity of his subjects †. In order to this he assembled a great army, and provided a numerous fleet, which he never wanted, in order to pass into *Normandy*; but, when all was ready, and the nobility seemed thoroughly disposed to behave as became them, the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Marshall* earl of

L 3

Pembroke,

* See the reign of this prince in Speed's Chronicle. * A. D. 1201. † Histoire de France, par Mezeray, vol. ii. 611.

† A. D. 1206.

Pembroke, came, and in the name of the pope, forbade him to proceed ^m. The king unwillingly obeyed, and yet repenting of this step, he the next day put to sea, with a few faithful subjects, hoping that the rest, either out of fear or shame, would have followed: but in this he was disappointed; for they not only remained where they were, but by sending after the king's small squadron, prevailed on many to come back; so that the expedition was entirely disappointed; which filled the nation with murmurs, and particularly distasted the seamen, of whom no less than fourteen thousand were come from different parts of the kingdom, in order to serve on board the royal fleet ⁿ. This, at the same time that it shews king *John's* misfortune, demonstrates also, how great our maritime force was in those days, and what wise regulations subsisted, since such a number of seamen could be so easily drawn together. Our best writers agree, that the conduct of the archbishop, and the earl of *Pembroke*, was the effects of their engagements with *France*, and, in all probability, the great view of *France* in this transaction, was, to distress the king in this tender point, and to prevent his being able to assemble such a naval force for the future. But in this their policy failed them; for the king always kept the hearts of the seamen, and, by doing so, defeated the attempts of his enemies, though he had the whole force of *France* to struggle with abroad, and was never free from the effects of their fraud at home. This is an extraordinary fact, and of the highest importance to my subject; therefore, I shall endeavour to make it out
in

^m Matth. Paris. hist. Angl.

ⁿ Roger. Hoveden. Annal.

in such a manner, as to leave the reader no colour of doubt; and, by so doing, shall effectually prove, that, though a king may be undone by trusting to his army, he cannot but be safe, if he is secure of his fleet.

THE kingdom, or, as it was then properly stiled, the dominion of *Ireland*, belonged to king *John*, before he attained the realm of *England*, and had remained more obedient to him, than any other part of his territories; but now troubles began there *, and such accounts were transmitted of the insolence of some of the lords proprietors, and of the devastations committed by the native *Irish*, hitherto unsubdued, that the king resolved to go over in person and reduce it †. For this purpose, the king ordered a great army to be levied, and drew together a prodigious fleet, little short of five hundred sail; with which he passed, from *Pembroke* in *Wales*, into *Ireland*, where he landed the 25th of *May* 1210. The fame of his coming, and the appearance of so great a force as he brought with him, so terrified the inhabitants of the sea coast, and low countries, that they immediately came and submitted. On his arrival at *Dublin*, twenty of the *Irish* chiefs came in, and swore fealty to him; and, having thus performed much in a peaceable way, he, by force of arms, atchieved the rest, reducing the king of *Connaught*, besieging and taking the castles of many rebellious lords, and forcing them either to yield, or quit the kingdom. When things were brought to this pass, he thought of civil establishments; ordered the whole realm to be for the future governed by the *English* laws, and appointed sheriffs,

L 4

and

* A. D. 1209.

† Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 230.

and other legal officers in every county. At his departure, constituting *John de Gray*, then bishop of *Norwich*, governor of *Ireland*, a very wise and prudent man, who, pursuing the king's plan, brought that nation into a settled state^p. This certainly shewed not only the spirit and temper of the king, but the utility of his fleet, without which he could not have entered on this expedition with such honour, or have finished it with so great success; especially at a time, when at home things were in so bad a situation.

ON his return, he found the *Welsh* in rebellion, his barons disaffected, and the king of *France* contriving an invasion. His spirits were far from being broken by these crosses; for, as to the *Welsh*, he hanged up their hostages^q, and with a royal army, would have entered into, and subdued their country, if he had not been well-informed, that some of his principal lords intended either to destroy him in that expedition themselves, or else deliver him up to the enemy^r. He, thereupon, first dismissed his army, and then took hostages of the noblemen he most suspected[†]. Soon after, the *French* invasion terrified the nation; the pope having absolved the king's subjects from their allegiance, and given the kingdom of *England* to *Philip Augustus*, of *France*. This monarch, well pleased with so noble a present, raised a prodigious army, and brought together, some say, thirteen hundred ships, in order to embark them for this island^s. On the other hand, king
John

^p Annal. Hibern. ap. Camd. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 154. Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. vol. i. p. 230, 231. Thom. Wallingham. Hypodigm. Neust.
^q Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 231. R. Wendover.
^r Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 231. [†] A. D. 1212.
^s Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 622. Matth. Paris. vol. i. p. 232. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157.

John was not slack in his preparations; he shewed his diligence in collecting a force equal to that of the enemy, and his magnanimity in dismissing a part of them, that the rest might have the greater plenty of provisions; yet, after this was done, he incamped sixty thousand men on *Barham-Downs*, having a larger fleet riding along the coast, than had been seen in those times; and in this posture he waited for his foes^t. But, the pope's legate coming over, and promising to deliver him from this danger, if he would submit himself and his kingdom to the see of *Rome*; he, to prevent effusion of blood, and, perhaps, fearing the treachery of his barons, consented thereto, and the pope immediately prohibited king *Philip* to proceed^u. He too, notwithstanding his great power, obeyed, though with an ill-will, yet resolved to make some use of this mighty armament, and therefore turned it against the earl of *Flanders*, sending the best part of his fleet to waste the coasts of that country, while himself with a great army entered it by land. King *John* was no sooner informed of this, than he ordered his navy under the command of his brother the earl of *Salisbury*, to sail to the assistance of his ally^v. He, finding the *French* fleet, part riding in the road, and part at anchor, in the haven of *Dam* in *Flanders*, first attacked and destroyed those without, and then, landing his forces, fell upon the *French* in the harbour by sea and land, and after an obstinate dispute took them all, sending home three hundred sail, well laden with provisions, to carry the news of the victory, and setting all the rest on fire. So fortunate was this prince at sea, because

his

^t Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 234.

^u Nic, Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157, 158. Matth. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 237. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 507.

^v A. D. 1213.

his sailors were loyal, who was so unlucky on shore through the treachery of his great men *.

THUS delivered from his present apprehensions of the *French*, the king began to think of passing once again beyond the seas, in order to recover his rights; but met with so many difficulties and disappointments, that it was long before he could carry his design into execution. At last, in the month of *February* 1214, he, without the assistance of his barons, embarked a great army on board a powerful fleet, and therewith sailed to *Rochel*, where he landed, and was well received, the greatest part of the country submitting to him immediately. For some time he carried on the war against the *French* prosperously; but his fortune changing, and his allies being beat in the fatal battel of *Bovins* †, he was constrained, about *Easter*, in the next year, to agree to a truce; the rather, because his subjects in *England* began to rebel *. In the month of *November*, he returned into this kingdom, where he found things in a much worse condition than he expected. The barons in his absence had time to confer together, and had reduced their demands into form; so that the king quickly found, that either he must grant what they asked, or, if he ventured to refuse them, must have recourse to the sword. At first, he chose the latter; but he quickly found, that the barons were like to be too strong for him; and, therefore, in a meadow between *Egham* and *Stanes*, called *Runnemede*, i. e. the *Mead of Council*, he granted that charter in the sight of both armies, which since, from the importance of its contents, and the solemnity with

* Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 623. Matt. Paris. hist. Angl. p. 238. † A. D. 1214. * Chroniques Abrege de Rois de France, p. 79. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 625.

with which it was made, hath been stiled *Magna Charta*, or the *Great Charter* †. Yet, repenting of this soon after, he endeavoured to frustrate what he had done; but, the barons were too strong for him, and reduced him to such streights, that at length he was constrained to fly to the *Isle of Wight*, where he lived, in a manner, little different from that of his predecessor king *Ælfred*, when he fled from the *Danes*; yet in all his distresses, his seamen remained faithful; and now, when he had not a house in which he could sleep with safety on shore, he found a sanctuary from all dangers in his ships, in which he frequently chased the vessels of his disloyal subjects, and by landing on the coasts, spoiled their estates, and thus subsisted the few loyal persons who stuck to him, at the expence of his and their enemies †.

IN the mean time, the barons plainly perceiving their want of a head, resolved to invite over *Lewis*, son to the king of *France* *, who had married king *John's* niece, in order to shelter themselves against the resentment of that monarch, by setting his crown on the head of this young prince. Not only *Lewis*, but king *Philip* his father, rejoiced this proposal exceedingly, and, assembling a fleet of six hundred and ten sail at *Calais*, the prince, with a numerous army landed in *Kent* †. The city of *London*, long alienated from the king in affection, declared immediately for the invader, received him with joy, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign †. In the mean time, king *John* was by no means idle: he endeavoured to maintain

† Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 255, 256, &c.

Wendover. * A. D. 1215. † Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 281. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 165, 166. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 629.

† A. D. 1216.

maintain himself in *Kent*, where he had a considerable army; but, finding many of his barons unfaithful, and his forces not strong enough to hazard a battle, he garrisoned some castles, and particularly that of *Dover*, that he might be able to protect his fleet; and then marched to *Winchester*, where he soon drew together a much greater force than his enemies expected. Breaking out from thence like a tempest, he laid waste the estates of his rebellious barons, in spite of the foreign assistance they had received; and, having acquired a vast booty, he came with it to *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, which had signalized its loyalty to him in his utmost distress, as most of the ports in the kingdom did; but, marching from thence into *Lincolnshire*, his carriages were lost in the washes, and himself and his army narrowly escaped ^b. At *Swine's-Head* abbey, he was attacked by a distemper which proved fatal to him; but what that distemper was is very difficult to say: some affirm, that it was the effects of grief ^c, others call it a fever ^d, others a flux ^e, and others a surfeit ^f; but many of our best writers, and the most authentic foreign historians affirm, that he was poisoned by a monk, which it is certain his son ^g *Henry* believed. This end had the troubles of king *John* at *Newark*, to which place he was carried in a horse-litter, on the 18th of *October* 1216, when he had reigned near eighteen years ^h.

WE have already shewn, how this king vigorously maintained his sovereignty of the sea, and left more express

^b Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 287. ^c Johan. de Wallingford. ^d Polyd. Virgil. ^e Thom. Otterborn. ^f Matth. Weitmonast. ^g See this point cleared in the close of king John's reign, in Speed's Chronicle. ^h Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 166. Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 288. Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, p. 512, 513.

press tokens thereof to his successors, than any of the kings who reigned before him. To this we must add, that he was a great encourager of whatever had a tendency to the support of maritime strength, or to the ease and increase of trade. He granted more, and larger, charters to cities and boroughs, than any of his predecessors; and by thus strengthening the liberties of the people, incurred the hatred of his ambitious barons¹. He settled the rates of necessities, and effectually punished all kind of fraud in commerce². To him likewise was owing many regulations in respect to money, and the first coining of that sort which is called *Sterling*. One cannot therefore help doubting, when we consider that he was the author of our best laws, whether those writers do him justice, who declare that king *John* was one of the worst of our kings. On bad terms he stood with the monks, and at that time they penned our histories; which is a sufficient reason against his obtaining a good character, even though he had deserved it. So much of his fame, however, as may result from the respect he had to naval affairs, we have endeavoured to vindicate; and shall do the same good office (as indeed it is our duty to do) to every other prince, in whose favour authorities may be produced against common opinion.

HENRY III. a child between nine and ten years of age, succeeded his father immediately in his dominions, and in time became also the heir of his misfortunes. At first, through the care of the earl of *Pembroke* his guardian, he was very successful; that wise nobleman shewing the

¹ Speed's Chronicle, p. 506.

² Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 129. Camden. Britan. in Striveling. Roger. Hoveden. Annal.

the barons, that now they had nothing to fear from king *John*, and themselves also by this time well knew, they had very little to hope from king *Lewis*, who put *French* garrisons into all the castles that were taken by the *English* lords, and gave glaring proofs of his intention to rule as a conqueror, in case he could possess himself of the kingdom¹. In a short time therefore, the royalists grew strong enough to look the enemy in the face; which the *French* so little apprehended, that with an army of twenty thousand men, they had marched northwards, and besieged *Lincoln*. The city quickly fell into their hands, but the castle being very strong for those times, made an obstinate defence; and while they were engaged before it, the earl of *Pembroke* with his forces, came to offer them battle. The barons, who adhered to king *Lewis*, and who were certainly best acquainted with the strength of their countrymen, advised the *French* general to march out and fight; but he, suspicious of their integrity, endeavoured to secure his forces in the city. The royalists first threw a considerable reinforcement into the castle, and then attacked the enemy in the town. The struggle was very short, the *French* and their confederates being quickly beat, almost without bloodshed, and the victorious army so exceedingly enriched by their plunder, that they stiled this battle *Lewis-Fair*, as if they had not gone to a fight, but to a market*. The consequences of this battle, brought the *French* prince and his faction so low, that he was glad of a truce, which might afford him time to go back to *France* for succours; and, this being granted, he passed over accordingly to *Calais*, many of the barons deserting him in his absence^m. H E

¹ Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 292. * A. D. 1217. ^m Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 168. Mat. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 296. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 631.

HE did not stay long abroad, but, providing with the utmost diligence a considerable recruit, embarked on board a fleet of eighty stout ships, besides transports, and immediately put to sea. *Hubert de Burgh*, governor of *Dover* castle, assisted by *Philip de Albanie*, and *John Marshal*, resolved to encounter him, with the strength of the cinque ports; and, accordingly, met him at sea with forty sail. The *English*, perceiving that the *French* had the advantage of them both in ships and in men, made use of their superiority in skill; so that, taking advantage of the wind, they ran down many of the transports, and sunk them with all the soldiers on board; their long bows also did them notable service: and to prevent the *French* from boarding them, they laid heaps of lime upon their deck, which the wind, blowing fresh, drove in the faces of their enemies, and in a manner blinded them; so that declining the dispute, they as fast as possible bore away for shore; and, landing at *Sandwich*, *Lewis* in revenge for the mischief their ships had done him, burnt it to the ground^a. The *English* were every way gainers by this engagement; as on the other hand, it entirely ruined the affairs of *Lewis*, who was now forced to shut himself up in *London*, where very soon after he was besieged, the *English* fleet in the mean time, blocking up the mouth of the *Thames*. He quickly saw how great his danger was, and how little reason he had to expect relief. In this situation, he did all that was left for him to do; that is to say, he entered into a treaty with the earl of *Pembroke*, whereby he renounced all his pretended rights to the kingdom of *England*, and provided the best he could for

^a Annal. Waverl. Thom. Walsingham. hypodigm. Neustrie.

for himself and his adherents; which freed the kingdom from the plague of foreigners °, and remains an incontestable proof, that as nothing but our intestine divisions can invite an invasion, so while we retain the sovereignty at sea, such attempts in the end must prove fatal to those who undertake them.

THE importance of this engagement will excuse our dwelling upon it so long, as well as our taking notice here of some lesser circumstances relating thereto. One *Eustace*, who had been in his youth a monk, but for many years had exercised the trade of a pyrate, and had done the *English* in particular much mischief, fell now into their hands, and, though he offered a large sum of money for his ransom, yet it was refused, and he put to death. There are some differences in our ancient historians, as to the year in which this famous sea-fight happened, which it will be necessary to clear up, because any error therein would affect most of the subsequent dates. In the first place, *Matthew Paris* fixes on the very day, and assures us, that it was gained on the feast of St. *Bartholomew*, 1217 ^p. *Trivet* places it in the same year, and gives us the reason why *Eustace* the monk was so severely dealt with. He, like an Apostate as he was, says my author, went from side to side, and of a wicked monk, became a very devil, full of fraud and mischief. As soon, therefore, as he was taken, his head was struck off, and being put upon a pole, was carried through a great part of *England* ^q. Yet *Holinghead* places it under the year 1218 ^r, and the *French* historian *Mezeray*, in 1216 ^s. These errors

° *Mezeray*, vol. ii. p. 631. ^p *Hist. Angl.* p. 298. ^q *Annal.* vol. i. p. 169. ^r Vol. ii. p. 201. ^s *Abbregé de l'Histoire de France*, vol. ii. p. 631.

rors however, are easily rectified, since it is certain, that the treaty of peace followed this victory, and we find it bore date the eleventh of *September*, 1217¹.

THE same wise governors, who had so happily managed the king's affairs hitherto, and had so wonderfully delivered him out of all his difficulties, shewed a like diligence in establishing the tranquility of the realm, and cultivating a correspondence with foreign princes; of which, various testimonies occur in Mr. *Rymer's* collection of treaties; hence it is evident, that they were extremely tender of trade, and of the dominion of the sea^u. In order, however, to keep up the martial spirit of the nobility, and, perhaps, to prevent their breaking out into rebellions at home, leave was given them to take the cross, and to make expeditions into the *Holy-Land*^w. Thus the earls of *Chester*, *Winchester*, and *Arundel*, went at one time †; the bishops of *Winchester*, and *Exeter*, at another, with many followers^{*}; so that by the time they came into *Syria*, there were not fewer *English* there, than forty thousand men; of whom, very probably, but few came home^x. The desire king *Henry* had to recover the provinces taken from him by the king of *France*, and the clear title he thought derived to him from the treaty made with *Lewis*, who was now king, induced him more than once, to solicit that prince to restore them, and to send over small supplies of forces into the places which he still held. All

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this

¹ *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 222. Edir. 2^d.
^u The reader may find a multitude of instances in support of this in the first volume of the *Fœdera*, and not a few in the second volume of *Hakluyt*.
^w *Matth. Paris. Thom. Walsingham. Annal. Waverl.* † A. D. 1218. * A. D. 1227. * *Hakluyt. vol. ii. p. 31—38.*

this produced nothing considerable; so that at last the king resolved to go over, as his predecessors had done, with a great fleet and a numerous army. With this view, large sums were demanded, and given by parliament, and such a force assembled, as the nation had scarce ever seen; but when the forces marched, about *Michaelmas*, to *Portsmouth*, in order to embark, the fleet provided for that purpose, appeared so insignificant, that it became necessary to postpone the expedition, till the next spring †; a thing highly prejudicial to the king's affairs, and yet more so to his reputation †. The next year, the king actually invaded *France*, and might, if he had pushed this war with vigour, have recovered the dominions of his ancestors; but, being entirely governed by his mother, and her second husband, he consumed both his time and money ‡, in pompous entertainments; so that the *French* coming down with a considerable body of forces, compelled him, after he had been there from *April* to *October*, to sail home again, without adding any thing either to his honour or to his dominions †. This mistake had terrible effects; for it emboldened such of the lords as were disaffected, and gave the common people a mean opinion of their prince; which is, generally speaking, the consequence of all such miscarriages.

His brother, *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, who was naturally an active prince, and therefore little pleased with the king's management, resolved, about the year 1240, to take upon him the cross, and to lead a body of succours into the *Holy-Land*. With him went the earl of *Salisbury*,
and

† A. D. 1229.

‡ A. D. 1230.

† Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 363.

‡ Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 183.

and many other persons of distinction; and not long after, *Simon* earl of *Leicester*, and *John* earl of *Albemarle*, followed his example *. Thus, in times of great supineness, in the administration here, the honour of the nation abroad, was supported by the valour and activity of private persons *. Disputes with the barons, continued to embroil the kingdom, and to hinder the king from thinking of foreign affairs; but, in 1242, the king resumed his project of reducing *Gascogne* under his dominion. To this, he was chiefly excited by his mother, a high-spirited, haughty woman, who had contributed much to his father's misfortunes. Accordingly, having with much ado, obtained money of his parliament, for that purpose, the king with a small force passed over into *France* †; where, so long as his money lasted, he kept up a kind of war, more detrimental to himself than to the enemy b. This is strange sort of management, the naval force of the kingdom was declined to such a degree, that the *North* and *Britons* were too hard for the cinque ports, and compelled them to seek relief from the other parts of the kingdom, who, in the first year of this king's reign, had performed such extraordinary things. One *William Marshal* of the noble family of *Pembroke*, having some way incurred the king's displeasure, became a pyrate, and fortifying the little island of *Lundy*, in the mouth of *Severn*, did so much mischief, that at length it became necessary to fit out a squadron, to reduce him; which was accordingly done, and he suffered by the hand of justice at *London* c: yet the example did not

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deter

* A. D. 1240.

a Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 536.

† A. D. 1242. b Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 194. c Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 584.

deter other discontented persons from practices of the like nature.

AN idle desire, of making his son *Edmund* king of *Sicily*, drew the king into vast expences; and yet produced nothing glorious, in the least degree to the nation, any more than another expedition he made, for the recovery of *Normandy* in 1260, which ended in a dishonourable treaty; whereby, for the sake of certain sums of money, he renounced all title to those countries which had been the patrimonial possessions of his ancestors; and thence forward left the lordships of *Normandy* and *Anjou* out of his titles^d. On his return home, he met with fresh griefs, and greater disturbances than ever. The barons grew quite weary of a king entirely directed by foreigners, and who thought of nothing but providing for his favourites, at the expence of his people. The cinque ports, ever steady in his father's interest, revolted from him, sided with the barons, and fitted out a considerable fleet for their service. But, as these were times of great licence, so in a very short space, the inhabitants of these ports, forgot the motives on which they took arms, and began to consider nothing but their private interest; taking, indifferently, all ships that fell into their hands, and, exercising an unlimited piracy on foreigners, as well as the king's subjects. By their example, something of the same nature was practised on the coast of *Lincolnshire*; for certain Mal-contents, having seized the *Isle of Ely*, plundered all the adjacent countries, and carried it to this receptacle of theirs. At length, however, by the industry and valour of Prince *Edward* †, they were

^d Gul. Rishanger. in continuat. Matth. Paris, p. 289. Rymer's Fœder. vol. i. p. 668.

† A. D. 1266.

were reduced; and the same worthy person, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, brought the inhabitants of the *cinque ports* to return to their duty *.

THE confusion of the times, however, was such, and the king's temper timid, irresolute, and in all cases so little to be depended on, that the gallant prince *Edward*, with his brother *Edmund*, and many other persons of the first distinction, took the cross, and went against the *Saracens* *. A stronger instance there could not be, of the low, and exhausted state of the kingdom, than the equipage with which these princes went; for their squadron consisted of no more than thirteen ships, on board of which there were embarked above a thousand men; and yet, on his coming into the east, the very fame of prince *Edward* drew to him a considerable force, with which he performed many noble acts, insomuch, that the infidels despairing of any success against him in the field, had recourse to a base assassination; which likewise failed them †. On his recovery, the prince finding that he should not be able to do any great service to the christian cause in those parts, settled his affairs in the best manner possible, in order to return home. In the mean time, the king his father, in the last years of his life enjoyed more peace than he had formerly done, which was in some measure owing to a change in his conduct; having learned by experience, that to govern a kingdom was a painful office, and required more application than hitherto he had bestowed upon it. But what seems to have been the chief cause of this short

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calm,

* Annal. Waverl. Gul. Rishanger, contin. Hist. Angl. p. 1004.
 * A. D. 1269. † Annal. Waverl. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 232. Gul. Rishanger, in cont. Hist. Angl. p. 1007. Hakluyt vol. ii. p. 36.

calm, after so high a storm, was, the death of his principal opposers, all of whom king *Henry* out-lived; and the uneasy circumstances in which they left their heirs; so that upon the whole, the fire of sedition might in this case, be said to extinguish for want of fuel, and the king to die in peace, because the power of disturbing him was exhausted. He ended his life on the 16th of *November*, 1271, when he had reigned somewhat more than fifty-six years, and lived sixty-six *. He was a prince but of moderate endowments, which rendered him unable to govern without assistance; and rendered him also too prone to an implicit confidence in such as were about him. In the first years of his reign, while the famous *Hubert de Burgh*, earl of *Kent*, was at the head of the administration, there seems to have been great care taken of commerce, which must have been very considerable, to supply the prodigious expences of his foreign expeditions, or rather journeys; in one of which, he carried over no less than thirty large casks of specie; as also the mighty sums employed by the several adventurers in the holy wars, who constantly mortgaged their lands, at setting out, and spent the money they raised, beyond the seas. Besides all this, we find, that whenever any respite from troubles would allow it, this was a most luxurious age, and the king's kindness to foreigners, especially the *Poitevins*, enabled them to carry away vast sums; and his brother, *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, is said to have lavished much treasure in attaining the pompous title of king of the *Romans*; which enormous expence did not, however, hinder his living and dying a very rich man; so that some way or other, vast sums must
by

* Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 236.

by the ballance of foreign trade have remained here, otherwise such large draughts could not have been supplied: and yet we are pretty certain, that the policy of this king's time, did not reach to any of those refined arts of creating an appearance of wealth, by altering the value of the current coin, which have been since found out. Better arguments than these, to prove a balance of trade in favour of that age, can hardly be produced; and therefore we must allow, that such a balance there was: though doubtless under a better government, and a more settled state of things, it would have been much larger. But the mistakes of former, are, or at least should be, lessons to later ages.

EDWARD I. surnamed *Longshanks*, though at his father's decease in the *Holy-Land*, was readily and unanimously acknowledged his successor; nor did there happen any disturbance, notwithstanding he delayed his return to the 25th of *July*, 1274. In his passage home, he visited pope *Gregory X.* and king *Philip of France*; staid some time at his city of *Bordeaux*, and, having thoroughly settled his affairs abroad, arrived here with an established reputation, as well for wisdom as courage; which, perhaps, was the principal reason that all antient animosities seemed buried in oblivion; and, his barons shewed as great alacrity in obeying him, as they had discovered obstinacy in thwarting his father. He, on the other hand, shewed a great spirit of forgiveness, and addressing himself to the government, with equal spirit, and diligence, quickly gave a new face to public affairs. The desire he had of settling the realm in perfect tranquility, engaged him to spend some time in making new laws, and composing old differences amongst potent families; in regulating affairs with the king

of *Scots*, and in providing for the security of the *English* frontiers towards *Wales*, by redressing the grievances complained of by the *Welsh*, and heaping favours upon *David*, brother to *Llewellyn*, who ruled over all *Wales*. Yet this peace did not continue long, and the nature of this treatise leads us to shew, how it was broken, and what were the consequences of that breach ^b.

LLEWELLIN was a wise and warlike prince, more potent than any of his predecessors; but withal, excessively ambitious, filling his mind with vain hopes, founded on old prophecies, and furthered, in all probability, by his intrigues with some of the *English* barons. These notions induced him to decline paying homage to king *Edward*, and to endeavour to strengthen his interest, by marrying the daughter of *Simon Mountford*, late earl of *Leicester*, that determined enemy of the royal family *. This lady coming to him by sea, from *France*, for when came mischief into this island from another quarter? was taken at sea by some ships from the port of *Bristol*, and with her brother, brought to the king, who treated her very kindly. In order to put an end to these disputes, *Edward* entered *Wales* with a great army, and, at the same time, harassed the coast with his fleet, which brought the proud *Llewellyn* so low, that he yielded to a peace on very hard terms; in consequence of which, however, the king, from a royal generosity, sent him his wife [†]. Not long after he broke out again, and in conjunction with his brother *David*,

^b Walter. Hemingsford. Historia de Rebus gestis Edw. i. Edw. ii. et Edw. iii. vol. p. 1, — 4. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Chronicon Godtovicianum. M. S. p. 100. Mat. Westm. Chron. Dunelm. * A. D. 1276. [†] Walt. Hemingsford. vol. p. 5. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 248.

vid. committed such devastation in the *English* marches, that the king was obliged to turn on him the whole force of the kingdom, and, having slain him in battle, added *Wales* to his dominions, and declaring his young son *Edward*, just born at *Caernarvon*, prince thereof, put an end to the *British* line *. His policy in securing his conquest, is worthy of observation; for first, to awe the people, he distributed the inland parts amongst his nobility; and next, to prevent their giving in to the *Welsh* customs, he established the *English* laws, and appointed sheriffs, and other legal officers in those parts; and lastly, for his own security, which he judged depended on a naval force, he kept all the ports of the principality in his own hands, encouraging the inhabitants in their application to inland and foreign trade, more than any of their native princes had done †, that they might become true subjects of an *English* king, free and rich.

IN the seventeenth year of the king's reign, fell out the death of *Alexander* king of *Scots*, which afforded *Edward* another opportunity of displaying his wisdom, and of extending his power †. This prince had for his first wife, *Margaret* the king's sister, by whom he had a son, who died young, and a daughter *Margaret*, who was married to the king of *Norway*, to whom also she bore a daughter, called *Margaret* likewise, whom the *Scotch* peers, with the consent of king *Edward*, acknowledged for the heirs of their crown. She, in her passage from *Norway*, went on shore in the *Orkneys*, and died there; whereupon,

many

* A. D. 1282. * Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 8.—13.
 Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 256,—259. Chron. Godfronian.
 ubi supra, † A. D. 1289.

many competitors for the *Scotiſh* diadem appeared, who agreed to submit the decision of their reſpective titles to king *Edward*. Theſe were, *Eric* king of *Norway*, *Florence* earl of *Holland*, *Robert le Brus* Lord of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Haſtings* Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Comyn* Lord of *Badenaugh*, *Patrick Dunbar* earl of *Marche*, *John de Veſſi* for his father, *Nicholas de Sozles*, and *William de Ros*: and great conſe- quences king *Edward* drew from this reference, which put the whole iſland into his power ¹, and gave him a pretence for keeping a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips upon the northern coaſt, in right of his ſovereignty over thoſe ſeas, which, though always claimed, had not been exerciſed by ſome of his predeceſſors. After much conſultation, and with great ſolemnity, the king pronounced his judgment in favour of *Baliol*, as deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of *David* earl of *Huntingdon* *, notwithſtanding *Robert le Brus* was ſome- what nearer in deſcent, though by a younger daughter; and, therefore, holding himſelf injured, ſtill kept up his claim, which perhaps, was not diſagreeable to *Edward*, who thought nourishing diſſentions in that kingdom, neceſſary to preſerve peace in his own ^m.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe arduous affairs at home, king *Edward* was far from neglecting his concerns on the *Continent*, where he ſtill preſerved the dutchy of *Guienne*, and ſome other dominions, to which he paſſed over when occaſion required, and, contrary to the uſage of his predeceſſors,

¹ John. de Fordun. *Scotichron.* vol. iii. p. 782. Walter Hem- ingtonford, vol. i. p. 29. Nic. Trivet. *Annal.* vol. i. p. 267.

* A. D. 1292. ^m Walter Hemingtonford, v. i. p. 37, 38. Nic. Trivet. *Annal.* vol. i. p. 273, 274. Hector. *Bæeth. Hiſt. Scot.* ib. xiv. Tho. Walingham, &c.

cessors, took all imaginable care to preserve the friendship of *France*, which in the end he found impracticable; and, that his rights were only to be defended by force *. An extraordinary act of *French* insolence gave rise to the bloody war which broke out in the twenty-first of king *Edward's* reign *, and of which I shall give a distinct account from proper authorities. The first grounds of the quarrel are very differently reported, both by our own, and by foreign historians; but the relation given us by *Walter* of *Hemingford*, is more circumstantial, and much more probable than any of the rest, and, therefore from him (especially as it has never appeared in *English*) we shall give it.

“ IN the year 1293, a fatal contention happened between the *English* mariners of the *Cinque-Ports*, and the mariners of the *French* king in *Normandy*; which began thus. An *English* ship putting into a *Norman* port, remained there some days. While they lay at anchor, two seamen went to get fresh water, to a place not far distant from the shore, where they were insulted by some *Normans* of their own profession; so that coming from words to blows, one of the *Englishmen* was killed, and the other flying to the ship, related what had happened to his fellow sailors, informing them, that the *Normans* were at his heels. Upon this they hoisted sail, and put to sea; and, though the *Normans* followed them, they nevertheless escaped, but with some difficulty; whereupon, the inhabitants of the *English* ports sought assistance from their neighbours, and the enemy on

* Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 777. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. p. 274. Walsingham, &c. * A. D. 1293.

“ on the other hand, retaining still the same disposition, increased their strength daily, and chased all *English* ships. In these excursions, having had the fortune to meet six, and to take two *English* vessels, they killed the sailors, hung up their bodies at the yard-arm, with as many dogs; sailing in this manner for some time on their coasts, and signifying to all the world thereby, that they made no difference between an *Englishman* and a dog. This, when it came to the ears of the inhabitants of the *English* ports, by the relation of those that escaped, provoked them to take the best measure they could to revenge so signal an affront; and having in vain cruized at sea, in order to find out the enemy, they entered the port of *Swyn*, and having killed and drowned abundance of men, carried off six ships: many acts of the like nature succeeding this on both sides. At last, wearied by this pyrratical war, they, by messengers who passed between them, fixed a certain day to decide this dispute with their whole strength. This day was the fourteenth of *April*: and a large empty ship was fixed in the middle, between the coasts of *England* and *Nor-mandy*, to mark the place of engagement. The *English* against the time appointed, procured some aids from *Ireland*, *Holland*, and other places; and the *Normans* drew to their assistance, the *French*, *Flemings*, and *Genoese*. At the appointed day both parties met, full of resolution; and, as their minds boiled with rage, so a like spirit seemed to agitate the elements: storms of snow and hail, and boisterous gusts of wind, were the preludes of an obstinate battle, in which, at length, god gave the victory to us, many thousands being slain, besides those who were drowned in a vast number of ships

“ which

“ which perished, the victorious *English* carrying off two hundred and forty sail, and with these they returned home.

“ WHEN king *Philip* received this news, though his brother *Charles* had been the author of the battle, yet he sent ambassadors to the king of *England*, demanding reparation for the wrong done him, by punishing such as were concerned, and by the payment of a vast sum for the losses which his merchants had sustained. To them the king prudently answered, that he would enquire into the matter, and return his resolution by messengers of his own. Agreeable to his promise, he sent to desire the *French* king, that a time and place might be fixed for commissioners on both sides to meet, and enquire into the circumstances of the fact, in order to its being amicably adjusted. But this the *French* king refused, and by the advice of his nobility, summoned the king of *England* to appear, and answer for what had passed in his court, on a day assigned. The day came, and the king not appearing, a new summons was issued, wherein the king was cited to appear on another day, under pain of forfeiting all his dominions beyond the seas. The king, before this day passed, sent his brother *Edmund* earl of *Lancaster*, and the earl of *Leicester*, with instructions for the making an end of this business. Yet these ambassadors, though they produced proper credentials, were not heard, or even admitted; but judgment was given, that the king should lose *Aquitaine*, and all his transmarine dominions, for his contempt in not appearing. ° ”

SUCK

SUCH is the account given by *Hemingford*, which is clear and exact, and very agreeable to what we find in the best *French* authors; particularly *Mezeray*, who very candidly relates, and very honestly blames, this violent procedure^p. But what followed was so very base, that, though I own it is somewhat beside my purpose, I cannot help relating it^{*}. By the interposition of the *French* queens, a treaty was set on foot with prince *Edmund*, for the accommodating all differences. By this treaty it was agreed, that to save the honour of king *Philip*, a few *French* troops should be admitted into certain forts and cities; and that, after this mark of submission, they should be withdrawn, and letters of safe conduct being granted to king *Edward*, he should pass the seas, and settle all things in a personal conference with the *French* king, the troops to be withdrawn, and the sentence vacated in forty days, in consequence of the before-mentioned submission. All this being fairly executed by king *Edward*, when the time was elapsed, and the *French* troops were required to evacuate the towns, king *Philip* roundly declared, that he was unacquainted with the treaty, and, that he would by no means comply therewith^q. Such was the policy of *France* of old; and such the honourable means by which her monarchy was extended!

THE resentment of the king for this treatment shewed itself in various treaties with foreign princes; as also, by sending a speedy relief to *Gascony*, under his nephew the earl of *Richmond*, attended by lord St. *John*, and admiral

^p Abbregé de l'Histoire de France, vol. ii. p. 777. ^{*} A. D.
^q Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 42, 43. Nic. Trivet. Ann. vol. i. f. 276, 277. Holinghead's Chronicle.

miral *Tiptoff*^r. At the same time, to secure the seas, and prevent any descents on his coast, the king fitted out three fleets, well provided with men and ammunition. One from *Yarmouth*, which was commanded by *John de Baccourt*; another from *Portsmouth*, under the direction of *William de Leibourne*; the third, which had the care of the western coast, under the command of a valiant knight of *Ireland*^s. In some of the copies of *Trivet's* annals, he is said to be of the illustrious house of *Ormonde*^t. All of these fleets did good service. That of *Portsmouth*, about *Michaelmas*, sailed into the mouth of *Garonne*^{*}, and having debarked the troops on board, took several places from the *French*^u. Yet the next year, the *French* king having hired a great fleet, some of our writers say not less than three hundred sail, they stood over to the *English* coast, and landing the troops on board suddenly near *Dover*, by the assistance of *Sir Thomas Turberville* a traitor, took the town †, and burnt it, but were quickly afterwards forced to fly to their ships, with the loss of eight hundred men^w. In the mean time the *Yarmouth* fleet made a descent in *Normandy*, and burnt the town of *Cherbourg*, and spoiled a rich abby^x. The *Portsmouth* squadron also on the coast of *Flanders*, took fifteen sail of *Spanish* merchant-men richly laden, and brought them into *Sandwich*^y. To balance this, there happened an unlucky

^r Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 279. Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 51. Histoire de France, par J. de Serres, p. 174. ^s Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 279.

^t See the MS. of Trivet, in the library of Merton-College in Oxford. ^{*} A. D. 1294.

^u Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 56. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 280. [†] A. D. 1295. ^w Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 59. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 284, 285. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 789.

^x Nic. Trivet Annal vol. i. p. 284. ^y Id. ibid.

lucky accident at *Berwick* *, where the *English* fleet rashly entering the harbour, the *Scots* destroyed four ships, and the rest, with some difficulty, escaped ².

IN the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the king made great preparations for invading *Flanders*, and, notwithstanding he met with many interruptions from his barons and clergy, yet by the latter end of *August*, he sailed from *Winchelsea* with a mighty fleet, having a land army of between fifty and sixty thousand men on board, and landed at *Sluys* in *Flanders*, on the twenty-seventh of the same month †, where a very unlucky accident fell out: the squadron from the cinque ports, quarrelling with the *Yarmouth* mariners, suddenly fell to blows; so that, notwithstanding the king's interposition, a desperate engagement followed, wherein twenty ships of the *Yarmouth* squadron were burnt, and most of the men on board them lost, and three of the largest ships in the navy, one of which had the king's treasure on board, were driven out to sea, and with much difficulty escaped ‡ ². This was an ill beginning, and indeed nothing answerable to the force employed therein, was done through the whole expedition; yet, in one respect, they were fortunate; for the *French* having laid a scheme for burning the whole *English* fleet in the harbour of *Dam*, it was luckily discovered, and the *English* fleet putting to sea, escaped ³. The king's confederates abroad also fell from their promises, and the *Flemings*, to whose assistance the *English* came, making a sudden defection, the king was next year obliged to return

* A. D. 1236.

² Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 90.

† A. D. 1297.

² Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 304. Walt.

Hemingford, vol. i. p. 146.

³ Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p.

305.

turn to *England*, as well on account of these miscarriages as to quiet his barons, and to repress the *Scots*, who, at the instigation of the *French*, took up arms, and invaded the kingdom ^b.

THE king, according to his disposition of entertaining peace on the continent, if possible, while he had affairs of moment to employ him nearer home, was content, notwithstanding the injuries he received, to make a peace with king *Philip*; which in the 27th year of his reign ^{*} was confirmed ^c; and by the mediation of pope *Boniface VIII.* made more explicit by a treaty, wherein it was stipulated, that the king of *England* should marry the *French* king's sister, and his son, prince *Edward*, the daughter of the said king; and that the dutchy of *Aquitaine*, should be put into the hands of the pope, until the matters in difference between the two kings, should be enquired into, and settled; with many other articles, to be seen at large in Mr. *Rymer's* collection ^d. This truce, indifferently performed on the part of the *French*, subsisted to the 30th year of the king [†], and then a peace was concluded between the two crowns, of which, the third article contained a reciprocal engagement, that neither of the contracting parties should afford any manner of aid, or assistance, to the enemies of the other, or suffer the same to be given, in any way whatever, in any of the territories or places under their power; and that they should forbid the same to be done on pain of forfeiture of body and goods to the offenders, &c. I mention this ar-

VOL. I.

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^b Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 148. ^{*} A. D. 1299. ^c Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 168; 169. Annal. Abington. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 314, 315. ^d Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 840. [†] A. D. 1303.

ticle particularly, because in consequence of it, there fell out the clearest proof of the king of *England's* absolute sovereignty of the sea, that could be desired or wished. A clearer proof, perhaps, than the whole world can shew, in respect to the prerogative of a prince, with regard to other princes^c. It happened thus :

THE war still continuing between *Philip the Fair* and the *Flemings*, that prince thought fit to send a great fleet to sea, under the command of a *Genoese* nobleman, whose name was *Rayner Grimbaldi* (most of our writers call him *Grimbaltz*) to whom he gave the title of admiral; and who, under colour of this commission, took several ships of different nations, bound for the ports of *Flanders*, laden with various kinds of goods. Upon this, complaints were made to the kings of *England* and *France*, who, jointly appointed commissioners to hear and determine the matters contained in them. To these commissioners, therefore, a remonstrance was presented in the name of the procurators of the prelates and nobles, and of the admiral of the *English* seas, and of the communities of cities and towns; likewise of the merchants, mariners, strangers resident, and all others belonging to the kingdom of *England*, and other territories, subject to the said king of *England*; as also, the inhabitants of other maritime places, such as *Genoa*, *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Zeland*, *Holland*, *Friseland*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, &c. setting forth, that whereas the kings of *England*, by right of the said kingdom, have, from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, been in peaceable possession of the sovereignty of the *English* seas,

and

^c Ibid. p. 941.

and of the islands situate within the same, with power of ordaining and establishing laws, statutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished than merchantmen used to be; and of taking security, and giving protection in all cases, where need shall require, and of ordering all other things necessary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity, among all manner of people, as well of other dominions as their own, passing through the said seas, and the sovereign guard thereof; and also, of taking all manner of cognizance in causes, and of doing right and justice to high and low, according to the said laws, statutes, ordinances, and prohibitions, and all other things, which to the exercise of sovereign jurisdiction in the places aforesaid may appertain: and whereas, *A. de B.* (lord *Coke*^f says, his name was *de Botetort*) admiral of the said sea, deputed by the said king of *England*, and all other admirals, deputed by the said king of *England*, and his ancestors, formerly kings of *England*, have been in peaceable possession of the said sovereign guard, with power of jurisdiction, and all the other powers beforementioned (except in case of appeal, and complaint made of them to their sovereigns, the kings of *England*, in default of justice, or for evil judgment) and especially of making prohibitions, doing justice, and taking security for good behaviour, from all manner of people carrying arms on the said sea, or sailing in ships, otherwise fitted out, and armed, than merchant-ships used to be, and in all other cases, where a man may have reasonable cause of suspicion towards them of piracy; or other misdoings. And, whereas the masters of ships, of the said kingdom of *England*,

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land,

^f Instit. lib. iv. c. 22.

land, in the absence of the said admirals, have been in peaceable possession of taking cognizance, and judging of all facts upon the said sea, between all manner of people, according to the laws, statutes, prohibitions, franchises, and customs. And, whereas, in the first article of the treaty of alliance, lately made between the said kings at *Paris*, the words following are set down, *viz.* First of all, it is agreed, and concluded between us, the envoys and agents abovementioned, in the names of the said kings, that they shall be to each other for the future, good, true, and faithful friends and allies against all the world, (except the church of *Rome*) in such manner, that if any one or more, whosoever they be, shall go about to interrupt, hinder, or molest the said kings in the franchises, liberties, privileges, rights or customs of them and their kingdoms, they shall be good and faithful friends, and aiding against all men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep and maintain the abovementioned franchises, liberties, rights and customs, &c. And that the one shall not be of counsel, nor give aid or assistance in any thing whereby the other may lose life, limb, estate, or honour. And, whereas Mr. *Reyner Grimbaltz*, master of the ships of the said king of *France*, who calls himself admiral of the said sea, being deputed by his sovereign aforesaid, in his war against the *Flemings*, did (after the above-mentioned alliance was made and ratified, and against the tenour and obligation of the said alliance, and the invention of those who made it) wrongfully assume and exercise the office of admiral, in the said sea of *England*, above the space of a year, by commission from the said king of *France*, taking the subjects, and merchants of the kingdom of *England*, and of other countries, passing upon the said seas, with their goods, and did cast the men so taken,

taken, into the prisons of his said master, the king of *France*, and by his own judgment and award, did cause to be delivered, their goods and merchandizes to receivers established for that purpose, in the sea-ports of the said king, as forfeit and confiscate to him; and his taking and detaining the said men with their said goods and merchandizes, and his judgment and award on them as forfeit and confiscate, hath pretended in writing to justify before you, the lords commissioners, by authority of the aforesaid commission for the office of admiral by him thus usurped, and against the general prohibition made by the king of *England*, in places within his power, in pursuance of the third article of the before-mentioned alliance, containing the words above-written, and hath therefore required, that he may be acquitted and absolved of the same; to the great damage and prejudice of the said king of *England*, and of the prelates, nobles, and others before-mentioned; wherefore, the said procurators do, in the names of their said lords, pray you, the lords commissioners before-mentioned, that due and speedy delivery of the said men, ships, goods and merchandizes, so taken and detained, may be made to the admiral of the said king of *England*, to whom the cognizance of this matter doth rightfully appertain, as is above said, that so, without disturbance from you, or any one else, he may take cognizance thereof, and do what belongs to his aforesaid office; and that the aforesaid Mr. *Reyner* may be condemned, and constrained to make due satisfaction for all the said damages, so far forth as he shall be able to do the same; and in default thereof, his said master, the king of *France*, by whom he was deputed to the said office, and that, after due satisfaction shall be made for the said damages, the said Mr. *Reyner* may be so duly punished for the violation



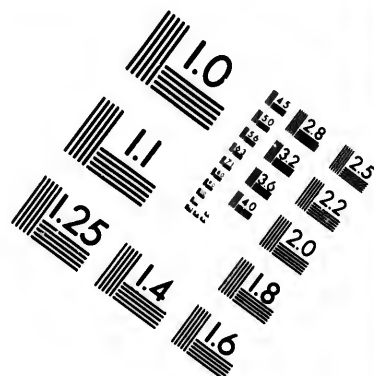
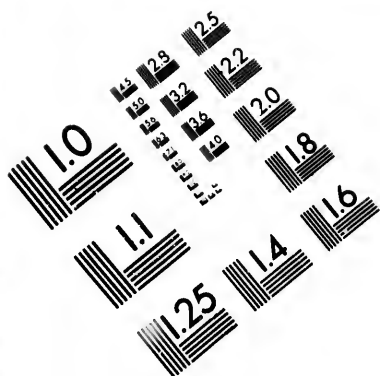
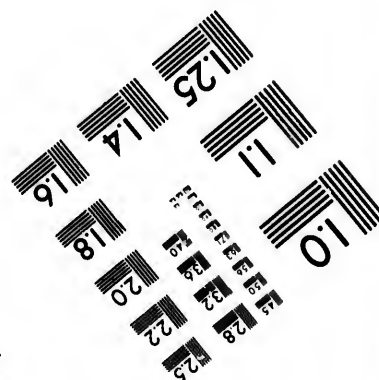
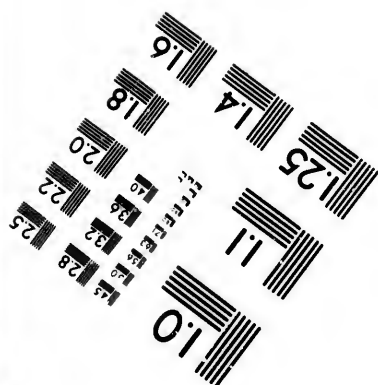
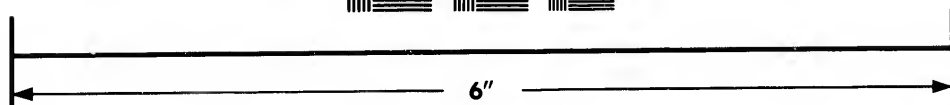
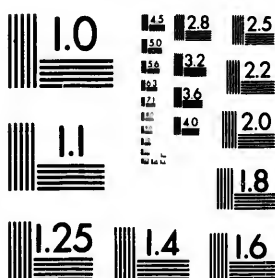


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of the said allowance, as that the same may be an example to others, for time to come ^s.

THUS far the remonstrance: on which other writers having largely insisted, let us content ourselves with making a few obvious reflections. I. It appears from this paper, that the dominion of the sea had not only been claimed, but exercised and possessed by the kings of *England*, for time immemorial which is sufficient to give some credit to the facts related from the *British* history; for as to the times since the *Roman* invasion, they were in an historical sense within memory. II. It is clear from hence, what the dominion of the sea was, *viz.* A jurisdiction over the vessels of all nations passing thereon for the common benefit of all, for the preventing piracies, the protection of commerce, and the decision of unforeseen disputes. III. It is no less apparent, that this was an exclusive jurisdiction, in which no other potentate had any share, which must have been founded either in common consent, or in superiority of strength; either of which afforded a good title. IV. We see by this remonstrance, that the dominion of the sea resting in the king of *England*, was a point not only known to, but maintained by the *Genoese*, *Spaniards*, *Germans*, *Hollanders*, *Danes*, and in short, by all the maritime powers then in *Europe*, which is sufficient to evince, that trade was far from being then at a low ebb, and that the prerogative of the crown of *England* in this respect, had been hitherto so exercised, as to render it a common advantage. V. We perceive that foreigners were so jealous of the assuming

^s Selden. *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. cap. 27, 28. Coke's *Instit.* lib. iv. cap. 22.

ing temper of the *French* princes, that they would not admit the commander in chief of their naval force, to bear the title of admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to jurisdiction, and therefore would have this *Reyner Grimbaltz* stiled only master of the ships to the king of *France*. VI. We must observe, that the commissioners to whom this remonstrance is addressed, neither had, nor claimed any naval jurisdiction whatsoever, but were appointed to hear and determine whether king *Edward's* prerogative, as sovereign of the sea, had been invaded by this *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in contravention of the first article of the treaty between the crowns of *England* and *France*, whereby, the contracting parties covenanted to maintain each others prerogatives, and consequently the *French* king was bound to maintain this prerogative of king *Edward*, which gave occasion to the commission. VII. We owe the knowledge of this whole affair not to our historians, but to our records : whence we may safely deduce this consequence, that the want of facts to support such a jurisdiction throughout preceeding reigns, ought not to be urged as a just objection ; because, as I once before hinted, most of those who applied themselves to writing history, were very little acquainted with these matters.

BUT there is one thing more relating to this affair which deserves particular attention ; and that is, the plea put in by *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in answer to this remonstrance. He did not dispute the king of *England's* sovereignty ; he did not plead any power derived to himself from the *French* king's commission : but what he insisted upon, was the third article of the treaty before-mentioned, which he would have to be thus understood : that king *Edward* having contracted not to give any aid or assistance, or to suffer any aid or assistance to be given to the

enemies

enemies of king *Philip*, and having also actually issued out a prohibition, forbidding any such practices, it followed, in his opinion, that all such, as after this prohibition, relieved the *Flemings*, by merchandize or otherwise, were to be esteemed enemies, of whatsoever nation they were; and that he having taken none but the persons and goods of such, conceived himself to have a permission so to do by vertue of the said prohibition, whereby king *Edward*, according to his interpretation, had signified that he would not take it as an injury done to him, although the ships of such offenders should be taken in his seas by the *French* king's officers. I shall not enter into the reasonableness or validity of this defence, the issue of which is not known, but content myself with observing, that it contains the clearest concession on the part of *France* that can be desired; because this man derives the legality of his own actions, if they were legal, not from the commission of the prince he served, but from the king of *England's* prohibition; so that in reality, he asserts himself to have acted under the *English* sovereignty, and from thence expected his acquittal¹.

MANY other instances of this king's claiming and exercising the sovereignty of the sea might be produced, if they were at all necessary; but as at that time the title of our kings was no way contested, it is not necessary to detain the reader longer on this head. The remainder of his life was spent in subduing *Scotland*, on which he had particularly set his heart, as appears by his directing his dead body to be carried about that country, till every part of it was brought under his son's dominion. In this temper

¹ Selden. ubi supri. Molloy. de Jure Maritimo. chap. v.

per of mind he died in a manner in the field; for he caused himself to be carried from *Carlisle*, to a village called *Burgh upon Sands*, where he deceased on the seventeenth of *July* 1307, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the sixty-ninth of his age^k. He was undoubtedly one of the bravest, and most politic princes, that ever sat on the *English* throne. He rightly judged, that he could never be formidable abroad, till he had established unanimity at home; which was the reason that, at such an expence of blood and treasure, he annexed *Wales* for ever to his dominions, and endeavoured with such earnestness, to add *Scotland* to them likewise; which, if he had lived, he would in all probability have done; and then, no doubt, the *French* would have felt the weight of his whole power: for though he was too wise to be diverted from the prosecution of his designs, by any of the arts of his enemies, yet was he a monarch of too great spirit to bear the injustice done him by *France*, longer than the situation of his affairs required. As he set the state in order at his first coming to the throne, so he left the government thoroughly established at the time of his decease, which with a numerous army, and potent fleet, he consigned to his son, who resembled him very little either in his virtue or his fortune.

EDWARD II. succeeded his father in the throne with the general satisfaction of the nation. His first care was to solemnize the marriage concluded for him by his father, with the princess *Isabella*, daughter to the *French* king;

^k Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 346, 347. Chron. Godstovian. p. 104. T. Walsingham, Thom. Sprot. Chrouic.

king; and for that purpose he passed the seas, and went to *Paris*, where he was very magnificently received, and the ceremony of his nuptials was performed with extraordinary splendor. His marriage over, he returned to *England* with his new queen, and was crowned on the feast of St. *Matthias*, with all imaginable testimonies of joy and affection from the people *. But this fair weather was soon over; for he shortly after bringing back his favourite, called by most of our writers *Gaveston*, but whose true name seems to have been *Piers*, or *Peter de Gabe-ron*, a *Gascon*; the barons took such an offence thereat, and at the extravagant marks of royal favour he afterwards met with, that more than one civil war happened upon his account, and hindered the king from applying himself to the care of his concerns abroad, as well as the nobility from rendering him those services to which they were heartily inclined. These jealousies and disputes ended not but with the death of the king's minion, by whom they were occasioned, and who falling into the hands of the lords, had his head struck off, without any form of justice. It is highly probable, that the *French* counsellors about the queen, were the chief instigators of this fact, at least as to the manner of doing it, and yet, after it was done, they inflamed the king's discontents, and by thus dividing this nation, kept their own quiet ¹.

IN the year 1313, *Robert le Brus* king of *Scotland* invaded *England* with a great army, which roused the king from his lethargy, and obliged him to provide for the nation's safety, and his own honour. The next year,
therefore,

* A. D. 1308. ¹ Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 242. Con-
tin. Annal. Nic. Trivet. per Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 5.
Thom. Walsingham. Mezeray.

therefore, he assembled the whole strength of the nation, and marched therewith northward, intending to have reduced the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, according to his father's directions upon his death-bed. But the disasters which always attend princes, when on ill terms with their subjects, waited on this unfortunate expedition; so that in a general engagement on the twenty-fourth of *June* 1314, the *English* were entirely defeated, though the king discovered much personal courage, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to fly. He certainly meant to have attempted at least the repairing this misfortune, by invading *Scotland* with a new army; but his reputation was so much injured by his late defeat, and his nobility were so unwilling to fight under his banners^m, that all his endeavours came to nothing, and he had besides the misfortune to see, not only the northern parts of *England* ravaged, but *Ireland* also invaded by the *Scots*, whom his father had left in so low a condition, and so little likely to defend their own instead of offending others.

THIS design of the *Scots* upon *Ireland*, was very deeply laid, and nothing less was intended than an entire conquest of the island. For this purpose, king *Robert le Brus*, sent over his brother *Edward*, who took upon him the title of king of *Ireland*, and who landed in the north with six thousand men, attended by the earls of *Murray* and *Monteth*, lord *John Stuart*, lord *John Campbell*, and many other persons of distinction, and by the assistance of the native *Irish*, quickly reduced a great part of the country. This war lasted several years, king *Robert* going over there

^m Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 15. Hecster. Boeth. Hist. Scot. Thom. Walsingham.

there at last in person, and in all probability had carried his point, if it had not been for the hasty temper of his brother. Sir *Edmund Butler* in the beginning of these stirs, had, with the *English* forces, done all that in a very distracted state of affairs could be done for the preservation of the island, till such time as the king sent over lord *Roger Mortimer*, with a very small force to repress the invaders, who engaging *Edward le Brus*, in the famous battle of *Armagh*, which the *Scots* very imprudently fought before they were joined by king *Robert* and his forces; the *English* gained a compleat victory^a, the pretended king *Edward* being slain upon the spot, his head carried by the lord *Birmingham* into *England*, and there presented to king *Edward* *. After this, all matters in *Ireland* were so well settled, that the king had thoughts of retiring thither, when sinking under his misfortunes; and had probably done so, if he had remained master of the sea.

THE king drew these troubles upon himself, by suffering his new favourites the *Spencers*, to guide him in all things, he equally disgusted his nobility, and his own family. A dishonourable treaty he had made with *Scotland*, was another ground of discontent, and while things went so ill at home, there wanted not some causes of disquiet abroad. *Charles IV.* of *France*, brother to queen *Isabel*, pretending to take umbrage at king *Edward's* not assisting at his coronation, sent his uncle *Charles de Valois* into *Guyenne*, a great part of which he quickly reduced, and grievously distressed *Edmund* earl of *Kent*, the king's brother, who was sent over to defend that province; infomuch,

^a Chron. Hibern. Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 29.

* A. D. 1318.

infomuch, that he agreed with the *French* General to come over, and persuade his brother to give king *Charles* satisfaction, or else to render himself, if the king of *England* was inflexible, prisoner of war; by which capitulation he preserved the few towns the *English* still had in *Guyenne*, though he thereby paved the way, perhaps involuntarily, for his unfortunate brother's deposition and destruction °.

As soon as king *Edward* was informed of what had passed, he took it extremely to heart, banished the *French* who were about the person of the queen, and had thoughts of entering immediately into a war with that crown. But finding it impossible to obtain supplies from his parliament, he suddenly changed his purpose, and resolved to send over queen *Isabella*, to treat with her brother, and to endeavour to accommodate the differences which had happened between them, and thither she accordingly went. By her application, the *French* king was not only drawn to pass by what had given him offence, but was likewise induced to give the dukedom of *Aquitaine*, and the earldom of *Poictou*, to prince *Edward* his nephew, on condition that he came and did him homage for them in person; though to preserve appearances, letters of safe conduct were also sent to the king, that he, in case he so thought fit, might have also gone over into *France*, and taken possession of those countries ^p. When king *Edward* had considered these conditions, and had consulted with his favourites, he resolved to send over the prince to his mother, in order to the due execution of the treaty. This was all that the queen and her party wanted; for no sooner was the heir of the crown

° Mezeray, Thom. Walsingham.
Tom. iv. p. 195. Mezeray.

^p Rymer's Foeder.

crown in *France* under their tuition, than immediately they began to negotiate a treaty of marriage between him and the daughter of the earl of *Hainault*, directly contrary to his father's instructions; and at the same time, made all the necessary dispositions for invading *England*, as soon as this marriage was brought about¹. The king having intelligence of these proceedings, sent positive orders to the queen and his son to return home, and on their refusal, proclaimed them enemies to the kingdom, and at the same time began to act vigorously against *France*. sending orders to his admiral, to cruize on the *French* coasts; particularly to the constable of *Dover-Castle*, and warden of the cinque ports, who executed his commands so effectually, that, in a short time, a hundred and twenty sail of ships belonging to *Normandy*, were brought into the *English* ports². This had such an effect upon king *Charles*, that, in appearance at least, he abandoned his sister^{*}; though a *French* historian intimates, that it was rather occasioned by her too great familiarity with *Roger* lord *Mortimer*. However it was, the queen retired first into *Guyenne*, and went thence with her son the prince to the court of the earl of *Hainault*, where she openly prosecuted her design of attacking her husband, in support of which she had formed a strong party in *England*. The king, on his side, provided the best he could for his defence, which, however, did not hinder her landing with three thousand men at *Orewell* in *Suffolk*, a little before *Michaelmas*. An inconsiderable force, in proportion to the design; and yet it is hard to conceive,

¹ Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 63. Thom. de la Moor vit. Edward II. Thom. Walsingham. ² Polydor. Vergil. lib. xviii. Thom. Walsingham. Hypodigm. Neustria. Mezeray. * A. D. 1326.

conceive, how even, these were landed without the connivance at least of such as had the command of the king's fleet, which may with the greater reason be suspected, since immediately after her arrival, the earl of *Lancaster*, and most of the nobility came in to her assistance; so that the king finding himself deserted, was forced to retire, or rather was compelled to fly into *Wales*; but finding himself abandoned by those about him, he went on board a small ship, intending to retire to *Ireland*; but after tossing to and fro a whole week, he landed again in *Glamorgan-shire*, where for some time he lay hid. At last being discovered, he was carried prisoner to *Monmouth*, and thence to *Kenilworth-Castle*, belonging to the earl of *Lancaster*, where he remained till his queen and the counsellors about her, took a resolution of forcing him to resign his crown, which by authority of parliament was placed on the head of his son^s. After this he survived not long, but was conveyed from place to place, under the custody of *Gourmay* and *Mattravers*, who, in the end, brought him to *Berkley-Castle*, where he was basely murdered on the 21st of *September*, 1322, when he had reigned twenty years, and with very small ceremony was buried at *Gloucester*^t. With the character of this prince, we shall meddle very little; his enemies have left us reports enough in relation to his vices, and we have also some accounts of him from less prejudiced pens. As to maritime affairs, during his reign, they were certainly on the decline, as they will always be, when the state is discomposed. Yet, as far as

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^s Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 69. Thom. Walsingham. Th. de la Moor. ^t Chron. Godstovian. p. 109. Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 70. Thom. Walsingham. Thom. de la Moor. Barnes's History of Edw. III.

the , distractions in his affairs would give him leave, he shewed himself a friend to trade, and remarkably careful of wool, the staple commodity of the kingdom, as appears by his charter granted for that purpose, and other authentic proofs ^u.

EDWARD III. called, from his birth-place, *Edward of Windsor*, ascended the throne in his father's life-time, being entirely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite *Roger Mortimer* *. He married, *Philippa* daughter to the earl of *Hainault*, who was also crowned queen. In the beginning of his reign, there happened many things which were far from promising so glorious a government as afterwards followed. For, first, he made an unfortunate war against the *Scots*, which was followed by a disadvantageous treaty; then passing over into *France*, he, by the advice of his mother and her counsellors, did homage to *Philip* son of *Charles de Valois*, then styling himself king, to the prejudice of his own title to that crown. We may add to this, the cutting off his uncle *Edmund* earl of *Kent*'s head, for a pretended treason, for endeavouring to set his brother, king *Edward*, on the throne again; though it was well known he was dead. But, as by degrees he began to act according to his own sentiments, he easily wiped off these imputations, due rather to the tenderness of his age, than to any fault of his mind. For, in the fourth year of his reign, when the king himself was but twenty years of age, he, at a parliament held at *Nottingham*, went in person, and at the hazard of his life, seized *Mortimer* in his mother's bed-chamber †, caused him to be carried to *London*,

^u Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. * A. D. 1328. † A. D. 1330.

don, where, by his death, he, in some measure, attoned for the crimes he had committed in his life-time ^w.

HENCEFORWARD, king *Edward* ruled like a great prince, and one who had his own honour, and the reputation of his kingdom at his heart. He first turned his arms against the *Scots*, who had done incredible mischiefs in the north, and resolving to repair the dishonour he had sustained, during the weak administration of his mother, he prepared both an army and a fleet for the invasion of that country; and though the latter suffered grievously, by storm on the *Scotish* coast, whereby most of his great ships were wrecked, and the rest rendered unserviceable, yet he persisted in his design, of expelling *David Brus*, and restoring *Edward Baliol*, which, at length, with infinite labour he effected, and received homage from the said *Edward*, as his grandfather *Edward I.* had from *John Baliol* †. *David Brus*, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Scotland*, retiring into *France*, with his queen, where they were kindly received. In this step of securing *Scotland*, previous to any expeditions beyond the seas, king *Edward* imitated his grandfather, as he seems to have done in most of his subsequent undertakings, havings always a special regard to the maintenance of a stout fleet, and securing to himself the possession, as well as title of lord of the seas, which enabled him to assert, whenever he thought fit, his rights abroad, and effectually secured him from apprehending any thing from the efforts of his enemies at home. While he was laying these solid foundations of power, he thought it not at all beneath him, to

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^w Adam. Murimuth. vol. ii. p. 76. Walter de Hemingford. vol. ii. p. 271. Chron. Godstovian. p. 110. Robert de Avesbury, Hist. Edwardi iii. p. 8, 9. † A. D. 1334.

make use of such temporary expedients as were proper to serve his purpose, and to enable him to maintain his right to the crown of *France*, whenever he should think fit to claim it *.

As this war was of great importance to the nation, as as well as to the king, and carried our naval force to a greater height than ever it arrived at before, it will be necessary to enter into a distinct, though concise detail of its causes, as well as of the circumstances attending it. *Philip the Fair*, king of *France*, left behind him at his decease, three sons, who all swayed the scepter of that kingdom in their turns. The eldest of these, *Lewis X.* reigned twenty-six years, leaving his queen big with child, who, after his decease, brought forth a son, called *John*; but the child died at a week old, and *Philip*, the late king's brother, succeeded, who reigned also twenty-six years. On his demise, *Charles IV.* sur-named *the Fair*, claimed and enjoyed the crown twenty-eight years, and deceasing in the year 1328, left his queen *Jane* pregnant, who was afterwards delivered of a daughter named *Blanch*, and immediately thereupon, king *Edward* set up his title to the succession; thus, he acknowledged, that the salique law excluded the females; but he maintained, that the males descending from those females, were not excluded by that law, because the reason whereon it was founded did not reach them. The Peers of *France*, however, decided against him, and acknowledged *Philip de Valois*, cousin to the deceased prince, as the next heir male, and seated him on the throne. This was in 1328, and king *Edward* being at that time in no condition to vindicate his rights by force, seemed

* Adam. Murimuth. Robert de Avesbury. Walter Hemingford.

seemed to acquiesce, and afterwards being summoned to do his homage for the countries he held in *France*, he made no difficulty, as we before observed, of complying, and even performed it in person with great magnificence ¹.

BUT afterwards, being better informed as to the validity of his pretensions, and finding that foreign princes were ready to abet his claim, he resolved to do himself justice by force of arms, in case he could obtain it no other way. With this view, he entered into a treaty with the emperor *Lewis of Bavaria*, the earl of *Hainault*, the duke of *Brabant*, and other princes, and having proceeded thus far, the king next wrote letters to the pope and cardinals, setting forth the injury that was done him, and his resolution to do himself justice. At length, these previous endeavours having served no other purpose, than that of giving the *French* king time to strengthen himself, *Edward*, by the duke of *Brabant*, made his claim to the *French* crown, and spent the next winter in disposing all things for the obtaining it by force, issuing his orders for raising a very numerous army, and for drawing together a great fleet; his allies, in like manner, sending their defiances to the *French* king, and making great preparations for the fulfilling their promises to the king of *England*, which nevertheless they did but slenderly ². And thus was this great war begun, in speaking of which, we shall concern ourselves no farther than with the naval expeditions on both sides.

THE principal confederate, or at least, the confederate of principal use to our monarch, was *James Arteville*, a brewer of *Ghent*; for this man so well seconded the king's

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endeavours,

¹ Mezeray Abregé de Histoire de France, vol. iii. p. 3.—12.
Rob. de Avesbury. Adam. Murimuth. &c.

endeavours, that he drew to him the hearts of the *Flemings*, whom king *Edward* had already made sensible of the importance of the *English* Friendship, by detaining from them his wool ^a. However, they durst not shew their inclinations till such time as the king sent the earl of *Darby* with a considerable force, who made themselves masters of the isle of *Cadfant*; upon which, most of the great cities in *Flanders* declared against the *French*, and invited king *Edward* thither ^b. The *French*, however, struck the first blow at sea; for, having, under colour of sending relief to the christians in the *Holy-Land*, assembled a squadron of large ships, they sent them over to the *English* coast, where they took and burnt *Southampton*; and yet, in their retreat, they lost three hundred men, and the son of the king of *Sicily*, who commanded them ^c; so that, upon the whole, this could scarce be stiled an advantage.

IN 1338, king *Edward*, by the middle of *July*, drew his numerous army down to the coast of *Suffolk*, and at *Orewell*, embarked them on board a fleet of five hundred sail, with which he passed over to *Antwerp*. On his arrival, he was received with great joy by his allies, particularly the emperor *Lewis*; but the subsidies he paid them, were excessive, nor could he immediately make use of their assistance, the *French* king declining a battle ^d. In the mean time, by the advice of the *Flemings*, he assumed the arms and title of king of *France*; but while the king spent his

^a Chroniques de Flandres par J. Meir. Inventaire gen. de l'Hist. de Franc. par J. de Serres. Mezeray.
^b T. Walsingham.
 Froissard. J. de Serres. Mezeray. ^c Thom. Walsingham.

The king, in his letters to the pope, takes notice of the ships being those intended for the Holy Land. ^d Continuat. Nic.

Trivet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 95. Walter Hemmingsford. vol. ii. p. 282. Mezeray.

his time in marches and counter-marches, in which, however, he gained some advantages over the enemy; the *French*, and their allies, the *Scots*, did a great deal of mischief on the *English* coasts with their fleet ^e. The town of *Hastings* they destroyed, alarmed all the western coast, burnt *Plymouth*, and insulted *Bristol* ^f, all which was owing to the king's employing the greatest part of his naval force abroad, and the remainder in the north, to awe the *Scots*. Yet in two instances, the *English* valour and naval force appeared with great lustre. A squadron of thirteen sail of *French* ships attacked five *English*, who defended themselves so valiantly, that, though they lost the *Edward* and the *Cristopher*, two of the largest, yet the other three escaped, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy ^g. The mariners of the *Cinque-Ports* also taking advantage of a thick fog, manned out all their small craft, and ran over to *Bulloigne*, where they did notable service, for they not only burnt the lower town, but destroyed four large ships, nineteen gallies, and twenty lesser vessels, which lay in the harbour, and consumed the dock and arsenal, filled with naval stores ^h.

IN 1340, king *Edward* returned to *England*, in the month of *February*, in order to hold a parliament, to provide for the expences of the war, wherein he succeeded to the utmost of his expectations, and in return for the readiness expressed by his subjects to assist him, he made many good laws, and granted great privi-

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leges

^e Robert de Avesbury, Hist Edwardi. iii. p. 41. Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 95. Froissard. Thom. Walsingham. ^f A. D. 1339. ^g Thom. Walsingham. Froissard, &c. ^h Holingshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 357.

leges to merchants^b. After this, with a strong fleet, he passed over into *Flanders*, and gave the *French* a terrible defeat at sea. As this is one of the most remarkable events in this period of our history, and as there are various discordances in the relations thereof, published by modern authors, I think it may not be amiss to give the reader that distinct and accurate account which is preserved in *Robert of Avesbury*, who lived and wrote in those days, and who, besides, fortifies what he says, by annexing the account published by royal authority, within four days after this battle; which detail, I am the more inclined to copy, because I find in it various circumstances, particularly respecting the king's conduct, which are not to be met with elsewhere.

“ It happened, says my author, that on the *Saturday*
 “ fortnight before the feast of *St. John Baptist*, the king
 “ was at *Orewell*, where there were forty ships, or there-
 “ abouts, preparing for his passage into *Flanders*, where
 “ he was going to his wife and children, whom he had
 “ left in the city of *Ghent*, as well as to confer with his
 “ allies about the measures necessary to be taken for carry-
 “ ing on the war, intending to sail in two days time; but
 “ the archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent to give him intelli-
 “ gence, that *Philip de Valois*, his competitor for the
 “ crown of *France*, having had notice of his intended
 “ passage, with much diligence, and as much privacy as
 “ the nature of the thing would admit, had assembled a
 “ great fleet which lay in the port of *Sluys*, in order to in-
 “ tercept him: wherefore he advised his majesty to provide
 “ himself

^b Walter. Hemingsford, vol. ii. p. 318, 319. Contin. Nic. Tri-
 vet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 96.

" himself with a better squadron, lest he, and those who
 " were with him: should perish. The king, yielding no
 " belief to his advice, answered, that he was resolved to
 " sail at all events. The archbishop quitted upon this his
 " seat in council, obtaining the king's leave to retire, and
 " delivered up to him the great seal. His majesty sent
 " therefore for Sir *Robert de Morley*, his admiral, and one
 " *Crabbe*, a skilful seaman, and gave them orders to en-
 " quire into the truth of this matter, who quickly return-
 " ed, and brought him the same news he had heard from
 " the archbishop: upon which the king said, ye have a-
 " greed with that prelate to tell me this tale, in order to
 " stop my voyage; but, added he angrily, I will go with-
 " out you, and you who are afraid, where there is no
 " ground of fear, may stay here at home. The admiral
 " and the seamen replied, that they would stake their
 " heads, that if the king persisted in this resolution, he,
 " and all who went with him, would certainly be de-
 " stroyed; however, they were ready to attend him even
 " to certain death. The king having heard them, sent
 " for the archbishop of *Canterbury* back, and with abun-
 " dant of kind speeches, prevailed upon him to receive
 " the great seal again into his care; after which, the king
 " issued his orders to all the ports, both in the north and
 " south, and to the *Londoners* likewise for aid; so that in
 " the space of ten days, he had a navy as large as he de-
 " sired, and such unexpected reinforcements of archers
 " and men at arms, that he was forced to send many of
 " them home; and with this equipage he arrived before
 " the haven of *Sluys*, on the feast of *St. John the Baptist*.
 " The *English* perceiving on their approach, that the
 " *French ships* were linked together with chains, and that

“ it was impossible for them to break their line of battle,
 “ retired a little and stood back to sea. The *French* de-
 “ ceived by this feint, broke their order, and pursued the
 “ *English*, who they thought fled before them. But these
 “ having gained the sun and wind, tacked, and fell upon
 “ them with such fury, that they quickly broke, and to-
 “ tally defeated them; so that upwards of thirty thousand
 “ *French* were slain upon the spot, of whom, numbers
 “ through fear jumped of their own accord into the sea,
 “ and were miserably drowned: two hundred great ships
 “ were taken, in one of which only, there were four
 “ hundred dead bodies. The day after this victory was
 “ gained, it was published at *London*, by the voice of the
 “ people, which is said to be the voice of God; but
 “ though the rumour thereof, through the distance of pla-
 “ ces, was uncertain, yet on the *Wednesday* following,
 “ the king’s eldest son had perfect intelligence thereof at
 “ *Waltham*, as appears by the following authentic ac-
 “ count.” That is, the narrative by authority published
 as before mentioned by prince *Edward*¹.

WE have also many remarkable particulars in relation to
 this battle in other writers. The lord *Cobham* was first
 sent by the king to view the *French* fleet, which he found
 drawn up in line of battle, and having given the king an
 account of the vast number and great force of their ships;
 that brave prince answered, well, by the assistance of god
 and St. *George*, I will now revenge all the wrongs
 I have received. He ordered the battle himself, directing
 his ships to be drawn up in two lines, the first consisting
 of vessels of the greatest force so ranged, that between two
 ships

¹ Robert de Avesbury, p. 34, 35, 36.

ships filled with archers, there was one wherein were men at arms; the ships in the wings being also manned with archers. The second line he used as a reserve, and drew from thence supplies as they became necessary. The battle lasted from eight in the morning till seven at night, and, even after this, there was a second dispute; for thirty *French* ships endeavouring to scape in the dark, the *English* attacked them under the command of the earl of *Huntingdon*, and took the *James of Diep*, and sunk several others. The king behaved with equal courage and conduct throughout the whole fight, giving his orders in person, and moving as occasion required from place to place. The *French* fleet, some authors say, had three, others, four divisions, one of which consisted of the *Genoese* ships. They were extremely well provided with arms and ammunition, and abundance of machines for throwing stones, with which they did a great deal of mischief; but they were less dextrous in managing their ships than the *English*: and this seems to have been one great cause of their defeat. The victory, however, cost the *English* a great deal of blood; for a large ship and a gally belonging to *Hull*, were sunk with all on board, by a volley of stones; and in a great ship which belonged to the king's wardrobe, there were but two men and a woman that escaped. In all, the *English* lost about four thousand men, and amongst them the following knights, sir *Thomas Monthermer*, sir *Thomas Latimer*, sir *John Boteler*, and sir *Thomas Poinings* ^k.

THE account the *French* writers give us of this battle, contains likewise some remarkable passages: they tell us, that

^k Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 319, 320, 321. Foissard. Walsingham. Knighton. p. 2578. Du Chesm. liv. xv. p. 651.

that there was a great dissention amongst their chief commanders¹. The *French* had two admirals, Sir *Hugh Quieret* and Sir *Peter Babuchet*. The former would have come out and fought, but the latter was for remaining within, and defending the haven; and persisting in this opinion, he detained the ships so long in the port, that at last they could not get out. As for the *Genoese*, they were under an admiral of their own, whose name was *Barbarini*, who with his squadron stood out to sea as soon as the *English* approached, and behaved very bravely, carrying off a part of his force, which was all that escaped. Sir *Hugh Quieret* was killed in the engagement, and Sir *Peter de Babuchet* was hanged at the yard-arm for his ill conduct². To take as much as may be from the honour of the *English*, these writers report, that the victory was chiefly owing to the *Flemings*, who joined the *English* fleet a little before the battle began: and they likewise magnify the loss which the *English* received, computing it at ten thousand men; adding also, that King *Edward* was wounded in the thigh³. On the whole it appears to have been a very hard-fought battle, and the victory seems entirely due to the skill and courage of the *English* sailors, who were more adroit in working their ships, as the men at arms were more ready in boarding than the *French*; and the archers also did excellent service. King *Edward* kept the sea three days to put his victory out of dispute, and then landing his forces marched to *Ghent*, in order to join his confederates⁴.

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¹ Mezeray, vol. iii p. 3. P. Daniel. hist. de la Milice. Franc. tom. ii. p. 468. Froissard. ² J. de Serres. ³ Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 491. ⁴ Chron. Godstovian, p. 112. Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 96. Walsingham.

THE *French* king acted now on the defensive, putting garrisons into all his strong places, that whatever the *English* and their allies won might cost them dear *. Hereupon king *Edward* with a very numerous army invested *Tournay*, from which siege he sent king *Philip* a challenge, offering to decide their quarrel, either by a single combat between themselves, or of a hundred against a like number; which king *Philip* refused for two reasons; because the letters were addressed to *Philip de Valois*, and therefore, seemed not to concern him; as also because king *Edward* staked nothing of his own, and yet required *Philip* to hazard his all. Both these letters are preserved in one of our old historians †. At last, after the siege had continued three months, king *Edward* perceiving that his foreign auxiliaries daily dropped away, while the *French* king's army of observation became stronger and stronger, he was content to make a truce for some months, which was afterwards renewed, and then returned to *England* ‡, having got a great deal of honour by his naval victory, and no less experience by his disappointment before *Tournay*, which convinced him, that, in all foreign confederacies, an *English* monarch is no farther considered than for the sake of his treasure, with which he is sure to part, though without any certainty of meeting with a proper return.

BUT if these foreign expeditions excessively harassed the nation, and cost immense sums of money, yet it must be owned, that king *Edward* had always an eye to his subjects

* A. D. 1340. † Robert de Avesbury, p. 60, 61. ‡ Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 96. Wakt. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 324. Chron. Godstovian. Froissard, Walsingham.

subjects welfare, and was very attentive to whatever might promote their commerce. He had from the beginning of his reign made several good laws for the regulation of trade, and for preserving to the nation the benefit of their wool; but now his long residence in *Flanders* having given him an opportunity of observing the great profits made by the *Flemish* manufacturers, who then brought up almost all that commodity, he wisely contrived to draw over great numbers of them hither, by insisting on the difficulties they laboured under at home, where their country was the seat of war, and the great advantages they might reap by transporting themselves into *England*, where he was ready to afford them all the encouragement they could desire: and from his endeavours in this respect, sprung that great, that lucrative manufacture which has been since productive of such mighty advantages to the *English* nation. Yet, in other respects, the king discovered severity enough in his temper, by displacing and imprisoning most of his great officers, and obstinately persisting in levying vast sums to be lavished away in useless confederacies, and a fruitless prosecution of his claim to the *French* crown. But it is time to return from these reflections, however natural, to the business of this treatise.

In the year 1342, the war was renewed, on account of the contested succession to the duchy of *Britany*, king *Edward* supporting the cause of *John de Montford*, who was owned by the nobility against *Charles de Blois*, declared duke by the *French* king, who was his uncle. On this occasion a considerable body of *English* troops was sent over into that duchy under the command of Sir
Walter

* Stow, Holingshead, Speed, Brady.

Walter de Mannie, who performed many gallant exploits both by land and sea, though to no great purpose; the *French* king having it always in his power to pour in as many *French* troops as he pleased, so that the party of *Charles de Blois* prevailed, though against right, and the inclination of those who were to be his subjects *. King *Edward* on advice thereof, sent over a new succour under the command of the earls of *Northampton* and *Devonshire*.

THE *French* king having notice of the intended supply, sent *Lewis* of *Spain* who commanded his fleet, which was made up of ships hired of different nations, directing that it should lie near the island of *Guernsey*, in order to intercept the *English* squadron in its passage. This fleet consisted of two and thirty sail, of which nine were very large ships, and three stout gallies; and on board them were three thousand *Genoese*, and a thousand men at arms commanded under the admiral by Sir *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*. The *English* fleet consisted of ordinary transports, about forty-five sail in all, having on board five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, under the command of the earls of *Northampton* and *Devonshire*. The *French* squadron attacked them unexpectedly at sea, about four in the afternoon, and the fight continued till night, when they were separated by a storm. The *French* and *Genoese* kept the sea, their vessels being large, with four or five prizes; but the rest of the *English* fleet keeping close to the shore, found means to land the forces which they had on board, who shortly after took the city of

* Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 17. Histoire de France, écrite par ordre de M. de Harley, P. President du Parlement de Paris. vol. i. p. 494. Froissard, Walsingham.

of *Vannes*, and performed other notable services¹. Towards winter the king passed over with a great army into *Britany*, and besieged three principal places at once, yet without success; for the duke of *Normandy*, the French king's eldest son, coming with a great army to their relief, a negotiation followed, which ended in a cessation of hostilities for three years; which, however, was but indifferently kept, notwithstanding the pope interposed as far as he was able, in order to have settled an effectual peace².

IN 1345, the war being already broke out with *France*, the king determined to sail over to *Flanders*, in order to accomplish his great design of fixing that country firmly to his interest, either, by obliging the earl to swear fealty to him as his sovereign, or else to deprive him of his dominions. While therefore he lay in the harbour of *Sluys*, a council was held of his principal friends in *Flanders*, on board his great ship the *Catharine*. At this council assisted *James d'Arteville* the brewer, who by the strength of his natural eloquence ruled all the *Netherlands*, and ruined himself by giving into the king's project. He, when his countrymen the *Flemings* demanded a month's time to consider of the propositions that had been made to them, undertook that all things should go to the king's wish; yet finding a great faction raised against him, by one *Gerard Dennis* a weaver, he accepted of a guard of five hundred *Welchmen* from the king. This, however, proved of little

¹ Holingshed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 363. We find the continuation of Trivets's annals cited there in support of these facts; yet we meet with nothing relating to this matter, in the continuation published by the reverend Mr. Anthony Hall, printed at Oxford, 1724.

² Walt. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 359. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. ii. p. 97. Froissard, Thom. Walsingham, Chronic. Godstovian.

little signification; for in a sudden tumult of the people, a cobbler snatching up an ax, beat out his brains. The king was still at *Sluys* with his fleet when this unfortunate accident happened, at which, though he was much moved, yet he was forced to dissemble his resentment, and to accept of the excuses made him by the cities of *Flanders* *. Attributing however, all this to the arts of the *French*, he resolved once again to attempt the conquest of that kingdom, and to employ therein the utmost force of his own. Our historians give us a very copious account of this war; there is, consequently, the less need that I should insist upon it here: I will therefore content myself with giving a succinct detail of the *English* forces employed in this expedition, and a more particular recital of what was remarkable in the siege of *Calais*, which, as it was in part formed by a naval force, falls more immediately under the subject of this treatise.

IN the midst of the summer of the year 1346, the king drew his navy, consisting of a thousand ships to *Portsmouth*, and shortly after arrived at *Southampton* with his army, composed of 2500 horse, and 30,000 foot. These he quickly embarked, the fleet sailing thither for that purpose, and on the fourth of *June* he put to sea, intending to have landed in *Guyenne*; but being driven back by a storm on the coast of *Cornwall*, and, the *French* writers say, put back thither a second time; he at last determined to make a descent on *Normandy*, where at *la Hogue* he safely debarked his forces, and began very successfully to employ them in reducing the strongest cities in the neighbourhood; after which he spread fire and sword

* *Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 497, 498. *Mezeray*, vol. iii. p. 23. *Speed*, *Stowe*, *Holinghead*.

sword on every side, even to the very gates of *Paris*. The *French* king provoked at so dismal a sight, as well as with the news that the earl of *Huntingdon* with the *English* fleet destroyed all the coast, almost without resistance, he resolved, contrary to his usual policy, to hazard a battle, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of *August*, and received that remarkable defeat, which will immortalize the little town of *Cressy*. Of this victory I chuse to say nothing, since my subject will not allow me to say of it what I could wish*. It was so entire, that for the present it left the king without enemies, and so much the effects of true courage, that though *Philip* had quickly after an army of 150,000 men on foot, yet they had no stomach to fight again. After this victory, the king, on the last day of *August*†, appeared before *Calais*, and formed a siege, that lasted eleven months, and which, if we had leisure to dilate on all the circumstances attending it, would appear little inferior to the fabulous siege of *Troy*, or the reduction of *Tyre* by *Alexander the Great*. The king knew that he was to reduce a place strong by nature and art, well supplied with ammunition and provisions, furnished with a numerous garrison, full of expectation of relief from king *Philip*, who was not far from thence with his mighty army before-mentioned. These difficulties, instead of discouraging *Edward*, inflamed him with a desire of overcoming them. He invested the place regularly by land, fortified his lines strongly, and within them erected, as *Froissard* a contemporary writer tells us, a kind of town for the conveniency of

* Walter Hemingsford, vol. ii. p. 381. Rob. de Avesbury, p. 123. Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 98. Froissard, Thom. Walsingham. † A. D. 1347.

of his soldiers, wherein were not only magazines of all sorts for the service of the war, but vast warehouses also of wool and cloth for supplying the sinews of war, by a constant trade at two settled markets; his troops all the while being exactly paid, and doing their duty chearfully. As for the fleet which blocked up the place at sea, it consisted of seven hundred and thirty-eight sail, on board of which were 14,956 mariners. Of these ships, seven hundred sail belonged to his own subjects, and thirty-eight to foreigners, so that there seems to be no reason for putting us on a par with our neighbours for hiring ships; since it is as evident that we were then able to fit out great fleets from our own ports, as that our enemies were able to do nothing but by the assistance of the *Genoese*, and other foreigners. The *French* king made some shew of relieving this place, by approaching within sight of *Calais*, at the head of a mighty army, the loss of which he was determined however, not to venture. The garrison of *Calais*, and the citizens, seeing themselves thus deceived, had no other remedy left, than to submit themselves to the mercy of a provoked conqueror, which in the most abject manner they sought, and were, at the queen's entreaty, spared. Thus ended this glorious siege, wherein the *English* monarch triumphed over his enemy by land and sea, carrying his own, and the nation's fame, to the utmost height, and forcing even his enemies to acknowledge, that nothing could equal the courage and conduct of himself and his renowned son, the *Black Prince*, but the courtesy and generosity of their behaviour ^v.

VOL. I.

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THE

^v Rob. de Avesbury, p. 136,—141. Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 503. Mezeray, p. 29. Froissard, vol. i. c. 133. Thom. Walsingham, &c.

THE king having carried his point in taking *Calais*, was content, at the earnest intreaty of the pope, to make a truce for a year; and the first use the *French* made of this, was, to attempt recovering by fraud, what they knew it was in vain to attempt by force. The king had bestowed the government of *Calais* on *Aymeri de Pavia*, whom soon after, some *French* noblemen persuaded to accept of twenty thousand crowns, and to deliver up this important place^z. King *Edward* being informed of the design, passed with great secrecy from *Dover* to *Calais*, with three hundred men at arms, and six hundred archers, and being received by night into the forts, he was ready to repulse the *French* troops under the command of the count *de Charny*, who came with twelve hundred men to surprize the place. The combat was long and doubtful; but at last it ended in the total defeat of the *French*, who, instead of taking the fortresses, were all either killed or taken prisoners. The king and prince *Edward* were both in this action, and both in some danger; especially the king, who at length took Sir *Eustace de Ribaultmont*, the knight with whom he fought, prisoner †, and rewarded him for his valour with a rich bracelet of pearl^a; and thus, as *Robert de Avesbury* remarks, the deceit of the deceivers proved fatal to themselves^b.

IN the month of *November* 1349, a squadron of *Spanish* ships passed suddenly up the *Garonne*, and finding many *English* vessels at *Bordeaux*, laden with wine, they cruelly murdered all the *English* seamen, and carried off the

^z Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 31. J. de Serres, P. Daniel. † A. D. 1349. ^a Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuthens. Annal. vol. ii. p. 101. Froissard, Mezeray, P. Daniel. ^b Hist. Edward. iii. p. 181.—183.

the ships, though in time of full peace. King *Edward* having intelligence that a squadron of *Spanish* ships, richly laden, were on the point of returning from *Flanders*, he drew together at *Sandwich*, a squadron of fifty sail, on board which he embarked in person, about *Midsummer* *, having with him the prince of *Wales*, the earls of *Lancaster*, *Northampton*, *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntingdon*, *Arundel*, and *Gloucester*, with many other persons of distinction. They met with the *Spanish* fleet, on the coast near *Winchelsea*, which consisted of forty-four very large ships, stiled carracks. They were, out of comparison, bigger and stronger than the *English* vessels, and yet the latter attacked them with great boldness. The *Spaniards* defended themselves resolutely, and chose at last death, rather than captivity, refusing quarter though it was offered them. Twenty-four of these great ships laden with cloth and other valuable goods, were taken and brought into the *English* harbours, and the rest escaped by a speedy flight. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king caused himself to be represented on a gold coin, standing in the midst of a ship with a sword drawn, thinking it an honour to have his name transmitted to posterity, as, *THE AVENGER OF MERCHANTS* †.

It would be beside our purpose, to record all the glorious expeditions of this reign, which would require a volume to do them right. In order to connect such passages as fall properly under our pen, we shall observe, that on the death of *Philip* the *French* king, his son *John* succeeded in the throne, who in the beginning of his

P 2

reign

* A. D. 1350. † Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 102. Rob de Avesbury, p. 184, 185. Anonym. histor. Edward. iii. c. 54. Froissard, &c.

reign, bestowed the dutchy of *Aquitaine*, upon the *Dauphin*, which so provoked king *Edward*, that he gave it, with the like title, to his son the prince, and sent him with a small army of veteran troops to maintain his title. With these forces, on the 19th of *September*, 1356, he won the famous battel of *Poitiers*, in which he took the king of *France*, and his youngest son *Philip* prisoners, and with them, the flower of the *French* nobility, with whom, towards the close of the year, he landed in triumph at *Plymouth*; from whence he proceeded to *London*, where he was received with the utmost respect by the citizens, having at their head, *Henry Picard*, then lord-mayor, who afterwards entertained the king's of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus* at dinner ^d.

THE taking of their king brought the *French* affairs into great disorder, which was increased through their own dissentions, and occasioned such a terrible fluctuation in their councils, that king *Edward*, believing himself ill dealt with in the negotiations they had set on foot, for the deliverance of their king, resolved to quicken them, by invading *France*, with a more potent army than hitherto he had employed against them; and accordingly embarked at *Sandwich*, on the 24th of *October* 1359, on board a fleet of eleven hundred sail, and the next day landed his army on *Calais* sands, consisting of near an hundred thousand men. The *Dauphin*, with a great army, kept about *Paris*, but could not be drawn to a battel, which though it lost him some reputation, yet it certainly preserv-
ed

^d Continuat. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. An. al. vol. ii. p. 107. Rob. de Avesbury, p. 210,—252. Anonym. hist. Edw. iii. c. 56. Mezeray, P. Daniel.

ed *France*. For king *Edward* perceiving that, though he was able to take their greatest cities, and to plunder their richest provinces, yet it was by no means in his power to preserve his conquests, resolved to put an end to so destructive a dispute; which, though it raised his glory, served only to ruin two great nations, and with this generous view, concluded the peace of *Bretagney*, so called from its being signed at that place, *May* 8, 1360. By this treaty, king *Edward*, for himself and successors, renounced his title to the kingdom of *France*, the dutchy of *Normandy*, and many other countries; the *French*, on the other side, giving up to him all *Aquitaine*, with many countries depending thereupon, as also the town and lordship of *Calais*, with a considerable territory thereto adjoining^e. By this treaty, king *John* obtained his liberty, and was conveyed in an *English* fleet to *Calais*, in the month of *July* following. King *Edward*, who was in *England*, at the time the *French* king went away, passed also over to *Calais* in the month of *October*, where, upon the 24th, the treaty was solemnly ratified, after the performance of divine service, and the kings mutually embracing, put an end to all their differences: *John* proceeding from thence to *Paris*, and king *Edward* returning on board his fleet to *England*^f.

THIS peace lasted as long as the *French* king lived, who, in 1364, came over into *England* again, under pretence of treating with king *Edward*, but in reality out of respect to an *English* lady, and died here soon after his arrival. His son, the *Dauphin*, succeeded him, by the

P 3

name

^e Rymer's *Fœder.* tom. vi. p. 229. Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. *Annal.* p. 113. Mezeray, P. Daniel. ^f Froissard, Walsingham, Knighton.

name of *Charles V.* sur-named *The Wise*, and from the instant he mounted the throne, projected the breach of the late treaty, and the depriving king *Edward* of the advantages stipulated thereby, which has been always a great point in *French* wisdom ^ε. The war, however, did not break out till the year 1369. The pretence then made use of by the *French*, was, that the prince of *Wales* had raised some illegal taxes in his *French* dominions, of which, the nobility of those provinces were excited to complain to the *French* king, and to demand redress, as from their sovereign lord. The *French* historians themselves, admit, that this was mere pretence, and that king *Charles* had secretly disposed all things for expelling the *English* out of *France*, and when his mines were ready, directed the count *de Armagnac*, and others of prince *Edward's* barons, to spring them, by presenting their petition; upon which, he summoned the prince of *Wales* to answer before his court of peers, at *Paris*. This was a direct breach of the treaty of *Bretigny*, whereby the provinces in question were absolutely yielded to the king of *England*. The prince, on receiving this summons, declared, that he would come to *Paris* with his helmet on his head, and 60,000 men to witness his appearance. The *French* king, who expected such a return, immediately declared, that the territories of the king of *England* in *France*, were forfeited for this contempt, of which sentence he gave king *Edward* notice, by so contemptible a messenger as a scullion ^η. To such an act as this, he was prompted by the

^ε Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 523. J. de Serres. Mezeray.

^η Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 78, 79. Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 531.

the confidence he had in a scheme of his own, for invading and destroying *England*. In order to this, he had been for some years purchasing ships all over *Europe*, so that at length he drew together a prodigious fleet, on board of which he was preparing to embark a numerous army, when he had advice, that the duke of *Lancaster*, and the earl of *Warwick*, with a considerable body of *English* forces were landed in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, and in full march towards him. This obliged him to abandon his design, and to make use of his forces to defend his own country, which they performed but indifferently, though they were lucky in another respect, for the count de *St. Pol* disappointed a design the duke of *Lancaster* had formed, of burning the whole *French* fleet in the port of *Harfleur* ¹.

KING *Edward* in the mean time, conceiving himself by this series of unprovoked hostilities, entirely freed from his stipulations in the treaty concluded with king *John*, resumed the title of king of *France*, and having received great supplies of money from his parliament, made mighty preparations for invading *France*, and for the present, several squadrons were sent to sea to cruize upon the enemy [†]. One of these, on the coast of *Flanders*, took five and twenty sail of ships laden with salt [‡]. These ships were commanded by one *John Peterfon*, and having brought this cargo from *Rochelle*, thought to shew their bravery by attacking the earl of *Hereford* with his small squadron, and so drew upon themselves this misfortune.

P 4

The

¹ Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol ii. p. 123. Anonym. vit. Edward. iii. cap. 59. Froissard, Walsingham. Mezeray. P. Daniel. [†] A. D. 1371. [‡] Anonym. histor. Edward. iii. cap. 60. Froissard, Walsingham.

The same year the *French* formed the siege of *Rochelle*, the news of which gave king *Edward* great disquiet; he therefore immediately ordered the earl of *Pembroke*, a young nobleman of great courage, to sail with a squadron of forty ships, and such forces as could be drawn together on a sudden to its relief^l. *Henry* king of *Castile*, having notice of this embarkation, and fearing, if the *English* succeeded, that they would again deprive him of his kingdom, which was claimed by the duke of *Lancaster* in right of his wife, fitted out a stout fleet, consisting of forty sail of great ships, and thirteen tight frigates, which well manned, under the command of four experienced sea-officers, he sent to cruize before the entrance of the port of *Rochelle*, in order to intercept the *English* fleet^m. The earl of *Pembroke* arriving on *Midsummer*-eve before *Rochelle*, engaged this fleet, but with indifferent success, the *Spaniards* having ships of war, and he only transports; however, being parted in the night, he lost no more than two store ships. The next day he renewed the fight, wherein he was totally defeated, all his ships being taken or sunk, and himself sent prisoner into *Spain*. On board one of his ships were twenty thousand marks in ready money, which were to have been employed in raising forces, but by this accident went to the bottom of the sea. *French* writers pretend that the besieged were not displeased with this misfortune which befell the *English*, and as a proof of this, alledge, that they gave them no assistance; the contrary of which appears from our authors, who

^l Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 127, 128. Holingshed, Speed. ^m Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 532. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 89, 90.

who give us a list of the *Rochellers* who perished in this fight ⁿ.

THIS loss was attended with that of *Rochelle*, and the greatest part of *Poitou*, which so raised the spirits of the *French*, that they besieged the strong city of *Touars*, which they brought to a capitulation on these terms, that if by the feast of St. *Michael* they were not relieved by king *Edward*, or one of his sons, then the place, with all its dependencies, should be rendered into the hands of the *French*. The principal person employed by the *French* in this expedition, was one Sir *John Evans*, a native of *Wales*, who had forsaken his country through some discontent. This man was an excellent officer both by land and sea, and was now recalled from the island of *Guernsey*, upon which he had made a descent, and had almost reduced the place, to perform the like service in *Poitou* *. I mention this to shew, that the *French* began now to have some power at sea, which is the natural consequence of their maintaining a lingering war with us. King *Edward* had all this time been preparing a vast number of transports, and a stout fleet, in order to transport his army to *Calais*. But now having intelligence of the terms on which the city of *Touars* had capitulated, he resolved to employ his forces and his fleet for its relief. With this view he embarked a considerable body of troops on board a fleet of four hundred sail; and to shew the earnest desire he had of saving so important a place, he went in person with the prince of *Wales*, the duke of *Lancaster*, the earl of *Cambridge*, all three his sons, and many of his nobility,

but

* Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 128. Froissard, Walsingham, P. Daniel, Mezeray. ° Froissard, vol. i. ch. 105.

but all his endeavours were to no purpose *: for embarking the beginning of *August*, the fleet was so tossed by contrary winds, that, after continuing at sea about nine weeks, the king found himself obliged to return to *England*, where as soon as he landed, he dismissed his army, by which untoward accident *Touars* was lost ^P. From this instance it is apparent, that, notwithstanding the utmost care and diligence in fitting out fleets, and in spite of all the courage and conduct of the most accomplished commanders, expeditions of this kind may easily fail; and in such cases, the consequence generally is the same which fell out here, the people murmured at the vast expence, and began to suggest, that now the king grew old, fortune failed him.

THE king, notwithstanding these repeated disappointments still kept up his spirits, and resolved to make the utmost efforts for restoring his affairs in *France*; but being grown far in years, and withal much worn with fatigue, he contented himself with sending the duke of *Lancaster* with a great fleet, and a good army on board, to *Calais* †. The *French* writers, and indeed most of our historians, say that it consisted of thirty thousand men; but *Froissard*, who lived in those times, and knew very well what he wrote, affirms, they were but thirteen thousand, viz. three thousand men at arms, and ten thousand archers. They might, indeed, be increased after their arrival, and probably they were so. At the head of these forces the duke of *Lancaster* passed through the heart of *France* to *Bordeaux*,
in

* A. D. 1372. P Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 128. Anonym. hist. Edward III. cap. 60. Both these writers however say, this expedition was for the relief of Rochel. Froissard Mezzeray, P. Daniel. † A. D. 1372.

in spite of all the opposition the *French* could give him, who made it their business to harass him all they could in his march, though they were determined not to fight ¹. Thus far the expedition was equally successful and glorious, but in the latter end of it, the army by continual fatigue began to diminish, and the duke of *Lancaster* was glad to conclude a truce, which was prolonged from time to time, so long as the king lived. In these last days of his life he grew feeble in body and mind, and was (as many of our historians say) governed in a great measure by a mistress and her favourites. His glorious son, *the Black Prince*, lingered also for several years with a dropsy, and complication of distempers; so that we need not wonder at the wrong turn the *English* affairs took in *France*, if we consider the advantage the *French* then had, in the art and cunning of *Charles V.* who was certainly one of the ablest princes that ever sat upon their throne. In all probability, the sense king *Edward* had of this great change in his affairs, and his foresight of the miseries that would attend a minority in such troublesome times, might possibly hasten his death, which happened on the twenty-first of *June 1377*, in the fifty-first year of his reign ².

IN the course of this reign we have taken notice of the great jealousy the king expressed for his sovereignty of the sea; but if we had mentioned every instance thereof, it would have swelled the account of this reign beyond all bounds: some special cases, however, it may not be amiss to touch here. In the peace made by him with king *John*,

¹ Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 129. Froissard, vol. i. cap. 106. Thom. Walsingham. ² Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 138. Thom. Walsingham, Speed, Barnes in his history of this prince.

John, wherein *Edward* renounced all title to *Normandy*, he expressly reserved all the islands dependant thereupon, that he might preserve his jurisdiction at sea entire^s. In his commissions to admirals and inferior officers, he frequently styles himself sovereign of the *English* seas, asserting, that he derived this title from his progenitors, and deducing from thence the grounds of his instructions, and of the authority committed to them by these delegations^t. His parliaments likewise, in the preambles to their bills, take notice of this point, and that it was a thing notorious to foreign nations, that the king of *England* in right of his crown was sovereign of the seas^u. He was also, as we have before shewn, very attentive to trade, and remarkably careful of *English* wool, the staple of which he managed with such address, that he long held the principal cities of *Flanders* attached to his interest, contrary to the duty they owed to their earl, whom he more than once engaged them to expel^w. Yet for all this, his conduct in the last years of his life was fatal to the naval power of this nation; for by long wars and frequent embargoes, he mightily injured commerce; while on the other hand, the *French* king was all this while assiduous in his endeavours to create a maritime force in his dominions, in which he so far succeeded, that he became this way a formidable enemy to the *English*; as will be seen in our account of the next reign. But before I part with this, I must take notice, that not only the state was exceedingly exhausted by the king's *French* wars, but that prince

^s Thom. Walsingham. ad xxxiv. Edwardi III. ^t Rot. Scotiae, x Ed. III. Membran. 16. ^u Rot. Parl. 46. Ed. III. num. 20. ^w Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 86. ^x Histoire de la Milice Francoise par P. Daniel. tom. ii. p. 448.

prince himself also driven to such necessities, that he thrice pawned his crown, first in the seventeenth year of his reign beyond the seas ¹; again in the twent-fourth, to sir *John Weseham*, his merchant ²; and again in the thirtieth of his reign, to the same person, in whose hands it then lay eight years, through the king's inability to redeem it ³: neither is this a slight report, or a story taken from private memoirs, but appears in our records, and ought therefore to be a caution to all succeeding monarchs, not to lay too great a stress on their foreign expectations, which, though sometimes they seem honourable in appearance, have been always in effect ruinous to their predecessors.

RICHARD II. from the place where he was born, styled *Richard of Bourdeaux*, the son of the famous *Black Prince*, succeeded his grandfather in the kingdom with general satisfaction, though he was then but eleven years old. He was crowned with great solemnity, and being too young to govern himself, the administration naturally devolved upon his uncles, and particularly *John of Gaunt* duke of *Lancaster*, then styled king of *Castile* and *Leon* ⁴. While the great men in *England* were employed in adjusting their interests, and getting good places, the *French* king's fleet, consisting of fifty sail of stout ships, under the command of admiral *de Vienne*, invaded our coasts, and a body of troops landed in *Sussex*, by whom the town of *Rye* was burnt. This was in the latter end of

¹ Pat. Parf. i. An. 17^o Edw. III. ² Pat. An. 24. Membran. 21.
³ Claus. An. 30. Edw. III. Com. de Term. Hil. 38. Edw. III. ex parte Rein. Regis. ⁴ Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 140, 141. Thom. Walsingham, &c.

of *June*, within six days after king *Edward's* decease, of which the *French* having notice, they thence took courage to attempt greater things. On the twenty-first of *August*, they landed in the *Isle of Wight*, pillaged and burnt most of the villages therein, and exacted a thousand pounds of the inhabitants for not burning the rest; and afterwards passing along the coast, they landed from time to time, and destroyed *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*, to the great dishonour of the lords about the young king, who were so much employed in taking care of themselves, that they had little time to spare, and perhaps as little concern for the affairs of the nation; so that, if private persons had not interposed, matters had still gone worse, for though sir *John Arundel* drove the *French* from *Southampton* with loss: yet they burnt *Hastings*, and attempted *Winchelsea*, which was defended by the abbot of *Battel*. At *Lewes* they beat the prior with such troops as he had drawn together, and having killed about a hundred men, not without considerable loss on their side, re-embarked their forces, and returned home ^c.

In some measure, to wipe off the shame of these misadventures, a considerable fleet was at length sent to sea, under the command of the earl of *Buckingham*, who had with him many gallant officers, and who intended to have intercepted the *Spanish* fleet in their voyage to *Sluys*; with which view he twice put to sea, and was as often forced into port by contrary winds, so that his project came to nothing ^d. The duke of *Lancaster*, on a promise to defend the nation against all enemies for one year, got into his hands

^c Froissard, vol. i. cap. 327. Mezeray, Daniel. ^d Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 141.

hands a subsidy granted by parliament for that purpose, yet he executed his trust so indifferently, that one *Mercer*, a *Scotch* Privateer, with a small squadron, carried away several vessels from under the walls of *Scarborough-Castle*, and afterwards adding several *French* and *Spanish* ships to his fleet, began to grow very formidable, and greatly disturbed the *English* commerce ^e.

IN times of public distraction, private virtues are commonly most conspicuous. There was one alderman *John Philpot* of *London*, who with great wealth, and a fair reputation, had a very high and active spirit, and could hardly digest the affronts daily done to his country, by the *French* admirals, and the *Scotch* pyrates. This man, at his own expence, fitted out a stout squadron, on board which he embarked a thousand men at arms, and then went in quest of *Mercer*, whose fleet, superior in force, and flushed with victory, he engaged, and totally defeated, taking not only his ships with all the booty on board them, but also fifteen *Spanish* vessels, richly laden, which a little before had joined *Mercer*, besides all the prizes he had carried from *Scarborough*. For this glorious act, alderman *Philpot*, according to the strange policy of those times, was called before the council, and questioned for thus manning a squadron without legal authority; but he answered the earl of *Stafford* so wisely, and justified himself so fully, that the lords were content to dismiss with thanks, a man whose virtues were more illustrious than their titles ^f.

BUT, as there could be no dependance on these extraordinary remedies, the parliament provided in some measure

^d Contin.

^e Stowe, Holingshead, Speed. ^f Thom. Wallingham, Stowe, Speed.

sure for the security of navigation, by the imposition of certain duties. The very learned sir *Robert Cotton* says, these impositions were by *Strength of Prerogative only* ^ε, the contrary of which appears clearly by the record, which is still extant. But, before we speak of these, which in their own nature are the strongest proofs of our sovereignty at sea, it will be necessary to observe what former kings had done in this respect. In king *John's* time, as we find it recited, upon record in subsequent reigns, the town of *Winchelsea* was enjoined, in the 16th year of his reign, to provide ten good and large ships for the king's service, in *Poictou* ^h; at another time, twenty: *Dunwich*, and *Ipswich*, being to find five each, and other ports in proportion, all at their own expence ⁱ. *Edward I.* had from the merchants, a twentieth, and afterwards, a seventh of their commodities ^k; he imposed a custom of a noble upon every sack of wool ^l, which in his son's time was doubled. In *Edward II.* time, we find, that the sea ports were for twelve years charged to set out ships provided with ammunition and provision, sometimes for one month, sometimes for four; the number of ships, more or less, according as occasion required ^m. *Edward III.* heightened the subsidy upon wool, to six and forty shillings and four pence a sack ⁿ, being seven times the first imposition. As for ships, he enjoined the sea-ports frequently to attend him with all their strength ^o. In the

13th

^ε Answers to reasons for foreign wars, p. 46. ^h Ex. Joan. Everden. Pat. an. 3. E. 1. m. 26. ⁱ Rot. Claus. an. 26. H. iii. ^k Rot. Vasconiæ. Anno 22. E. 1. m. 8. ^l Ex. Historia. Joan. Everden. See Brady's history in that king's reign. ^m Rot. Scot. an. 2. E. ii. m. 17. Rot. Scot. an. 12. E. ii. m. 8. Rot. Pat. an. 4. E. ii. Dorset. Claus. an. 17. E. ii. m. 2. ⁿ See Brady's History, Molloy de Jure Maritimo. p. 289. ^o Claus. an. 1. E. iii. Rot. Scot. eod. an.

13th year of his reign, he obliged the *Cinque-Ports* to set out thirty ships, half at his cost, and half at theirs; the out-ports furnishing fourscore ships, and the traders of *London* being commanded to furnish ships of war at their own expence ^p. Complaint being made, on account of these hardships, to parliament ^q, no other answer could be had, than that the king would not permit things to be otherwise than they were before his time ^r; that is, would not permit his prerogative to be diminished. By these methods, he raised his customs in the port of *London*, to a thousand marks *per month* ^s. These were certainly hardships, and hardships that would not have been borne under any other pretence. But now, under the minority of king *Richard II.* when things could not be carried with so high a hand, and yet the necessity of maintaining a constant squadron at sea for the security of the coasts was apparent, a new order was taken, equally agreeable to justice and reason, for imposing certain duties on all ships sailing in the north seas, that is, from the mouth of the river of *Thames* northwards. These duties were to be levied not only on merchants, but on fishermen, and of those belonging to foreign nations, as well as of *English* subjects. It consisted in paying 6*d.* *per ton*, and only such vessels were excused as were bound from *Flanders* to *London* with merchandize, or from *London* to *Calais* with wool and hides. Fishermen, particularly such as were employed in the herring-fishery, were to pay 6*d.* *per ton* every week, other fishermen a like duty every three weeks. Ships employed in the coal-trade

VOL. I.

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^p Rot. Scot. an. 13. Ed. iii. m. 15.

^q Rot. Scot. an. 10. E. iii. ^r Rot. Alman. an. 2. E. iii. m. 2.

^s Claus. an. 5. E. iii.

^q Rot. Scot. an. 10.

^r Claus. an.

to *Newcastle*, once in three months. Merchant-men failing to *Prussia*, *Norway*, or *Sweden*, a like duty; and for the collecting these impositions, six armed vessels were to be employed. As for the authority by which this was done, it will best appear by the title of the record, which runs thus. *This is the ordinance and grant by advice of the merchants of London, and of other merchants to the north, by the assent of all the commons in parliament, the earl of Northumberland, and the mayor of London, for the guard and tuition of the sea and coasts, under the jurisdiction of the admiral of the north seas, &c.*^c This, as I observed before, is the clearest proof that our sovereignty of the sea, in those days, was admitted by all nations, otherwise this ordinance would not have been submitted to; about which it appears, there was no kind of scruple or apprehension, since so small a force was appointed to collect it.

IN 1378, the earls of *Arundel* and *Salisbury*, passed with considerable forces into *France*, where being able to perform little, they in their return were attacked at sea by a *Spanish* squadron. Part of the *English* fleet seems not to have engaged; and my author charges *Philip* and *Peter Courtney*, who commanded the ships that fought, with temerity. However it was, they both behaved very gallantly; and *Philip* escaped, though much wounded. As for *Peter*, he was taken with a few of his men, who were never heard of afterwards; and as there perished in this fight abundance of *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire* gentlemen, it was looked upon as a very great misfortune^d. It was, however,

^c Rot. Parliam. an. 2. R. ii. par. 2. art. 39. in Schedules. ^d Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam. Murimuth. Annal. Vol. ii. p. 143.

however, followed with a greater: the duke of *Lancaster*, with a very numerous army, and a very potent fleet, failed to the assistance of the duke of *Bretagne*, about midsummer, and having spent near a month in a fruitless siege of the town of *St. Malo*, which he missed taking by his own negligence and ill conduct, he returned to *England* with little reputation to himself; the *French* fleet in the mean time having spoiled the coasts of *Cornwall* ^w.

THE foes of the *French* court very naturally applied themselves for assistance to *England*, and seldom failed to obtain it, though it was not often that either we, or they were gainers by it in the end. The king of *Navarre*, who had shewn himself a bitter enemy to the house of *Valois*, and who had hitherto had but indifferent success, in a great variety of intrigues and enterprizes into which he had entered, at last addressed himself to king *Richard*, and offered to put the fortrefs of *Cherburg* in *Normandy*, into his hands; which was accepted, and with some difficulty obtained, in the month of *October*, 1379. In the latter end of the same year Sir *John Arundel* going with a considerable reinforcement to *Bretagne*, was shipwreck'd, part of his squadron being driven on the coasts of *Ireland*, some on the *Welsh* shore, and others into *Cornwall*, so that himself, and a thousand men at arms, perished: this loss, and the uneasiness following upon it, occasioned the calling of a parliament. The next year, however, new supplies were sent, under the command of the earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Robert Knollys*, and Sir *Hugh Caverley*, to *Calais*, and from thence passed through the heart of *France* into *Bretagne*, where the duke employed them in

Q 2

the

^u Cont.

^w Ibid. p. 144. Walsingham, Stowe, Holingshed. &c.

the siege of *Nantes*, a city which refused to acknowledge him; and taking very little care to supply them with necessaries, they were by degrees reduced to such misery, that the *English* soldiers were glad to return in small companies through *France*, not in a hostile way, but begging their bread, which ought to have put an end to all these inconsiderate expeditions, that served only to waste the strength of the nation, and to expose us to foreigners; for in the mean time the *French* gallies burnt *Gravesend*, and plundered the whole *Kentish* coast *.

IN 1383, a new kind of war broke out, which though inconsiderable in its consequences, ought not to be passed over in silence. There was at this time, a schism in the church of *Rome*; *Urban* IV. was owned in that city, and *Clement* VII. was acknowledged for *Pope* at *Avignon*. The several princes of *Europe*, consulted their own advantage in the choice they made of these pontiffs, and as the *French* had owned *Clement*, the *English* grew very warm on the behalf of *Urban*. He therefore, to serve his own interest, and to heighten their zeal, proclaims a croisade against his opponents, and constitutes *Henry Nevil*, bishop of *Norwich*, his general in *England*. This prelate, a man of noble birth, was of a fit character for such an enterprize, having a high spirit, a resolute courage, and a very intriguing genius. He knowing that the *Flemings* were then in arms against their earl, and that they were naturally inclined to the *English*, resolved to make use of his commission, to over-run, if possible, that country. Passing over with this view to *Calais*, he there suddenly assembled

* Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. p 147, 148. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 109. Froissard, Thom. Walsingham.

assembled fifty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, with which, and a good fleet attending, he suddenly fell into *Flanders*, where he cut to pieces a body of twelve thousand men belonging to the earl, took *Dunkirk*, *Graveling*, *Mardyke*, and other places, and at length besieged *Ypres*; his fleet proceeding with like good fortune at sea. But the *French* king marching with a great army into *Flanders*, and the *Flemings* beginning to fall off, the bishop of *Norwich* was glad to retire, and after all his short-lived successes, to return with a handful of men into *England*. The next year the *French* fitted out several squadrons to infest the *English* coast, in which they were but too successful, while our intestine divisions hindered us from taking that due care of our affairs, which our great strength at sea enabled us to have done. Yet the inhabitants of *Portsmouth*, to shew the martial spirit of this nation was not quite extinguished, fitted out a squadron at their own expence, which engaging the *French* with equal force, took every ship, and slew all but nine persons on board them, performing also other gallant exploits before they returned into port. So very apparent it is, that if our affairs go wrong, this ought to be ascribed to the rulers, and not to the people, who are naturally jealous of our national glory, and ever ready enough to sacrifice their persons and properties for its defence.

THE *French* king, *Charles VI.* was in the year 1385, persuaded to revive his father's project, of invading *England*, in order to compel the *English* to abandon the few places they still held in *France*. With this view, he, at a

Q 3

prodigious

^y Histoire de France, vol. ii. p. 12. Mezeray. vol. iii. p. 125. Stowe, Helioghed, Sped.

prodigious expence, purchased ships in different parts of *Europe*, and by degrees drew together a very great number; an author of credit who lived in those times, says, twelve hundred and eighty-seven sail, insomuch that, if it had been necessary, they might have made a bridge from *Calais* to *Dover* ². On the other hand, king *Richard* prepared a numerous army, and also drew together a powerful navy: yet, after all, there was no great matter done; for the *French* king's uncles, the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* fell at variance upon this head, and the design was so long protracted, that at last they were obliged to lay it aside for that year ³. *Mezeray* seems to attribute this to the duke of *Burgundy* ^b; but father *Daniel* ascribes it to the duke of *Berry* ^c. However, it was not entirely given over, but rather deferred till the succeeding spring, when the *French* sailed a second time, partly through the treachery of the duke of *Bretagne*, and partly through the cowardice of admiral *de Vienne*. This man had been sent with a fleet of sixty ships to *Scotland*, in order to excite and enable the inhabitants of that kingdom, to make a diversion; but he behaved there very indifferently, for he declined fighting the *English*, when they destroyed all the country before them, and entered into an amour with a princess of the royal blood, which, says *Mezeray*, the barbarous *Scots*, being strangers to the *French* gallantry, took amiss, and shewed their resentment in such a manner, as obliged him to leave their country very abruptly. On his return, he reported the *English* to consist of ten thousand horse, and a hundred thousand foot, which struck the

² Histoire de Charles VI. A. D. 1385 ^a Froissard, vol. iii. cap. 25. ^b Abregé de l'Histoire de France, vol. iii. p. 129.
^c Histoire de la Milice de France, vol. ii. p. 448.

the *French* with terror. As for the duke of *Bretagne*, on some private distaste, he clapped up the constable of *France* in prison, who was to have commanded the forces that were to be transported in this mighty fleet; which new disappointment frustrated the whole design. Father *Daniel* is just enough to acknowledge, that it is doubtful whether the duke, by this act of treachery, did the *English* or the *French* most service; since, if this design had miscarried, the greatest part of the nobility of *France*, who were embarked therein, must have necessarily perished. As it was a great number of ships belonging to this huge fleet in sailing from the haven of *Sluys*, were driven on the *English* coast and taken; and the year before the earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, with the *English* fleet, had attacked a great number of *French*, *Spanish* and *Flemish* merchant-men, and having beat their convoy, took upwards of a hundred sail. Thus this wild scheme ended in the destruction of the naval power of *France*, which as it is in itself unnatural, so when ever it receives a considerable check, it is very hard to be restored again, as father *Daniel* tacitly acknowledges; for he owns, that during the remainder of the reign of *Charles VI.* as also during that of *Charles VII.* which takes in upwards of half a century, they attempted little or nothing by sea, and not very much in the succeeding fifty years^d.

THE expedition of the duke of *Lancaster* into *Spain*, deserves to be mentioned in a work of this nature; for though it be true, that it did not concern the kingdom of *England*, yet as the whole naval strength of the nation

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^d Histoire de la Milice Francoise, vol. ii. p. 448. Stowe, H. Linghthed. Speed, Brady, Tyrrel, &c.

was employed therein, and as the reputation of the *English* arms was spread thereby all over *Europe*, it would be unpardonable to omit it. The duke's title, notwithstanding the slight put on it by some authors, was in reality a very good one: he claimed in right of his second wife *Constantia*, who was the daughter of *Peter* the cruel king of *Castile*, whereas the possessor of that crown was of a bastard line. The king of *Portugal* was likewise in his interest, and sent into *England* seven gallies and eighteen ships, to join the duke's fleet, which was a long time in preparing. At length, about *Midsummer* 1386, he embarked with twenty thousand men, and the flower of the *English* nobility, himself commanding the army, and Sir *Thomas Percy* the fleet. The first exploit they performed was the relieving *Brest*, at that time besieged by the *French*, by which the duke gained great reputation; after this, embarking again with fresh provisions and some recruits, they arrived at the port of *Corunna*, or as our sailors call it, the *Groin*, on the ninth of *August*, and there safely landed their forces*. The king of *Portugal* behaved like a good ally, and many of the *Spanish* nobility acknowledged the duke for their king. Yet the war at the beginning was not attended with much success, great sickness wasting the *English* army, and through the precautions of *John* king of *Castile*, the country was so destroyed, that a famine ensued, which proved of still worse consequence to the duke's affairs. By degrees, however, the soldiers recovered their health, and the duke, who had himself endured a sharp fever resumed his spirits, and continued the war with fresh vigour, and with better

* Froissard, Walsingham, Knighton, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

better fortune. *John* king of *Castile*, seeing his dominions destroyed, and the *French*, who had promised him great succours very slow in performing, wisely entered into a negotiation, which quickly ended in a peace ^f. By this treaty king *John* paid the duke about seventy thousand pounds for the expences of the war, and assigned him and his dutches, an annuity of ten thousand pounds: the eldest daughter of the duke married *Henry* prince of *Asturias*, king *John's* heir, and the duke's second daughter, espoused the king of *Portugal*. After this agreement made, the duke with the remains of his army, which an eminent *French* writer says might amount to about a sixth part of the forces he carried abroad ^g, returned into *England* towards the end of the year 1389; and a little after the king was pleased to honour his uncle with the title of duke of *Aquitaine* ^h.

IN 1394, an insurrection in *Ireland* obliged the king to pass over thither, being attended by the duke of *Gloucester*, the earls of *March*, *Nottingham*, and *Rutland*. In this expedition he had better fortune than in any other part of his life, reducing most of the petty princes to such streights, that they were glad to do him homage, and to give him hostages. But at the request of the clergy, he returned too hastily, in order to prosecute heretics, when he might have subdued his rebels, and settled that kingdom. This mistake in his conduct proved afterwards fatal to his crown and life ⁱ. The disputes he had with his nobility at home, inclined the king to put an end to all differences abroad, and therefore, after a long treaty it was

^f Speed, Holingshed. ^g Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 134. ^h Walsingham, Stowe, Holingshed Speed. ⁱ Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1394.

was agreed, that king *Richard* should espouse the *French* princess *Isabella*, though but a child between seven and eight years old. On this occasion he passed over to *Calais*, where he had an interview with the *French* king, and having espoused this young princess on the thirty-first of *October*, he soon after brought her home, and caused her to be crowned; but very little to the people's satisfaction, who fancied there was something ominous in the loss of part of her portion, in the short passage between *Calais* and *Dover*, in a sudden storm ^k. Some time after he was drawn into a much more unpopular act, by giving up the fortress of *Cherburgh* to the king of *Navarre*, and the town of *Brest* to the duke of *Britanny*; and the disturbances which followed these measures in *England*, encouraged the *Irish* to rebel ^l. In the first fury of these people, they cut off *Roger Mortimer* earl of *March*, governor of *Ireland* for king *Richard*, and presumptive heir of the crown. The news of this so much provoked the king, that he determined to pass over into that island, in order to chastize the authors of so black a fact. With this view he drew together a considerable army, and a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he safely arrived at *Waterford*, in the spring of the year 1399 ^m.

THE king had some success in this, as he had in his former expedition, it being the constant foible of the *Irish* to be wonderfully struck with the presence of a prince, and the pomp of a court. But his success was quickly interrupted by the mortifying news of his cousin *Henry* of *Lancaster's* being landed in *England*, and in open rebellion.

^k Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. vii. p. 802. Stowe, Holingshed, Mezeray, P. Daniel. ^l Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1395. ^m Walsingham, Knighton, Stowe.

bellion. This young nobleman, stiled in his father's lifetime, first earl of *Derby*, and then duke of *Hereford*, had ever been of a martial disposition, and had attained to great military skill, by serving in *Prussia* under the *Teutonic* knights. He had been very indifferently treated by king *Richard*, yet had no thoughts of pretending to the crown when he first returned home; but finding the people universally disaffected, the king in *Ireland*, and himself surrounded by a number of brisk and active young noblemen, he grew bolder in his designs, though he still acted with much caution. The king on the first advice of this rebellion returned into *England*, where he no sooner arrived, than all his spirits failed him, insomuch, that the first request he made to the earl of *Northumberland* was, that he might have leave to resign his kingdom^a. The precedent of his grandfather *Edward II.* was too recent to leave the rebels any scruple of making use of the king's pusillanimous temper; they therefore brought him up prisoner to *London*, where he was committed to the *Tower*, and shortly after, by authority of parliament deposed, when he had reigned twenty-two years, and was in the thirty-third year of his age. After which, his life was of no long continuance; for being carried from place to place, he at length ended his days at *Pomfret-Castle*, in the year 1401, but how, or with what circumstances, is not clearly known to posterity; some say, that hearing of the misfortunes which attended his friends, who endeavoured to restore him, and had miserably lost their lives in the attempt, he refused sustenance, and starved himself; others with greater probability affirm, that with hunger and

^a Chronicon. Godstovian, p. 126;

and cold, and other unheard-of torments, his cruel enemies removed him out of their way °; and to this opinion Camden inclined, who, in speaking of *Pomfret-Castle*, says, it is a place *principum cæde & sanguine infamis* P.

THE history of our commerce within this period of time would be equally curious and useful, if carefully and impartially collected from our records and histories. What I have to offer on this head, is only the fruit of my own reflections upon some remarkable passages, that in the composition of this history appeared of too great importance, in reference to the subjects under my consideration, to be passed by without notice, amongst a long train of common events. Such observations I conceive may be of more use; because, generally speaking, our writers upon political arithmetick, have very rarely carried their researches so high as these times, from a notion very probably, that there was not much in them to their purpose, in which, however, I must confess myself of a very different sentiment, being fully satisfied, that many points of the greatest consequence might be very much enlightened, if due attention were paid to such occurrences in these times, as any way regard our foreign and domestic trade, the scarcity and plenty of coin, and the different state of the finances of our several monarchs; for all which, tho' there may not be sufficient materials to compose a compleat history, yet there are more than enough to convince us, that the vulgar-opinion of the poverty of our ancestors in past times, is very far from being founded in truth; but is rather the consequence of an ill-grounded complaisance for our own age. WE

° Thom. Walsingham. Hypodigm. Neustriæ. Harding's chronicle, Stowe, Speed. P Descript. Brit. p. 383.

WE have before observed, that *Henry I.* left behind him a very large sum of money at his decease ; his grandson *Henry II.* reigned about the same space of time, that is, four months short of thirty-five years, as his grandfather reigned four months more than that number of years ; their tempers were much alike with respect to œconomy, that is to say, both of them were inclined to collect and leave behind them as much wealth as they could ; the former for the sake of establishing his family, the latter, that he might make a provision for the expedition into the *Holy-Land*, which he certainly had very much at heart. But *Henry II.* at his demise, left in gold and silver, exclusive of jewels and other curiosities, the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds, which would be a thing altogether incredible, if we had not as good authority for this, as for any historical fact whatever ¹. It is indeed true, that some writers have represented him as an avaritious, and even rapacious prince, but the facts which they assign to prove this are such, as will scarce satisfy an impartial reader. He levied from time to time, considerable sums upon the *Jews*, who were the money'd people of those days ; he had considerable aids from his nobility, and he kept bishopricks and other ecclesiastical benefices in his hands for several years together. His predecessors however, had done as much without acquiring any such treasure, and therefore we may conclude from this fact, that the nation was become much richer.

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¹ The words of Matthew Paris, my author, are these, *Inventa sunt plura quam nongenta millia librarum in auro & argento, præter utensilia & jocalia & lapides pretiosos.* The will of this great monarch, is preserved in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, published by Hearne, but in this we find none but charitable legacies.

IT is said, and very truly said, that coin or ready money, is the PULSE of a state; if it beats high and even, there is no reason to question the health of the body politic; but if it grows low and intermits, even wise men may be allowed to doubt as to the public safety. We may therefore safely collect, that the trade of this kingdom was very much increased during the course of this reign, tho' we had no other argument to prove it, since in the same space of time, and without having recourse to any extraordinary methods, this monarch was able to leave, after bestowing very considerable sums in ready money for the holy war, a treasure nine times as great as that of his grandfather, tho' he was looked upon as the richest prince of his time.

THE beginning of king RICHARD's reign was very fatal to the estates and revenues of the crown, as the latter end of it was excessively burthensome upon his people, yet those, who from the difficulty of paying his ransom would infer, that this kingdom was grown wretchedly poor, and that the wealth of the nation was nothing then, to what it is now, are far from being so much in the right as they may imagine, as will appear from hence, that *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury*, when he desired the king's leave to withdraw from the administration, gave this as his reason, *viz.* that there had been levied upon the subjects in the years 1195 and 1196, the sum of one million one hundred thousand marks¹, which I have the authority

¹ Rog. Hovedon, p. 767, 768. assures us the scope of that prelate's letter to the king, was to shew how much the wealth of England was exhausted, and as a proof added, *Quod infra Biennium proximo præteritum, adquisierat ad opus illius undecies centena millia marcarum argenti de regno Angliæ.* Robert de Brunne, in his chronicle

thority of an ingenious and judicious writer to bear me out in affirming, was equal to eleven millions in our times *. So that it was not the poverty of the kingdom which made the impositions of those days seem insupportably hard, but the impositions themselves were so excessive and so often repeated, as that they really made the nation poor.

ANOTHER thing to be observed in regard to this reign, is the tax or rather subsidy, given in *wool*, which is the first time any thing of that nature occurs in history, tho' without all doubt, wool was long before one of the principal staple commodities of this country. If we look into this affair carefully, we shall find something in it very different from what is commonly understood; for it was not a tax imposed upon wool for leave to export it, a thing frequent in succeeding times, and which, for any thing we know, might not have been altogether new even then. It was not a grant to the crown of a certain quantity of wool, which was the *land-tax* of those times, and very commonly granted to his successors; but it was a *loan* taken from the *Cistercian* monks, who then exported the wool of this island to *Flanders* and other countries, the

chronicle informs us, that tho' the sums levied were large, yet the king's visible necessity, and the bad behaviour of king Philip of France, made the nobility contribute chearfully to their master's assistance, as well in their persons as out of their purses.

* The author referr'd to in the text is Dr. Davenant, who in his discourse on grants and resumptions, p. 112, not only says what I have mentioned, but farther, that what was given to king Richard was more than was really levied on the people in any two years of king William's war. If so, why might not the whole necessary supplies have been raised, which could not (the difference of times considered) have been in any degree so oppressive as what our ancestors endured, rather than a debt created, which has proved ever since an accumulating burthen?

the produce of which for that year was received to the king's use, in order to compleat his ransom, and was to be repaid; and perhaps the different accounts we have of the sum to which that amounted, might be owing, in some measure, to this manner of raising it; but however, these things may stand, there is nothing clearer, than that the vast sums raised in this reign, must have been brought into this island by foreign trade, that is, by the produce of our commodities and manufactures. The latter without question, were very inconsiderable in comparison of what they have since been, and yet not altogether so inconsiderable as is commonly thought; but as for our staple commodities, we certainly had them then as well as now, and I believe there is some reason to think, that they were not only exported in very large quantities, but were also vended in foreign markets at very high prices, that is, the proportion of things in those times, and in these, being duly weighed and considered †.

In the reign of king *JOHN*, if we may believe most of our historians, there was nothing but oppression and taxes, and immense sums of money from time to time levied upon the nation, which however is a proof there was money in the nation, as the great number of seamen he had constantly in employment, shews there must have been trade. The *Cistercian* monks were still the exporters of wool, and that this was no inconsiderable thing, may appear

† Two things principally contributed in those days, to turn the scale of trade in our favour; first, we were not given to refined luxury, if we indulged in any extraordinary degree, it was in our native and unpurchased blessings, which made our wants the less; And secondly, commerce not being so extensive, some of our staple commodities were highly valued, and this brought in the more money

appear from hence, that they charge the king with taking from them by violence in the space of a few years, sixty-six thousand pounds. It may be, he only took by violence what they had before got by fraud; for why such vast sums were to rest in the hands of religious men, when the public treasury was empty, it will be hard to render a just reason. The same king is said to have imprisoned an archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, till he extorted from him twenty-two thousand marks; this might be injustice in the king, but public affairs could not be well regulated, when a clergyman of his rank was able to pay so much^u. If king *John* had not bore so hard upon the priests and monks, they would have furnished, or at least, they would have allowed him a better character in their chronicles, if he had been more indulgent to his nobility, they might possibly have been more loyal; but if he had not shewn himself a lover of *trade*, and a kind master to the *commons*, he would not have had the seamen, the sea-ports, and the trading towns at his devotion, *London* only excepted; and amongst other provocations given to her, it was no small one, that this monarch favoured the out ports, so that the trade of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire* approached in

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^u Matthew Paris, Ralph Coggeshale, and John Everiden, are the chief authors of what is reported of king *John*'s excessive taxations, and the first of these speaks of him in a manner so full of indecency, that one naturally suspects so angry a writer, of sometimes making free with truth. An unmarried clergy immensely rich, was equally repugnant to the principles of sound policy and of the gospel; the king therefore might well take somewhat from their immense revenues for the public service, without deserving to be thought either tyrant or infidel, tho' these charitable authors have pawned their credit with posterity, that he was both.

some degree to that of *London*, as appears from the customs in both, during this reign.

It has been hinted, that our manufactures were not quite so low at this time as they are generally represented, and it looks like a proof of this, that in the 19th year of *HENRY III.* there passed a law for regulating some branches of the weaving business, and it appears from this very law, that the branches regulated thereby, were different kinds of broad cloth. This does not indeed shew when we began to make cloth; for without doubt, this could not be then a new manufacture, but it plainly shews, that we had it in a good degree of perfection above a hundred years, before most of our histories speak of its introduction into *England* ^w. In this king's reign arose the first complaints about clipping of money, which not only produced a standard ^x, but also a new regulation, which tho'

^w Some circumstances relative to this manufacture, are mentioned in the reign of Henry II. nor does it then appear to be a new thing, but rather the contrary. It was in this reign if not sooner, introduced into Scotland, which put the government on contriving methods to prevent wool being carried thither from any of the northern counties, but with very little success.

^x There is some diversity in our old historians, and much more amongst our modern critics about this matter, we will give the truth as near, and in as few words as we can. King John is by some reckoned the author of our standard, but this must be with regard to fineness especially; the sterling, or esterling, which was the name of a penny made of good silver, being introduced in his reign. As to weight, Thomas Rudborn tells us, William the Conqueror ordained, A. D. 1083. that a penny should weigh thirty-two grains of wheat out of the midit of the ear, and the statute 53 H. 3. says the very same thing. But however, there was a distinction tho' not a difference. It was found by experience, that grains of wheat differed in weight, that those kept for the king's ballance were affected by the weather, and that no certainty could arise while this method was continued. It was agreed

tho' it proved a remedy for the evil, was accounted almost as great an evil, as that which it was intended to cure. In short, the taking money by *tale*, as is the custom now, and which first began to grow into a custom, then, was prohibited, and people were directed to pay and receive by *weight*, in the manner that has been before described.

THERE are few princes that have sat upon this throne, whose behaviour we find represented in a worse light to posterity than that of this monarch, for he had the misfortune like his father, to be upon bad terms with the barons and the clergy, who, not contented with keeping him a beggar all his life, have transmitted his memory to succeeding times, with as heavy a load of infamy upon it as was in their power. It is out of doubt, that king *HENRY* did levy large sums upon his people, which *Matthew Paris*, who lived in his time, and wrote the history of his reign, has very dexterously magnified, by reckoning the same tax sometimes over and over again. Upon the whole he tells us, that in the space of forty-one years (he reigned in the whole fifty-six) that he had been the spoiler of the kingdom, he had not taken less than nine hundred and fifty thousand marks; yet the

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agreed therefore, that twenty four pieces of brass, equal in weight to the thirty-two grains of wheat, should be substituted, as an easy number to divide, and thenceforward the penny weight was said to contain twenty-four grains.

When an historian writes with a visible leaning to one side, the reader to set things straight must lean a little to the other. King Henry might have, and to be sure had great faults, but there was the less need to magnify them. *Matthew Paris* furnishes matter for his own refutation; he acknowledges the nobility were always rebellious, and yet blames the king for loving strangers, he exclaims against his avarice, and owns he gave away all he could obtain.

reader has seen, that king *RICHARD* levied considerably more than this sum in two years. He might very well want extraordinary supplies, if what the same monk in another place ² inadvertently tells us was true, that the whole ordinary revenue of the crown fell considerably short of sixteen thousand pounds a year.

IF we should conclude from these clamours, from the meanness of the king's circumstances, and from the distresses to which king *HENRY* was driven, that the nation was quite exhausted, and that the nobility and clergy, who always complained and often rebelled, were plundered and pillaged till they had nothing left to subsist them, we should be extremely mistaken. The king's brother, *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, laid up out of his estate near two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, with a part of which he purchased the diadem of *Germany*. We are also told, that the lord *Warine*, who is said to be the wisest, and yet not affirmed to be the richest baron in *England*, disposed by will of two hundred thousand marks, which he had by him in money ³; so that private men (if the nobility in those times might be so called) were really very

² It is in a manner by accident that Matthew Paris lets us into this important point. For inveighing against the papal oppressions he says, that the revenue of the alien clergy in England, amounted to no less than seventy thousand marks per ann. when the king's ordinary income came to scarce a third part of that sum, which considering the largeness of the king's family, was even in those days a pitiful thing.

³ Mat. Paris, p. 908. n. 10. I cite the place so particularly, because Sir Wm. Dugdale in his baronage, vol. i. p. 561. after making very honourable mention of this Warine de Muntchenfi, and speaking particularly of his great riches, sets down what he disposed of by his will at no more than two thousand marks, which is visibly a mistake, as he quotes the very same author that I do, and the same edition.

very rich, tho' their king was often in a state of downright want. In short, property was in those days strangely divided, and tho' by the ballance of trade, vast sums were brought into the nation, yet a very great part of these came into the coffers of the monks, and of the jews, and as for the remaining produce of domestic industry, it was almost wholly swallow'd up by the barons and the priests.

IN the glorious reign of *EDWARD* I. we find many things worst observing, and first, as to the coin; for tho' the fineness thereof had been established in the reign of his grandfather, and various regulations made in his father's long administration, yet in his time it was, that the matter was entirely settled, and put into such a condition, as that in succeeding times the manner only has been susceptible of change. This was done in the seventh year of his reign, when he fixed the weight of his round silver penny, at the rate of the twentieth part of an ounce troy, whence our denomination of a penny weight; as to the fineness, it remained the same as before, that is, there were eleven ounces two penny weight of fine silver, and eighteen penny weight ^b alloy in a pound of silver, which was coined into two hundred and forty pence. However in the twenty-eighth of his reign, he reduced his penny

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^b There is now hardly to be hoped, that any clear account should be gained of the motives on which this change was made, but by the smallness of it, there is good reason to conclude, that it was rather for the service of the state than to serve a turn. But it is time to shew what this change was. The pound of silver hitherto accounted equal to twenty shillings, was now raised to twenty and three pence, the shilling (or rather twelve pence) weighed two hundred sixty-four, instead of two hundred eighty-eight grains, and in short silver was by this means raised from twenty-pence, to twenty-pence farthing an ounce.

what, and this was the first variation of its kind from the *Saxon* times. It was the weight and purity of his coin that tempted the *Jews* over hither in greater numbers than ever, to exercise their laudable trades of usury and clipping, for which last offence he hanged two hundred and eighty of them at once, and having in vain endeavoured to moderate the rigour of the former, he at length banished them out of his dominions, to the number of fifteen thousand, to prevent their preying upon the industry of his subjects; having exhorted them more than once by proclamation, to apply themselves to honest labour, or to the exercise of lawful trades, and to forbear extortion. In 1299, the king settled as a dowry upon *Margaret* daughter to the king of *France*, eighteen thousand livres *per ann.* which amounted to four thousand five hundred pounds *Sterling*; so that four *French* livres were then worth an *English* pound ^c, which is a point of great consequence towards understanding the transactions of those times.

IN this king's reign there were certain silver mines wrought in *Devonshire* to considerable profit, in the 22d year of his reign, they produced from the 12th of *August* to the last of *October*, three hundred and seventy pound weight of silver, the next year five hundred twenty-one pounds and a half, in the 24th year, seven hundred and four pounds; they yielded afterwards more, but how much more is not said, nor have we any account when they were wore out ^d. We may form some judgment of the

^c This comparative value of coin, is a subject hitherto hardly considered, and yet ancient histories are unintelligible, without a due regard being had to it.

^d These mines were open'd again in queen Elizabeth's time, and also since, but have not answered the cost of working.

the course of trade in his time from hence, that having occasion to borrow a large sum of money for carrying on his wars against the *Welsh*, he took up eight thousand marks from the city of *London*, and one thousand from the port of *Yarmouth*. In reference to the wealth of private men, there is a particular fact recorded that gives us some light. The judges were found to have been guilty of corruption, and were fined amongst them one hundred thousand marks, of which Sir *Edward Stratton* paid thirty-four thousand *. There was in his reign a great clamour against foreign merchants, who now began to keep houses and warehouses of their own in the city of *London*, whereas before they lodged in some citizen's house, who was their broker; and to this the citizens would very willingly have reduced things again, but the king and his council held, that it was for the public benefit they should remain as they were.

IN the reign of EDWARD II. we meet with very little to our purpose, unless this should be thought so, that upon the deposing of this unhappy monarch, the allowance settled for his maintenance in prison, was one hundred marks a month, or eight hundred pounds a year; yet this monarch had given to the lady *Theophania* a *French* woman, who was nurse to his queen *Isabella*, an estate of five hundred pounds a year †. The taxes in his reign were very inconsiderable.

IN the reign of EDWARD III. *Anno Domini* 1331. the king granted a protection to one *John Kent* a cloth-weaver,

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* Mat. West. p. 414. n. 10. Kayghton. col. 2466. Thomas Wayland, who was the most guilty, lost his whole estate.

† My author for the first of these facts is Thomas Walsingham, and for the latter Mr. Rymer, both unquestionable in such points.

ver, who came over from *Flanders*, and at the same time invited over fullers and dyers ^g, from whence it has been supposed, that cloathing was then introduced into this kingdom, which is directly contrary to truth, that trade having been here long before, indeed so long before, that there is no record extant to shew when it was introduced. As king *Edward* was a very martial prince in his temper, and his reign almost a continued series of wars, there were successive impositions levied upon his subjects, and these amounting to such vast sums as very clearly prove, that at the beginning of his reign, *England* was far richer than in the times of any of his predecessors.

SOME attempts have been made, to settle, by the help of the taxes in this reign, the manner in which they were levied, and the produce of them, the value of our wool; and without doubt, something very near the truth may be discovered, if we proceed cautiously. In the year 1338, the laity ^h granted him one half of their wool, and the clergy nine marks a sack upon their best wool. We know not what number of sacks the king received, but it is said, that he sent over ten thousand sacks into *Brabant*, which produced him four hundred thousand pounds, that is, at the rate of forty pound a sack one with another; and from this, some writers think themselves warranted to compute the produce of our wool in foreign markets,

^g Rymer's *Fœder.* tom. iv. p. 496. There is very little reason to doubt, that the true reasons of these encouragements were first of all instructing our own people in the utmost perfection of this capital art, and next, drawing over the workmen here, that as we rose in that manufacture, our neighbours might also gradually decline.

^h The computations mentioned in the text, are to be found in the historical account of taxes, p. 106.

markets, at least at forty pounds a sack, and by the help of this calculation, they estimate our annual exportations at a very large sum. We will shew first what this is, and then consider whether it be right, or whether the price should not be reduced.

WHEN it is said, that we know not what quantity of wool the king received by that grant, it is to be understood, that we know it not from the historians who mention this grant; but it appears from the records, that it amounted to twenty thousand sacks¹. Those who made the computation of which we have been speaking, compute the exportation of wool, that year, at forty thousand sacks, which amounts to one million six hundred thousand pounds, and the aid to the king, comes to half that money, which, they say, is amazing and prodigious, and indeed, well they might. But when a grant was afterwards made to the king of thirty thousand sacks of wool, we find it estimated far lower, *viz.* at six pounds a sack, the very best, the second sort at five, and the worst at four pounds a sack, which, however, was exclusive of the king's duty or custom. This computation was certainly very fair, and this grant to the king, was in the nature of a land-tax, which is the reason, that the produce of it, was computed at the rate wool sold here, tho' there is no manner of doubt, that by exporting and selling it abroad, the king made much more of it. We will try, however, if it be not practicable, to extract something more certain out of the facts mentioned by ancient authors, because if it could be done, it would be very satisfactory.

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¹ By this method of receiving taxes in kind, the king became in some measure a merchant, and that to his great profit.

A CERTAIN writer has preserved the state or balance of the *English* trade as found upon record in the exchequer, in the 28th year of this monarch, and there is no reason to suspect its authenticity ^k. In this the export of wool is set down at thirty one thousand six hundred fifty one sacks and a half, valued at six pounds a sack, but then the duty is excluded. It appears also from this account, that

^k This account was published in a treatise, intituled, *The Circle* printed in 1633. After drawing from it the remarks mention'd der, and render my observations more perspicuous, if a place was

The balance of the *English* trade in the 28th year of Ed-

EXPORTS.

One and thirty thousand six hundred fifty-one sacks and a half of wool, at six pounds value	}	l	s	d
each sack, amount to		189,909	0	0
Three thousand six hundred sixty-five felts at forty shillings value each hundred at six score, amount to	}	6,073	1	8
Whereof the custom amounts to		81,624	1	1
Fourteen last, seventeen dicker and five hides of leather, after six pounds value the last	}	89	5	0
Whereof the custom amounts to		6	17	6
Four thousand seven hundred seventy-four cloths and an half, after forty shillings value, the cloth is	}	9,549	0	0
Eight thousand and sixty-one pieces and an half of worsted, after 6s. 8d. value, the piece is		6,717	18	4
Whereof the custom amounts to		215	13	7
Exports		294,184	17	2

N. B. The totals do not answer the particulars exactly, but at with any degree of certainty.

that a considerable quantity of cloth, both fine and coarse, and of worsted also, was exported. We cannot therefore, doubt, that when the commons granted king *Edward* thirty thousand sacks of wool, it was at least as much as giving him one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in money, out of their pockets. But if we are inclined to know what it brought the king, we may, perhaps, find the means

of Commerce, p. 119, 120, written by Mr. *Edward Misselden*, and in the text, I thought it would be for the conveniency of the reader, to allow this curious paper in the notes.

Edward III. as said to be found upon record in the exchequer.

IMPORTS.

	l.	s.	d.
One thousand eight hundred thirty-two cloths, } after six pounds value the cloth -	10,992	0	0
Whereof the custom amounts to -	91	12	0
Three hundred ninety-seven quintals and three } quarters of wax, after the value of 40s. the } hundred or quintal -	759	10	0
Whereof the custom is -	19	17	0
One thousand eight hundred twenty-nine tons } and a half of wine, after 40s. value per ton }	3,659	0	0
Whereof the custom is -	182	0	0
Linnen cloth, mercery and grocery wares, and } all other manner of merchandize -	22,943	6	10
Whereof the custom is -	285	18	3
Imports	38,970	13	8
Balance	255,214	13	8

this distance of time, it is impossible to aim at correcting them

means of discovering that. In the last year of his reign, the citizens of *York*¹, complained that a *German* lord, had seized thirty six surples of their wool, which they valued at one thousand nine hundred pounds, for a debt due from the king, and according to this reckoning, wool was worth, in that country, thirteen pounds a sack, and something more; so that the aid granted to the king, could not produce much less than four hundred thousand pounds, which was a very large sum for those days.

BUT we must not part with this account, without drawing from it, some other observations; we find, the whole imports of that year, computed at something less than thirty-nine thousand pounds, whereas the exports amounted to above two hundred ninety-four thousand pounds; so that the clear balance in favour of this nation, was above two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds. Yet this is not all, we must consider that in this account, there is no notice taken of lead and tin, probably, because the accounts relating to them, might not be brought into the exchequer, that is, not into the exchequer at *Westminster*, which will raise the account very considerably, inasmuch, that there seems very good reason to believe, the intrinsic value of the coin in those days, being compared with ours, the whole balance of trade, fell very little, if at all, short of nine hundred thousand pounds, as our money is now reckoned, which is, indeed, a very large sum, and very much beyond what those who had never looked into

¹ This foreign nobleman had served the king in his wars, and pretended so much money was due to him; he had also ships in our ports, with goods on board, which the citizens thus injured, desired might be seized.

into these matters could possibly have imagined. Yet the probability, at least, if not the truth of this computation, might be shewn in another way, that is, from the consideration of the immense sums that were consumed by this monarch, in foreign wars and alliances, which it is impossible this nation could have ever furnished, if the balance of trade had fallen any thing short of what it appears to be from the foregoing computation.

THAT trade was very much the object of king *Edward's* attention, and of his parliaments, very fully appears, from the many acts of parliament, made within the compass of his reign, for its regulation. It is, indeed, true, that several of these laws are contradictory, that what was established in one year, was sometimes overturned in the next; that frequent alterations were made in the staple; that the customs were sometimes high, sometimes low, and that the standard of money was twice varied; but notwithstanding all this, the former assertion will still remain unimpeached, since there can be nothing clearer, than that these variations, arose from the regard that was paid to commerce, and, perhaps, the alteration in the coin was made necessary, from the conduct in that particular of our neighbours. We likewise find, that towards the latter end of this king's reign, there were great frauds and impositions committed in obtaining licenses^m, for the exportation of goods, and in other respects, of which complaints were made in parliament, against the lord *Latimer*, the king's chamberlain, and *Richard Lyons*, of *London*, merchant, for which they were convicted and punished.

KING

^m An inquisitive reader may consult *Barnes's* history of this reign, but the records are still fuller and clearer.

KING EDWARD the third, was the first of our princes, who coined groats, or groats, so called from their being the grossest, or greatest of all money, the silver-penny having been till then, the largest coin in use. The purity of the standard he never debased, but in the twentieth year of his reign, he saw reason to make it lighter; so that instead of twenty shillings, the pound of silver was raised to the value of twenty-two shillings and six-pence, and in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, the value of a pound of silver was raised to twenty-five shillings. The reader will observe, that the shilling was imaginary then, as the pound is still, or rather, it was a denomination of money, and not a coin. He also first coined the noble, half noble, and quarter noble, in gold; for, before his time, none of our kings had stamped any gold. He likewise called in all clipped money, and prohibited base coin, which shews, that what he did in altering the weight of his coin, was for the convenience and benefit of his subjects, who, by the increase of their trade, stood in need both of gold coin, and of larger pieces of silver, and not with any intention to enrich himself at their expence; tho' the contrary is asserted, by an ancient historian, who charges *William Eddington*, bishop of *Winchester*, and lord-treasurer, with consulting the king's profit, more than that of the kingdom, by advising him to coin groats, that were not so heavy as they should be. There was also some variation in the value of gold in his time, a pound of that metal coined, going sometimes for fifteen, then for little more than thirteen, afterwards for fourteen pounds of their money; but at length the king raised it again to its old price of fifteen poundsⁿ, which,

ⁿ As one shilling was nearly equal to three of ours, an ounce of gold then worth twenty-five shillings, was, in fact, at three pounds fifteen of our money; so that the proportions between gold and silver, have not altered very much since that time.

which, all things considered, is pretty near the proportion that it now holds, only king *Edward's* gold was somewhat finer than our coin is at present.

IN the reign of RICHARD the second, we find a great many laws relating to trade, and it appears to have been a great controversy then, whether foreign merchants should, or should not be allowed to vend their commodities freely in *London*, and other corporations. The sense of the legislature, as appears from their laws, was in favour of the foreign merchants; but the clamour still continued, and parliaments were seldom held without petitions for the redress of this, which was called a grievance. It was also desired, that the staple of wool might be removed from *Calais* to some town in *England*, and *Michael de la Poole*, earl of *Suffolk*, and chancellor of *England*, a nobleman esteemed to be very knowing in points of this kind, declared publicly in parliament, that the king's subsidy on wools, yielded a thousand marks a year more when the staple was in *England*, than when it was fixed at *Calais*, which is a proof, that the exportation was greater °.

As the foreign wars in this reign, were of little consequence, and prosecuted with no great vigour, so whatever sums were levied upon the people, and in what manner soever they were dissipated, by their profuse prince, yet this being all amongst themselves, and the balance of foreign trade continuing, and perhaps increasing, the wealth of the nation could not but be prodigiously augmented. To this, some writers attribute the broils and disturbances of this reign, in which, if there be any truth, it must have been owing

° The family of this chancellor, had acquired an immense estate by trade, and other instances might be given in these times.

owing to the unequal distribution of property : this, indeed, is certain, that the commons complained loudly of oppression from the lords, and from the lawyers, as on the other hand, both the nobility and the commons, were highly incensed against the clergy, on account, as they alledged, of their haughtiness and avarice ; but the churchmen suggested, that the luxury of the age was so great, that notwithstanding their vast estates, the expences of the nobility exceeded their income, and was the principal cause that inclined them to form cabals, for alienating and dividing amongst themselves the revenues of the church.

As to the coinage in this reign, it remained in a great measure, at least, upon the same foot as in the former, and therefore, there is no need of dwelling upon it ; one thing, however, deserves to be insisted upon, which is this, the great luxury of these times, had so visibly increased the importation of foreign commodities, that it was taken notice of in parliament, and in the last year of king *Richard's* reign, a law passed, by which it was provided, that every merchant should bring into the tower of *London*, an ounce of foreign gold coin, for every sack of wool exported, or pay thirteen shillings and four-pence for his default, and to give security for the performance of this before he was allowed to export the wool into foreign parts. There was also a law made in this reign, allowing every person to make cloth of what length and breadth he would, so that in those days, they thought it very practicable to encourage the cloathing manufactory, without restraining the subject from transporting wool, and this upon the plain principle, of doing nothing that might sink the price of this staple commodity, which brought in continually such vast supplies of bullion, and which, it is likely, they knew
not

not how to obtain, in case the exportation of wool had been put under any severe restriction ^P.

THESE observations on a period of so great extent, in which it may be easily conceived, that matters of this nature must have suffered many changes and alterations, cannot but be acceptable, in as much as they greatly contribute to the illustration of the principal points, with which our history is concerned; for naval force, and the sovereignty of the sea, being the result of extensive commerce, whatever contributes to explain the rise and progress of that, must shew how those are to be kept, as well as demonstrate how they have been obtained.

WITHIN this period there happened, or at least there are said to have happened, some extraordinary discoveries, of which therefore we ought to speak: first then it is affirmed, that *América* was discovered by the *Welsh*, about the year 1170. The story is thus told, that on the death of *Owen Guyneth*, dissensions arose among his sons: one of them, whose name was *Madock*, resolved to trust the safety of himself, and such as were with him, rather to the mercy of the seas, than to the uncertain issue of a civil war; and therefore, imbarking with his followers on board a few ships well-victualled, he put to sea, in search of new countries. Accordingly he sailed due west, till such time as he left *Ireland* to the north, and then continued his voyage till he came to a large, fruitful, and pleasant country. After some time spent therein, he returned home, and reported the happy effects of his voyage, and the large possessions which every man might acquire who would go with him. He at length prevailed with as

VOL. I.

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^P It may deserve the consideration of an able statesman, whether some use might not be still made of this maxim of our ancestors.

many of both sexes as filled ten ships, and with these he returned to his new plantation; but neither he nor his people were heard of more⁹. It must be confessed, that there is nothing here which absolutely fixes this discovery to *America*; though it must likewise be owned, that the course before set down, might very possibly carry him thither. The great point is, to know how far the fact may be depended upon, and in relation to this, I will venture to assure the reader, that there are authentic records in the *British* tongue as to this expedition of *Madock's*, where he went, prior to the discovery of *America* by *Columbus*; and that many probable arguments may be offered in support of this notion, that these *Britons* were the discoverers of that new world, is also true, tho' at present we have not opportunity to insist upon them.

SOME reports there are concerning great discoveries in the north made by a friar of *Oxford*, one *Nicholas de Linna*. Of this man the famous *John Dee*, who was both a great antiquary and a skilful mathematician, informs us, that in the year 1360, being the thirty-fourth of *Edward III.* he sailed in company with several of his countrymen to the northern islands, and there leaving his associates, he travelled alone, and drew up an exact description of all the northern countries, with their surrounding seas, which book he entitled, *Inventio fortunata*, or a discovery of the northern parts from the latitude of fifty-four

⁹ Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 1. Meredith ap Reece, a cambrian Bard, who died A. D. 1477, composed an ode in his native language on this expedition, from which the particulars above-mentioned are taken; and this was prior to Columbus's discovery: so that fact could never have encouraged the framing of this fable, even supposing it to be so.

four degrees, to the pole, and presented it at his return to king *Edward*. However, for the better settling these discoveries, he returned no less than five times into those northern regions. To render this odd story somewhat more probable, Mr. *Dee* remarks, that from the haven of *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, of which this friar was both a native and an inhabitant, to *Ireland*, was not above a fortnight's sail, and in those days a common thing, as appears particularly by a charter granted to the town of *Blakeney* in *Norfolk*, by king *Edward* III. exempting the fishermen of that port from attending his service, on account of their trade to *Ireland* *. This is in some measure confirmed by the testimony of that famous geographer *Gerard Mercator*, who confesses that he borrowed his description of the northern countries, from one who owned his having them from this friar of *Oxford*, whom he well describes, though he does not name him. Yet it must be acknowledged, that *Leland* speaks very largely of this *Nicholas of Lynn*, who, according to his account, was a *Carmelite*, and a great astrologer; but in all his elogium, there is not a syllable concerning his travels, though he concludes with saying, that his works sufficiently praised him †. *John Bale* transcribes this account of *Leland's* exactly, but gives us a much more copious detail of the friar's writings; and yet even in his list, we meet with nothing as to this *Inventio fortunata*: though on the other hand we must allow, that *Bale* says he wrote other things which he had not seen ‡.

* Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 121.
† Scriptor, Britan. vol. i. p. 347.

‡ Commentar. de Script. Britan. vol. i. p. 468.

THE discovery of the island of *Madera* is likewise attributed to one *Macham* an *Englishman*, which is thus reported by several of the *Portuguese* writers. They say, that this man having stolen a lady with whom he was in love, intended to have carried her into *Spain*; but being by a storm driven out to sea, after much tossing and danger of his life, was forced into this island, in which the harbour, where he lay at anchor, is to this time called *Machico*. On his going ashore with the lady and some of his servants, the ship's crew took the opportunity of sailing, and got safe into some *Spanish* Port. In a very short time after, the lady who was extremely sea-sick, and not a little fatigued by what she was forced to undergo on shore, died; and her disconsolate lover having first erected and consecrated a little chapel to the holy *Jesus*, buried her therein. After paying this duty to the lady, whose love for him cost her the loss of life, *Macham* addressed himself to the contriving his escape, which he effected, by hollowing a large tree, and making thereof a canoe, in which himself, and those that were with him, passed over to the opposite shore of *Africa*, where being taken prisoners by the *Moors*, they were sent by way of present to the king of *Castile*. This accident is by some, placed in the year 1344; but by others, and I think with reason, somewhat later. It is remarkable, that we are indebted for this account to foreigners, who can hardly be supposed any way prejudiced in our favour against themselves^u.

WE might add here some accounts of the expeditions made to *Jerusalem*, *Barbary*, and *Prussia*, by some famous

^u Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. ii. p. 1. from Antonio Galvano.

mous *Englishmen*, as also the beginning of our commerce with the *Hanse Towns*: but as to the former, it would swell our work too much with things already mentioned by others; and as to the latter, it may with equal propriety be reserved for the close of the next chapter, to which therefore we refer it.



CHAP. VI.

The naval History of ENGLAND, during the reigns of Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. of the house of Lancaster; containing the space of about sixty years.



HENRY IV. called sometimes *Henry of Bolingbroke*, from the place of his birth, and sometimes *Henry of Lancaster*, from his father's dukedom, was crowned on the 13th of *October* 1399, and his title generally acknowledged. When he came over against king *Richard*, it was from *France*, and most of our historians affirm, that he received considerable assistance from thence; which however, the *French* writers deny^a. Certain it is, that after the death of his unfortunate predecessor, the duke of *Orleans*, then director of the public affairs in that kingdom, during the lunacy of *Charles VI.*

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^a Polydor. Vergil. hist. lib. 21. Histoire de France. par le P. Daniel. tom. v. p. 395

treated king *Henry* as a murderer and usurper, though he had been formerly his friend: yet in all probability this was rather out of policy, than from any motive of justice; for all the use the *French* made of it, was to attempt upon the *English* possessions on the continent ^b. King *Richard* being born, and for some time bred at *Bordeaux*; his countrymen the *Gascans* discovered a strong resentment of his ill usage, and seemed disposed to revolt. To sooth this humour of theirs, the *French* put on this appearance of indignation, in hopes that they would immediately have put themselves under their protection ^c. But *Mezeray* justly observes, that the advantages they drew from the *English* commerce, hindered them from hastily taking this step, and disposed them to receive the lord *Piercy* for their governor, who was sent over with that title by king *Henry* ^d. Not long after, king *Richard's* young queen was sent back to *France*, with the whole of her fortune, and all her jewels; and thereupon the truce between the two nations was renewed for twenty-six years, which shews how little of reality there was in the concern, expressed by the *French* court for the death of king *Richard* ^e.

IN 1403, the king, who was then a widower, married *Joan*, the daughter of *Charles* king of *Navarre*, and very lately widow to *John Montford* duke of *Britany*, which proved the cause of great disasters to this kingdom; for the inhabitants of that dutchy, conceiving an ill opinion of this marriage, and being powerful at sea, they suddenly landed in the west, and burnt *Plymouth*, at a time

^b Abregé de l'histoire de France, par Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 140.
^c P. Daniel. tom. v. p. 396. ^d Ibid. vol. iii. p. 155. ^e P. Daniel. tom. v. Froissard. cap. 119.

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263

time when the king's hands were full, through the conspiracy of the earl of *Northumberland*, and other great lords ^f. This, however, did not remain long unre-
 venged; for the inhabitants of *Plymouth* having fitted out a squadron under the command of *William de Wilford*, admiral of the narrow seas; he first took forty ships laden with iron, oil, soap and wine, and then burnt the like number in their harbours, taking the towns of *Penmarc*^g and *St. Matthew*, and wasting with fire and sword a great part of the coast of *Britany*^h. Admiral *de Castel*, who commanded the enemy's fleet, in the mean time, attempted the *Isle of Wight*; but failing of success there, he steered for *Devonshire*, where landing, he briskly attacked *Dartmouth*, but was defeated by the country-militia, with the loss of 400 men killed, and 200 taken; among which were himself and two other persons of distinction; yet his squadron, and the *Flemings*, still infested the coast, took many ships, and, to shew their inveterate hatred to the *English* nation, hanged all the seamen who fell into their hands ⁱ. In the mean time the *French*, without any regard to the treaty subsisting between the two crowns, invaded the dutchy of *Guyenne*, and sent an army of twelve thousand men, with a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, to the assistance of *Owen Glendour*. These forces they landed safely in *Milford-Haven*; but the lord *Berkley* and *Henry Pay*, who commanded the squadron of the *Cinque Ports*, attacked them in that port, where they took fourteen, and burnt fifteen of the *French* vessels; which so frightened those on board the rest, that soon after they fled home ⁱ.

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^f Thom. Walsingham, Stowe, Holingshed.

Walsingham, Stowe, Rapin,

^g Walsingham, P. Daniel, Mezeray.

^h Thom.

ⁱ Walsingham, Monstrelet.

ABOUT the same time, the earl of *Kent* sailed with a considerable fleet to the coast of *Flanders*, where he cruised for some time upon the enemy, the *Flemings* being then subject to a prince of the house of *France*. At last, entering the port of *Sluys*, they found four ships lying at anchor, took three *Genoese* merchant-men of a very large size, at the entrance of the haven, though not without a gallant resistance; after which, they searched all the ports on the *Norman* coast, and landing in several places, burnt at least six and thirty towns, and then, with an immense booty, returned to *Rye* *. Some mariners belonging to the port of *Cley* in *Norfolk*, sailing on the north-coast in a stout bark, took near *Flamborough-Head*, a *Scotch* ship, having on board prince *James* duke of *Rothsay*, and heir apparent to that crown, to which he afterwards succeeded, by the name of *James I.* Him with his attendants, an earl and a bishop, they sent to king *Henry* at *Windsor*, who kept him as a prisoner indeed, but during his captivity, used him as a prince. The *Scots* writers treat this as a plain breach of faith; but the *French* historians instruct us better; they acknowledge they had lately renewed their treaties with *Scotland*, for the usual purpose of annoying *England*, and in such times of public disturbance, this prince ought to have been furnished with letters of safe conduct, since he was going to *France*, an enemies country, which every day infested the *English* coasts with their fleet ¹. In support of *Owen Glendour*, the *Welsh* malecontent, they sent another squadron on the coast

* Chron. Godstovian. Chroniques de Normand. Holingshed.
¹ Heft. Boeth. hist. Scot. A. D. 1404. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 404,
 420: Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

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coast of *Wales*, of which only thirty arrived, the rest being taken by the *English*; and a short time after, the famous *Henry Pay*, admiral of the *Cinque-Ports*, surprized the *Rochelle* fleet, consisting of 120 sail of merchant-men, richly laden, and took them every ship. These exploits shew that trade in those days was not altogether so inconsiderable a thing as by most of our modern writers we are taught to believe ^m.

THE king, in 1407, narrowly escaped the fate of the *Scots* prince; he had spent part of the summer at *Leeds-castle* in *Kent*, and his affairs calling him into *Essex*, he ventured from the port of *Queenborough* with only five ships. In his passage, he was attacked by certain *French* privateers, who, after a very brisk engagement, took every vessel but that in which the king was, and carried them off to their own coasts ⁿ. This taught that monarch by experience, the necessity of keeping better fleets at sea, and therefore he ordered a very strong one to be fitted out the next year, under the command of the earl of *Kent*, who effectually scoured the narrow seas, and when he had cleared our own coasts, stood over to *Britany*, where he boldly landed in the little island of *Briehat*, and there attacked a town of the same name, in which the privateers had taken shelter, took it by storm, and put them all to the sword; but in this action himself received a wound which proved mortal ^o. In 1410, an *English* fleet of ten sail, under the command of Sir *Robert Umfreville*, went against the *Scots*, and sailing up the *Forth*, spoiled the coasts on both sides, ravaging the country, burning all the ships

Holingshed.
 v. p. 404.

^m Thom. Walsingham.
^o Thom. Walsingham.

ⁿ Stowe's Chronicle, p. 334.

ships in their harbours, and amongst the rest, the largest they had, called *The Grand Galliot* in *Blackness*, carrying off fourteen ships, and such a vast quantity of corn, as reduced the price of that commodity, which was then very high in *England*; whence the admiral obtained the surname of *Robert Mendmark*:^p.

WHENEVER the *French* affairs were in a tolerable condition, they were constantly forming schemes to the prejudice of the *English*, which were, generally speaking, defeated by the breaking out of their own domestic troubles. King *Henry* wisely held intelligence with both the factions in that kingdom, aiding sometimes the one, and sometimes the other; thus he this year sent a considerable body of auxiliaries to the assistance of the duke of *Burgundy*, with whom they entered *Paris*. The service they did, made it so evident, that the king of *England's* assistance was the sure method of turning the balance in favour of any party in *France*; that the opposite faction, headed by the dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, sent their agents to *London*, where they entered into a treaty with king *Henry*, by which they acknowledged his right to the duchy of *Guyenne*, and promised their homage for the lands, and castles they held therein; and the king, on the other hand, undertook to send them a considerable succour, which he performed^q. These troops embarked in the month of *July*, 1412, under the command of *Thomas* duke of *Glarence*, the king's son. It appears by our histories, that great expectations were raised by this expedition, inasmuch, that there was some talk of recovering *France*; but these

^p Stowe, p. 338. ^q *Histoire de France*, par P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 500, 501. Mezeray, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

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Of HENRY IV.

267

these notions quickly appeared to be very ill founded; for upon the landing of the duke of *Clarence* with his troops in *Normandy*, they were informed that the duke of *Orleans*, and the rest of the princes to whose assistance they came, had made a treaty with the king and the duke of *Burgundy*, so that nothing was left for them but to go home again. The duke of *Clarence*, justly provoked by such usage, first ravaged lower *Normandy*, and *Anjou*, and then entering the dutchy of *Orleans*, lived there at discretion, till such time as the duke came to an agreement with him to pay 320,000 crowns of gold, for the expences of their voyage; part of which he paid down, and sent his brother into *England* as a hostage for the rest. This treaty was particular with the duke of *Orleans*; for as to the war with *France*, it still went on, and Sir *John Pendergast*, who commanded the fleet in the narrow seas, took many *French* ships laden with provision, which, says my author, got him little reputation with the nobles, but much love from the people, who by this means enjoyed plenty of *French* commodities at a very cheap rate. This admiral had some years before, felt the severe effects of that envy which was borne him by the great, for having had the command of a squadron intended to scour the seas from pyrates and privateers, which he worthily performed, yet when he returned, a complaint was made, that himself had taken such extraordinary rewards for his services, as rendered him little better than a pyrate. Upon this, he took sanctuary at *Westminster*, where for some time he lay in a tent in the church-porch, but at last he had justice

stice done him; and now, when his country required the service of a stout and able seaman, he was called again to command ^s. Things being in this uncertain state, king *Henry* worn out by continual labours, and not a little grieved by his late disappointments, deceased on the twentieth of *March* 1412-13, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign ^t. He was a prince, as even his enemies allow, of great courage and wisdom, and if he did not promote trade and naval power so much as some of his predecessors, it ought rather to be ascribed to the disorders of these times, than to any want either of will or capacity in the prince ^u.

HENRY V. from his birth-place stiled *Henry* of *Monmouth*, succeeded his father, and in the beginning of his reign, shewed a laudable inclination to do every thing that could be expected from him for his people's good ^v. It happened that the wealth and state, as well as the pride and ambition of the clergy, had raised a strong spirit of resentment against him throughout the nation; to divert which, it is generally believed, that the archbishop of *Canterbury* inspired the king with an eager desire of subduing *France*, to which it was no difficult matter to persuade him, that he had a clear right. Indeed the condition that kingdom was in, might seem to invite such an attempt. The king was oftner out than in his senses; the whole nation was divided into two factions, the duke of *Burgundy*

^s Thom. de Otterborn. ^t Thom. de Elmham, p. 13. Chron. Godstovian, p. 135. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed. ^u Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 507. ^v Thom. de Elmham, vita & gesta Henrici quinti, anglorum regis, cap. xiv. Tit. liv. in vit. Henr. V. p. 6. Chronicon. Godstovian, p. 136.

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gundy at the head of one, and the duke of *Orleans* of the other; two dauphins died one soon after the other by poison, and the third was but a child. However, king *Henry* concealed his design for some time, and even treated of a marriage between himself and the princess *Catherine*, daughter to king *Charles VI.* In 1415, the *French* king sent his ambassadors hither, with very advantageous proposals, who had their final audience of the king on the sixth of *July*, when, if father *Daniel* is to be believed, *Henry* would have been content to have concluded a truce for fifty years; but the archbishop of *Bourges* insisted absolutely on a definitive peace, and so these negotiations were broke off*. Our writers mention a strange story of the dauphin's provoking the king, by sending him a present of tennis-balls; which, however, is very improbable, considering the youth of that prince, and the apprehension all *France* had of the *English* power. The *French* writers seem to give a better account of this matter: they tell us, that the first flash of lightning before this dreadful storm, was an angry letter written to the *French* king, with this address: *To the most serene prince Charles, our cousin and adversary of France, Henry by the grace of God king of England, and of France, &c.* This letter was dated the twenty-eight of *July* from *Southampton*, and the *French* king returned an answer in the same angry stile, dated the twenty-third of next month, so that thenceforward the war, though not actually begun, was looked upon as declared on both sides^y.

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u Histoire
m. de Elm-
iv. Tit. liv.

* Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 536. Tit. Liv. vit. Henr V. p. 6.
^y Mezeray, vol iii. p. 192. Thom. de Elmham, p. 29, 30. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

KING Henry acted with greater caution, and with more military prudence than most of his predecessors. The design he had formed was not that of ravaging the country, or seizing some of the provinces of *France*, but an entire and absolute conquest of the whole realm; which he knew was not to be undertaken without a numerous army, a very great fleet, and competent supplies of money. He therefore drew together six thousand men at arms, twenty-four thousand archers, the rest of his infantry completing the army, to at least fifty thousand men. That these might be transported with the greater conveniency, he hired from *Holland* and *Zeland* abundance of large ships, which, with those belonging to his own subjects, rendezvoused in the month of *August* at *Southampton*, where the whole fleet appeared to consist of not less than sixteen hundred sail. As to supplies, his parliament being wrought into a high opinion of this expedition, furnished him liberally; so that with all the advantages he could desire, the king embarked his mighty army, which he landed safely in *Normandy*, without resistance². He was attended by his brothers the dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, his uncle the duke of *York*, and most of the nobility of *England*². It is remarkable, that, though the constable of *France* had a very numerous army, with which he might well have disputed the landing of the *English*, yet he chose to retire, for which conduct of his, he was afterwards questioned in a council of war; but he justified himself, by producing his orders from court, directing him, not to hazard a battle on any terms whatsoever, but to leave the *English* if

² Chron. Godstovian, p. 136.
xviii. Tit. Liv. p. 7. Stowe, &c.

² Thom. de Elmham, cap.

if they were so inclined, to waste their force in long marches, and tedious sieges. Would to God, says my author, this maxim had been as steadily pursued as it was wisely laid down^b! The policy of *France* therefore is, to cheat us whenever they make peace, and to destroy us when we break with them by means of a dilatory war; which, though troublesome to them, becomes soon insupportable to us: and thus their cunning gives them advantages which they never could derive from the force of their arms.

THE first enterprize of importance, undertaken by the king, was the siege of *Harfleur*, a sea-port town of great consequence at that juncture; well fortified, and in which the *French* had a numerous garrison. It was invested both by land and sea, and though it was defended with great resolution, it was at last taken for want of relief. The *French*, however, succeeded in their policy thus far, that by this siege the *English* army was exceedingly wasted; in-somuch, that by the time the place was taken, one half of it was destroyed. On due consideration of this, it was resolved in a council of war, to leave a garrison of *English* at *Harfleur*, and to march through *Picardy* to *Calais*, with the rest of the army^c. This passage appeared extremely dangerous, since the *French* army was by this time, not only in the field, but also at their heels. The *English* forces, according to the *French* writers, consisted of two thousand men at arms, and eleven thousand archers. Our authors say, there were but nine thousand in the whole, whereas the *French* were at least three, if not five times their number.

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^b Histoire de France, Tom. v. p. 538.

^c Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxii. & sequen. Tit. Liv. p. 11,—15. Thom. Walsingham, Stowe, Holinshed, Speed.

'To spare the needless effusion of blood, king *Henry* was contented to have made a peace on very reasonable terms; but this was refused by the *French*, who flattered themselves, that they should be able to make him and all his army prisoners ^d. In consequence of this obstinacy of theirs, a decisive battle was fought on the twenty-fifth of *October*, A. D. 1414. in the plains of *Agincourt*, wherein the *French* were entirely defeated by the *English*, through the bravery of their troops, says father *Daniel*, and the wise conduct of their officers ^e. There fell in the field seven princes of the blood, and five were made prisoners, the flower of the nobility of *France*, no less than eight thousand gentlemen, and about ten thousand common men; about fourteen thousand being taken prisoners. The *English* lost, as our writers say, about four, the *French* say, sixteen hundred, and amongst them the duke of *York* and the earl of *Oxford* ^f. A *French* manuscript of that time mentions a circumstance, no where else so particularly recorded, viz. that king *Henry* lost his baggage, even to his crown and jewels, a great body of peasants having forced the *English* camp during the heat of the engagement ^g. Father *Daniel* says very judiciously, that nothing but arrogance, imprudence, and temerity, were visible in the conduct

^d Tit. Liv. p. 15. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 193. P. Daniel, &c. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed. ^e Histoire de France, Tom. v. p. 541, 542. ^f Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxvii, xxviii, xxix. Tit. Liv. p. 17, 18, 19, 20. The Batayll of Agynk Corte. An ancient MS. in Rhime in the Cotton Library, Vitellius D. xii. 11. Folio. 214. Mezeray, Stowe, &c. ^g This MS. is of those Times, and is in the Library of the Abbe Baluze. It seems to be a kind of Factum for the Seigneur de Gaucort, against the Seigneur de Etouteville. The former of these gentlemen was taken in Harfleur, and to procure his Liberty, traced out the effects belonging to the king, so that most of them were recovered.

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duft of the *French*, whereas the *English* behaved with the utmost coolness and address, as well as the most determined valour^b. After this victory, the king continued his march to *Calais*, and in a short time passed into *England* with the chief of his prisoners. The next year the *French* had leisure to recover themselves a little, notwithstanding a new misfortune that befel them, little inferior to that of the loss of this battle; for the duke of *Burgundy* pushed his resentment so far, as to make a treaty with king *Henry*, and to acknowledge him for the lawful king of *France*, as appears by his letters and treaties, which are preserved in Mr. *Rymer's* most valuable collection^c.

THE first attempt of the *French* for the repair of their late dishonour, was their besieging *Harfleur* by land and sea. In order to their undertaking this, they made a treaty with the *Genoese*, who in consideration of large subsidies, furnished them with a very considerable fleet, in which were many vessels of an extraordinary size: by the same means the *French* also drew considerable succours from the king of *Castile*, and having thus raised for the present a great maritime force, they attempted *Southampton*, and the *Isle of Wight*, but without success; after which, their fleet returned again to the siege, or rather blockade, of *Harfleur*. The place was gallantly defended by the earl of *Dorset*, whom the king had appointed governor there; but at last he was brought to such streights, that without relief, it was evident the town must have been lost. King *Henry* caused therefore an army of twenty thousand men to be drawn together, and having embarked them on board a fleet of four hundred sail, sent them under his brother *John*

VOL. I.

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^b Histoire de France, Tom. v. p. 546. ^c Fœdera, Vol. ix.

duke of *Bedford*, to attack the *French* navy. This service he performed with courage and conduct; for having gained the advantage of the wind, he attacked the *French* with such vigour, that after a long and bloody dispute, he entirely defeated them, either taking or sinking five hundred sail, and amongst them three of those large ships which had been furnished by the *Genoise*, and which, by the *French*, and their *Italian* allies, it was believed, the *English* would not have had courage enough to engage. Not long after, the *French* army retired from before *Harfleur*, and the earl of *Dorset* with his garrison, which was now reinforced, made excursions throughout all *Normandy* ^k. In 1417, the earl of *Huntingdon* being sent to sea with a strong squadron, met with the united fleets of *France* and *Genoa*, which he fought and defeated, though they were much superior to him, not only in number, but in the strength and bigness of their ships; taking the bastard of *Bourbon*, who was the *French* admiral, prisoner, with four large *Genoise* ships, and on board them a quarter's pay for the whole navy. So great in those days, and so well directed too, was the *English* power at sea ^l!

THERE being now sufficient security for the safe landing of troops in *France*, the king in the spring of the year, began to make mighty preparations for passing the sea, with such an army as might decide the fate of this dispute, by giving him the possession of that country, as well as the title of its prince. As he was a more prudent undertaker in these matters, than any of his predecessors, and bid infinitely fairer for both getting and keeping the *French* crown

^k Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxx. Tit. Liv. p. 25.—31. Thom. Walsingham, M. zeray, Daniels. ^l Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxxvii. Thom. Walsingham, Holingshed.

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OF HENRY V.

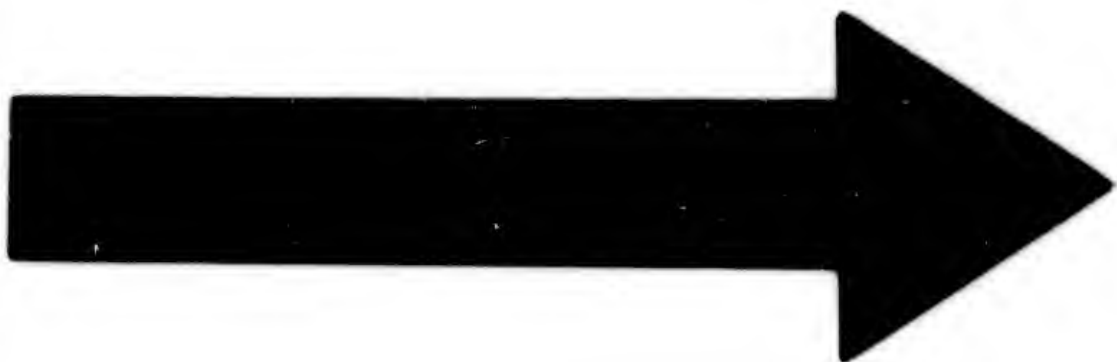
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crown than they did; it will be proper to give a succinct detail of this grand expedition, the rather because it has a near connection with our subject of the dominion of the sea. His army consisted in part of troops in his own immediate pay, and in part, of forces raised by his barons. Of the first there were sixteen thousand four hundred men, of the latter nine thousand one hundred twenty-seven; and of this army a fourth part was horse. To transport them from *Dover*, a navy was prepared of fifteen hundred ships; of which, two were very remarkable. They seem to have been both admirals, and were equally adorned with purple sails, embroidered with the arms of *England* and *France*. One was stiled the king's *Chamber*, the other his *Hall*; from whence it plainly appears, that he affected to keep his court upon the sea, and to make no difference between his palace, and his ships, royal. They embarked on the 28th of *July*, and landed in *Normandy* the first of *August* m. As soon as the army was safely debarked, he dismissed the fleet, keeping only a few small vessels for transporting his artillery, which shewed, that he did not intend to return hastily, and before his business was half finished, into *England*. Before the end of the year, he subdued *Normandy*, and a great part of the adjacent countries. As fast as he reduced the great cities, he put garrisons into them: such of the *French* as submitted, he received into his protection; but where he became master of countries by force, he bestowed the lands in them as he thought fit, for the encouragement of his *English* adventurers, and in the space of two years more, he by a slow and regular war, reduced the better part of *France* to his obedience, and at length,

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* Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxxviii. Tit. Liv. p. 31,—33.



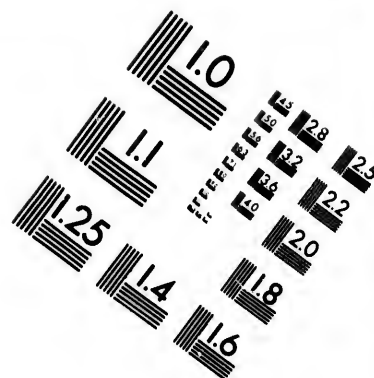
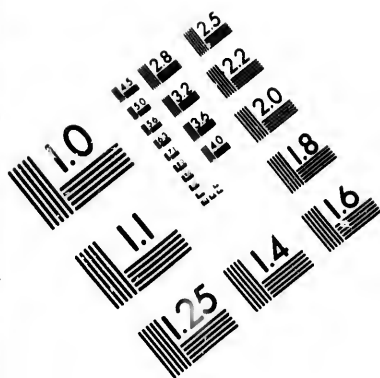
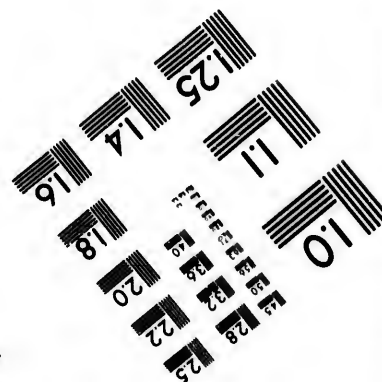
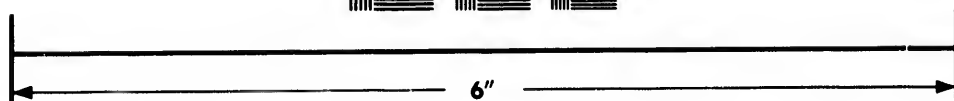
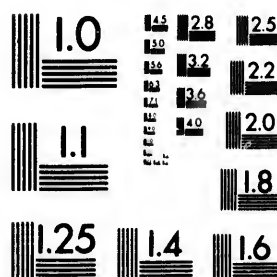


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forced the unfortunate monarch *Charles VI.* to beg a peace almost upon any termsⁿ. A thing that none of his ancestors had been able to accomplish, and which this king chiefly performed by awing his enemies with fleets on their coasts, at the same time that he invaded their countries by land; as appears in the larger histories of his life, by us often quoted, and in the *English* collections from them published by *Godwin*, in his history of the life and reign of this victorious king.

By this treaty, dated the 21st of *May* 1420, king *Henry's* title to the crown of *France*, was acknowledged by all that kingdom, and on account of his espousing the princess *Catherine*, daughter to *Charles VI.* it was stipulated, that he should be declared heir of *France*, after the decease of king *Charles*, and on account of his infirmity, should govern the kingdom during his life-time, with the title of regent^o. As for the dauphin, he was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown; and afterwards on a civil prosecution, he was attainted and convicted for the murder of the duke of *Burgundy*, (upon the precedent set in attainting king *John*) rendered incapable of all successions, particularly that of the kingdom of *France*; and was also adjudged to perpetual banishment^p. The two kings, *Henry* and *Charles*, with their two queens, and a splendid court, continued for some time after these regulations made at *Paris*. From thence, king *Henry* went into *Normandy*, where he held

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ⁿ Mezeray, Daniel, &c. • Thom. de Elmham, cap. xc, xci, xcii. Tit. Liv. p. 85 et seq. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 209. Rymer's Foeder, Tom. ix. p. 394. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed. ^p See Remarks on this Treaty, and on King Henry's causing Coin to be struck, on which he is stiled Rex Francorum. Histoire de France, par Pere Daniel, Tom. v. p. 583, 585

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Of HENRY V.

277

an assembly of the states, and then passing through *Picar-*
dy into *Calais*, he came to *Dover*, with his new queen,
on the second of *February* 1421^a. The intent of this
journey is very truly stated by the *French* historians, who
say, that it was purely to obtain a fresh supply of treasure
and men, his wars having already exhausted all that before
this time had been transported thither^c.

As soon as the king's design was answered, and he had
obtained, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the king-
dom, a very large sum of money, he immediately recruit-
ed his army, and having ordered a considerable fleet to be
drawn together, passed over into *France*, leaving queen
Catherine behind, big with child. The dauphin had still
a considerable party, many strong towns, as well as some
large provinces under his obedience, and during king *Henry's*
stay in *England*, had acquired both power and reputation,
by defeating a great part of the *English* army, and killing
the duke of *Clarence*, and several other persons of great
distinction on the spot; which moved king *Henry* at his
return, to use his utmost diligence in the prosecution of the
war, that the kingdom might be entirely reduced, and the
dauphin compelled to withdraw for his personal safety into
Italy^d. While he was thus employed, the queen, who
was at *Windfor*, brought him a son, and as soon as she
was able to travel, followed him into *France*, where she
had an interview with her father at *Paris*, in which city
both courts continued for some time. But the king, ever
active, in the month of *June*, took the field in order to

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^a Thom. de Elmham, cviii, cap. cix. Tit. Liv. p. 91. Chron.
Goditovian. p. 143. ^c Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 211. ^d Thom.
de Elmham, cap. cxvii. et seq. Tit. Liv. p. 92. Thom. Walling-
ham, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

raise the siege of *Cosne* on the *Loire*, before which the dauphin lay. In this expedition, he harassed himself so much, that he found a great alteration in his health, which hitherto had been unprejudiced by his fatigues. Through his want of rest, and still assiduous application to business, an inflammatory fever followed, which proved fatal to him at *Vincennes*; the *French* writers say, on the 28th, our authors, on the last of *August*, 1422^t. He enjoyed his senses to the very last, and died with as much glory as he lived, employing his last breath in giving such directions as were necessary for the safety of both his kingdoms: and experience shewed, that if his rules had been pursued, his family might have been indebted for the preservation of *France* to his wisdom, as they were for the possession thereof to his courage and power. He was indisputably one of the best and greatest, as well as bravest princes that ever sat on the *English* throne, and would in all probability have provided effectually for the peace and prosperity of his subjects, if he had lived to finish his wars. As it was, he performed a great deal in so short a reign as nine years and a half, considering also that he was but in the thirty-fourth year of his age when he died.

It must be supposed, that the dominion of the sea was fully maintained under so enterprising a prince, and one who was so remarkably jealous of his rights. I say, this might have been well supposed, though there had been no express evidence of it, which however is far from being wanting. He took occasion to have his title and authority in this respect, mentioned in the preambles to acts of parliament^u; he maintained strong squadrons at sea, and on the

^t Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxxvi. Tit. Liv. p. 95. Mezeray, P. Daniel, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed. ^u Selden's *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. cap. 23.

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the coasts, he humbled all the maritime powers of *Europe* in his time, on account of the succours they gave the *French*, and thereby drew great advantages to his subjects, especially from the trade of *Flanders*, which by a close alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*, he in a manner absolutely secured to them. Yet, for all this, the nation was excessively distressed, as well through the interruption of trade, as by the immense taxes levied upon them for the support of his wars; insomuch, that in the eighth year of his reign, his chancellor bewailed to him in parliament, the feebleness and poverty of the people, as himself expressed it, and besought him to apply the only remedy which could preserve them from ruin, a speedy peace, and putting a stop to his expences, which the king promised: and indeed he could not but be sensible of the truth of what the chancellor said, since he had himself been obliged to pawn his imperial crown of gold to *Henry* bishop of *Winchester*, for what, in these days, would be thought a very considerable sum of money*. All this he did to obtain his *French* dominions, which in his son's time, the wisest men in *England* thought more expedient to lose than keep: time and experience having always justified this fundamental maxim of *English* policy, that the subjects wealth can have no other source than trade, and the majesty of the crown no better support than a firm trust in the people's love, and in consequence of their extensive commerce, a superior power at sea. This is the voice of nature, in making our country an island; the dictate of reason, which shews, that all force is lessened by an unnecessary extension;

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* Sir Robert Cotton's Answers to Reasons for Foreign Wars, p. 59.

tion; and the lesson taught us not only by our history in general, but by the occurrences under every reign: the reader, therefore, must not be surprized to find me frequently inculcating what ought always to be remembred, and what at every turn, notwithstanding, we are alas! but too, too, apt to forget.

HENRY VI. from the place of his birth, stiled *Henry of Windsor*, succeeded his father before he was a year old, under the tuition of his uncles, all men of great experience and abilities *. Of these, *Humphry* duke of *Gloucester* was protector of *England*, *Thomas* duke of *Exeter* had the custody of the king's person, and *John* duke of *Bedford* was regent of *France*. It was not long before *Henry* became king of *France*, as well as of *England*; for the *French* king, *Charles VI.* dying, on the 21st of *October* 1422, he was proclaimed at *Paris*, though the *French* immediately owned the dauphin, who was now called *Charles VII.* † In the beginning of his reign, things went better than could well have been expected, under an infant prince; for *Humphry* duke of *Gloucester*, took care to supply his brother in *France*, both with money and men; and the duke of *Bedford* on his side, taking all imaginable care to preserve the friendships of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*, maintained himself by their assistance, in the possession of all the dominions which were left to his son by king *Henry V.* and if the same union had continued, must have constantly preserved them; for the *French* king, *Charles*, was never strong enough to have dealt with such
confe-

* *Thom. de Elmham*, cap. cxxix. *Tit. Liv.* p. 95. *Chron. Godstovian.* p. 145. *Thom. Walsingham.* *Monstrelet.* † *Mezeray*, *Daniel*, *Stowe*, *Holinshed*, & *speed.*

confederates : but it was not long before this harmony was dissolved, the duke of *Gloucester*, who was protector of *England*, took *Jaqueline*, duchess of *Hainault*, from her husband the duke of *Brabant*, married her, and in her right pretended to large dominions in the low countries, which he sought to recover by the help of an *English* fleet and army. These measures disgusted the duke of *Burgundy*, who was extremely concerned for what had happened to his cousin the duke of *Brabant*, and resenting his ill usage and dishonour, became thenceforward disaffected to the *English*, and shortly after deserted them². On the 6th of *November*, 1429, king *Henry* was crowned in *England*, and in the latter end of 1430, he was crowned king of *France* at *Paris*, where he remained for two years ; yet during that space, his affairs rather declined than mended, and after his departure, and the death of his uncle the duke of *Bedford*, which happened in 1435, they fell into a rapid decay, so that they grew daily worse and worse².

IN the succeeding year, the duke of *York* was named regent of *France* ; but being hated by many of the great men in *England*, he was so disappointed in the supplies which he should have carried over into that kingdom, that before his arrival, *Paris* fell into the hands of the *French*. The duke of *Burgundy* also, in the month of *July*, laid siege to the city of *Calais*, with a very great force, which obliged the lord protector to think of relieving it from *England* ; accordingly he raised a great army, which he embarked on board a fleet of five hundred sail, and landing near *Calais*, marched directly to fight the enemy. The

Flemings

² Mezeray, P. Daniel.
Holinghed, Speed.

² Thom. Walsingham, Stowe,

Flemings, however, raised the siege precipitately, and retired into their own territories, whither the regent pursued them with his army, and after living in the country at discretion for some time, he again returned into *England*.^b Towards the latter end of the year 1437, the earl of *Warwick* was sent regent into *France*, in the room of the duke of *York*, and, which is very remarkable, was shipped and unshipped seven times before he made his voyage; he dying shortly after, the duke of *York* was sent again in his place, where, notwithstanding these supplies, the *English* affairs continually declined, so that in 1445, a peace was concluded, and king *Henry* was content on very mean conditions to marry a *French* princess, whose name was *Margaret*, the daughter of the duke of *Anjou*, much to the displeasure of the nation, and which was attended with the worst consequences imaginable. A lingering war, and an uneasy peace had deprived the *English* of all their conquests in *France*, except *Calais*, and a very few other places; and though the nation was sensible of the mighty expence which attended the keeping them, yet they saw with grief the loss of cities and provinces purchased, and so dearly! with the blood, and the treasure also of their ancestors.^c

THE *French* were not contented with this, but having still in view the reduction of the *English* power, they meditated even in a time of peace a descent upon this kingdom, which they executed in 1547. As this is a matter chiefly respecting the naval history of *England*, I think myself not only at liberty, but even obliged to set it

^b Mezeray, P. Daniel.
Holingshed.

^c Chron. Godstovian, Stowe,

it in the clearest light. The reigning *French* king, *Charles VII.* was, without question, one of the ablest princes of his age. He saw with terror the *English* power at sea, and with shame, his own incapacity to dispute therewith. In order to remedy this, he made a treaty offensive and defensive with *Christiern* the first, king of *Denmark*, by virtue of which, that prince was obliged to furnish him on certain conditions, with at least forty good ships, and between six and seven thousand men, to be employed against *England*. Yet, by another article in this treaty, this, for which alone it was made, was entirely defeated. The *French* king had engaged, that the then king of *Scots* should give satisfaction to the *Danes*, with whom he had long had a difference, and not being able to bring this to bear, the *Danes* refused to furnish any auxiliaries. In the mean time, the queen of *England* like a true *French* woman, had entered into a secret negotiation with the king of *Scots*, and finding that he was like to be too hard pressed by the *English*, she thought a *French* invasion might at once serve her purposes, and save the *Scots*. With this view she applied herself to her relations in *France*, who easily prevailed upon the court to enter into this measure. A fleet accordingly was fitted out in *Normandy*, and in the month of *August* 1457, they made a descent on the coast of *Kent*, and landed eighteen hundred men about two leagues from *Sandwich*, whither they had orders to march by land, while the admiral attacked it by sea. We have a very circumstantial relation of this whole affair in father *Daniel's* history, and indeed I think a more distinct account than any I have met of the like nature in our historians. He owns, however, that the *English* notwithstanding their being surprized, defended themselves with incom-

incomparable valour, and that though the town was burnt and pillaged at last, yet it cost a great deal of blood, which might perhaps balance the booty acquired by it. The reflection he makes upon it, is a little partial. Thus, says he, a prince whom the *English* thirty years before called in contempt king of *Bourges*, was now powerful enough to insult them in their own island, and to menace their country with the same mischiefs which they had heretofore brought upon *France*^d. As if there had been no difference between surprizing the town of *Sandwich*, that was quitted the next day, and the possession of *Paris* for many years. However, his zeal for his country may well excuse a greater error than this.

THE *French* made also some other attempts upon the coast^e, and the *Scots* entered and plundered the borders; but these accidents far from producing the effects which the queen and her partizans expected, served only to heighten that general disaffection which now began to discover itself, and from whence it was but too visible, that the councils of this *French* queen would undo the well-meaning prince her husband. The favourers of the house of *York* had, with infinite pains cultivated an interest with the sea-faring people, and amongst the inhabitants of *Ireland*. The former they persuaded, that all care of the coasts was neglected; and into the latter they infused the strongest resentment of their present oppressions and apprehensions of final destruction. The famous earl of *Warwick*, the then great support of the house of *York*, had procured himself to be made admiral, and to shew his diligence in that

^d Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 292, &c.
^e Mezeray, Stowe, Holinghed, Speed, Rapin.

that office, and his care of the *English* honour, caused several squadrons to put to sea, to the officers of which he gave such instructions as he thought proper. One of these squadrons on *Trinity-Sunday* 1458, fell in with the *Spanish* fleet, who treating them as enemies, they returned their hostilities, and after a long and sharp dispute, took six of their ships laden with iron and other merchandize, and either sunk or drove on shore twenty-six more ^f. This exploit many of our historians confound with that which follows, and which was subsequent thereto in point of time; though we cannot exactly fix its date, yet by a certain circumstance it unquestionably appears, they were distinct enterprizes, the former being performed only by the earl of *Warwick's* ships, whereas the latter was by him atchieved in person ^g.

THIS great nobleman had by authority of parliament been appointed captain of *Calais*; but the queen having with much artifice and flattery drawn him to court, thought to have prevented his going back to his charge, by procuring him to be suddenly murdered. An attempt of this sort was actually made in the palace, from which the earl narrowly escaped, and flying immediately to a little vessel he had in the river, he therein transported himself to *Calais*, where he had a very strong squadron of stout ships. With fourteen sail of these he shortly after put to sea, in order to scour the coasts, and to hinder the queen from receiving any succours from *France*; as also to aid, if occasion should so require, the duke of *York* and his party. It so fell out, that sailing through the channel, he met with

^g Stowe's Annals, p. 404. ^f Compare the accounts given by Mr. Burchet and Echard with that of Rapin, and with the relation of the succeeding story in Holingshead.

with five very large ships richly laden. Three of these were *Genoese*, and two *Spanish*: he attacked them though they were exceedingly well provided both with men and ammunition, as appeared by their defending themselves two days; at length however they were beaten, two escaping by flight, and the other three falling into his hands were carried into *Calais*, where their cargoes, valued at upwards of ten thousand pounds, were disposed of, to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. In this engagement the earl lost about fifty men, and the enemy near a thousand ^h.

THENCEFORWARD there were scarce any measures, kept, the duke of *York* retiring into *Ireland*, and many of the principal nobility to *Calais*, where the earl of *Warwick* still kept a great fleet, and had besides such an interest in all the sea-faring people of *England*, that the king found it impossible to make use even of the little naval power that remained, against this formidable lord. The queen, however, sent down the lord *Rivers* to *Sandwich*, with directions to equip as strong a squadron as he possibly could, in order to deprive the earl of *Warwick* of his government of *Calais*. But when these ships were almost ready, the earl sent Sir *John Dineham*, an officer of his, who surprized this squadron in port, and not only carried away all their ships, but also their commander *Richard* lord *Rivers*, and *Anthony Woodville* his son, who remained long prisoners at *Calais*. After this, one Sir *Baldwin Fulford* undertook to burn the earl's fleet in the haven of *Calais*, which quickly appeared to be but a vain enterprise.

^h Stowe's annals. p. 404. See also Fabian's chronicle, wherein it is said, that the earl lost two hundred men.

prize. At last, the duke of *Exeter* being made admiral, and having information that the earl of *Warwick* was sailed with his fleet into *Ireland*, stood to sea with the royal navy, to intercept him, but when the earl of *Warwick's* fleet appeared, the sailors on board the king's shewed so much coldness, that it was not judged safe to fight; and the earl of *Warwick* on the other hand, being tender of the lives of his countrymen, and unwilling to destroy any of the king's fleet, passed by without molesting them. But he did not afterwards shew the same moderation, when on an invitation from the *Kentish* men, he resolved to land in their country; for Sir *Simon Mouniford* being then warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and lying with a very strong squadron at *Sandwich*, to oppose his landing, he attacked, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them, and amongst the rest Sir *Simon* himself perished¹. After this, little remarkable happened in naval affairs, during the rest of this unfortunate reign, which ended strangely; for after the duke of *York* had been defeated and killed in battel, his son *Edward* earl of *March*, by the assistance of the earl of *Warwick*, made himself master of the city of *London*, where by the general consent of the nation, he was acknowledged for their lawful prince, and king *Henry* deposed, after holding, though very unsteadily, the *English* crown near thirty-nine years².

LET us now proceed to some commercial observations within this period of time. Upon the great revolution in the government made by deposing king *Richard*, and setting up his cousin *Henry* of *Bolingbroke*, the parliament desired

¹ Stowe, Holingsted, Speed, Rapin.
xxiii.

² Polydor. Verg. lib.

desired that the new king would resume whatever had been profusely thrown away, either in the dotage of *Edward III.* or by king *Richard II.* in the wantonness of his youth, and this with a view, that the king might be the better able to live upon his own, without having recourse continually to impositions upon his subjects. This good, as well as reasonable advice, however had not such an effect as was expected; for *Henry IV.* received frequent supplies from parliament, and in the eighth year of his reign; such a tax was imposed, as to prevent the knowledge of it from coming to posterity; the house of commons desired, that after the accounts of such as had received it were once examined, they should be destroyed, that what they had been moved to by their zeal for once, might not pass into a precedent for succeeding times. The great exportation of wool, upon which from time to time he had considerable subsidies given him, must have made a very large addition to his revenue, and in this respect, for reasons with which we are unacquainted; he very much favoured the *Italians*, allowing them to export wool, paying no higher a tax than his own subjects.

THE coin in his time received no alteration whatever; but in the second year of his reign, he was obliged to prohibit a kind of base coin, which had gained a currency through his dominions, to the great prejudice of his subjects. These were brought from abroad, chiefly on board the *Genoese* galleys, and were from thence called *Galley-Halfpence*. About two years afterwards he directed new money to be coined, but precisely after the old standard, in respect as well to fineness as weight.

AFTER all the care and pains used to settle the revenue in the former reign, by which no doubt it was much improved, king *Henry V.* found his income but very limited,

ted, even with the assistance of his customs, the revenue of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, and the casual profits arising to the crown; for in the third year of his reign, it did not amount to quite fifty-seven thousand pounds *per ann.* and therefore to augment this, upon the petition of the commons, he took ten thousand pounds a year out of the pensions that were then subsisting. All the vast supplies that he received for carrying on the war with *France*, were swallowed up in that war, and the absence of the king with the principal nobility, the frequent embargoes upon shipping, and the gradual declension of trade, brought the nation lower, and made the people poorer than they had been at any time within the remembrance of persons living in that age. He made very few laws relating to trade, which I do not mention at all to his discredit, but only to shew, that commerce was then much sunk; for when it was brisk and lively, petitions to parliament were frequent, and these were commonly attended with statutes, and when any of these, as it very often happened from very different causes, were found inconvenient, they were by new laws repealed.

THIS monarch found it necessary in the ninth year of his reign, to raise the value of silver from two shillings and a penny, to two shillings and six-pence *per ounce*; but it does not appear that he debased the coin, on the contrary, he prohibited the currency of *Suskins* and *Doitkins*, which had been brought in by foreigners. This king, after his victory at *Agincourt*, and peace with *France*, ordered a silver coin to be struck with this stile or inscription, *Rex Angliæ, regens & hæres Franciæ*, i. e. King of *England*, regent and heir of *France*. A gold coin called a *Salus* or *Salute*, of the alloy of sterling, va-

lue twenty-two shillings, with the angel saluting the virgin *Mary* on one side, the one holding the arms of *England*, and the other the arms of *France*, with the king's titles, and *Christus vincit*, *Christus signat*, *Christus imperat*, on the reverse. But in the next reign this silver coin which was called a *Blanch*, or white money, to distinguish it from the *Salus* or yellow money coined at the same time in *France*, being found not to be as it ought to have been, of the alloy of sterling, was also prohibited by order of the Parliament in 1423.

THE reign of *Henry VI.* was a continued series of profusion and mismanagement, so that when he had sat upon the throne twenty-eight years, his ordinary revenue was sunk to five thousand pounds *per ann.* and he owed at that time three hundred seventy-two thousand pounds. This occasioned a resumption at the request of the commons, and the same remedy for the same causes was repeated over and over again; but without any great effect. He mortgaged the customs of *London* and *Southampton*, to the cardinal of *Winchester*, and engaged by an indenture to turn the trade chiefly to those ports. In the thirty-first year of his reign, he seized all the tin at *Southampton*, and sold it for his own use; he granted licences to foreign merchants to transport wool, notwithstanding the statutes. He raised the price of silver to three shillings and three half-pence an ounce; but it does not appear that he debased the coin, unless the making of brass money in *Ireland* can be so called, which he certainly did.

IT appears from our records, that while the house of *Lancaster* possessed the throne, extraordinary favour was shewn to the *Hanse Towns*, the inhabitants of which had great privileges granted to them here, and were thereby

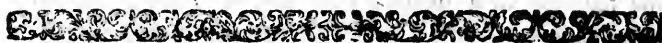
thereby enabled to manage a good part of our trade¹: the rest was in a manner engrossed by *Florentines*, and other *Italians*^m, which was partly owing to the necessities of *Henry V.* during his *French* wars, and partly also to the weak administration under his son, especially in the latter part of his reign, when through the influence of the queen, the interest of foreigners was constantly promoted. This occasioned frequent tumults in the city of *London*, and was one great cause of that strange revolution, in favour of the house of *York*, who, as we before observed, made their court to the people, by shewing a strong aversion to strangers, and by cherishing the seamen, of whom little care had been taken in this last reign. How things instantly changed after king *Henry's* deposition, and how the *English* resumed again the sovereignty of the sea, will be shewn in the next chapter, from foreign writers as well as our own.

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C H A P.

¹ Molloy de jure maritimo, p. 341.
p. 401.

^m Stowe's Annals,



C H A P. VII.

The naval History of ENGLAND, during the reigns of Edward IV. Edward V. and Richard III. of the house of York. Containing the space of twenty-five years.



EDWARD IV. son to *Richard* duke of *York*, and by his grand-mother heir to *Lionel* duke of *Clarence*, third son of king *Edward III.* and consequently prior in title to the line of *Lancaster*, whose ancestor was *John* of *Gaunt*, fourth son to the same king *Edward*, assumed the crown on the fourth of *March* 1460-61, being then about twenty years of age ^a. He was forced to fight for his crown before he had well put it on, and though in the battel of *Towton*, which was fought on *Palm-Sunday* after his accession, he totally defeated king *Henry*, who was forced to fly into *Scotland*, yet his queen passing over into *France*, procured there assistance under the command of the famous *Peter de Brese*, who in the former reign had taken *Sandwich*; but through the affection which all the inhabitants of the sea coast bore to the house of *York*, she was disappointed in her purpose, and forced, after entering *Tinmouth-Bay*, to put again to sea, and retire into *Scotland* ^b. About this time the earl of

^a This is owned by all our historians, though enough addicted to the Lancastrian party; but is very fully and fairly set out in Speed's chronicle, p. 670. ^b Stowe's Annals, p. 416. Holinghed, Speed.

of *Kent* who was abroad with a stout navy, scoured all the coast, and landing in *Bretagne* with ten thousand men, took and burnt the town of *Conquet*, ravaged the island of *Rhe*, and carried off a great booty ^c. This early care of the sea, shews the temper and genius of this prince, and how fit he was to hold the *English* sceptre, yet he treated his predecessor *Henry* but indifferently, causing him to be brought to the *Tower*, and there kept very strictly, though he was of a blameless life, and generally revered as a kind of saint by the people ^d. The defection of the earl of *Warwick*, whose power had greatly contributed to gain him the crown, was very near taking it from *Edward* again; yet whence that defection grew is not easily known. I must confess, this is not properly my business; but inasmuch as the great power of this earl of *Warwick* sprung from his being admiral and captain of *Calais*, it may not be amiss to remark the errors that are crept into almost all our histories concerning him; the rather, because the matter is new, and not only affects our own, but also some of the most accurate among foreign historians.

THE story we are told is, that the the earl of *Warwick* was sent into *France*, to treat of a marriage between king *Edward*, and the lady *Bona* of *Savoy*, sister to the queen of *France*, and, that while he was absent on this embassy, the king married the lady *Grey*, daughter to the lord *Rivers*, by *Jaqueline* dutchess of *Bedford* ^e. But Mr. *Hearne* has published some memoirs of this reign,

U 3

written

^c Stowe, ubi supra. Rapin questions this fact, because not taken notice of by the French historians, which seems no just exception, while *Bretagne* was subject to its own duke. ^d Stowe, and all our abbey chronicles. ^e Polyd. Virgil, lib. xxiv.

written by a person, who not only lived therein, but was also well acquainted with the king, and the principal persons in his court ^f. He vouches the thing to be quite otherwise, and that this story was devised in after times to hide the truth. According to him, the earl of *Warwick* had not been in *France* before the king's marriage, which was on the first of *May*, 1463; but four years afterwards, viz. in 1467, he was sent to treat with king *Lewis*, with whom he began to hold privately some intelligence, for the restoring king *Henry*, to whose party the *French* had always been inclined ^g. Indeed this seems to be the truth, and accords much better with dates and facts than the other story, since it is not easy to conceive, how a man of the earl of *Warwick's* violent temper, should dissemble his resentment so many years together ^h. The true cause, therefore, of his quitting the king was, his immeasurable ambition, and the apprehensions he was under, that the new queen's kindred would supplant him and his friends; and this, notwithstanding the great offices of which he was possessed, and which, as my author says, brought him twenty thousand marks *per annum* ^h. The means he used to distress the king, was, drawing off his brother the duke of *Clarence*, whom he married to his daughter, and then retired with him to *Calais*. On this occasion, the fleet stuck to the earl, against the king, having been long under his command. This circumstance enabled him to return speedily into *England*, where he, and his son-in-law, the duke of *Clarence*, soon raised a powerful army, and marching to *Warwick*, surprized the king's forces, beat them,

^f Printed at the end of Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, 8vo. Oxford, 1719. ^g Anonymous Chronicle just mentioned, p. 297, 298, 299. ^h Ibid. p. 300.

them, and took him prisoner ⁱ. *Edward*, however, escaped shortly after, and drove the earl and duke to such distresses, that they were forced to join their party to that of the deposed king *Henry*: and even this helped them very little; for after several disputes, in which the king had the better, the duke retired into *France*, and the earl went on board his fleet, with which he sailed to *Calais*, and being there refused entrance, put into several harbours in *Normandy*, where he met with all the favour and assistance he could desire, from the *French* king ^k. While an army was providing, to be by the earl of *Warwick* transported into *England*, part of his fleet cruized upon the *Flemings*, and took many of their ships, because the duke of *Burgundy*, their sovereign, sided with king *Edward*, whose sister he had married. The duke, to revenge this ill usage, drew together a great fleet, and therewith sailing to the mouth of the *Seine*, blocked up the earl of *Warwick's* ships in their harbour. Towards the beginning of the month of *September*, 1471; the *French* king furnished the earl of *Warwick*, the duke of *Clarence*, and queen *Margaret*, all now of one party, with great succours, not only of men, but of ships, which enabled them to force their passage, so that landing on the 13th of *September*, some at *Plymouth*, others at *Dartmouth*, they quickly drew together so great a force, and withal, brought so many of the king's court to desert him, that *Edward* fearing his person might be betrayed, fled, with such of his friends as he could best trust, to *Lynn* in *Nor-*

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folk,

ⁱ Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 414. Stowe, Speed.
^k Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 314. Stowe, Holinghed, Speed.

folk, and in getting thither, ran very great hazards ^l. There, on the 3^d of *October* he embarked on board an *English* ship, and his friends on board two *Dutch* hulks, intending to have passed over into *Flanders*; but some ships belonging to the *Hanse-Towns*, attacked him: nor was it without great difficulty, that his small squadron got clear, and at last landed him safe in *Zealand*. His queen, whom he left big with child, and in the utmost distress, took shelter in the sanctuary of *Westminster*, where she brought forth her eldest son, afterwards the unfortunate *Edward V.* ^m

As soon as the king's flight was known, *Henry VI.* was released from his imprisonment, and again seated on the throne, *Edward* proclaimed a usurper, and many of his favourites put to death as traitors, his own brother the duke of *Clarence* concurring in these measures; for which, the crown was entailed upon him and his heirs, in case the male line of king *Henry* should fail ⁿ. *Edward*, however, still kept up his spirits, and though he found himself disappointed in the only friend to whom he trusted, his brother-in-law, *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who durst not provoke both *England* and *France* by openly assisting him, yet he resolved to venture with the small train he had about him, and in a few ships which were lent him, to return into his own country ^o. This was certainly acting like an *English* king, who ought rather to die in the field asserting his right, than disgrace himself and his subjects, by living long as an exile in foreign parts.

HIS

^l Speed's chronicle, p. 681.

^m Grafton, Stowe, Speed.

ⁿ H. It, Holingshed, Rapin.

^o Histoire de France, P. Da-

nicl, tom. vi. p. 428, 429. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

HIS whole force consisted but in four ships of war, and fourteen transports, on board of which were embarked about two thousand men ^p. He intended to have landed in *Norfolk*, but a storm prevented him, and obliged him after some days tossing at sea, to run with a small squadron into the port of *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*, from whence he marched directly towards *York*, declaring at this time, as the first monarch of the *Lancastrian* line had done in the like case, that he sought no more than his inheritance as duke of *York*, and that he was content king *Henry* should wear the crown; but as soon as he found himself at the head of a considerable army, he laid aside this pretence, resumed his royal title, and in the famous battle of *Barnet* *, defeated and killed the potent and ambitious earl of *Warwick*, who from his success, acquired the surname of *Make-king* ^q. Shortly after, he defeated queen *Margaret*, and her son the prince of *Wales*, at *Tewksbury* †, where the latter lost his life ^r. In the mean time the fleet was still in very bad hands. The bastard *Fauconbridge*, who commanded under the earl of *Warwick*, held it in the name of king *Henry*, but in reality to his own use. His first project was, the taking of the city of *London*, in the king's absence; in order to which, he brought his ships into the mouth of the river *Thames*, and landed himself with seventeen thousand men, with whom he boldly attacked the place, and was as gallantly received, the citizens defending themselves with such resolution, that

^p Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 430. Stowe, Speed. * April 14, 1471. ^q Stowe's Annals, p. 423. Hollinghed, Speed, Brady, Tyrrel. † May 4, 1471. ^r Stowe's Annals, p. 424. Rapin.

that he was forced to retreat with great loss^a. Soon after, he gave up the fleet, and submitted himself to the king, who knighted him, and made him vice-admiral; which honour, however, he did not long enjoy, for entering into some new intrigues, he was detected, and lost very deservedly his head^b.

KING *Edward* had no sooner settled affairs at home, and restored the peace, and naval power of *England*, than he thought of revenging himself on the *French*, for the trouble they had given him; for which a fair occasion offered, by the breaking out of a war between *Lewis XI.* and *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*^c. To the assistance of the latter, he passed over with a mighty army, attended by a fleet of five hundred sail, with which, in the month of *July*, 1475, he entered the road of *Calais*, where he debarked his forces. This sufficiently shews the great maritime strength of *England* in these times, when the king, after such an unsettled state, and so many revolutions as had lately happened, was able, in a years space to undertake such an expedition as this, and that too with so great a force^d. When he came to take the field, however, he did not find that assistance from his allies which he expected, and therefore, though at the beginning he pretended to no less than the entire conquest of *France*; yet on king *Lewis's* desiring to treat of peace, he was content to enter into a negotiation, which ended much to his satisfaction, and, all things considered, to the honour

^a This man's name, was, Thomas Nevil, son to lord Fauconbridge, created by this king Edward IV. earl of Kent, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed. ^b Stowe, p. 424. ^c Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 457. 458. ^d Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

honour of the *English* nation; for the *French* king gave very large sums by way of present to the *English* soldiers, and discovered by various other acts, such a terror at the *English* name, as might serve instead of many victories *. This peace is generally stiled the peace of *Amiens*, from the place where it was treated; and the curious reader may find it at large in *Rymer's* collection ′, as well as some remarkable circumstances relating thereto in *Philip de Commines*, and in the most authentic of the *French* writers ″.

IN consequence of this treaty, the king received an annual pension from *France*, of fifty thousand crowns, which he looked upon, not without reason, as a kind of tribute, and applied a great part of it to the repair of his navy, for which he always shewed a great concern; and by keeping squadrons continually at sea, held the timorous *Lewis XI.* king of *France*, in continual terrors, who, to secure his own peace, distributed annually vast sums amongst the privy council of *England* †. A war with *Scotland* gave the king an opportunity of displaying his force by sending a great army under the command of his brother the duke of *Gloucester* ‡, into that country, and a powerful fleet upon its coast; which so terrified the *Scots*, that they obliged their prince to accept of any proposals that were made to him †. After the coming back again of the duke of *Gloucester*, the king's affairs began to take a less fortunate turn. He had created great troubles at home, by taking off his brother,

* Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, Tom. vi. p. 461, 462, 463. ′ *Fœdera*. Tom. xii. ″ Philip de Commines, lib. iv. Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 327. † Sir Thomas Moore, in his History of Edward V. ‡ A. D. 1482. † Drummond, Stowe, Speed.

brother, the duke of *Clarence*, not without strong suspicions of injustice^c. He had crossed the humour of the nation, in refusing succour to the *Flemings*, who were the natural allies of the *English*, and from whom they annually gained large sums by the balance of trade. Add to all this, that it became every day more and more apparent, that the *French* king never intended to perform the most essential points of the last peace, particularly that relating to the marriage of the dauphin with the princess *Elizabeth*, which perplexed the king exceedingly, and at last, determined him to break with this perfidious monarch. In this war he determined to rely chiefly on his own strength at sea, and not at all on the promises of his allies, by whom himself and his predecessors had been so often deceived, and of which he had a recent example in the conduct of the emperor *Maximilian*, who, notwithstanding the king had lately sent a squadron of stout ships under sir *John Middleton*, to his assistance, had not only made a peace, but entered into a close union with *France*, which highly provoked the king^d. The pains king *Edward* took in disposing all things for a *French* war, and especially in drawing together a numerous fleet, was so agreeable to his people, that they seemed heartily inclined to bear the expence which such an expedition must have brought upon them. The care, however, of so important an enterprize, joined to his unusual fatigue, in providing every thing for undertaking it, threw that monarch into a sudden illness, when his fleet and army were almost ready, which brought him unexpectedly to his end, on the 9th of *April*, 1483, after he had

^c Sir Thomas Moore, in the Life of Richard III.
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^d Ho-

had reigned somewhat more than twenty-two, and had lived very little above forty-one years *. The *French* writers will have it, that he died of chagrin, at the dauphin's marriage, because from the treaty of *Amiens*, he had always stiled his eldest daughter *Elizabeth*, dauphiness †; but *Mezeray* very honestly owns, that his death was a great deliverance to *France*, and freed her from the terror of beholding once again an *English* army, under a victorious king, at the gates of *Paris* ‡.

He was, though too much addicted to his pleasures, a very wise, as well as a very fortunate prince, had true notions of naval power, and of the consequences of an extensive commerce. The former he maintained throughout his whole reign, and the latter he encouraged as much as his domestic troubles gave him leave to do. His principal maxim was maintaining a good correspondence with the city of *London*, to which he constantly adhered, and of which he found the good effects in his adversity, as well as prosperity, as is well observed by *Philip de Commines* §, who attributes thereto his restoration, after the potent earl of *Warwick* had driven him out of his dominions; and one of the last acts of his life was an extraordinary compliment to that city, of which we have a long account in our old chronicles ‖. In one thing he was singularly happy, that he died in full possession of the hearts and affections of his subjects.

EDWARD V. succeeded, or rather seemed to succeed his father; for he never had any thing more than the shadow

* Stowe, Speed, Rapin.

† Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 346.

P. Daniel. ‡ Abregé de l'Histoire de France, Tom. iii. p. 346.

§ Comment. lib. iii. ‖ Sir Thomas Moore's Hist. of Edw. V.

shadow of royalty, and even this did not continue above the space of ten weeks, through the ambition of his uncle *Richard* duke of *Gloucester*. My subject does not lead me to say much of this matter, which, I must own, appears to me one of the darkest parts of our history; for though I am far from thinking that *Buck*, in his panegyric rather than history of king *Richard*, hath written all things according to truth, yet I must own that I do not believe he errs more on one hand, than sir *Thomas Moore* in his history of *Edward V.* on the other; which history, however, has been the ground-work of all succeeding stories. Thus much of truth undoubtedly there is, that immediately after the death of *Edward IV.* *Richard* duke of *Gloucester* assumed the office of protector, and caused the young prince to be proclaimed; after which, on various pretences, he cut off several great persons, who were the principal friends of his deceased brother's queen; and having thus paved the way for his own promotion, he next infused into the people's minds a bad opinion of the late king's administration, and some doubts as to the legitimacy of his children, which by the help of the duke of *Buckingham's* management of the lord-mayor and citizens of *London*, was improved into a popular demand that the young prince should be laid aside, and *Richard* instead of protector declared king, which at first he refused, but was quickly prevailed upon to change his mind and accept ^k.

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^k Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Baker, Rapin. Sir Thomas Moore is transcribed in the three first Histories; and as for Buck's laboured Apology, it is to be met with in the first Volume of the compleat History of England, by Bishop Kennet.

RICHARD III. was proclaimed the twenty-second of *June* 1483, and crowned upon the sixth of *July* following, together with *Anne* his queen, and his title effectually confirmed by a parliament called in *January* following¹. This act is perhaps the best drawn piece, considering the design it was to cover, that is extant in any language, and many of our modern historians might have avoided the gross mistakes they have fallen into about this prince, if they had carefully considered it. But sir *Thomas Moore's* rhetoric had so much warmed them, that generally speaking, they confound the duke of *Clarence's* treason with the duke of *Gloucester's* pretensions, which though they might be as bad, yet certainly they were not the same^m. *Clarence* in framing his title to the crown, was obliged to set aside that of his elder brother king *Edward*, which put him upon alledging, that the king was not in reality the son of *Richard* duke of *York*ⁿ. But as *Richard* duke of *Gloucester* was under no necessity of doing this, so he was much too wise a man to attack his mother's honour without cause. We find, therefore, nothing of this in the before mentioned act of parliament, but a title of quite another kind. The right of king *Edward* is clearly acknowledged, but his marriage with queen *Elizabeth* is declared to be null, not, as sir *Thomas Moore* says, because of the king's marriage before God to lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, a matter which had been long before cleared up, but in respect to a pre-contract, or rather marriage, between
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¹ Stowe's Annals, p. 458.

^m Compare Buck's History with the rest, and consider the authorities produced on both Sides.

ⁿ See the Grounds of the duke of *Clarence's* Attainder in Stowe's Annals, p. 430.

the king and lady *Eleanor Butler*, daughter to the earl of *Shrewsbury*, which was proved by a bishop^o; in consequence of which, all his posterity were illegitimate. Then again, as to the posterity of the duke of *Clarence*, which were still in *Richard's* way, they were set aside, on account of their father's attainder, which could not have been alledged, if *Richard* had questioned king *Edward's* rights. The case then in few words stood thus, the crown of *England* had been entailed by parliament on the posterity of the duke of *York*, in the reign of king *Henry VI.* This duke left three sons, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard.* *Edward* by virtue of that entail, claimed and enjoyed the crown, but (as this act says) left no lawful issue. *George*, in the life-time of his brother *Edward*, had been attainted of treason, by which his family became incapable of succeeding, and therefore *Richard* duke of *Gloucester* was called to the throne as the next heir in the parliamentary entail^p.

AN indifferent title he had at best, but this did not hinder his making a pretty good king, I mean in a political sense, for he made wise laws, governed the people gently, and took all imaginable care to promote trade, and to preserve the superiority of the sea. In all probability these were the effects of his private policy, for the strengthening of himself and his family; but be that as it will, the nation was undoubtedly the better for it. Yet all his wisdom did not preserve him, because he suffered himself to be deceived by appearances, and to quit the prudent care, which at the beginning of his reign, he had taken for the guard of
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^o Mezeray, Tom. iii. p. 346.
Speed, p. 711.

^p See this Act at large in

the *English* coasts, at that very juncture when it became most necessary: and as this is a point of great consequence to the subject I am upon, it will be necessary to enter into a distinct detail of the earl of *Richmond's* expedition, which, as it is taken from foreign historians, will, I hope, prove both agreeable and instructive to the reader.

WE have already shewn how the quarrel between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster* began, by *Henry IV's* assuming the crown on the deposition of king *Richard II.* *Henry* earl of *Richmond*, was by his mother's side held a descendant of the house of *Lancaster*, and had been in the battle of *Tewksbury*, with queen *Margaret* and prince *Edward*. After that signal defeat, he retired into *Bretagne*, where he was well received by *Francis II.* then duke thereof, and protected throughout the reign of *Edward IV.* notwithstanding all the intrigues of that crafty prince to get him into his hands^a. *Richard III.* sent his agents to the duke, promising vast sums if he would deliver up earl *Henry*, but to no purpose, which arose from this secret reason. There were great factions at that time in *Bretagne*, the duke being entirely governed by his minister, a man of low birth, though of strong parts, and high spirit, whose name was *Peter Landois*, which induced the nobility to confederate themselves against him. This statesman having good intelligence in *England*, knew perfectly the scheme that was set on foot for placing earl *Henry* on the throne, and uniting the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, by marrying the said earl to the princess *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to *Edward IV.* He likewise knew, that the duke of *Buckingham*, and some other very great persons,

VOL. I.

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were

^a Mezeray, P. Daniel, Rapin.

were engaged in that design, which he resolved therefore to promote, not doubting but that, when *Henry* should be seated on the *English* throne, he would speedily enable the duke his master to quell his rebellious barons. As soon therefore as he was informed that the duke of *Buckingham's* designs were ripe for execution, he furnished the earl of *Richmond* with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board which were embarked about five thousand men^r. But king *Richard* having early intelligence of the duke of *Buckingham's* project, and of his negotiations with the earl of *Richmond*, took effectual care to disappoint both. The duke's forces he defeated by surprize, made himself master of his person, and beheaded him^s. As to the earl's landing, he prevented that likewise, by keeping a strong squadron at sea, and guards on all the coasts, so that when the earl with his little fleet approached the *Welsh* shore, he saw it was impracticable to land, and therefore bore away to *Dieppe*, where he safely arrived, and from thence went by land into *Bretagne*^t. Thus we see of what consequence such precautions are in times of danger, and how very possible it is for an *English* prince, to hinder invaders from setting foot in his dominions. But if his measures on this occasion demonstrated the wisdom of king *Richard*, his subsequent behaviour was of a quite different kind; for immediately upon the earl's retreat, he dismissed his forces, laid up and unrigged his fleet, as if, after escaping so great a danger, he meant to invite a greater; at least so it proved, and might have

^r Histoire de France par P. Daniel, Tom. vi. p. 600. Argentre Histoire de Bretagne, liv. xii.

^s Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Buck, Rapin.

^t Argentre Histoire de Bretagne, ubi supra. Histoire de France par M. Chalons, Tom. ii. p. 220. Mezeray.

have been easily foreseen. But let us now return to the earl of *Richmond*.

HE found things, on his coming back, much altered in the court of *Bretagne*; for events will ever change the measures of those who suffer their councils to be governed by expectations of profit, rather than regard to principle. *Peter Landois*, who had been his warmest friend, was now become his bitterest enemy, for perceiving that the earl's designs were frustrated, the duke of *Buckingham* dead, the countess of *Richmond* confined, and *England* quietly submitting to *Richard*, he suddenly changed his politics, and, since he could not reduce the confederate lords by the help of an *English* king of his own making, he resolved to have recourse to an *English* king then reigning; and therefore entered into a treaty with *Richard*, for putting the earl of *Richmond* into his hands *. But doctor *Richard Merton*, bishop of *Ely*, a firm friend to the house of *Lancaster*, then in exile in *Flanders*, having discovered this design, gave notice of it to the earl of *Richmond*, advising him to fly immediately into *France*, which he did, and yet very narrowly escaped, a troop of horse sent to re-take him, missing him but an hour. He was well received by the *French* king *Charles VIII.* who promised him his protection and assistance: nor had he been long at that court, before the earl of *Oxford*, who was a prisoner at *Calais*, prevailed upon the governor of that strong place, to embrace his interest, and to go with him into *France*, in order to consult about a new invasion of *England* *. The *French* historians say positively, that king *Charles* furnished

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* *Argentré Histoire de Bretagne*, ubi supra.
P. Daniel, Chalons.

* *Mezeray*,

Henry of Richmond with four thousand men: father *Daniel* says, they were choice troops *; but our *English* writers speak of no more than two thousand, nay, and insist that these were hired with money, which the earl borrowed †. However it was, with this insignificant force, embarked on board a very scurvy fleet, the earl ventured to put to sea on the first of *August* 1485, from the port of *Havre de Grace*, and landed at *Milford-Haven* on the eighth of the same month. He was quickly joined by great bodies of the *Welsh*, and passing the *Severn* at *Shrewsbury*, met with many of his *English* friends, and then marched directly into *Leicester-shire*, where he knew king *Richard* lay with his army ‡. Upon this followed a decisive battle, fought near the town of *Bosworth*, on the twenty-second of *August*, wherein king *Richard* fighting gallantly, was slain with his sword in his hand, after a short reign of two years and two months, wherein he shewed himself a better king than most of our historians are willing to represent him. An exemplary instance of this was, his suffering his nephew *Edward Plantagenet*, earl of *Warwick*, son and heir to his brother, *George* duke of *Clarence*, to live quietly and freely in *Yorkshire*; though one of the first acts of his successor was, to shut up this unhappy youth in the *Tower*, where he was afterwards beheaded, for no greater crime than desiring freedom.

IN the reign of these monarchs of the house of *York*, there were no grievous taxes drawn from the subject. When *Edward* the fourth wanted money, he had recourse to an expedient, which, whatever it might be in law, was certainly not amiss in politics, of sending for persons in easy

* *Histoire de France*, Tom vi. p. 602.
 † *linshed*, *Speed*.

‡ *Stowe's Annals*, p. 419.

† *Stowe*, *Ho-*

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fy circumstances, and having opened to them his occasions for money, and his reasons for supposing they could supply him, desired they would give what they pleased, by which he raised money without aid of parliament, and by a new kind of prerogative; styling, such a voluntary contribution, **BENEVOLENCE**. As he was a debonair prince, this method, odd as it was, brought him in very considerable supplies. Amongst others, that he once summoned, was a gentlewoman of *London*, esteemed rich in those times, to whom having stated his case in a free and familiar manner, he asked her what she would give him? *my liege*, answered she, *for the sake of that sweet and comely face, you shall have twenty pounds*. The king being extremely well pleased with this testimony of her good will, gave her a kiss, which royal favour procured him another twenty pounds. He is likewise said to have made use of the personal affections of his subjects, in borrowing considerable sums, which, however, was attended with no small dislike, and was therefore laid aside by one of his successors.

WE are told by *Stowe*, in his chronicle, that this monarch sought some private advantage in the alterations which he directed to be made in the coin; but it is very justly observed by bishop *Nicholson*, that this imputation upon his government is ill founded. It is, indeed, very certain, that this king directed, that all the bullion received for staple commodities at *Calais*, should be coined in the mint there; but then, as appears by the indentures, it was of the same weight and fineness with his predecessors. Another great antiquary, I mean sir *Robert Cotton*, says much in praise of king *Edward*, for restoring the state of our coin, which had been much injured in the preceding reign; and for saying this, he is censured by bishop *Fleetwood*, who shews, that the money coined by *Edward* the

fourth, was not either better or worse than that of *Henry* the sixth. But notwithstanding this is certainly very true, yet the former observation might be true likewise. We have seen, that in the reign of king *Henry*, there was great indulgence shewn to strangers, and more especially to *Italians*; and we have likewise seen, that it was by these people, that great sums of base money were brought into, and circulated through the kingdom; and as there is, no doubt, that this was publickly prohibited, and effectually restrained by *Edward* the fourth, so we may very reasonably conclude, that for this, and for the coining great sums, as well in silver as in gold, of due weight and fineness, by which the occasion and necessity of using these adulterated coins was taken away, he afforded just ground for sir *Robert Cotton's* remark. In his reign, the lord *Hastings* was appointed master of the king's mints in *England*, *Ireland* and *France*, and he coined largely in the several mints of all the three kingdoms. Sir *John Davis* assures us, that it was *Edward* the fourth who first introduced a difference between the *English* and *Irish* coin, so that the former was worth a fourth part more than the latter. Upon whatever motives he did this, and whether the doing it was laudable, or otherwise, we dare not decide; but, however, there is no doubt at all, that the custom was pursued by his successors; so that in succeeding times, an *Irish* shilling was worth no more than nine-pence in *England*, and the same proportion held in all their other coins.

In the short reign of king *Richard* the third, there was but one parliament called, and but one tax granted, which was a tenth upon the clergy. At the same time, the king, of his own accord, gave life, as one of our antiquaries expresses it, to another law, by which the subject was for ever freed from *benevolencies*, which is said to have flowed from

from an evil intention in that prince, to captivate the minds of the people, by this extraordinary shew of self-denial. It is very possible it might be so, but perhaps it would be very difficult to find any evidence to prove it. It is a dangerous thing, to put bad constructions, upon such actions as are visibly good, either in kings, or in private men. If this monarch was really guilty of one half of the crimes with which some of our historians charge him, there was no need of misrepresenting what had the appearance of right in his conduct, in order to render him a monster. All that I incline to add farther upon this subject, is, that such as are determined to believe the worst of him, must be contented with what is said in our chronicles, public histories and memoirs; for as to the statute books and records, they bear no testimonies of his being either an oppressor or a tyrant; yet what vindicates his public, cannot be extended to justify his private character; because both history and experience sufficiently teaches, that a very bad man, may be a very good king; but then it is necessary, that he should reign long, in order to be so esteemed.

As to the history of our trade during this period, it is better preserved than in any other, because it now perhaps began to grow more considerable. A great variety of laws we have relating thereto, and a long charter preserved in *Hakluyt*, whereby king *Edward IV.* grants large privileges to the *English* merchants settled in the *Netherlands*. Some of our historians, it is true, blame that prince for suffering certain sheep, out of *Herefordshire*, to be transported into *Spain*, whence they would have us believe, arose that plenty of fine wool, for which *Spain* hath been since renowned. But this is meer vanity in us, since nothing is more cer-

tain, than that the *Spanish* wool was long before in the highest request; so that, in the 31st of *Henry II.* the weavers of *London* had it granted to them upon their petition, that wherever they could discover cloth entirely fabricated of *Spanish* wool, or even with a mixture of *Spanish* wool, they were authorized to carry it before the mayor of *London*, who was to cause it to be burnt^a. The history I mention, is contained in a little treatise, preserved in *Hakluyt*^b, entitled, *De politia conservativa maris*, written in verse; and, as it seems from his preface, never before printed, though written copies were pretty common. We know not by whom, or exactly when it was written, and yet we may come pretty near the time; for it is said in the clofe, to have been examined and approved by the wise baron of *Hungerford*, which nobleman lost his head at *Salisbury*, in 1466, being the 6th of *Edward IV.* c consequently this book must have been written some time before, probably about the beginning of that king's reign. There is a particular title to every chapter, that to the general introduction runs thus: *Here beginneth the prologue of the proceffe of the libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keep the sea, and namely the narrowe sea: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England, and to all Englishmen.*

IN this introduction, the author shews both the utility and the necessity of *England's* preserving the dominion of the sea, and tells us, that the emperor *Sigismund*, who came over hither in 1416, and went into *France* with *Henry V.* advised him to keep the two towns of *Dover* and

^a Ibid. ubi supra.

^b Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 187.

^c Stowe's Annals, p. 419.

and *Calais*, as carefully as he would his two eyes. The author next explains to us, the device on our nobles, a gold coin first struck in 18 *Edw. III.* introducing his remarks thus:

*For foure things our NOBLE sheweth unto me,
King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea.*

IN his first chapter, this writer gives us a very clear and exact account of the commodities of *Spain* and *Flanders*, and of the commerce between those countries, wherein he notes, that neither country could live without the other; that the *Spanish* wool cannot be wrought by the *Flemings*, without a mixture of *English*; and besides this, the trade between these two countries, must be altogether precarious, if both be not at peace with *England*. The second chapter treats of the commodities and trade of *Portugal*, wherein he observes, that the inhabitants of *Portugal* were always our friends, and that a very advantageous trade had ever been carried on between the two nations, the stream of which he complains, began now to be turned into *Flanders*: he speaks of the trade, and of the pyracies carried on by the inhabitants of the dutchy of *Bretagne*, and exclaims grievously at the outrages they were wont to commit on the *English* coasts, particularly on the maritime towns of *Norfolk*; and then tells us a remarkable story of what happened in the time of *Edward III.* The merchants, he says, represented to that prince, that notwithstanding the peace between him and the duke of *Bretagne*, the privateers of that dutchy took their vessels, of which the king, by his ambassadors, complained to the duke, who, in answer, said, that these privateers belonged to the ports of *St. Michael*, and *St. Maloes*, which,

which, though in his dominions, he could not say were under his obedience, being inhabited by a sort of people who would do what they pleased; upon which, the king directed *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, and *Fowey* to be fortified, and gave the inhabitants leave to fit out privateers, to cruise upon the coasts of *Bretagne*. This expedient soon answered his purpose, by bringing the subjects of the duke into such distress, that he was glad to undertake for the future good behaviour of his *two* lawless towns, that he might be rid of the troublesome visitants which daily distressed his coasts from our *three*. The commodities of *Scotland*, and her commerce with *Flanders*, make the subject of the fourth chapter. In the fifth, he treats of the trade of *Prussia*, *Germany*, and the *Hanse-Towns*, and of the inland countries dependant upon them. The commodities and trade of *Genoa* employ the sixth; whence it appears, that at this time they carried on the trade of *Africa*, and the *Indies*, that is to say, imported *Indian* and *African* commodities here, and in return exported wool and woollen commodities, and all this in certain very large ships, in those days called *Carracks*. The trade of *Venice* and *Florence* follows next, to which the author seems no great friend, as supposing that the balance thereon was greatly in their favour, and that the things bought of them were mere instruments of luxury. Much pains is taken in this chapter to shew the advantages that foreigners had in trade over the *English* natives, and what frauds were committed by the *Italian* bankers, and by the factors of that nation employed here. The trade of *Flanders* takes up the eighth chapter, wherein great complaints are made of the insolence of ships belonging to the *Hanse-Towns*, and of the folly of *English* merchants lending their
their

their names to cover foreigners goods imported hither. In the ninth, we see a copious and exact account of the commodities and commerce of *Ireland*, except that the author speaks confidently of gold and silver being found there, which time hath not verified. Towards the conclusion, there is a project of the then earl of *Ormonds's*, suggesting that, if one year's expence in the maintainance of *French* wars, were employed in the reduction of *Ireland*, it would answer the purpose effectually, and produce a very considerable profit annually to the *English* nation. Yet this, as the writer complains, was slighted, from views of private profit, to the great detriment of the public. The old trade carried on to *Iceland* from *Scarborough*, and of late years from *Bristol* to the same place, is described in the tenth chapter, at the close of which, the author discourses of the importance of *Calais*. In the eleventh chapter he descants on the naval power of king *Edgar*, and the mighty fleets of king *Edward III.* and *Henry V.* who, he says, built larger and stronger ships than any of his predecessors. The twelfth and last chapter is a concise re-capitulation of the principal matters spoken to before, with a pathetic exhortation to *English* statesmen, thoroughly to consider the importance of these points, and especially the great one of maintaining our power, or sovereignty at sea, on which, he says, the peace, plenty and prosperity of this island essentially depend.

One cannot help wond'ring on the perusal of this piece, that no pains has ever been taken to make it more useful, by republishing it, either in modern verse, or as it now stands, with notes; since it is evidently written with equal science and spirit, so that it is not easy to say, whether it gives us a better idea of the author's head or heart.

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Besides, it is a full proof that trade was then a very extensive and important concern; which will appear more clearly to the reader, if he considers the different value of money, than and now. It likewise shews, that the reasons and grounds of our naval dominion were then as thoroughly understood, and as clearly and plainly asserted as ever they have been since; which is the reason that Mr. *Selden* cites this book as a remarkable authority, both in point of argument and antiquity^d. But we are now coming into brighter times, wherein that spirit of commerce, which this author so earnestly wished for, began really to appear, and when there seemed to be a contest between private men, and those in the administration, who should serve the public most. A spirit to which we owe our present commerce to all parts of the world, our potent and stately fleet, and above all, our numerous plantations, the chief support of our maritime strength, as well as the most considerable branch of our trade still remaining.

^d *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. c. 25.



C H A P. VIII.

The naval History of ENGLAND, under the reign of Henry VII. including the memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished in his time.



ENRY VII. was crowned king on the field of battel, the diadem of king *Richard* being found among the spoils. By what title he held the regal dignity, is difficult to determine; in his own days, he would not suffer it to be drawn into question, and posterity hath not much considered it since. As to descent, he could scarce be said to be of the royal family, for his father was of *Wales*, his mother of the house of *Beaufort*, descended indeed of *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*; but so as to be legitimate only by an act of parliament, with an express exception as to the crown. By conquest he could not be king, for no people conquer themselves; and his army at *Bosworth* were *Englishmen*, as well as king *Richard's*. His best title then must be marriage, which he had not till some time after; for though he was solemnly crowned on the 30th of *October*, yet he did not marry the princess *Elizabeth*, 'till the 18th of *January*, 1486. He was generally esteemed the wisest prince of his time, and was, without all doubt, an accomplished politician, to which the difficulties he went through in his youth, must have
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contributed not a little ; for he was an exile before he was a man, and at the head of his party by that time he was at years of discretion. He had great obstacles to surmount, even after his accession to the throne ; for the common people were generally fond of the house of *York*, and the dutchess of *Burgundy* took care to furnish them with variety of pretenders of that line. Yet such was the care king *Henry* took of his coasts, and so wisely did he provide for the security of the sea, that his enemies could scarce ever set foot directly in his kingdom ; which was the reason that *Simmel* went first to *Ireland*, and *Perkin Warbeck* into *Scotland*, where having procured assistance, he thence invaded *England* °.

ANOTHER strain of his policy was, his keeping up a martial spirit among his own subjects, at the expence of his neighbours, repaying thereby the *French* in their own coin. Thus he privately assisted the duke of *Bretagne*, with a considerable body of troops, under the command of the lord *Woodville*, uncle to the queen ; and when the *French* king expostulated on this head, he excused himself, by saying, that lord transported forces into *Bretagne* without his consent or permission *. Soon after, he openly assisted the *Bretons*, against the *French*, because he saw that these expeditions were pleasing to his own people, and served his purposes at the same time. On the same principles he threatened an open rupture with *France*, for which he provided a stout army, and a numerous fleet : and yet his real view was not so much attacking the *French* king, as drawing aids from his own parliament, which on
this

° Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin : but above all, lord Bacon's history of his reign, and his finished character of Henry VII.

* A. D. 1488.

this expectation only they were inclined to give. He transported, however, his forces to *Calais*, took the field, and having terrified the *French*, made such a peace as satisfied him, and so returned home, keeping, however, his squadrons at sea; for though he loved peace, yet it was his fixed maxim, to be in constant readiness for war; which was the reason, that during his reign, the marine was in better condition than under any of his predecessors: the cares of government took up his whole time, and left no room either for thoughts or expenses of pleasure ^f.

THE *French* historians say, that of all our *English* kings, this wise monarch was best inclined to them, and most observant of his treaties, which they ascribe to his gratitude for the succours afforded him in *France*, when he came over against king *Richard* ^g. I will not deny that some truth may be in this; and yet I am inclined to believe, that the chief motive which so strongly bound him to affect peace abroad, was the intestine divisions among his subjects at home, which might have created him even more uneasiness than he did, in case the malcontents had been supported by so powerful a prince as the *French* king. Besides, it was policy of *Henry VII.* to divert the spirits of his subjects from war to trade, which he both understood and encouraged. His long residence in *Bretagne* had given him an opportunity of acquiring a much greater skill in maritime affairs than most of his predecessors, and this was so well known, that eminent seamen, even in foreign countries, frequently addressed themselves to him for his favour and protection. Amongst
the

^f Stowe, Speed, Bacon.

^g Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. vii. p. 19. Du Tillet Recueil des Traites, Mezeray.

the rest, the famous *Christopher Columbus*, who rendered his name immortal by the discovery of *America*, and who sent his brother *Bartholomew* hither, in order to have undertaken that glorious expedition for the benefit of this nation: nor was it any fault in this wise king that he did not; though some modern writers, not only without, but against all authority assert, that king *Henry* rejected his proposals. I shall here give a concise account of that affair, of which I shall have occasion to speak again in the memoirs of *John Cabot*, who, though he did not undertake to make discoveries till after the return of *Columbus*, yet saw the continent of the new world earlier than he, as will be fully proved in its proper place.

EXPERIENCE shews us, that there are certain seasons remarkably favourable to particular arts. This age of which we are speaking, had been so to navigation, which had prospered exceedingly under different states, but principally under the *Portuguese*. They had discovered a new way to the *East-Indies*, by going entirely round the great continent to *Africa*, which rendered them so much richer, and more powerful than their neighbours, that, by an emulation natural amongst great men, the thoughts of all the wits in *Europe* were turned towards undertakings of this kind^w. *Christopher Columbus*, by birth a *Genovese*, but of what family is very uncertain, and I think very immaterial, had a head excellently turned for such enterprizes. By nature he was sagacious, penetrating, and resolute; he derived from education such knowledge, as enabled him to make the best use of his experience, and his ardent passion

^w See this matter largely discussed, in a book published some years ago, entitled, *A compleat history of SPANISH AMERICA*.

passion for the science of navigation had inspired him, from his early youth, with a desire of engaging in distant and dangerous voyages. Abundance of lucky circumstances concurred in giving him greater advantages than any of his contemporaries; but, as to the story of his having the first hint of an undiscovered continent in the west, from the papers of an old pilot who died in his house, while he resided in the island of *Madera*, I entirely agree with sir *William Monson*, that it is mere calumny; and for this reason, that, if *Columbus* had really received any such information, he would scarce have embraced some opinions which exposed his projects to many plausible objections, and which, nevertheless, he retained to the last. It is by no means clear, though we have a life of him written by his son, and collected partly from his own writings, when he first entertained thoughts of finding out countries hitherto undiscovered. It seems, however, to have been pretty early in his life; because it appears from notes of his own, that he had undertaken several voyages with a view of fixing his notions on this subject. When he had thoroughly methodized his scheme, and rendered it, as he thought, probable and practicable, he first propounded it to the state of *Genoa* in the year 1482; but it was not accepted, because they were then engaged in such an extensive commerce, as they scarce knew how to manage, and were therefore afraid of launching out into new projects. *Columbus* then offered it to the king of *Portugal*, who was much too wise a prince not to discern the benefit which might arise from such a discovery, or the strength of the reasons urged by *Columbus*, to shew that the design was feasible. He therefore appointed commissioners to treat with *Christopher*, who dealt with him very

safely ; for having as they thought drawn out of him his whole secret, they advised the king, while they entertained *Columbus* with objections, to fit out a ship, which under colour of going to the *Cape de Verd* islands, might attempt the execution of what he had proposed ; but the issue of this contrivance was as unlucky, as that in itself was dishonourable. For the fraud coming to the ears of *Columbus*, he was so disgusted thereby, that he determined with himself to quit *Portugal*, and to seek protection in some more generous court *.

It was towards the close of the year 1484, that he came to a resolution of going himself into *Spain*, and it was the next year after meeting with some difficulties there, that he sent his brother *Bartholomew* into *England*, where *Henry VII.* had but just ascended the throne. A man could scarce be more unfortunate than *Bartholomew Columbus* was in this voyage ; he was first taken by pyrates, who stripped him to the skin, and obliged him for some time to earn a sorry living, by labouring at the oar. When he had made his escape from them, he found means to get into *England*, and to come to *London* ; but in so poor a condition, and so worn by a lingering ague, that he wanted both opportunity and spirits to pursue the design he came about. However, as soon as he had recovered a little, he applied himself to the making maps and globes, and discovering thereby a more than ordinary skill in cosmography, he came to be known ; so that at last he brought his design to bear, and was actually introduced to the king, to whom on the thirteenth day of *February* 1488,

* See the life of Christopher Columbus by his son, in Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. ii. a p. 557, ad p. 688.

1488, he presented a map of the world of his own projecting, and afterwards entering into a negotiation on the behalf of his brother, the king liked the scheme so well, that they came to an agreement before *Christopher* had brought things to bear in *Spain*; though by a new series of cross accidents, *Bartholomew* was not able to carry any account of this to his brother, before he had actually discovered the *American* islands in the service, and for the benefit of the crown of *Spain*, which he did in 1492.

As we have these facts from the son of don *Christopher Columbus*, and the nephew of *Bartholomew*, who published his father's life in *Spain*, I think the authority cannot be doubted, according to all the rules of evidence laid down either by lawyers or critics. Add to this, that the map made by *Bartholomew Columbus*, was actually in being in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; which is such a corroborative proof, as puts the matter out of dispute², and shews that we have at least as good a title as the *Spaniards*, from our agreement with the first discoverer of a passage to this new world. If they plead the success of their expedition, we may alledge our prior contract, and if this should fail us, and their title be approved, we have then, as I hinted before, a better title than they (even according to their own method of arguing) to the continent of *America*, in regard to which, our success in discovering was prior to theirs. I know some writers have made pretty smart reflections upon king *Henry* for his dilatoriness in this matter, by which they think we have suffered so much: but when matters are more maturely weighed,

Y 2

perhaps

¹ See Hakluyt, Purchas, Harris's collections.
 this particular in a MS. belonging to Sir William Monson, which has since been burnt by accident.

² I found

perhaps we shall meet with no just grounds for these censures. For first, it does not appear that the king delayed this affair at all, though it be true that *Bartholomew Columbus* spent a long time in negotiating it; and the reason was, because the king had then many arduous affairs upon his hands, such as the attempt of *Perkin Warbeck*, an expedition into *Scotland*, his breach with *France*, and voyage thither, all which fell out within that space: And secondly, it does not seem so manifest as these people imagine, that we are really such mighty sufferers, by the *Spaniards* having the start of us in this expedition, for which many reasons might be offered; but there is one so obvious, and withal so strong, that it seems to supersede the rest. *Spain*, at the time she undertook this discovery, was one of the greatest maritime powers in *Europe*, though since her possession of the *Indies*, she is become one of the most inconsiderable. But it may be said, that if we had first settled these countries, we should have acted otherwise; yet this is not only a bare supposition, but at the same time a very improbable one. The heat of the climate, the luxuriancy of the soil, the profit of mines, &c. would have affected us, or indeed any other people, as much as it did them. So that upon the whole, we have little reason either to blame king *Henry's* conduct, or to repine at that of providence; the *Spaniards* have purchased *Mexico* and *Peru* too dearly, at the expence of their naval power; we are really richer in virtue of our northern colonies, which have so prodigiously increased our industry, our commerce and shipping.

THE great care the king had of maritime affairs, induced him to make in the eleventh year of his reign, a treaty with the king of *Denmark*, whereby he secured to his

his subjects, and particularly to the inhabitants of *Bristol*, the trade to *Iceland*, which they long before enjoyed, but had of late suffered some disturbance. By the stipulations in this league it was agreed, that the *English* were to furnish the inhabitants of that island with all kinds of provision, with coarse cloth, and other commodities, without let or hindrance from the king of *Denmark*. This was a special privilege granted to no other nation, and it is very probable, would not have been granted to us, if the *Danish* commerce had not been in a declining state, of which we have an authentic account in the work of a very ancient writer. The care of these affairs brought to the king's notice that celebrated *Venetian*, who in his service first discovered the continent of *America*, and that country which is now called *Newfoundland*. Of him therefore we will give a more particular account *.

* Feod. Dan. ii. Henr. VII. Art. iv. quod in tabula legationis MDCII. etiam habemus. Selden. Mare clausum, lib. ii. cap. xxxii.





THE
HISTORY
OF
Sir JOHN CABOT.

THE *Venetians* throughout this whole century, were by far the most general traders in *Europe*, and had their factories in most of the northern kingdoms and states, for the better managing their affairs. In *England* especially many of them settled, at *London* and *Bristol* particularly; and in this last place dwelt *John Cabot*, of whom we are to speak: he had been long in *England* since his son *Sebastian*, who was born at *Bristol*, was old enough to accompany him in his first voyage ^b. He was, it seems, a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished seaman, or a general trader; and having heard much of *Columbus's* expedition, he addressed himself to the king, with proposals for making like discoveries, in case he met with due encouragement. His offer was readily accepted, and the king by letters patents, dated in the eleventh year of his reign, granted to him, by the name of *John Cabot*, citizen of *Venice*, and to his three sons, *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sanctius*, leave to discover unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them with

^b Pet. Martyr. hist. Ind. occ. dec. iii.

with many privileges ; and with this single restraint, that the ships they fitted out should be obliged to return to the port of *Bristol*. Though these letters patents were granted in 1496, yet it was the next year before they proceeded to fit out any ships, and then *John Cabot* had a permission from the king to take six *English* ships in any haven of the realm, of the burthen of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as should be willing to go with him. In consequence of this licence, the king at his own expence, caused a ship to be fitted out at *Bristol*; to this, the merchants of that city, and of *London*, added three or four small vessels freighted with proper commodities, which fleet sailed in the spring of the year 1497^c. Our old chronicle-writers, particularly *Fabian*^e, tells us of a very rich island which *John Cabot* promised to discover; but in this they seemed to mistake the matter, for want of thoroughly understanding the subject of which they were writing. *John Cabot* was to wise a man to pretend to know, before he saw it, what country he should discover, whether island or continent; but what he proposed was, to find a north-west passage to the *Indies*: so that he appears to have reasoned in the same manner that *Columbus* did, who imagined that, as the *Portuguese*, by sailing east, came to the west coast of the *Indies*, so he, by sailing west, might reach their opposite shore. This, with his discovering the island of *Baccaloes*, or *Newfoundland*, was certainly the source of this story.

JOHN Cabot having his son *Sebastian* with him, sailed happily on their north-west course, 'till the 24th of

Y 4

June

^c Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xii. p. 595. Hakluyt's collection of voyages, tom. iii. p. 4. ^d Ibid. p. 5. ^e *Fabian's* chronicle, as hereafter cited. ^f Ibid. Stowe, Speed.

June 1497, about five in the morning, when they first discovered land, which *John Cabot*, for that reason, called *Prima Vista*, that is, first seen. Another island, less than the first, he styled the island of *St. John*, because it was found on the feast of *St. John Baptist*. He afterwards sailed down to cape *Florida*, and then returned with a good cargo, and three savages on board into *England*, where, it seems, he was knighted for this exploit: since, on the map of his discoveries, drawn by his son *Sebastian*, and cut by *Clement Adams*, which hung in the privy gallery at *Whitehall*, there was this inscription under the author's picture. *Effigies Seb. Caboti, Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis Aurati, &c.** This was a very important discovery, since in truth it was the first time the continent of *America* had been seen, *Columbus* being unacquainted therewith, 'till his last voyage, which was the year following, when he coasted along a part of the *Isthmus* of *Darien*. It is somewhat strange, that our *English* writers have delivered these matters so confusedly, especially such as lived under the reigns of queen *Elizabeth*, and king *James I.* and consequently about the time of his son; and yet, so accurate are their relations, that some have been induced from them, to doubt whether *John Cabot* made any discoveries at all^b. The Rev. Mr. *Samuel Purchas*, to whose labours the world is so much indebted, discovers a good deal of distaste that *America* should be so called, from *Americus Vesputius*, and asserts, that it ought rather to be called *Cabotiana*, or *Sebastiana*, because, says he, *Sebastian Cabot* discovered more of it, than

* Sir William Monson's naval tracts, Hackluyt, and Purchas.
^b Lediard's naval history, vol. i. p. 86,

than *Americus*, or *Columbus* himself¹. In *Stows*,² and *Speed*¹, we find this very discovery ascribed wholly to *Sebastian*, without any mention of his father; and yet in *Fabian's* chronicle, who lived in those days, we have these two remarkable passages.

" In the thirteenth year of king *Henry VII.* (by means
" of one *John Cabot* a *Venetian*, which made himself
" very expert and cunning in the knowledge of the cir-
" cuit of the world, and islands of the same, as by a
" sea-card, and other demonstrations, reasonable he shew-
" ed) the king caused to man and victual a ship at *Bri-*
" *stol*, to search for an island, which he said, he knew
" well was rich, and replenished with great commodities;
" which ship, thus manned and victualled at the king's
" cost, diverse merchants of *London*, ventured in her
" small stocks, being in her as chief patron the said *Vene-*
" *tian*. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also
" out of *Bristol*, three or four small ships, freighted with
" slight and gross merchandizes, as coarse cloth, caps,
" laces, points, and other trifles. And so departed from
" *Bristol* in the beginning of *May*, of whom in this ma-
" yor's time returned no tidings.

UNDER the fourteenth year of the same king's reign,
he tells us, " There were brought unto him, *i. e.* *Henry*
" *VII.* three men taken in the new-found island; these,
" says he, were cloathed in Beasts skins, and did eat raw
" flesh, and spake such speech that no man could under-
" stand them, and in their demeanour like brute beasts,
" whom the king kept a time after, of the which, up-
" on two years after, I saw two apparelled after the man-
" ner

¹ Pilgrimage, p. 602. ² Annals, p. 480. ¹ Chronicle, p. 744.

"nor of *Englishmen*, in *Westminster*-palace, which at that time I could not discern from *Englishmen*, till I was learned what they were, but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word."

THUS it appears from the best authority that can be fired, that of a contemporary writer; this discovery was made by *John Cabot*, the father of *Sebastian*, and indeed so much we might have gathered if we had wanted this authority; for *Sebastian Cabot* being, as we shall see hereafter, alive in 1555, it is plain, that at the time this voyage was made, he could not be above twenty years old; when, though he might accompany his father, yet certainly he was too young to undertake such an expedition himself. It is probable, that *John Cabot* died in *England*, but when or where is uncertain; at least for any thing I have read.

WHILE *Cabot* was employed in this expedition, (which, as we shall hereafter see, was prosecuted by his son *Sebastian* and others, within the compass of a few years) *Bartholomew Columbus* had passed from *Spain* to the *West-Indies*, where he acquainted his brother with the disposition of the *English* court, and the reason there was to apprehend that it would not be long before other adventurers would endeavour to interfere in his discoveries^m. This quickened the admiral, and on his returning into *Spain*, he gave such hints to that court, as induced it to take all imaginable pains to secure the great treasures of every nation, in their service, which in some respect answered their purpose; since *Magellan*, who discovered the passage into

^m Herrera's general history of the *West-Indies*, vol. i. p. 136, 139.

into the *South-Seas*, which has been of such infinitive service to the *Spaniards*, was by this policy detached from his duty to his king and country, for the sake of pay, and this was likewise the case of *Sebastian Cabot*, and othersⁿ. In so short a time as four years after *John Cabot's* first voyage, we find, that king *Henry* granted his letters patents to *Hugh Elliot*, and *Thomas Ashurst*, merchants of *Bristol*, and others, for settling colonies in new-discovered countries, which grant bears date the 9th of *December 1502*^o, and is another proof of this monarch's assiduity in promoting commerce: he never indeed suffered any opportunity of that sort to escape him.

PHILIP of *Austria*, who succeeded to the kingdom of *Castile*, sailed from the low countries into *Spain*, together with his queen, in 1506; but meeting unhappily with a storm, they were driven on the *English* coast, and being exceedingly fatigued, they would, contrary to the advice about them, land at *Weymouth*; of which the king, having notice, he sent the earl of *Arundel*, with three hundred horse, to attend them, who brought them from thence by torch-light, and conducted them to his own house^p. Some months they were detained by the extraordinary civilities paid them, and after their departure, it appeared how great use a wise prince may make even of the slightest accidents. In this short space, the king did a great deal for himself, and not a little for his subjects; he prevailed upon king *Philip* to put into his hands, *Edmund de la Pole*, earl of *Suffolk*, nearly related by his mother

ⁿ Herrera, Hakluyt, Purchas, Sir William Monson's naval tracts.

^o Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 37.

^p Stowe.

Holingshed, Speed, Bacon, Rapin.

mother to the royal line¹; and he likewise concluded a very advantageous treaty of commerce between the crowns of *England* and *Castile*², which proved afterwards of great importance.

As to the remaining part of his reign, it was spent in peace, and in cares of a nature which by no means recommend them to our notice, farther than as the mention of them may prove admonitory to other princes. He had all his life been of a very frugal disposition, and had also shewn a singular dexterity in the art of filling his coffers: but in the latter part of his life this grew upon him to a very great degree, and as covetous princes never want fit instruments, so this king found in *Empson* and *Dudley*, two such as scarce ever had their fellows. They put him upon such severe and unreasonable extensions of penal laws, as made him rich as a man, but poor as a prince, since by wringing out their wealth, he effectually lost the hearts of his subjects. Another misfortune was, that these grievances fell upon the most eminent traders in those times. Thus sir *William Capel*, an opulent citizen, who had been mayor of *London*, suffered many years persecution, and a long imprisonment, besides great losses. Out of *Thomas Knefworth*, at the expiration of his mayoralty, with his two sheriffs, the king and his ministers squeezed fourteen hundred pounds. *Christopher Hawes*, an eminent mercer, and alderman of *London*, broke his heart through vexation, and sir *Lawrence Ailmer*, a great merchant, and who had been mayor, remained a prisoner in the *Tower*, 'till he was delivered in the next reign³. Yet in some things, the king shewed a magnificent

¹ Stowe's Annals, p. 484, 485. ² Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 142. ³ Stowe's, Holingshed, Bacon, Herbert.

magnificent spirit, particularly in building that noble chapel at *Westminster*, which bears his name, and which cost him fourteen thousand pounds; and a like sum he laid out in the construction of a new ship, called, *The Great Harry*†, and which, properly speaking, was the first ship of the royal navy: for though he, as well as other princes, hired many ships, when he had occasion to transport forces abroad, yet he seems to have been the only king who thought of avoiding this inconveniency, by raising such a naval force as might be at all times sufficient for the service of the state. A design worthy of his wisdom to project, and of being perfected under the more fortunate reign of his son.

As to the concern which this wise monarch shewed for trade, some hints of it have been already given, and to these, upon the review of our work, a few farther instances may be added. In the year 1487, the archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was also lord high chancellor of *England*, opened the parliament with a speech, in which, amongst other things, he told them, that the king recommended to their serious consideration, trade and manufactures. Accordingly, several wise laws were made in that respect, and in the treaties that were concluded with foreign princes, he was remarkably careful to make such provisions, as turned highly to the benefit of the nation. There is the less wonder to be made at this, because the king himself was not only very well acquainted with the advantages arising from foreign traffick, as a statesman, but knew them experimentally likewise, being a very extensive trader himself, and that in more ways than one. As he found it requisite

† Stowe Annals, p. 484.

quisite for him to have a certain number of ships of his own, so when these were not employed, or likely to be employed, he was content to let them out to merchants for hire. He was very ready also to assist with considerable sums of money, such as under any new trade, or set up any new manufacture, provided he had a share in the profit proportionable to the risk he run. He also sold licenses for dealing in prohibited commodities, either by importing or exporting, for the managing of which extraordinary and unusual branches of his revenue, his principal instrument was *Eamund Dudley*, Esq; a man of quick parts, and whose genius was wonderfully extensive. Whatever distaste might be taken to some of these practices, it is very certain, that he ingratiated himself by others, and that till within the four last years of his reign, he was very popular in *London*, to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that he not only accepted the freedom of the merchant-taylors company, but dined also publicly in their hall, wearing the dress, taking the seat, and doing the honours of the table, as if he had been their master.

IN respect to the taxes imposed in his reign, they were not very large or burthensome. It is true, that having repealed the laws of his predecessor, he thought himself at liberty to demand an aid of his subjects, by way of *benevolence*, for which he assigned this reason, that it would be a means of exempting the poorer sort of people from feeling the weight of a burthen they were least able to bear. It is not at all improbable, that he was induced to take this step, from that experience he learned in the beginning of his reign, that nothing so soon disposed the populace to insurrections, as the levying new taxes, how moderate soever. But his new method likewise, had its inconveniences, tho' he was far enough from pushing it to a degree of oppression,

tion, since the money which was raised under the title of *benevolence*, in the whole city of *London*, did not amount to quite ten thousand pounds. In one thing he shewed his mercantile principle extreamly. He demanded a loan of the city of *London*, for a certain time, and with some difficulty obtained six thousand pounds, but paying it very exactly, when he had occasion for a greater sum, it was raised with ease, and this too, being punctually paid, he there rested his credit, reserving the confidence he had established, for any real necessity that might require it, the former loans being rather out of policy, than for relief. The wealth of the nation certainly encreased extreamly during his pacific reign. It was the large estates of the merchants that exposed them to be pillaged by his instruments of iniquity; and as for the nobility, he was not without some reason jealous of their great power and their great fortunes. When he seized upon Sir *William Stanley's* effects, who was younger brother only to the earl of *Derby*, he found they amounted to forty thousand marks in ready money and jewels, besides an estate in land of three thousand pounds a year. At the marriage of *Arthur*, prince of *Wales*, with the infanta *Catherine*, all who assisted at it, were most magnificently dressed, sir *Thomas Brandon*, an officer of the king's household, wearing a gold chain of the value of fifteen hundred pounds, yet the fortune he gave the princess *Margaret*, his daughter, when she married the king of *Scots*, was no more than thirty thousand nobles, or ten thousand pounds; and the allowance stipulated for the lady *Anne*, his wife's sister, when she married *Thomas* lord *Howard*, did not much exceed one hundred and twenty pounds a year.

He was the first of our monarchs, who coined shillings, and they were very large and fair, there being but forty in

a pound weight of silver. His coin in general, both gold and silver, was of due weight and fineness; but when he made his expedition to *Belleisle*, he either coined, or tolerated a base kind of money, called *Dandiprats*, which, perhaps, was a right piece of policy, but it proved a bad precedent, and afforded his son a colour for sinking the value of his money, beyond all example. The treasure left by this prince, in his coffers, at the time of his decease, not only exceeded what had ever been amassed by his predecessors, but surpassed, beyond comparison, what any of his successors have ever seen in their exchequers; for the lord chief justice *Coke* tells us, it amounted to five millions three hundred thousand pounds, most in foreign coin, and too much of it acquired by methods unworthy of a king, and more especially so wise a king as he was.

OUR historians tell us, that king *Henry* intended to have made a thorough change in his measures, and to have relieved his people from all the grievances of which they complained, when he was taken off by death, on the 22d of *April*, 1509, in the 23d year of his reign. He was allowed by his contemporaries, to have been one of the wisest princes ^u of the age in which he lived, and his memory hath been commended to the reverence of posterity, by the inimitable pen of the great lord chancellor *Bacon*, who, in doing justice to this king's great abilities, has shewn his own; as by freely censuring his errors, he has set a noble example to *English* historians, to be more solicitous about truth, than the reputation of themselves, as writers, or the glory of those whose actions they record.

An

^u See his character in *Daniel*, *Mezeray*, and other foreign historians, as well as in *Stowe* and *Speed*.

An example which every age has rendered the more difficult to follow, since, as corruption increases, it not only enervates the will, but also warps the understanding.



CHAP. IX.

The Naval History of the Reign of Henry VIII. including the Memoirs of such eminent Sea-Officers as flourished therein.

THERE never was a prince who ascended the *English* throne, of whom his subjects formed greater hopes than were entertained of *Henry VIII.* at his accession. He was then about eighteen years old, of strong natural parts, heightened by an excellent education; and though he afterwards discovered a good deal of obstinacy in his temper, yet in the dawn of his reign, he shewed himself very inclinable to listen to good advice, and his father left him as able counsellors, as perhaps any monarch ever had about him. His first acts were conformable to his subjects hopes; he delivered such as his father unjustly kept in confinement, and in their stead, *Empson*, *Dudley*, and their creatures, were imprisoned*. Yet even these were not destroyed; as some have suggested, by a hasty and rigorous prosecution, but

Vol. I. Z were

* Bishop Godwin, in his Annals, Lord Herbert, in the Life of Henry VIII. Burnet's History of the Reformation.

were left, as they deserved, to the due severity of the law, their great knowledge in which they had so flagrantly abused, to the ruin of others *. *Dudley*, during his confinement in the *Tower*, composed a very extraordinary book, entitled, *The Tree of the Common-wealth*, wherein he shewed a prodigious capacity as a statesman, and from which (though, for ought I know, it was never published) many pestiferous schemes have taken their rise, his family having held the reins of government here for near half a century. In other respects the king shewed himself a very gracious prince, having a like sense of his own dignity, and of his duty towards his people.

IN the year 1511, the king of *Arragon* and *Castile* demanded assistance against the *Moors*; whereupon king *Henry*, who was desirous of maintaining to the utmost the glory of the *English* nation, sent him fifteen hundred archers, under the command of Sir *Thomas Darcy*, with whom went abundance of gentlemen, of the best families of the kingdom, volunteers. They sailed from *Plymouth* escorted by a squadron of four royal ships, and landed happily on the first of *June* in the south of *Spain*; but the politic king, who wanted nothing more than their appearance to bring his enemies to terms, instead of employing, dismissed them with a few presents, and so they returned into *England* without encountering any other hazards than those of the sea †. The same year, the king sent a like aid to the dutchess of *Burgundy*, under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, which met with better success; for after having answered effectually the ends for which they were

* See this case at large in Anderson's reports
Holinghed, Speed, Herbert, Rapin.

† Stowe,

were sent, they returned with small loss, and much honour to their native country ².

NOTWITHSTANDING what had so lately happened in Spain, the artful *Ferdinand*, by the assistance of the pope, who cajoled king *Henry* with fair words, and fine promises, drew him to make war on *France*, in hopes of recovering the dominions of his ancestors. With this view, king *Henry* was persuaded to send a numerous army, under the command of the marquis of *Dorset* by sea into *Biscay*, in order to penetrate that way into the dutchy of *Guyenne*. This expedition had worse consequences than the former, *Ferdinand* never intending that these troops should act against the *French*, but by their remaining for some time in his country, sought an opportunity of over-running *Nazarre*, to which he had no title, while the *French* awed by the *English* army, durst not move to its assistance. But during the time he made this conquest, sickness destroyed numbers of the *English*, so that shortly after, they were constrained to return ³. In *August* the same year, there happened a bloody engagement between the *English* and *French* fleets, of which we shall give the reader hereafter a distinct account, and the *Sovereign*, the largest ship in the *English* navy being burnt therein, the king built another of still greater burthen, called *Henry Grace de Dieu* ^b. In the month of *March* 1513, another royal fleet put to sea, which engaging the *French* on the twenty-fifth of *April*, the admiral was killed; which loss was soon repaired, and the *French* driven to take shelter in their ports ^c. In

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August

² Cooper's Chronicle. fol. 274. Stowe's Annals, p. 488, 489.

Herbert, Rapin.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 620. Cooper, Stowe, Herbert.

^b Holingthed, Speed, Rapin.

^c Cooper, Stowe, Herbert.

August the king went in person with a great army into *France*, where he made some conquests, while his admiral spoiled the *French* coasts, as he also did the next year, so that the *French* king was glad to obtain peace: upon the conclusion of which he married *Mary*, who was sister to our king *Henry*, but did not long out-live his marriage ^d.

FRANCIS I. succeeded him, between whom and the emperor *Maximilian*, king *Henry* kept as even as he could, sometimes assisting the emperor, and sometimes seeming to favour the *French* king, who prevailed on him in 1520, to pass over to *Calais*, in order to have an interview with him; and it followed accordingly, between the towns of *Ardres* and *Guines*. Our historians give us long descriptions of the pomp and splendour which accompanied this meeting; but a short passage in a *French* writer, seems to me better worth transcribing than any thing they have said. He tells us, that at this interview, king *Henry* caused an *English* archer to be embroidered on his tent, with this sentence under him. *He shall prevail with whom I side*; which, says the judicious historian, was not only his motto, but his practice as long as he lived ^e. In 1522, there arose new differences between this monarch and the *French* king, which were not a little heightened by the coming over of the emperor *Charles V.* who paid great court to *Henry*, and persuaded him to send over a numerous army into *France*, which he did shortly after, under the command of *Charles Brandon* duke of *Suffolk*, who did the *French* infinite mischief, without doing his country much good. During this war, the emperor's fleet acted in

^d Mezeray, P. Daniel, Mr. Chalon.

^e Abrege de l'Histoire de France, par Mezeray, Tom. iv. p. 494.

in conjunction with the *English*, wherby the *French* were driven to great distress, and the *Scots* being engaged in their interest, suffered also very severely; but when the king evidently saw, that by his assistance the emperor *Charles* was become too powerful, and affected to manage all the affairs of *Europe* at his will, he wisely withdrew his auxiliaries, and pursued such a conduct as seemed most likely to preserve the balance of power ^f. In 1526, a peace was concluded with the *French* king, upon very advantageous terms, and soon after cardinal *Wolsey* went over into *France*, and had a conference with that prince. Thenceforward the king's thoughts were much taken up with his domestic affairs, and with alterations in religion; so that, except some disputes with *Scotland*, wherein their king received such a check as broke his heart ^g, there happened nothing material till the year 1544, when king *Henry* joined again with the emperor against the *French*; whereupon Sir *John Wallop* was sent into *France*, and a considerable force marched into *Scotland*, under the earl of *Hertford*; Sir *John Dudley*, Viscount *Lisle*, wasting the coasts in the mean time with a great fleet ^h. In the midst of the summer, the duke of *Suffolk* entered the *French* dominions with a great army, and laid siege to *Blois*, which was also blocked up at sea, by the admiral viscount *Lisle*, who, after the place was taken, was constituted governor thereof, the king and his forces passing from thence into *England* ⁱ. The next year the *French* fleet made several attempts on the *English* coast, with indifferent suc-

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cess,

^f Herbert, P. Daniel, Rapin.
the five James's, Buchanan, Herbert.
Rapin.

ⁱ Cooper, Stowe, Speed.

^g Drummond's history of
^h P. Daniel, Mezeray,

cess, to revenge which, viscount *Lisle* landed in *Normandy*, and burnt all the adjacent country^k. In 1546, the *French* made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Bolaigne*, the earl of *Hertford* and viscount *Lisle*, having obliged them either to come to a battel, or to raise the siege, they chose the latter, and after some other attempts at sea, which were unsuccessful, a peace ensued, which lasted as long as the king lived^l. I have touched only the principal circumstances in these wars, to avoid repeating things in the memoirs of the admirals; but before I come to these, it will be necessary to say somewhat of the favour shewn by this king to merchants, and such as made it their endeavour to discover new countries, or in any other way to promote the commerce and naval power of *England*, both of which he much affected, and very thoroughly understood.

MR. *Robert Thorne*, a merchant of *Bristol*, in the year 1527, addressed himself to the king by a letter, wherein he represented what great advantages the emperor and the king of *Portugal* drew from their colonies, and in a very pathetic strain exhorted him to undertake discoveries towards the north, concerning which he gave many hints, supported by very plausible reasons^m. The king understanding that this gentleman had great experience, as well as a very penetrating judgment, yielded to his request, and ordered two ships to be well manned and victualled for this expedition, of which Mr. *Thorne* himself had the direction. The issue however of this voyage is very uncertainly recorded: all we know of it is, that one of the ships

^k Herbert, Rapin.

^l Mezeray, P. Daniel, Rapin.

^m Hakluyt's collection of voyages. vol. ii. p. 250.

ships employed therein was lost, and that the other returned home without discovering any north-west passage, though certainly no care or pains were wanting in such as were concerned. Mr. *Thorne* the principal undertaker lived to be afterwards mayor of *Bristol*, and dying in a good old age, with a very fair reputation, lies buried in the *Temple church* ⁿ.

IN 1530, Mr. *William Hawkins* of *Plymouth*, father of the famous Sir *John Hawkins*, Knight, and himself esteemed one of the ablest seamen of his time, fitted out a stout tall ship, says my author, at his own expence, called the *Paul of Plymouth*, of the burthen of 250 tons, in which he made three voyages to the coast of *Brasil*, touching also on the coast of *Guinea*, where he traded in slaves, gold, and elephants teeth, opening thereby the channel of that rich and extensive trade, which has been since carried on in those parts ^o. Less successful, though undertaken with greater hopes, was the famous voyage of Mr. *Hore* of *London*, a worthy merchant, and one of the most remarkable men of his time. His person was tall and graceful, his knowledge solid and extensive, his behaviour insinuating and polite: all which is necessary to be observed, since by his discourses on the honour and profit of discoveries in north *America*, he inspired no less than thirty gentlemen of family and fortune, with a desire of sharing in the fatigues of his intended voyage ^p. They equipped two ships, the one called the *Trinity*, of 140 tons, commanded by Mr. *Hore*; the other, the *Minion*, of less burthen; and on board these there embarked in all

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ⁿ Ibid vol. i. p. 212. Ibid. p. iii. p. 210. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iii. p. 129. 809. Weever's funeral monuments, p. 445. ^o Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 700. ^p Ibid.

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one hundred and twenty persons. They sailed from *Gravesend* on the thirtieth of *April*, 1536, and without any remarkable accident, arrived on the coasts of *Newfoundland*, where, while they were intent on discoveries, they were reduced to such distress for want of food, that some of them, when on shore, killed and eat their companions. At last, when they were on the point of being all starved, a *French* ship arrived well provided with victuals, of which they made themselves masters, and returned therein to *England*; but in such a miserable condition, though they were not out above seven months, that Sir *William Butts* and his lady, did not know their own son, who was one of the company, but by an extraordinary wart on his knee. Some months after arrived the *Frenchmen* whom they had spoiled, and made a great clamour at court about the wrongs they had received, into which king *Henry* having made a strict enquiry, he was so much moved at the miseries these brave men had suffered, that he generously repaid the *French* to their satisfaction out of the treasury, and promoted several of those who returned from this disastrous voyage; amongst the rest Mr. *Armigal Wade*, who was many years after clerk of the council to himself, and his son *Edward VI* ⁹. One thing more I must remark before I quit this subject, and that is, that the Revd. Mr. *Hakluyt*, from whom we have the particulars, rode two hundred miles in order to take them from the mouth of Mr. *Butts*, the only surviving person of those who had made this voyage ^r.

THE *English* commerce during the reign of this prince extended itself very much, especially towards the new dis-

⁹ Ibid. v. iii. p. 130.

^r Ibid. p. 131.

discovered lands in the north, to which by degrees a regular trade was fixed, and in the *Levant* incouraged by the great intercourse between the king, and the two maritime states of *Italy*, *Venice*, and *Genoa*. In proof of this I will give the title of a patent granted by this monarch to a *Genoese*, to execute the office of consul of the *English* nation in the isle of *Cbio*, the original of which is still preserved in the library of the society for propagating christian knowledge. It runs thus: *Exemplar literarum pat. Henrici regis octavi, in quibus concessit Benedicto Justiniani mercatori genuensi, officium sive locum magistri, protecloris, sive consulis; infra insulam sive civitatem de Scio. Teste rege apud Chelsheth; quinto die Octobris reg. xxiii.*

It seems indeed to have been the king's maxim, as may be gathered from the state-papers of his reign, which have reached our times, to have made use of all his foreign negotiations for the furtherance of trade, to which his agents *Ley* and *Pace*, the former employed in *Spain*, and the latter to *Venice* and the *Swiss* cantons, had a strong inclination. As to *Pace*, he had formed a plan for enlarging our foreign trade into the *Turkish* dominions, which was hindered from coming to the king's notice by the arts of cardinal *Wolsey*, who first decryed him as a madman, and then by his ill usage made him really such^a.

AFTER doing, as indeed it was our duty to do, justice to this monarch's intentions, which with respect to foreign affairs, were always what they ought to be, that is, he meant to preserve the independency of the sovereigns

^a Strype's Memorials, vol. i. in the Appendix. Herbert, Baronet, Wood's Athen. Oxoniensis.

reigns of *Europe*, and make himself the umpire of their differences; we must next in justice to our subject, say somewhat of the consequences that attended his interfering so much as he did with the affairs of the continent, and of the high price he paid for that reputation which he attained. But previous to this, let it be observed, that such as have censured him for changing sides, as the history of his reign plainly shews he did, are in the wrong to ascribe it to the inconstancy of his temper, since, as that learned antiquary Sir *Robert Cotton* truly observes, it ought rather to be placed to the account of his allies.

WHEN the emperor *Maximilian* entered into a league with this monarch, he promised to assist in person, to recover for him the crown of *France*, and to repel the tyrannical king who then wore that crown; he promised him likewise the dutchy of *Milan* to him and his heirs male, to be held as a fief of the empire; and, as if this had not been enough, he likewise assured him the reversion of the imperial crown, and the *Roman* empire. But, when he had served his turn, he left king *Henry* to serve himself how he could. Yet this usage did not hinder him from entering into a confederacy with *Charles V.* who sed him with the hopes, that when by their joint support the constable of *Bourbon* should be put into possession of the kingdom of *France*, he should do homage for it to king *Henry*; yet afterwards through his assistance their affairs being in a prosperous condition, and the *French* king in the greatest distress, when Mr. *Pace* the king of *England's* ambassador desired farther assurances, they were plainly refused, so that to break with such allies as these, ought not to draw any imputation upon his character. The times in which he lived, and the temper of those

princes

princes with whom he had to deal, may furnish some excuse for his conduct, and perhaps, the secret engagements of his ministers, by the means of pensions, or promises from foreign powers, might if they could be thoroughly exposed, justify the king still farther, by proving that he was mislead in those measures, which induced him to take such steps for maintaining his interest and grandeur abroad, as deeply distressed and impoverished his subjects here at home.

THAT immense treasure his father left behind him, was quickly consumed in the great expeditions he undertook, in the transporting vast armies to the continent, the maintaining them in the field, and in garrisons, and the high subsidies granted to his allies, while he was fighting all the time in other men's quarrels, and got little or nothing, at least that was worth keeping, for himself. When all that mass of money was gone, he demanded and received such assistance from his parliament, as none of his predecessors had obtained. To all this they added, that prodigious grant of the estates of all the religious houses in this realm, which at that time amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, and which were vested in the crown for ever. Besides these legal impositions, this king acquired no small sum, by methods which had no better support than the stretch of his prerogative, to mention only a few. In the 14th year of his reign, he had a loan of ten *per Cent.* out of the personal estate of such of his subjects as were worth from twenty to three hundred pounds, and twenty marks from such as were worth more. This indeed was only borrowed, and they had privy seals for their money; but the parliament kindly interposed four years after, and released his majesty from

from the obligation of paying so much as a farthing of these debts; neither must it be forgot, that in collecting this loan, the value of every man's estate was put upon his oath, so that every subject was in jeopardy either of poverty or perjury. In the 17th year of his reign he had another great loan, in which an oath of secrecy was administered to the commissioners, and they were empowered to tender the like oath to such as came before them; tho' this was stiled an amicable grant, yet the commissioners to quicken men in their offers, threatned them with imprisonment of their persons, and confiscation of their estates. In the 36th year of his reign, he demanded and received a loan of eight-pence in the pound of such persons as were worth from forty shillings to twenty pounds, and one shilling in the pound from such as were worth more, by which it appears, that as he fell early into necessity, notwithstanding the rich exchequer that he came to, so he was not long out of necessity after that prodigious accession to the royal revenue, made by the confiscation, before mentioned, of the abby lands.

THE worst of all was, that when he found himself pressed for money, he took the worst way of raising it, which was that of practising upon his coin. It may however seem doubtful, whether the alteration he made in the first year of his reign was with this view. He did indeed, coin forty-five shillings out of a pound of silver, by which he raised that metal to three shillings and nine-pence an ounce; but as the standard was not altered, it is not at all improbable, that the motives upon which he made this alteration might be honourable enough. But in the latter end of his reign, his conduct in this respect became inexcusable, because highly detrimental to his people.

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THE first stroke of this bad policy was in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he not only divided the pound into forty-eight shillings, by which, if the coin had remained in its former purity, silver would have been raised to four shillings an ounce; but added also two ounces of base metal in the pound, instead of eighteen-penny weight, which raised it nine-pence half-penny an ounce more. Not contented with this, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he coined money that was but half silver; and tho' some of the chronicles of those times say, that by this he raised it to four shillings an ounce, yet in fact, he brought it up to eight shillings. In the next year he gave the finishing stroke, by coining money that had but four ounces of silver in the pound weight, so that silver was then at twelve shillings an ounce, the consequence of which was, that after his death his shilling fell to nine-pence, and afterwards to six-pence, that is, people would take them for no more.

It is to be observed, that the greatest part of this money was coined into testons, which tho' they were never called shillings, yet passed in his time for twelve-pence; they are said to have been of brass covered with silver, and these were the pieces that fell first to nine-pence, and then to six-pence, and a piece of that value being found very convenient in change, they were coined of good silver at that value in succeeding times, and from hence came the word tester. He made likewise some alterations in his gold coins, all which was occasioned by his foreign wars, and other expensive measures, which forced him upon these methods unknown to any of his royal predecessors, even in the times of their greatest necessities.

It is inconceivable, what strange and what bad effects this debasement of the coin produced, and which the common people knew not how to ascribe to its proper cause, from whence they were lead into a variety of errors, which naturally rendered them desirous of very improper remedies. All things of a sudden grew extravagantly dear, as indeed, how should it be otherwise? For let a prince be ever so powerful, he cannot change the nature, nor even the value of things, nor will his debasing his coin, sink the worth of the commodities or manufactures that are to be purchased with it. At first such alterations will create great confusion, which cannot but be detrimental to private property; yet by degrees, men will be taught to set up their natural against the regal prerogative, and when they find money of less value than it should be, they will insist upon having more money. But notwithstanding, experience points them to this remedy in their private dealings, yet as all men are buyers, as well as sellers, it is easy to perceive, that in such a situation of things, a general clamour will arise about the dearness of necessary commodities, which may be as it then was attributed to false causes, which occasioned not only ineffectual remedies to be applied, but such as were also injurious, and productive of fresh inconveniences.

To this may be ascribed, many of the complaints that are to be met with in the historians of those times, and many of the laws too that were founded on popular conceit, and which, tho' they were enacted to give public satisfaction, were repealed again in succeeding reigns, when they were felt to be public grievances. If, as the *roman* poet observes, there is a pleasure in beholding storms and tempests when we are safe and out of their reach,

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there is certainly much greater satisfaction in contemplating the political foul weather of former times, which we are not only exempt from feeling, but which our present happy constitution secures us from any apprehension that we shall ever feel. But this satisfaction may be still heightened, by a rational reflection upon what passed in those times, on the connection between mistakes in policy, the mischiefs created by them, and the misconstructions that were sometimes put on these by those who suffered them.

It is the power of making these remarks, and of setting things even of the nicest nature in their true light, that is one of the greatest advantages attending freedom. In times past, no doubt, there might be many who had heads clear enough to make these, or perhaps better reflections, but they were obliged to conceal them; because reason of state would have made that a crime, which was commendable in itself, but which will never be commended but amongst a free people. The measures that we have censured and exposed, were certainly marks of the power, the excessive power of the prince by whom they were taken, and who, it is very probable, did not foresee the consequences that would attend them; they served some immediate purpose, and he who is urged by an ambitious will, when he is possessed of absolute power, will seldom look further. But those who live under milder princes, and in better times, will discern from such histories, the dangers to which a people must be always exposed who want the safe guard of a legal constitution, which may defend them from having those privileges bestowed upon them by God, torn from them at the will of one of their fellow-creatures.

BUT

BUT it is time to pass from these matters to the glorious seamen, to whose memories we have undertaken to do right, and of whom several flourished in this martial reign, that are but very slightly mentioned in those histories where we might reasonably have expected the best accounts of them: as far as the narrowness of our limits will permit, we will endeavour to supply that defect here, beginning with,

Sir EDWARD HOWARD, *lord high admiral of England, and knight of the most noble order of the GARTER.*

IF the advantage of an illustrious descent, adds, as we commonly suppose it does, to the reputation of great achievements; then the memory of this worthy man will have a double right to our respect. He was a second son of the most noble house of *Norfolk*, and derived from the example of his father, those qualities which most adorn the highest titles; untainted loyalty and invincible courage. He began early to testify his inclination to the sea-service, since, we find him employed in the *Flanders* expedition, in 1492, when king *Henry VII.* thought fit to assist the duke of *Burgundy* against his rebellious subjects. As we purposely omitted an account of that expedition, in his reign, let us insert it here. The *Flemings*, naturally a brave people, and fond of freedom, grew uneasy under the yoke of the house of *Austria*, and under the command of the baron *de Ravenstein*, began to throw it off. In order to this, they seized the town and harbour of *Sluys*, from whence they fitted out abundance of vessels,

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of pretty considerable force, and under colour of pursuing their enemies, took and plundered vessels of all nations without distinction; and as the *English* trade to *Flanders* was then very considerable, their ships suffered at least as much as any other; which was the true reason why king *Henry*, upon the first application of the duke of *Burgundy*, sent a squadron of twelve sail, under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, with whom went our Sir *Edward Howard*, then a very young man, to learn the art of war. The duke of *Saxony*, in consequence of his alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*, marched with an army into *Flanders*, and besieged *Sluys*, by land; and Sir *Edward Poynings*, thereupon, blocked it up with his fleet by sea. The port was defended by two strong castles, which the *Flemings*, who had nothing to trust to their force, defended with unparalleled obstinacy, insomuch, that though *Poynings* attacked them constantly every day, for twenty days successively, yet he made no great impression, till at last, through accident the bridge of boats, by which the communication between the castles was preserved, took fire; whereupon the besieged were glad to surrender their city to the duke of *Saxony*, and their port and castles to the *English*. In this expedition, Sir *Edward* was made a knight, for his extraordinary bravery, of which he gave frequent instances, during that long reign; and so thoroughly established his reputation, that king *Henry VI* on his accession, made choice of him for his standard-bearer, which in those days, was not only a mark of particular favour, but of the highest confidence and respect.

VOL. I.

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* Polyd. Virg. p. 584. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Herbert.
 " Pat. 1. Henric. viii. p. 1. m. 24.

IN the fourth year of the same reign, he was created lord high admiral of *England* ^u, and in that station, convoyed the marquiss of *Dorset* into *Spain*, of whose expedition we have already spoken, as also of the manner in which it ended. The lord admiral after the landing of the forces, put to sea again, and arriving on the coasts of *Bretagne*, landed some of his men about *Conquet* and *Brest*, who ravaged the country, and burnt several of the little towns. This roused the *French*, who began immediately to fit out a great fleet, in order to drive, if possible, the *English* from their coasts; and as this armament was very extraordinary, king *Henry* sent a squadron of five and twenty tall ships, which he caused to be fitted out under his own eye, at *Plymouth*, to the assistance of the admiral ^x. Among these, were two capital ships, the one called the *Regent*, commanded by Sir *Thomas Knevet*, master of the horse to the king, and the other, which was the *Sovereign*, by Sir *Charles Brandon*, afterwards duke of *Suffolk*. When these vessels had joined the admiral, his fleet consisted of no less than forty-five sail, with which he immediately resolved to attack the enemy, who were by this time ready to come out of the harbour of *Brest* ^y. Authors differ much as to their number, though they agree pretty well as to the name of the admiral, whom they call *Primauger*; yet it seems they agree in a mistake, for the historians of *Bretagne* assure us, they have no such name in that province, and that undoubtedly it ought to be *Porfmoguer* ^z. Whatever his name was, or what-

^u Pat. iv. H. 8. p. 2. ^x Goodwin, Herbert, Stowe. ^y *Histoire de France*, par P. Daniel, tom. vii. p. 313. ^z We have this from the last cited author, who certainly judges right, for from the *Sieur Porfmoguer*, our old chronicles took Sir *Pierce Morgan*, which is the name they have thought fit to bestow on the French admiral, as the reader may see in Cooper, &c.

whatever the force of his fleet might be, which our writers say consisted of thirty-nine, and the *French* only of twenty sail, he was certainly a very brave man. The ship he commanded was called the *Cordelier*, which was so large, as to be able to carry twelve hundred men, exclusive of mariners. At this time, there were nine hundred on board, and encouraged by their gallant officer, they did their duty bravely. Sir *Thomas Knevet* in the *Regent*, which was a much less ship, attacked and boarded them. The action lasted for some time, with equal vigour on both sides; at last, both admirals took fire and burnt together, wherein were lost the two commanders, and upwards of sixteen hundred gallant men ^a. It seems, this accident struck both fleets with amazement, so that they separated without fighting, each claiming the victory, to which, probably, neither had a very good title ^b.

In the beginning of the next *April*, the admiral put to sea again, with a fleet of forty-two men of war, besides small vessels, and forced the *French* into the harbour of *Brest* *, where they fortified themselves in order to wait the arrival of a squadron of gallies from the *Mediterranean*. Sir *Edward Howard*, having considered their posture, resolved, since it was impossible to attack them, to burn the country round about; which he accordingly performed, in spite of all the care they could take to prevent it; and yet the *French* lay still under the cover of their fortifications, and of a line of twenty-four large hulks lashed together, which they proposed to have set on fire, in case the *English* attempted to force them to

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^a Stowe, Speed, Herbert, Daniel, Rapin.
son's Naval Tracts.

* A. D. 1512.

^b Sir Wm. Mon-

a battel^c. While the admiral was thus employed, he had intelligence, that Mr. *Pregent*, with the six gallies from the *Mediterranean*, were arrived on the coast, and had taken shelter in the bay of *Conquet*. This accident induced him to change his measures, so that he now resolved first to destroy the gallies, if possible, and then to return to the fleet, advancing to reconnoitre *Pregent's* squadron, he found them at anchor between two rocks, on each of which stood a strong fort; and which was like to give him still more trouble, they lay so far up in the bay, that he could bring none of his ships of force to engage them. The only method therefore that he could think of, was, to put the bravest of his sailors on board two gallies, which were in his fleet, and with these, to venture in, and try what might be done against all six^d. This being resolved on, he went himself, attended by Sir *Thomas Cheyne*, and Sir *John Wallop*, on board one of them, and sent lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Henry Sherburn*, and Sir *William Sidney*, on board the other; and having a brisk gale of wind, sailed directly into the bay, where, with his own galley, he attacked the *French* admiral. As soon as they were grappled, Sir *Edward Howard*, followed by seventeen of the bravest of his sailors, boarded the enemy, and were very gallantly received; but it so happened, that in the midst of the engagement, the gallies sheered asunder, and the *French* taking that advantage, forced all the *English* upon their decks, overboard, except one seaman, from whom they quickly learned, that the admiral was of that number^e. Lord *Ferrers* in the other galley, did all that was possible

^c Godwin, Herbert, Holingshed. ^d Herbert, p. 30. ^e Godwin, Stowe, Speed. Father Daniel says, he died of a wound received in the former engagement, which is a plain mistake.

possible for a man to do; but having spent all his shot, and seeing, as he thought, the admiral retire, he likewise made the best of his way out of the harbour ^f.

WE have, in a certain writer, some very singular circumstances relating to this unlucky adventure. He says, that Sir *Edward Howard* having considered the posture of the *French* fleet in the haven of *Brest*, and the consequences which would attend either defeating or burning it, gave notice thereof to the king, inviting him to be present at so glorious an action, desiring rather that the king should have the honour of destroying the *French* naval force than himself. But his letter being laid before the council, they were altogether of another opinion, conceiving it was much too great a hazard to expose his majesty's person; and therefore they wrote sharply to the admiral, commanding him not to send them excuses, but do his duty. This, as it well might, piqued him to the last degree; and, as it was his avowed maxim, *that a seaman never did good, who was not resolute to a degree of madness*, so he took a sudden resolution of acting in the manner he did. Thus fell the great Sir *Edward Howard*, on the 25th of *April* 1513, a sacrifice to his too quick sense of honour in the service, and yet to the detriment of his country, for his death so dejected the spirits of his sailors, that the fleet was obliged to return home; which had he lived, would not have happened ^g.

THERE never certainly was a braver man of his, or of any family, than this Sir *Edward Howard*; and yet we are assured, that he was very far from being either

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^f This was Sir Walter Devereux, knt. of the garter, ancestor of the earls of Essex, and of the viscounts of Hereford.

^g Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 141.

a meer foldier, or a meer seaman, though so eminent in both characters; but he was what it became an *Englishman* of so high quality to be, an able statesman, a faithful counsellor, and a free speaker. He was ready at all times to hazard his life and fortune in his country's quarrels, and yet he was against her quarrelling on every slight occasion. He particularly dissuaded a breach with the *Flemings*, for these wise and strong reasons: That such a war was prejudicial to trade abroad; that it diminished the customs, while it increased the public expences; that it served the *French*, by constraining the inhabitants of *Flanders* to deal with them against their will; and that it tended to the prejudice of our manufactures, by interrupting our intercourse with those by whom they were principally improved^b. Thus qualified, we need not wonder he attained such high honours, though he died in the flower of his age. *Henry* gratified his ardour with titles, and such-like rewards, making him admiral and knight of the garter^c, believing that he should thereby command not only the utmost service *Sir Edward* could do, but also all the force and interest of his potent family; which, however, he ill requited, as we shall see in the next life. This *Sir Edward Howard* married *Alice*, widow to *Sir William Parker*, knt. and daughter of *William Lovell*, lord *Morley*, by whom he had no issue^d. He was, as soon as the news of his unfortunate death reached the ears of his royal master, succeeded in his high office by his elder brother,

Sir

^b Ibid. ^c Ashmole's order of the garter. *Anglia*, fol. 2. 17. M. S. in my possession.

^d Baronagium

Sir THOMAS HOWARD, afterwards earl of Surry, and duke of Norfolk, &c.

IF we spoke first of the younger brother, it was in respect to his dignity, and to its date; for, though the junior son, he was the elder admiral; in point of merit, they were equal. *Thomas* duke of *Norfolk*, treasurer to *Henry VIII.* and the father of both these brave men, spared not either himself or his sons, when the service of the crown and his country required it. In the third of this king's reign, a *Scots* seaman, *Sir Andrew Barton*, with two stout vessels, the one named the *Lyon*, the other *Jenny Perwin*, ranged on the *English* coasts, and interrupted all navigation. His pretence was letters of reprisal, granted him against the *Portuguese*, by *James III.* late king of *Scots* (whom his rebellious subjects murdered); and under colour of this, he took ships of all nations, alledging they had *Portuguese* goods on board ^l. On complaint of these grievances to the privy-council of *England*, the father of our admiral, then earl of *Surry*, said, *The narrow seas should not be so infested, while he had estate enough to furnish a ship, or a son capable of commanding it* ^m. Upon this, two ships were immediately fitted out by the two brothers, as I conceive at their own, or at their father's expence ⁿ; and my reason for it, is, because, had they gone with the king's commission, they would probably have had a squadron: besides, they needed no commission; for pirates being *Hostes Humani Generis, Enemies to Mankind*, every

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^l Buchanan, *J-fley*, Drummond.
thies, p. 143.

^m Lloyd's State-Wor-
ⁿ Columna Rostrata, p. 49.

man is at liberty to act against them, and on this very principle king *Henry* justified this action °. Indeed most of our historians over-turn these arguments, by stiling Sir *Edward Howard* lord admiral, and saying, *his brother served under him on this occasion*. The latter may be true, on account of Sir *Edward's* experience; but as to the former, it is plainly erroneous, as appears by the date of his patent in the succeeding year °. On the whole, I think it most likely, this was a private expedition, with the knowledge and consent of the king, but not by his special commission or immediate authority, as will quickly appear by still stronger testimony.

THE lords having been some days at sea, were separated by a storm, which gave Sir *Thomas Howard* an opportunity of coming up with Sir *Andrew Barton* in the *Lyon*, whom he immediately engaged °. The fight was long and doubtful; for *Barton*, who was an experienced seaman, and who had under him a determined crew, made a desperate defence, himself clearing them with a boat-swain's whistle to his last breath. The loss of their captain, was the only thing that could induce them to submit, which at last they did, and were received to quarter and fair usage °. In the mean time, Sir *Edward* fought, and took the consort of the *Lyon*, which was likewise a strong vessel, and exceedingly well manned. Both these ships, with as many men as were left alive, being in number one hundred and fifty, they brought the second of *August* 1511, into the river of *Thames*, as trophies of their victory. The men were sent to the archbishop of *York's* palace,

° See his answer to the Scotch king's remonstrances. p. 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2. ° Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 16. ° Stowe's Annals, p. 489.

Sir THOMAS HOWARD. 361

lace, now called *Whitehall*, where for some time they remained prisoners, but afterwards were dismissed, and sent into *Scotland* *. King *James IV.* who then governed the *Scots*, exceedingly resented this action, and instantly sent ambassadors to *Henry*, to demand satisfaction; on which the king gave this memorable answer, *That punishing Pirates, was never held a Breach of Peace among Princes* †. King *James*, however, remained still dissatisfied, and from that time, to his unfortunate death, was never thoroughly reconciled to the king or *English* nation. I reserved this remarkable event for the life of Sir *Thomas*, because Sir *Andrew Barton* became his prize, and I thought it by no means proper to repeat the story in both lives: as to Sir *Edward's* being made admiral in preference to his elder brother, it must have arisen from his greater acquaintance with naval affairs, or from the families desiring to have the eldest son always at hand to assist his father, who besides his many high employments of lord-treasurer, earl-marshal, and lieutenant of the north, had the jealousy of the potent cardinal *Wolsey* to deal with ‡.

Sir *Thomas Howard* accompanied the Marquis of *Dorset* in his expedition against *Guyenne*, which ended in king *Ferdinand's* conquering *Navarre*; and the commander in chief falling sick, Sir *Thomas* succeeded him, and managed with great prudence, in bringing home the remains of the *English* army §. He was scarce returned, before the ill news arrived of his brother the lord admiral's death, whereupon the king instantly appointed him his successor. Sir *Thomas* returned his master sincere thanks, as well for this mark

* Cooper's Chronicle, Holingshed, &c. † Herbert. ‡ Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 141. Strype's memorials, Burnet. § Herbert, p. 20, 24.

mark of his confidence, as for affording him an opportunity of revenging his brother's death. The *French* ships were at that time hovering over the *English* coasts, but Sir *Thomas* quickly scoured the seas, so that not a bark of that nation durst appear; and on the first of *July* 1513, landing in *Whitland-Bay*, he pillaged the country adjacent, and burnt a considerable town *. The king was then engaged in *Picardy*, having the emperor in his service; and this induced *James IV.* to invade *England* with a mighty army, supposing he should find it in a manner defenceless. But *Thomas* earl of *Surry*, quickly convinced him of his mistake, marching towards him with a powerful army, which strengthened as it moved. Sir *Thomas Howard* returning on the news of this invasion, landed five thousand *Veterans*, and made haste to join his father. The earl of *Surry*, sending a herald to bid the *Scott* king battle, the lord admiral sent him word at the same time, that he was come in person to answer for the death of Sir *Andrew Barton*, which evidently shews, how far that was a personal affair. This defiance produced the famous battle of *Flodden-Field*, which was fought the eighth of *September* 1513, wherein Sir *Thomas Howard* commanded the van-guard, and by his courage and conduct, contributed not a little to that glorious victory, in which king *James* fell, with the flower of his army, though not without the slaughter of abundance of *English* †. King *Henry* thought himself so much obliged at that time, to the *Howards*, for this and other services, that at a parliament held the next year, he restored *Thomas* earl of *Surry* to the title of *Norfolk* ‡, and created the lord admiral earl of *Surry*, who took his seat

in

* Cooper, Stowe, Speed, Herbert, Rapin. † Stowe's *Annals*, p. 492, 493, 494. ‡ Herbert, p. 44. § A. D. 1514.

Sir THOMAS HOWARD. 363

in the house of peers, not as a duke's son, but according to his creation ^a. These favours were from the king; for as to the cardinal minister, he made the duke of *Norfolk* so uneasy, as high treasurer, that in the course of some few years, he was glad to resign that high charge to his son.

THE war being ended with *France*, the admiral's martial talent lay some time unemployed; but certain disturbances in *Ireland* calling for redress, the active earl of *Surry*, was sent thither with a commission, as lord-deputy †, where he suppressed *Desmond's* rebellion, humbled the *O'Neals* and *O'Carrolls*, and without affecting severity or popularity, brought all things into good order, leaving, when he quitted the island, peace and a parliament behind him ‡, and carrying with him the affections of the people, though he performed not all he intended, the cardinal grudging the honour he had already acquired, and resolving to hinder, at all events, his gaining more ^a. The pretence for recalling him, was the breaking out again of a *French* war. Before it was declared, the *French* ships of war interrupted (according to custom) the *English* trade; so that we suffered as their enemies, while their ambassadors here treated us as friends. The lord admiral, on his arrival, remedied this inconvenience; he immediately fitted out a small squadron of clean ships, under a vigilant commander, who soon drove the *French* Privateers from their beloved occupation, thieving, to their old trade of starving ^b. In the spring, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, as vice-admiral, put to sea, with a fleet of twenty-eight men of war to guard the narrow

^a Pat. v. Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 11. Journal of Parliament cod. Anno. † A. D. 1519 ‡ A. D. 1521. ^c Herbert, p. 109, 123. Stowe, Burnet. § Cooper, Stowe, Speed.

row seas *, and it being apprehended, that the *Scotch* might add to the number of the king's enemies by sea, as well as land, a small squadron of seven frigates sailed up the Frith of *Forth*, and burned all such vessels as lay there, and were in a condition of going to sea ^c. In the mean time, the admiral prepared a royal navy, with which that of the emperor *Charles V.* was to join; and as it was evident, that many inconveniences might arise, from the fleets having several commanders in chief, the earl of *Surry*, by special commission from *Henry VIII.* received the emperor's commission, to be admiral also of his navy, which consisted of one hundred and eighty tall ships. This commission is dated at *London*, *June* the eighth, 1522, in the third year of his reign over the *Romans*, and seventh over the rest of his dominions, and is very ample ^d.

WITH the united fleets, the admiral sailed over to the coast of *Normandy*, and landing some forces near *Cherburgh* †, wasted and destroyed the country; after which they returned. This seems to have been a feint, for in a few days, the admiral landed again on the coast of *Bretagne*, a very large body of troops, with which he took and plundered the town of *Morlaix* ‡, and having gained an immense booty, and opened a passage for the *English* forces into *Champaign* and *Ficardy* ^e, he first detached Sir *William Fitz-Williams* with a strong squadron to scour the seas, and to protect the merchants, and then returned to *Southampton*, where the emperor embarked on board his ship, and was safely convoyed to the port of *St. Andero* in *Biscay* ^f. In the fourteenth of king *Henry's* reign, the good

old

* A. D. 1522. ^c Stowe's Annals, p. 515. ^d Mr. Lediard has inserted it in his Naval History. † June 13, 1522. ‡ July 1. ^e Coeper, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin. ^f Ibid.

old duke, his father, being quite tired out with cares, resigned his high office of lord treasurer, and the king thereupon, conferred it on his son the earl of *Surry* ^a. He was also intrusted by the king, with the army raised to invade *Scotland*, and in the station of general, did good service against the duke of *Albany*, whereby all the deep designs of the *French* were frustrated. On the death of his father, he was again appointed to command an army against the *Scots*, in which affair, he acquitted himself with as much honour, justice and bravery, as any man ever did ^b. He afterwards attended the king into *France*, and was sent principal ambassador to the *French* king, at such time as that monarch was proceeding to an interview with the pope ^c. In the twenty-eighth of king *Henry*, he assisted the earl of *Shrewsbury* in suppressing a formidable rebellion, cover'd with the specious title of the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, and throughout his whole life, approved himself an honest and active servant to the crown, in all capacities. Yet in the close of his reign, the king was wrought into a persuasion, that this duke of *Norfolk*, and his son *Henry* earl of *Surry*, were in a plot, to seize upon his person, and to engross the government into their own hands; with many other things devised by their enemies, but altogether destitute of proof. For these supposed crimes, he and his son were imprisoned, and as was but too frequent in that reign, attainted almost on suspicion ^d. *Henry* earl of *Surry*, the most accomplished nobleman of his time, lost his head

^a Pat. 14. H. VIII. p. 1. ^b Buchanan, Drummond, Stowe, Herbert, Rapin. ^c Mezeray, Daniel. ^d Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 565. His misfortunes were owing chiefly to the resentment of his duchess, the daughter of Edward duke of Buckingham, and the falshood of his female favourite, the former accusing, and the latter betraying him.

head in his father's presence; nor would the duke have survived him long (a warrant being once granted for his execution) if the king had not died at that critical juncture, and thereby opened a door of hope and liberty. After all these sufferings, he survived king *Edward VI.* and died in the first year of queen *Mary*, when his attainder was repealed, and the act thereof taken from amongst the records¹ *. He was unquestionably as able an admiral, as great a statesman, as fortunate a general, and as true a patriot as any in that age: but it is now time to come to his successor in the command of the navy.

Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS, afterwards Earl of Southampton, and Knight of the Garter.

HE was descended, not only of an ancient and honourable, but also of a famous and noble family, his ancestors having been summoned to parliament as barons, to the time of *Edward III.* Sir *Thomas Fitz-Williams*, the father of our admiral, married *Lucia*, daughter and co-heir to *John Nevil* marquis *Montacute*, by whom he had two sons, *Thomas*, who was slain at the battle of *Flodden-Field*, and this *William*^m. Being the younger son, he, from his nonage, addicted himself to arms, and particularly to the sea-service, which in those days became a distinct and regular profession, king *Henry* having a navy-office, commissioners, &c. which his predecessors had not.

He

¹ See the act of repeal^{1mo}. *Mariae*, and the character of both the duke and his son, in Sir Walter Raleigh's preface to the history of the world. * A. D. 1554. ^m From the collections c. R. Glover, Somerset.

He also fixed regular salaries for his admirals, vice-admirals, captains and seamans, so that under him, naval affairs underwent a very great change, and we have had a constant series of officers in the royal-navy ever since. How soon Mr. *Fitz-Williams* went to sea, does not appear from any memoirs now extant; but most certainly it was in the reign of *Henry VII.* for in the second of *Henry VIII.* he was appointed one of the esquires of the king's body. In 1513, he had a command in the fleet, which fought the *French* off *Brest*, and behaving very bravely there, received a dangerous wound in the breast by a broad arrow. This did not hinder his being present at the siege of *Tournay* the same year, where distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner, in the fight of his prince, he was honoured with knighthood^a, and thenceforward constantly employed at sea, where he made himself equally useful to his prince, and grateful to the seamen. Of these we are assured, he knew and called every one by name, never taking prize, but what he shared amongst them, or suffering more than two months to elapse, before they were fully paid their wages. The merchants were remarkably friends to him, on account of his constant attention to their concerns, and the king highly esteemed him for the punctuality with which he executed his orders, and his wonderful expedition in whatever he undertook.

He executed the office of vice-admiral, during the absence of the earl of *Surry*, then lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, in 1520, and convoyed the king, when he passed over to *France*, in order to an interview with *Francis I.* And two years after, on the breaking out of a war with that prince,

^a Herbert's life of *Henry VIII.* p. 334.

prince, Sir *William*, with a good fleet, was sent to protect our trade, and to molest the enemy, which he did effectually, but was not quite so successful in 1523, when he had orders to prevent the duke of *Albany* from passing with *French* succours into *Scotland*: for though he once dispersed the duke's fleet, and actually took some of his ships, with several persons of distinction on board, yet that cunning prince escaped him, with the rest, by this artifice. He pretended to abandon his enterprize, re-landed his forces, and ordered the ships to be laid up: but as soon as he understood the *English* admiral was returned to his own coasts, he instantly re-imbarked his troops, and continuing his voyage, notwithstanding it was the winter season, arrived safely in his own country °. In the 16th of *Henry VIII.* we find Sir *William* preferred to be captain of *Guines* castle in *Picardy*: in the next year, he was sent ambassador into *France*, and executed his commission with such success, that he was from that time more and more in the king's favour †. After the fall of cardinal *Wolsey*, to whom our admiral was no great friend, we find him an active man in parliament, and made use of by the king, to excuse bishop *Fisher* to the house of commons ‡. In the 27th of the same reign, he was again employed in an embassy to *France*, and in the succeeding year, being already treasurer of the household, chancellor of the dutchy of *Lancaster*, and knight of the garter, the king, by letters patents, raised him to the dignity of admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Normandy*, *Gascoine*, and *Aquitaine* §, and by other letters patent, soon after created him earl of *Southampton*; all

° Drummond of Hawthornden, in the life of James V. † Stowe, Holingshed, Speed. § Burnet, Herbert, Rapin. † Pat. 24. H. viii. p. 2.

all which he is said to have merited by his steady loyalty, and by his great skill and indefatigable application in maritime affairs, to which, he, from his youth, had been addicted *.

SHORTLY after, the king raised him still higher, to the post of lord privy seal, in which quality we find that, with *John lord Russel*, who succeeded him as high admiral, he passed over into *France*, where the war was again broke out, with two troops of horse, which shews his martial spirit, and how loth he was to quit the service of his country in a military way †. It seems, his constitution was by this time much broken through continual fatigues, and therefore he made a will, whereby, among other legacies, he bequeathed the king his master, his best collar of the garter, and his rich *George* set with diamonds ‡. Yet on the breaking out of a war with *Scotland*, to which his friend and commander, *Thomas duke of Norfolk*, was immediately ordered with a numerous army, our brave captain would not remain behind, but with a brisk body of horse and foot, lead the van: yet this proved the last flashings of his heroic flame, since, at *Newcastle*, overcome by his disease, and with fatigue, he breathed his last, to the great regret of his royal master, as well as of his general, who commanded his banner to be borne, as it had hitherto been, in the front of the army, all the rest of the expedition, as a mark of the respect due to his memory §. By his countess, *Mabel* daughter to *Henry lord Clifford*, he had no issue to inherit his virtues, or his honours; but he left behind him a natural son, *Thomas Fitz-Williams*, alias

VOL. I.

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Fisher

* M. S. Collections of Sir Thomas Wriothesley.
life of Henry VIII. p. 484.
† Speil. qu. 16.
‡ Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 483.

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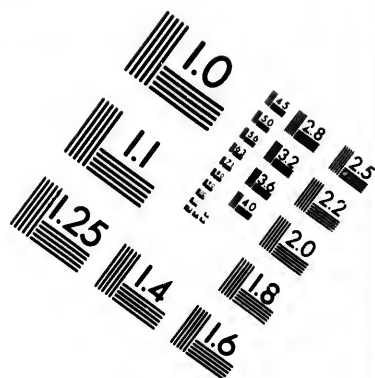
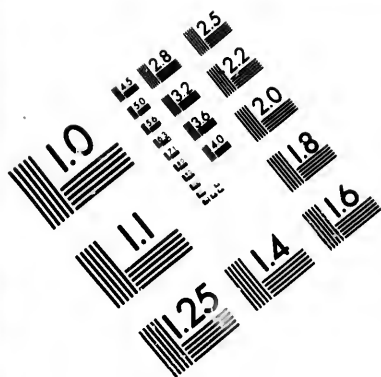
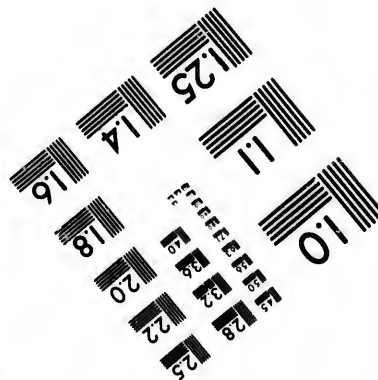
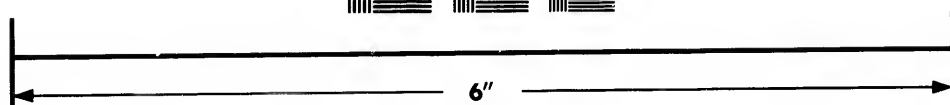
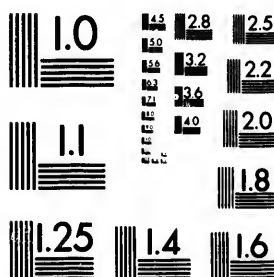


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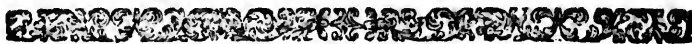
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Fisher *. As to his age, at the time of his decease, we find no note thereof, either in books or in records; but it is probable, that he did not exceed sixty, according to the course of his preferments. He seems to have been one of the first seamen raised to the honour of the peerage in this kingdom.

As to the remaining admirals in king *Henry's* reign, they were *John* lord *Russel*, and the viscount *Lisle*, so well known to posterity, by the title of duke of *Northumberland*, as the supreme director of all things in the reign of *Edward VI.* and as a fatal example of the issue of boundless ambition, in the beginning of the succeeding reign. But the reader will find such ample accounts of them elsewhere †, and their naval achievements contain so little worthy of notice, that I rather proceed to the transactions under the next king, than detain my readers with a jejune detail of things of little consequence, especially, considering the narrow bounds into which we are to bring such an infinite variety of important matter.

* Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 105.

† In Dugdale, Collins, and other peerages of England, as well as the in the general histories, and particular memoirs of these reigns, and in Strype's and other collections of original papers relating to those times.



C H A P. X.

The Naval History of ENGLAND, under the reign of Edward VI. with an account of such eminent seamen as flourished in his time.



HIS young prince, at the decease of his father, was but in the tenth year of his age; however, on the 20th of *February* following †, he was crowned, to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation, who were in hopes a gentler government would succeed, under the rule of so young a prince, assisted by ministers whose chief, indeed, whose only support, must be the affections of the people *. The scheme of government, laid down by the will of king *Henry VIII.* was held to be impracticable, because it made such a division of power, as rendered the administration of public affairs extremely difficult, if not impossible; and therefore to remedy these inconveniencies, the earl of *Hertford*, uncle to the young king, created soon after duke of *Somerfet*, was declared protector, or chief governor, that the nation might have some visible head: after which followed various promotions; amongst the rest, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the protector's brother, was created baron of *Sud-*

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ley,

† A. D. 1546.
Hayward, Burnet, Rapin.

* Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Godwin,

ley, and raised to the great trust of lord high-admiral ^b. One would have thought, that, in the dawn of such a government, peace had been more advisable than war: but we find, the great counsellors in those days, thought otherwise; for one of the first things they resolved on, was war with *Scotland*, to which, probably, they might be provoked by the passage of a strong squadron of *French* galleys through the narrow seas, which were going to block up the castle of *St. Andrews* ^c; and to which they were certainly encouraged by the distracted state of the *Scotch* affairs, the government being weakened by a minority, and the nation divided and distracted by factions ^d.

THE preparations made by the protector for his expedition into *Scotland*, looked as if he intended rather an absolute conquest of that country, than to compel the marriage of *Mary* queen of *Scots* to the young king *Edward* ^e. Both the brothers took a share in this expedition; the protector commanded in person the land-army, which consisted of ten thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a fine train of artillery; it being allowed to be, in all respects, the best equipped force that for many years had been set on foot in this kingdom ^f. With this also the fleet fitted out by his brother's care corresponded, consisting in all of sixty-five sail, of which thirty-five were ships of force, the rest were store-ships and tenders; the whole commanded by the lord *Clinton*, as admiral of the north-sea, and Sir *William Woodhouse*, as vice-admiral, which arrived before *Leith*, about the time the *English* army penetrated

^b Life of King Edward VI. by Sir John Hayward, p. 14. et sequen. Burnet's history of the reformation, Strype's memorials.

^c Cooper's Chronicle, Buchanan, Stowe.

^d Keith's history of the church and state of Scotland, p. 52.

^e Hayward, Godwin, Rapin.

^f Godwin, p. 214.

trated *Scotland* by land ^e. The protector, who was by no means a cruel man, endeavoured to have prevented bloodshed, by sending very amicable letters to the *Scotch* governors, wherein he shewed how much it would be for the interest of both nations, that this match should take place, and how little it was for the good of *Scotland* to remain in that dependency on *France*, in which she had continued for a long tract of time. The governor, or protector of *Scotland*, who was entirely in the *French* interest, shewed this letter to none but his own creatures, who advised him, since he had a very numerous army, with the flower of the nobility in the field, not to listen to any conditions of peace, but to force the *English* to a battle; which very bad advice he complied with, and told the rest of the lords about him, that the protector's letter contained only threatenings and reproaches ^h. This strange conduct brought on a decisive engagement, on the 10th of *September*, 1547; which, in the *English* histories, is stiled the battle of *Musfelburgh* ⁱ; but the *Scots* writers call it the battle of *Pinky* ^k. It was fatal to the *Scots*, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, their army consisting of upwards of thirty thousand men; but they were so eager to fight, that they despised all the precautions usually taken, as to ground, and other circumstances; nay, they were so fool-hardy, as to expose themselves to the fire of the *English* fleet, which galled them extremely, and therefore we need not wonder that they were totally defeated, leaving fourteen thousand dead on the place, and eight hundred noblemen and gentle-

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men

^e Keith's history, p. 53.
Speed.

^h Ibid.

^k Buchanan, Lesley, Keith.

ⁱ Cooper, Stowe,

men prisoners; after which victory, the protector burnt *Edinburgh*, and so returned in triumph¹.

THE lord *Clinton*, with his fleet, continued longer in those parts, with a design, as it appeared, to extirpate entirely the naval force of the *Scots*. He had before, in the reign of *Henry VIII.* been employed for the same purpose, and had executed his commission with great diligence, carrying off the *Salamander*, and the *Unicorn*, two very fine ships, and all other vessels that were worth taking^m. He now perfected this scheme of destroying, by burning all the sea-ports, with the small craft that lay in their harbours, and searching every creek, and all the mouths of rivers, with such diligence, that, it is said, he did not leave one ship of force or burthen in all that kingdomⁿ. In 1548, the lord high admiral, with a very stout fleet, sailed hence upon the *Scotch* coasts, to prevent their repairing their harbours, and to do what further mischief he was able: but he was less successful; for though he made two descents with considerable forces, yet he was repulsed in both^o. The great hardships of the people had made them desperate, so that, notwithstanding the vast expence *England* had been at, and the compleat victory the protector had gained, the *Scotish* queen being escaped into *France*, and great succours coming from thence into *Scotland*, the *English* were obliged after two years to make peace, both nations having suffered exceedingly by the war, which proved, however, advantageous enough to *France*, who made her uses of each, and performed her agreements with neither^p.

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¹ Hayward, Godwin, Burnet. ^m Stowe's Annals, p. 586, 587. ⁿ Hayward, Godwin, Keith. ^o Hayward.
^p Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

THE unnatural quarrel between the protector and his brother the lord high admiral, was the chief cause of the nation's misfortunes; for while they endeavoured with all their force to destroy each other, public affairs were neglected, those who might have prevented these disorders studying rather to increase them, with a view to ruin both¹. What the crimes of the admiral really were, most of our historians seem to think very uncertain; we only know that he was charged with a design of seizing the king's person, of marrying the princess *Elizabeth*, and forming thereby some title to the crown. On this accusation, whether well or ill founded, he was attainted without a trial by act of parliament². A proceeding altogether inexcusable; because thereby posterity stand deprived of seeing the evidence on which public justice is said to be founded. The protector set an edge on the sentence passed by this law, by prevailing on the young king to sign a warrant for the admiral's execution, though his majesty's uncle, and the protector's own brother³; and this we are told he did to gratify his wife⁴. The truth seems to be, that the lord protector *Somerſet* was an honest, but weak man, meant well, yet seldom knew his own meaning, and was therefore governed in most cases by other people's counsels; whereas the admiral is allowed to have had quick parts, great courage, and a much better capacity for governing: but his turbulent spirit gave the common enemies of his family, and the nation's quiet, an opportunity of detaching him from his brother's interest, and

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thereby

¹ Hayward, p. 81. Godwin, p. 226.
² Dugdale's *Baronage*, tom. ii. p. 368.
³ Mar. h 20, 1549.
⁴ Hayward, p. 81.

¹ Dugdale's *Baronage*, tom. ii. p. 368.
² Mar. h 20, 1549.
³ Hayward, p. 81.

thereby creating those misfortunes which were not only fatal to him and the protector, but to the kingdom also¹.

THE French, who were now governed by *Henry II.* a young enterprising prince, laid hold of this opportunity, while the *English* were engaged in a *Scotch* war, and divided by civil dissensions, to deprive them of the few but important places they still held in *France*. To colour their proceedings, they set up the following pretence, (for when were the *French* known to want one?) That *Boulogne* was not absolutely yielded to king *Henry VIII.* but conditionally only, by way of mortgage for a certain sum of money, which they said had been tendered him more than once, by their late king *Francis I.* and consequently they had an equity of redemption, which they thought might justify them in any measures that should appear necessary for the making themselves masters of the place. In saying this, I am not governed by *English* prejudices, but follow the accounts given by their best historians, and who relate the sequel of the matter thus. The *French* king, under pretence of adding to the magnificence of his public entry into *Paris*, and the queen's coronation, drew a considerable body of forces into the neighbourhood of that city, and into *Picardy*; then departing suddenly from his capital, he came to *Abbeville*, where his forces rendezvoused, and marched from thence with all expedition to *Boulogne*, where he attacked and carried some of the forts, and distressed the place so much, that it was found impracticable to keep it². Our writers say, that these forts were taken by treachery, and it appears

¹ Stowe, Burnet, Rapin, and in general all our historians who write without bias. ² J. de Serres, p. 701. Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 657. Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 20.

appears by the representations made in king *Edward's* name to the emperor, that the whole of this transaction was contrary to the law of nations, there being at the time it happened, no war declared *. Another attempt the *French* likewise made upon the islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, which they invaded with a strong squadron of men of war, and two thousand land-forces. The *English* court having notice of this attempt, and knowing those islands to be but indifferently provided, sent thither a small squadron, under the command of commodore *Winter*, with eight hundred men as a reinforcement on board a few transports. At his arrival he found the ports blocked up, and himself under a necessity either of desisting from his enterprize, or attacking the *French*, notwithstanding their superiority. He, like a brave man, chose the latter, and executed this design with such courage and conduct, that having killed them near a thousand men, he obliged the enemy to embark the rest on board some light vessels in which they fled, abandoning their ships of force, and all these he caused to be set on fire. This defeat so nettled that vain nation, that, our writers say, they forbade the speaking of it with all its particulars, under pain of death, for which report one would imagine there must have been some foundation, since we find no traces of this story in any of their writers *. The misfortunes attending the *English* by taking the forts about *Boulogne*, having served the purpose of the duke of *Somerfet's* enemies, in fixing a grievous charge upon him, for which he was sent to the *Tower*, and outed of his protectorship, they

* See the instructions sent to Sir Philip Hoby by the duke of *Somerfet*, *Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 164. * *Cooper*, *Stowe*, *Speed*, *Hayward*, *Gedwin*.

they then thought proper to make a treaty with *France*, whereby the town of *Boulogne* and its dependancies, were sold for four hundred thousand crowns, and the *French* took possession of them in the spring of the year 1550^y. In this treaty the *Scots* were included, and for the managing thereof, *Edward* lord *Clinton*, who had been governor of the territory, now yielded to *France*, was made lord high admiral for life, and had large grants made him of lands from the king^z.

It is not to be wondered, that a treaty so far from being honourable to the nation, was very ill received at home, and yet it must be acknowledged, that it was not near so inexcusable as some would represent it. We have already shewn, with what injustice the *French* made war upon king *Edward*, and it is but reasonable to add, that when his embassador applied to the emperor for assistance, and represented the great things that his father had done for the house of *Austria*, the pains he had taken to solicit the electors to set the imperial crown on the head of *Charles V.* and how much the *English* nation had been impoverished by the wars against *France*, purely on his behalf, a very rude and uncourteous answer was given. The emperor took notice of the great change that had been made in religion, which he pretended put it out of his power to yield the aid that was desired, and therefore insisted, that as the price of his friendship, all things should be restored again to their former state. After this, when matters were come to extremity, it was proposed

^y Du Tillet recueil de traité: & Leonard. Traités, tom. ii. Mezeray. ^z Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 230. Keith's history of the Church and State of Scotland, vol. i. p. 66. Hayward, Burnet, Rapin.

proposed in the part of king *Edward*, that the emperor should take the town of *Boulogne* into his hands, to remain as a deposit till the king was of age; but that was likewise rejected, unless the old religion was restored. We may from hence perceive, the integrity of those ministers who chose rather to sacrifice their interests with the nation, then injure the protestant religion, and at the same time we may discern, how little the friendship of foreign and of popish powers is to be depended upon, when the interests of *England* alone are at stake.

AFTER this peace there grew a closer and more considerable intercourse between the *French* and *English* courts, which gave such offence to the emperor, that he suffered his subjects in *Flanders* to cruize in the *English* seas, which afforded the *French* a pretence for acting in the same manner; but upon complaint that the navigation of the narrow seas was exceedingly disturbed, the king ordered lord *Henry Dudley*, with four men of war and two light ships, to put to sea, in order to protect our merchants; which, however, he performed but indifferently ^a. In 1551, the lord admiral *Clinton* went over into *France* as the king's ambassador, and there concluded a treaty for the marriage of his master to the princess *Elizabeth*, daughter of that king; though it is highly probable, the *French* were not very sincere in these negotiations. Some time after, they began to raise jealousies in *England* of the emperor's proceedings, because he had fitted out a great fleet, without assigning any particular cause for it ^b. But the next year things took a new turn; for the *French* continuing

^a See king Edward's diary, March 26, 1552. Memorials, vol. ii. p. 289, 290.

^b Strype's

nuing their pyratyical practices under one pretence or other, seized many *English* ships, so that loud complaints were made to the king; and upon examination it appeared, that the merchants had suffered by their depredations in the space of twenty months, to the full amount of fifty thousand pounds. Upon this, his ministers at the court of *France* had orders to make very sharp representations, which they did, but with little effect^c; so that things remained pretty much in this situation, that is, tending to a rupture, to the time of the king's death, which happened on the 6th of *July* 1553; but whether by poison, as some have pretended, or by a consumption, as is generally thought, I pretend not to determine^d. He had then reigned near six years and a half, and was not quite sixteen. He was certainly, for his years, a very accomplished prince, of which he has left us many and those unquestionable proofs in his writings.

As to his care of trade, we have as many instances of it in every kind as can be desired. In 1548, he passed an act for laying the *Newfoundland* trade entirely open, and for removing various obstacles, by which it had been hitherto cramped^e. The very same year the merchants at *Antwerp* complaining of certain hardships under which they suffered, the king's ambassadors interposed; and when the regency of that city suggested to them, that it was strange the king of *England* should more regard a company of merchants, than the friendship of a great emperor, king *Edward's* agent, whose name was *Smith*, answered roundly, that his master would support the commerce

^c Ibid. p. 332.
 Strype, Barnet, Ripin.

^d Hayward, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed,
^e See Hakluyt, p. iii. p. 131.

merce of his subjects, at the hazard of any monarch's friendship upon earth ^f.

WE have a very curious and particular account of the advantages derived to the city of *Antwerp* from the residence of the *English* merchants there, which, for the readers instruction as well as entertainment, we will insert from a very scarce and curious piece, addressed to Sir *Robert Cecil* then secretary of state to queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards earl of *Salisbury*, and lord high treasurer of *England*.

“ *PHILIP* surnamed the *Good*, duke of *Burgundy*
 “ and of *Brabant*, &c. gave privileges to the *English*
 “ nation in the low countries, which happened in the
 “ year 1466, which privileges the town of *Antwerp* con-
 “ firmed the 6th of *August* in the same year, giving to
 “ them besides a large house, which is now called the *old*
 “ *Burse*, and afterwards by exchange, another more good-
 “ ly, spacious and sumptuous house, called the *Court of*
 “ *Lier*, which the company enjoyed till the said town
 “ was yielded up to the duke of *Parma* in the year
 “ 1585. At the abovesaid first concordate and conclusion
 “ of privileges with the town of *Antwerp* or not long be-
 “ fore, there were not in all the town above four mer-
 “ chants, and those also no adventurers to the sea; the
 “ rest of the inhabitants or townsmen were but mean
 “ people, and neither able nor skilful to use the feat or
 “ trade of merchandise, but did let out the best of their
 “ houses to *Englishmen* and other strangers, for chambers
 “ and pack-houses, contenting themselves with some cor-
 “ ner for their profits sake; but within these late years, the
 concourse

^f Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 151.

“concourse and resort of foreign merchants to that town
“was so great, that house room waxed scant, rents were
“raised, tolls, excises, and all other duties to the prince
“and town wonderfully encreased; and the *Antwerp* men
“themselves, who in few years before were but mean artificers, or lived by husbandry and keeping of cattle,
“whereof one gate of that city to this day beareth the
“name, and had but six ships belonging to their town,
“and those for the river only, that never went to sea,
“began to grow exceeding rich; so that some fell to the
“trade of merchandize, and others employed their substance in building. Then their old rotten houses covered
“with thatch were pulled down, their waste ground,
“whereof there was store within the town, was turned
“into goodly buildings, and fair streets, and their shipping encreased accordingly; thus prospered not only
“those of *Antwerp*, but all other towns and places thereabouts, so that in our memory that now live, the said
“town was grown to such wealth, strength and beauty,
“as never none the like in so short a time, and no marvel; for within the compass of fifty years, an house
“that was worth but forty dollars a year, grew to be
“worth three hundred dollars a year, and an house that
“was let out for sixty dollars, came afterwards to be let
“for four hundred dollars; yea, some houses in *Antwerp*
“were let for six hundred, some for eight hundred dollars a year rent, besides their havens for ships to come
“and lade and discharge within the town; their public
“stately buildings and edifices, erected partly for ornament, and partly for the ease and accomodating of the
“merchant were so costly and sumptuous, as he that
“hath not seen and marked them well would not believe
“it.”

THIS

THIS shews abundantly how great a right king *Edward* had to insist upon all his subjects privileges in that city, where their residence was a thing of such prodigious consequence. We must not imagine, however, that so wise a prince as the emperor *Charles V.* was not very well acquainted with this, of which we have an instance within the compass of king *Edward's* reign, *Anno Dom.* 1550, for when after all the supplications of the citizens of *Antwerp*, and the intercession of several great princes on their behalf, he remained fixed in his purpose of introducing the inquisition into that city; yet upon the bare mention that this would infallibly drive the *English* not only out of *Antwerp*, but out of the low countries, he very prudently desisted.

WITH like care the king prosecuted the wrongs done to his trading subjects by the *French*, and very graciously received a memorial, wherein certain methods were laid down for encouraging and encreasing the number of seamen in his dominions, and for preventing the carrying on a trade here in foreign bottoms ^e. Some notice there are of other projects of a like nature in his own diary, which shew, that if he had lived to have had a sufficient experience, he would have been extremely careful of maritime affairs, and very ready to have contributed to the ease and advantage of his subjects ^h. But the disorders which happened in his short reign, as well as his immature death, prevented his doing the good which he intended.

WE must ascribe to those disorders, and to the boundless ambition of that great duke, who taking advantage of the

^e Barnaby's information to secretary Cecil, MS.
king's diary published by Burnet.

^h See the

the king's minority, directed all things with almost absolute sway, that such heavy taxes were laid upon the people, who were far from being in a condition to bear them, that lands to so great a value were taken from the church to the use as was pretended to the crown, and then granted away to favourites, and above all, that the very worst part of his father's politics should be pursued, and the coin still more and more debased; for in the third year of his reign, under pretence of redressing this evil, there was a new standard introduced, somewhat better in appearance than the last coinage in his father's reign, for now instead of four ounces, there were six ounces of fine silver in each pound of metal; but then the number of pieces was increased from forty-eight to seventy-two, and consequently the nominal value of silver was raised from four shillings to six shillings an ounce; but in reality, continued at the same rate as before, that is at twelve shillings an ounce, which was incredibly grievous to the people; yet two years afterwards this method was changed, and the finishing stroke given to all practices of this nature, by coining the same number of shillings, that is, seventy-two out of a pound of metal, in which there was but three ounces of silver; so that while the nominal value remained the same, and those who knew no better, believed that silver was still at six shillings an ounce, it was in fact so long as the money of this coinage remained current at twenty-four shillings an ounce; yet one advantage followed from thence, which was, that the grossness of the imposition made it quickly discernable, and therefore the next years money was coined pretty near the old standard, before it had been practised upon by his father; but then there were sixty shillings in the pound weight, which brought the price of silver to five shillings
an

an ounce, and this began that emendation of our coin, which was compleated under queen *Elizabeth*, by the advice of the same minister, who procured this last alteration in the time of king *Edward*.

In his reign the *Levant* trade grew more extensiveⁱ, and that to the coast of *Guinea*, and other parts of *Africa* was first discovered, and prosecuted with success, by Mr. *Thomas Wyndham*^k. We may add to these proofs of the flourishing of naval power under this young prince, the attempt made for discovering a north-east passage^l; which will lead us to speak of the most accomplished seaman who lived in his time, and whose memory deserves for his industry, penetration, and integrity to be transmitted to posterity, I mean the celebrated and justly famous,

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

THIS gentleman was the son of that eminent *Venetian* pilot Sir *John Cabot*, of whom we have given some account heretofore. He was born at *Bristol* about the year 1477, and therefore Mr. *Strype* is mistaken, when he tells us he was an *Italian*; into which he was led by the name he met with in the MS. from whence he copied his remarks, viz. *Sebastiano Cabato*^m: an inaccuracy common enough with our old writers, who affected to vary foreign names strangely; a folly with which the *French* are still infected, inasmuch, that it is a difficult

VOL. II.

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ⁱ Churchill's voyages, introduction.

^k Ibid. vol. v. p. 146.

^l Eden's history of travels, p. 224.

ii. p. 402.

^m Strype's Memorials, vol.

thing to understand *English* proper names, even in their latest and best historians. *Sebastian* was educated by his father in the study of those parts of the mathematics which were then best understood, especially arithmetic, geometry, and cosinography; and by that time he was seventeen years old, he had made several trips to sea, in order to add to his theoretical notions, a competent skill in the practical part of navigation: and in like manner were bred the rest of his father's sons, who became also eminent men, and settled abroad, one in *Genoa*, the other at *Venice* ⁿ.

THE first voyage of consequence in which *Sebastian Cabot* was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father, for the discovery of the north-west passage, of which we have given some account before ^o. This was in 1497, and certainly first taught our seamen a passage to north *America*: but whether *Sebastian Cabot* did not, after the decease of his father, prosecute his design, and make a more perfect discovery of the coasts of the *Newfoundland*, is a great doubt with me, because I find such incongruous relations of this voyage in different authors ^p. For instance, the celebrated *Peter Martyr*, who was intimately acquainted with *Sebastian*, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, says, that the voyage wherein he made his great discovery towards the north, was performed in two ships fitted out at his own expence ^q; which by no means agrees with his father's expedition, wherein were employed one stout ship of the king's

ⁿ Remarks on Hakluyt, MS.

^o In the life of John Cabot, p. 297. ^p As appears by comparing the accounts in Hakluyt, with those in Purchas, and in the history of travel, by Eiden.

^q Dec ad. iii. cap. 6.

SEBASTIAN CABOT. 387

king's, and four belonging to the merchants of *Bristol* *. Besides this, a very intelligent *Spanish* writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that when *Cabot* sailed at the expence of king *Henry VII.* in order to make discoveries towards the north, he passed beyond cape *Labrador*, somewhat more than 58° N. L. then turning towards the west, he sailed along the coast to 38° , which agrees very well with our accounts of *John Cabot's* voyage *. But, *Ramusio*, the *Italian* collector, who had the letter of *Sebastian Cabot* before him, when he wrote, speaks of a voyage, wherein he sailed north, and by west to $67^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$, and would have proceeded farther, if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his sailors †. It is probable, therefore, that *Sebastian* made more than one, perhaps more than two voyages into these parts, by virtue of king *Henry VII's* commission; and if so, he well deserved the character Sir *William Monson* has given of him ‡, and of his important discoveries, which the reader will be pleased to see in his own words, the authority of the writer from his perfect knowledge of the subject, being of as much weight as the facts he mentions.

“ To come to the particulars, says he, of augmentation of our trade, of our plantations, and our discoveries, because every man shall have his due therein; I will begin with *Newfoundland*, lying upon the main continent of *America*, which the king of *Spain* challenges as first discoverer: But as we acknowledge the king

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* Fabian's M. S. Chronicle, A. D. 1497.

† Lopez de Gomara hist. des Ind. occident. lib. ii. cap. 4.

‡ In his preface to the third volume of his excellent collection. ^u In the large collection called Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 396. and his character, p. 401.

“ of *Spain* the first light of the west and south-west parts
 “ of *America*, so we and all the world must confess, that
 “ we were the first that took possession for the crown of
 “ *England*, of the north part thereof, and not above two
 “ years difference betwixt the one and the other. And
 “ as the *Spaniards* have from that day and year held their
 “ possession in the west, so have we done the like in the
 “ north; and though there is no respect, in comparison
 “ of the wealth betwixt the countries, yet *England* may
 “ boast that the discovery from the year aforesaid to this
 “ very day, hath afforded the subjects annually 120,000
 “ pound, and encreased the number of many a good ship,
 “ and mariners, as our western parts can witness by their
 “ fishing in *Newfoundland*: neither can *Spain* challenge
 “ a more natural right than we to its discovery, for in
 “ that case we are both alike. If we deal truly with
 “ others, and not deprive them of their right, it is *Italy*
 “ that must assume the discovery to itself, as well in
 “ the one part of *America*, as in the other. *Genoa*, and
 “ *Christopher Columbus* by name, must carry away the
 “ praise of it from *Spain*; for *Spain* had not that voyage
 “ in agitation, or thought of it, till *Columbus* not only
 “ proposed, but accomplished it. The like may be said
 “ of * *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who, by his earnest
 “ intercession to *Henry VII.* drew him to the discovery
 “ of *Newfoundland*, and called it by the name of *Ba-*
 “ *callao*, an *Indian* name for fish, for the abundance of
 “ fish he found upon that coast.”

IF

* This affords a farther and more direct proof of my con-
 jecture, that *Sebastian Cabot* made more than one voyage in the
 service of *Henry VII.* since from what our author says, it looks
 as if he had not only found the country, but established the
 fishery of *Newfoundland*.

SEBASTIAN CABOT. 389

IF this worthy man had performed nothing more, his name ought surely to have been transmitted to future times with honour, since it clearly appears, that *Newfoundland* hath been a source of riches, and naval power to this nation, from the time it was discovered, as well as the first of our plantations; so that with strict justice, it may be said of *Sebastian Cabot*, that he was the author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us since so great, so flourishing a people. Yet have we no distinct accounts of what he advised, or what he performed, for upwards of twenty years together, wherein certainly so able a man could never have been idle. The next news we hear of him, is in the eighth of king *Henry VIII.* and our accounts then are none of the clearest *. It seems that *Cabot* had entered into a strict correspondence with Sir *Thomas Pert*, at this time vice-admiral of *England*, who had a house at *Poplar*, and procured him a good ship of the king's, in order to make discoveries †; but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have passed by the south to the *East-Indies*: for he sailed first to *Brazil*, and missing there o. his purpose, shaped his course for the islands of *Hispaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, where he carried on some traffic, and then returned, failing absolutely in the design upon which he went; not through any want either of courage or conduct in himself, but from the fear and faint-heartedness of sir *Thomas Pert*, his

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* See Wheeler's discourse of trade, and Capt. Luke Fox's account of the north-west passage. † Hakluyt's Voyages, p. iii. p. 498.

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coadjutor, of which we have abundant testimony from the writings of a person who lived in those times ^y.

THIS disappointment in all probability, inclined *Sebastian Cabot* to leave *England*, and to go over to *Spain*, where he was treated with very great respect, and raised as high as his profession would permit, being declared *Pilot-major*, or chief pilot of *Spain*, and by his office, intrusted with the reviewing all projects for discovery, which in those days were many and important. His great capacity, and approved integrity, induced many rich merchants to treat with him in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken at their expence, by the new-found passage of *Magellan*, to the *Moluccos*; which at length he accepted, and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the *Spanish* historian *Herrera* ^z.

HE failed, says he, about the beginning of *April* 1525, first to the *Canaries*, then to the islands of *Cape Verde*, thence to cape *St. Augustin*, and the island of *Patos* or *Geeſe*; and near *Bahia de todos los Santos*, or the *Bay of All-Saints*, he met a *French* ship. He was said to have managed but indiscreetly, as wanting provisions when he came to the said island; but there the *Indians* were very kind, and supplied him with provisions for all his ships; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him by force, four sons of the principal men. Thence he proceeded to the river of *Plate*, having left ashore on a desert island, *Martin Mendez*, his vice-admiral, captain *Francis de Rojas*, and *Michael de Rodas*, because

^y See the dedication of a piece, called, *a treatise of new India*, published in 1553, by Mr. Richard Eden, and addressed to the great duke of Northumberland. *Gonsalvo de Oviedo. hist. Ind. occid. lib. xix. cap. 13.*

^z *Decad. iii. lib. iii. cap. 2.*

cause they censured his management; and in conclusion, he went not to the *Spice-Islands*, as well because he had not provisions, as by reason the men would not sail under him, fearing his conduct of the vessel in the *Streights*. He sailed up the river of *Plate*, and about thirty leagues above the mouth, found an island which he called St. *Gabriel*, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent towards *Brazil*. There he anchored, and rowing with the boats, three leagues higher, discovered a river he called *San Salvador*, or St. *Saviour*, very deep, and a safe harbour for the ships on the same side, whither he brought up his vessels, and unloaded them, because at the mouth of the river there was not much water. Having built a fort, and left some men in it, he resolved to proceed up that river with boats, and a flat-bottom caravel, in order to make discoveries; thinking that, although he did not pass through the *Streights* to the *Spice Islands*, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless. Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river, called *Zarcarana*, and finding the natives thereabouts a good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it *Santi Spiritus*, i. e. of the *Holy Ghost*, and his followers by another name, viz. *Cabot's Fort*. He thence discovered the shores of the river *Parana*, which is that of *Plate*, where he found many islands and rivers; and keeping along the greatest stream, at the end of two hundred leagues, came to another river, which the *Indians* call *Paraguay*, and left the great river on the right, thinking, it bent towards the coast of *Brazil*, and running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground, a thing, which in those parts, he had not seen before. There he met with so much opposition, that he advanced

no farther, but killed many *Indians*, and they slew twenty-five of his *Spaniards*, and took three that were gone out to gather *palmetos* to eat. At the same time *Cabot* was thus employed, *James Garcia*, with the same view of making discoveries, had entered the river of *Plate*, without knowing that the soil was there before him. He entered the said river about the beginning of the year 1527, having sent away his own, which was a large ship, alledging that it was of too great a burthen for that discovery, and with the rest, came to an anchor in the same place where *Cabot's* ship lay, directing his course with two brigantines, and sixty men, towards the river *Parana*, which lies north and north-west, arrived at the fort built by *Cabot*. About 110 leagues above this fort, he found *Sebastian Cabot* himself in the port of *St. Anne*, so named by the latter, and after a short stay there, they returned together to the fort of the *Holy Ghost*, and thence sent messengers into *Spain*. Those who were dispatched by *Sebastian Cabot*, were *Francis Calderon*, and *George Barlow*, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river *la Plata*, shewing how large a tract of land he had not only discovered, but subdued; and producing gold, silver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their general's conduct. The demands they made, were, that a supply should be sent of provisions, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of seamen and soldiers. To this, the merchants by whom *Cabot's* squadron was fitted out, would not agree, but chose to let their rights escheat to the crown of *Castile*. The king then took the whole upon himself, but was so dilatory in his preparations, that *Sebastian Cabot*, quite tired out, as having been five years in *America*, resolved to return home, which he did, embarking

barking the remainder of his men, and all his effects on board the biggest of his ships, and leaving the rest behind him ^a.

It was the spring of the year 1531, when *Cabot* arrived at the *Spanish* court, and gave an account of his expedition. It is evident enough, from the manner in which the *Spanish* writers speak of him, that he was not well received, and, one may easily account for it. He had raised himself enemies, by treating his *Spanish* mutineers with so much severity; and on the other hand, his owners were disappointed, by his not pursuing his voyage to the *Moluccas*. He kept his place, however, and remained in the service of *Spain*, many years after, and, at length, he was invited over to *England* ^b. We have no account, how this was brought about, in any author now extant, and therefore I shall offer to the reader's consideration, a conjecture of my own, which he may receive or reject, according as it seems to him probable, or improbable. Mr. *Robert Thorne*, an *English* merchant at *Sevill*, whom we have mentioned before with commendation, was intimately acquainted with *Cabot*, and was actually one of his owners in his last expedition ^c. It seems, therefore, not at all unlikely, that he, after his return from *Newfoundland*, might importune *Cabot* to think of coming home: and what seems to add a greater appearance of truth to this conjecture, is *Cabot's* settling at *Bristol*, when he did return to *England*, of which city Mr. *Thorne* was an eminent merchant, and once mayor ^d. These transactions fell out

^a Herrera, book v. chap. 3. Decad. iii. See also an account of this expedition in Churchill's voyages, vol. i. in the introduction. ^b Hayklvyt's voyages. P. iii. p. 7. See also the preface to the third volume of Ramusio. ^c Hakluyt's voyages, P. iii. p. 726. ^d See his monument in the Temple Church, or in Weever, p. 443.

out in the latter end of the reign of *Henry VIII.* about which time, as I suppose, *Sebastian Cabot* actually returned, and settled with his family here.

IN the very beginning of king *Edward's* reign, this eminent seaman was introduced to the duke of *Somerſet*, then lord protector, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleasure in his conversation, being much better verſed in the ſtudies to which *Cabot* had applied himſelf, than, his tender years conſidered, could have been expected; for he knew, not only all the ports and havens in this iſland, and in *Ireland*, but alſo thoſe in *France*, their ſhape, method of entering, commodities and incommodities; and, in ſhort, could answer almoſt any queſtion about them, that a ſailor could ask *. We need not wonder, therefore, that with ſuch a prince, *Cabot* was in high eſteem, or that, in his favour, a new office ſhould be erected equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in *Spain*, together with a penſion of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* which we find granted to him by letters patent, dated *January* 6, 1549, in the ſecond year of that king's reign; by a ſpecial clauſe, in which patent, this annuity is made to commence from the *Michaelmas* preceding †. Thence forward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was conſulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great caſe of the merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, in 1551, of which it will be fit to give ſome account here, ſince it has eſcaped the notice of moſt of our hiſtorians, though it gave in ſome meaſure a new turn to the whole ſtate of our commerce.

THESE merchants are ſometimes called of the *Haunſe*, becauſe they came from the *Hanſe* towns, or free cities in *Germany*,

* *Strype's memorials*, vol. ii. p. 10.

† *Hakluyt's voyages*, P. iii.

Germany, sometimes *Almains* from their country. They settled here in or before the reign of *Henry III.* and brought in grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linnen cloth, wax and steel, whence the place in *Dowgate-ward*, where they dwelt, was called the *Steel-Yard*, which name it still retains. The kings of *England* encouraged them at first, and granted them large privileges; amongst others, that of exporting our woollen cloths: they had likewise an alderman, who was their chief magistrate, and in consideration of various grants from the city, they stood bound to repair *Bishopsgate*, and were likewise under other obligations. By degrees, however, the *English* coming to trade themselves, and importing many of the commodities in which these *Germans* dealt; great controversies grew between them, the foreigners on all occasions pleading their charter, which the *English* merchants treated as a monopoly, not well warranted by law. At last the company of merchant-adventurers, at the head of which was our *Sebastian Cabot*, on the twenty-ninth of *December*, 1551, exhibited to the council, an information against these merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, to which they were directed to put in their answer, they did so; and after several hearings, and a reference to the king's solicitor-general, his counsel learned in the law, and the recorder of *London*, a decree passed on the twenty-fourth of *February*, whereby these merchants of the *Steel-Yard* were declared to be no legal corporation; yet licences were afterwards granted them from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods, notwithstanding this decree, which remained still in full force and virtue &.

IN

& Minutes of these proceedings are to be found in king *Edward's* diary, and the decree at large in Mr. *Wheeler's* treatise of Commerce, p. 94.

IN the month of *May* 1552, the king granted a licence together with letters of safe conduct to such persons as should embark on board three ships, to be employed for the discovery of a passage by the north to the *East-Indies*. *Sebastian Cabot* was at that time governor of the company of merchant-adventurers, on whose advice this enterprize was undertaken, and by whose interest this countenance from the court was procured^b. The accounts we have of this matter differ widely; but, as I observe, there is a variation in the dates of a whole year, so, I am apt to believe, that there must have been two distinct undertakings, the one under the immediate protection of the court, which did not take effect; and the other by a joint-stock of the merchants, which did. Of the first, because it is little taken notice of, I will speak particularly here; for the other will come in properly in my account of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*. When therefore this matter was first proposed, the king lent two ships, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*, to *Barnes* lord-mayor of *London*; *Mr. Garret*, one of the Sheriffs, and *Mr. York*, and *Mr. Wyndham*, two of the adventurers, giving bond to the king, to deliver two ships of like burden, and in as good condition, at *Midsummer* 1554. In consideration also of the expence and trouble of *Sebastian Cabot*, his majesty made him a present of two hundred pounds^c. A year afterwards, this grand undertaking was brought to bear, and thereupon *Sebastian Cabot* delivered to the commander in chief, those directions by which he was to regulate his conduct, the title of which ran thus: “ Ordinances, instructions and advertisements, of and for “ the

^b Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 504. but Mr. Strype's remark, that these were the ships which went with Sir Hugh Willoughby, is wrong. ^c Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 402.

“ the direction of the intended voyage for *Catbay*, com-
 “ led, made, and delivered, by the right worshipful *Seba-*
 “ *stian Cabot*, Esq; governor of the mystery and compa-
 “ ny of the merchant-adventurers, for the discovery of
 “ regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown: the
 “ ninth of *May*, in the year of our lord god, 1553 ” ^k.
 This shews, how great a trust was reposed in this gentle-
 man by the government, and by the merchants of *Eng-*
land; and the instructions themselves, which we still have
 entire ^l, are the clearest proofs of his sagacity and penetra-
 tion, and the fullest justification of such as did repose their
 trust in him. Many have surmised, that he was a knight,
 whence we often find him stiled Sir *Sebastian*; but the ve-
 ry title of those instructions I have cited, proves the con-
 trary, as also the charter granted by king *Philip* and queen
Mary, in the first year of their reign, to the merchants of
Russia, since stiled the *Russia* company, whereby *Sebastian*
Cabota is made governor for life, on account of his being
 principally concerned in fitting out the first ships employed
 in that trade ^m; but so far from being stiled knight, that
 he is called only one *Sebastian Cabota*, without any distinc-
 tion at all ⁿ. After this, we find him very active in the
 affairs of the company, in the year 1556; and in the
 journal of Mr. *Stephen Burroughs*, it is observed, that on
 the twenty-seventh of *April*, that year, he went down to
Gravesend, and there went on board the *Serb-thrift*, a
 small vessel fitted out under the command of the said *Bur-*
roughs for *Russia*, where he gave generously to the sailors,
 and

^k These are yet in the hands of the *Russia* company.

^l In Hakluyt's voyages, vol. p. 226.

^m Ibid. p. 267, where the charter is at large.

ⁿ The words in the charter are, and in con-
 sideration that one *Sebastian Cabota* hath been the chiefest setter forth
 of this voyage, therefore, &c. which authentic declaration of his
 merit, does him more honour, than any titles could have done.

and on his return to *Gravesend*, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage: We find it also remarked (which shews the chearful temper of the man) that, upon his coming back to *Gravesend*, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the *Christopher*, where, says Mr. *Burroughs*, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself^o. This is the last circumstance relating to *Cabot*, that I can any where find; and as it is certain, that a person of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obscurity, so I look upon it as certain, that he died some time in this, or the next year, when he was upwards of seventy. He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived, and who, by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he it was, who first took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such mighty consequence in navigation, and concerning which the learned have busied themselves in their enquiries ever since^p. An *Italian* writer, famous for making the most judicious collection of voyages which has hitherto appeared, celebrates *Sebastian Cabot* as his countryman^q: Yet, as he was ours both by nature and affection^r, and as we owe so much to his skill and labours, I thought it but just to give his memoirs a place here, amongst those of the most eminent *British* seamen; the rather, because he has been hitherto strangely neglected

^o Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 274, 275.
^p 811. Varenus's geography, p. 837.
^q Gio. Battista Ramusio, in the preface to his third volume.
^r Strype's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 319.

^p Stowe's Annals,
^q Gio. Battista Ramusio,
^r Strype's memoirs

neglected by our biographers, as well as by our general historians*.

It is likewise fit to say somewhat of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, admiral of that expedition into the northern seas, which produced the important discovery of the trade to *Archangel*. I have before observed, that the original of this undertaking sprung from *Sebastian Cabot*, whose settled opinion it had always been, that there were freights near the north pole, answerable to those of *Magellan*. It was by him proposed to king *Edward VI.* so early as the year 1551. In the month of *February* the next year, he obtained two ships from the king, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*; and the terms on which he was to have these, leading him to confer with some principal merchants, the result of their conferences was the changing his scheme, inso-much, that it was agreed to build three new ships, and to fit these out by a joint stock, to which such as had a good opinion of the voyage, might contribute at twenty-five pounds a share: this once settled, the ships were built with wonderful celerity, and that which was called the *Admiral*, was sheathed with lead, to preserve her from the worms. The whole of this joint stock, amounted but to six thousand pounds, and yet this money was so well employed, that by the beginning of *May* 1553, they were ready to sail†. The *Admiral* was called the *Bona Esperanza*, of the burthen of 120 tons, commanded by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, Knight, the *Edward Bonaventure*, of 160 tons, commanded by captain *Richard Chancellor*, the third

* One might have wonder'd at his being omitted in the general dictionary, if there had been an article of *DRAKE*.
 † See the account of *Clement Adams*, *Hakluyt*, vol. i. p. 243.

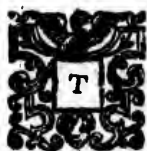
third the *Bona Confidentia*, of 90 tons, *Cornelius Dursuth* master. May 10, 1553, they sailed from *Ratcliff*, and on the eighteenth of the same month cleared from *Grave-send*. The admiral, *Sir Hugh Willoughby*, had all the qualities that could be desired in a commander. He was descended of an honourable family, was a man of great parts, much experience, and unconquerable courage, yet unfortunate in this undertaking. In the beginning of the month of *August*, he lost the company of captain *Chancellor*, and about the same time, first discovered *Greenland*, though the *Dutch* endeavour to deprive us of that honour. His utmost progress was to 72° of N. Lat. and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far spent, and his ships unable to bear the sea, he put into the haven of *Arzina*, in *Lapland*, on the eighteenth of *September*, and there provided the best he could to have passed the winter. It appears by a will, which was found in his ship, that *Sir Hugh*, and most of his company, were alive in *January* 1554; but soon after, they were all frozen to death, their bodies being found, the next summer, by *Russian* fishermen, who repaired to that coast, as also, the original journal of *Sir Hugh*, from whence these particulars are taken. As for captain *Chancellor*, he was so fortunate, as to enter the river of *St. Nicholas*, where he was well received, and had soon after access to *John Basiliowitz*, then great duke of *Muscovy* ^u.

^u Ibid. p. 232.



C H A P. XI.

The Naval History of ENGLAND, during the reign of Queen Mary; together with such transactions as relate to foreign commerce, or remarkable discoveries.



THOSE who were about king *Edward* at the time of his decease, prevailed upon him to set aside both his sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to call to the possession of his throne, his cousin the lady *Jane Grey*, who was married a little before to the lord *Guilford Dudley*, son to the great duke of *Northumberland*: but, notwithstanding the time they had, during the king's sickness to provide for the support of their designs, they were so much at a loss, that they did not immediately publish his death; but on the eighth of *July* 1553. they sent for the lord-mayor of *London*, and directed him to bring with him six aldermen, six merchants of the staple, and as many of the merchant-adventurers, whom they acquainted with the king's death, and the manner in which he had disposed of the crown, requiring them to keep it secret; which they did for two days, and then proclaimed lady *Jane* queen of *England*, &c. I mention this circumstance, to shew, in what estimation traders then were. Among the rest of the precautions taken by the duke of *Northumberland* and his party, one of the principal was, his sending a squadron of six

V O L. I. D d ships,

ships, with orders to lie before the port of *Yarmouth*, to prevent the lady *Mary*, as he stiled her, from making her escape beyond the seas; which, however, proved the ruin of his design. For these ships were no sooner seen before the town of *Yarmouth*, than Sir *Harry Jernegan* went off in an open boat, and exhorted the seamen to declare themselves for queen *Mary*, which they immediately did. This, with the lord warden of the *Cinque Ports*, proclaiming the queen in *Kent*, contributed chiefly to put an end to the struggle, so that on the 19th, she was proclaimed at *London*, and lady *Jane* became a prisoner in the very same place, where, a little before, she had kept her court ^a.

IN the beginning of her reign, queen *Mary* acted with great temper and moderation, releasing the duke of *Norfolk*, who had remained a prisoner all this time in the *Tower*, from his confinement; imprisoning indeed, such as had taken arms against her, but proceeding to no greater severities, till after *Wyat's* rebellion, when falling into the hands of *Hispanioliz'd* counsellors, she began to act with that cruelty, which is so deservedly esteemed the blemish of her reign. That she was naturally a woman of a better temper, appears, by remitting part of a tax granted to her brother king *Edward*, by his last parliament; and that she had a just respect, to the honour of the *English* nation is clear, from the great pains she took to rectify all the disorders which had crept into the government during the duke of *Northumberland's* despotick administration ^b. But all her good qualities were blasted, by her persisting obstinately in her resolution to marry *Philip*, prince of *Spain*,
contrary

^a Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Burnet, Strype, Echard, Rapin,
^b Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 31, 32, 33.

contrary to the general inclination of her people. In pursuance of this, commodore *Winter* was sent with a strong squadron to fetch the ambassadors sent by *Charles V.* to conclude this match ^c. On the arrival of Mr. *Winter* at *Ostend*, the emperor sent him a very fine gold chain; which, at his return to *England*, he shewed to Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who, after looking at it for some time, said, *for this gold chain, you have sold your country*; which expression, had like to have cost them both their lives ^d. It was the coming of these ambassadors, which induced Sir *Thomas Wyat* to take up arms, and begin that rebellion which first endangered the queen's safety, and at last brought him to the block ^e. Notwithstanding this, she caused a fleet of twenty-eight sail to be equipped, the command of which she gave to the lord *William Howard*, created baron of *Eslingham*, in the first year of her reign ^f, and lord high admiral, who was now, by special commission ^g, constituted lieutenant-general, and commander in chief of her royal army. He was sent to sea, under pretence of guarding the coast; but in reality was designed to escort prince *Philip*, this was, however, a needless care, since his own fleet consisted of a hundred and sixty sail, with which he entered the narrow seas; his admiral carrying the *Spanish* flag in his main-top, a thing which gave such offence to the gallant admiral of *England*, that he saluted him with a shot, and obliged him to take in his colours before he would make his compliments to the prince; a circumstance worthy of immortal REMEMBRANCE, and, one would think too, of IMITATION ^h.

D d 2

THE

^c Cooper, Holingshed, Rapin. ^d See his trial preserved in Holingshed. ^e Stowe, Burnet, Strype. ^f Pat. 1. M. p. 7. ^g Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xv. p. 382. ^h Sir W. Monson's naval tracts, p. 243.

THE queen was now about thirty-eight years old, entirely at her own disposal *, and, if we may judge from her conduct, somewhat in a hurry for a husband, which will appear the more excusable, if we consider, that she had been disappointed nine or ten times, if not more †. She seems, besides, to have had a natural inclination for this match, as being herself half a *Spaniard* by her mother's side, and always remarkably affected to that nation; and yet, by the care of her council, very reasonable articles were drawn for preventing the evils apprehended from this match ‡. Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton* the 19th of *July*, and passing on to *Winchester*, there espoused the queen on the 25th of the same month, being the feast of the *Spanish* patron St. *James* §. As the nation was displeased at the celebration of their nuptials, so their discontents grew higher and higher, inasmuch, that the queen never had a pleasant hour, or her subjects a quiet minute, from her wedding-day, though many projects were set on foot to pacify them. To this end, the *Spanish* artisans were forbid to open shops here, severe justice was done on several, who in resentment of insults, had killed some of the *English*, and a great many carts laden, as it was said, with gold and silver, were driven through the streets to the *Tower* ¶. All this, however, could not dissipate the jealousies which the *English* had conceived, nor were they or their queen at all satisfied with the emperor *Charles V.* † resigning the crown of *Spain* to king *Philip*. They easily foresaw, that this would occasion his remaining almost constantly

* A. D. 1554. † Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 129. ‡ These are but imperfectly published in Holingshed; but the original was copied by a careful hand, and is in the Cotton Library, Julius, F. 6. § Cooper, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin. ¶ Strype, Burnet, Godwin. † A. D. 1556.

constantly abroad; which would prove of the utmost ill consequence to their affairs, since, without communicating and receiving direction from him, the council could do little or nothing here at home^a. After the emperor's resignation, in his passage from *Flanders* to *Spain*, he put into an *English* port, where he was received with great respect by the lord high admiral, who could not, however, prevail upon him to visit the queen his daughter; but to excuse it, he wrote her a very long letter, perplexed and ambiguous, speaking that disorder of mind under which he laboured. This letter is dated the 20th of *September*, 1556, and seems to have been chiefly intended to excuse the absence of his son^o. Towards the end of the year, a discovery was made of a plot, to deliver the queen's castles, beyond the seas, into the hands of the *French*, which alarmed the nation very much, and made them apprehensive of what soon after followed^p.

It was stipulated by the articles of marriage, that the queen's dominions should not be engaged in any war, particularly with the crown of *France*, on account of any disputes between the *French* and king *Philip*; and yet, when the *Spaniards* thought it advisable to break with the *French* king, *Henry II.* the queen and her council were prevailed upon to forget that article, and the interests of *England*, and to enter into a war, both with *Scotland* and *France*. To bring this to pass, king *Philip* himself came over, and staid the best part of the spring in *England*, where he concerted such measures, as he thought would infallibly ruin

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^a See this strongly set forth in the minute of an order made by queen Elizabeth in council, on her accession, in the diary of Sir W. Cecil (lord Burleigh) Cotton Library, Titus. C. 10. ^o Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 307 ^p Ibid. p. 355

the *French*. On his return into *Flanders*, and drawing his forces to the frontiers, the earl of *Pembroke* passed from hence with a gallant body of troops, consisting of between ten and eleven thousand men, and had the honour to contribute greatly to the total defeat of the *French* forces, before the town of *St. Quintin*, in the famous battle fought there on the 7th of *July*, 1557, and soon after assisted in taking of the town by storm^a. But, while they gained honour abroad, their country suffered severely at home; for the *Scots* not only harassed the borders, but also, by the advice and assistance of the *French*, fitted out abundance of privateers, that disturbed the commerce, and particularly alarmed all such as were concerned in the *Iceland* trade, which was then of very great consequence. To quiet the apprehensions of the merchants, Sir *John Clare*, vice-admiral of *England*, was sent with a fleet of twelve sail to annoy the *Scots*, and to preserve the *Iceland* fleet: with this view, he made a descent on the island of *Kirkway*, one of the *Orkneys*, on the 12th of *August* 1557; but the next day the *Scots*, to the number of three thousand men, fell upon him, defeated the forces he had landed, killed three of his captains, took his artillery, and to complete the misfortune, the boat in which he fled, overset, so that himself, with several others, were drowned. The rest of the fleet, discouraged by this unlucky accident, abandoned their design, and returned home, which encouraged the *Scots* to raise a great army, and to threaten a dangerous invasion; but their own domestick dissensions rendered their projects abortive, and preserved the nation from any further damage on that side^b.

THE

^a Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 710. Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 210. Strype, Stowe, Holingshed. ^b Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 429.

THE succeeding winter proved fatal to the *English* possessions in *France*, those small remains of the great conquests which her *Henry's* and *Edward's* had made. The duke of *Guise*, at this time governed all in *France*, who, being well informed of the strange policy of the *English*, trusting in the winter, the defence of *Calais*, rather to its situation, than to its garrison; resolved to make use of that season to surprize it. The present war with *Spain*, gave a colour for his drawing together a great army on the frontiers, and under pretence of disturbing the *English* navigation, he directed abundance of ships to be fitted out from all the ports of *France*, with secret directions to join before *Calais*, in the beginning of the month of *January*. On the first of that month, he threw himself, with a choice body of troops, before the place, or rather behind it, towards the sea, where attacking the forts of *Niculay*, and the *Rybank*, he, after a vigorous defence, made himself master of them; after which he assaulted the town, and in a week's time, forced it to capitulate; the lord *Wentworth*, who commanded therein, having no stronger garrison than five hundred men*. Thus, in eight days, the *English* lost a place, which they had held two hundred and ten years, and which had cost *Edward III.* eleven months siege before he became master of it. Some of our historians, and especially the memoir-writers of those times, attribute this misfortune to treachery, and stab several noble characters with imputations of this sort, according as their prejudices led them; but there does not appear the least ground for these reports, any more than for suggesting that the lord *Gray*, who was governor of the castle of *Guines*, betray-

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* Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 210.

ed it[†]; since the *French* writers very candidly acknowledge, that he made not only a good, but a desperate defence; so that if he had either commanded a numerous garrison, or had entertained any hopes of relief, he would have infallibly preserved the place. As it was, he surrendered upon honourable terms, which is more than can be said for the governor of the fortrefs of *Hames*, who, struck with a sudden panick, yielded it up before the *French* had attacked it[‡]. The news of these disasters struck the queen with despair, which is not wonderful; but that they should so dispirit the nation, as to engage the council to write in such a dejected strain as they did to king *Philip*, on his moving them to attempt the retaking the place, is really strange, and I think can be accounted for no other way, than by supposing, that, on the one hand, they were weary of the mighty expence which these possessions annually cost *England*, and were, on the other hand, willing to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity, to demonstrate to the king, the mischief this war had done them, and how utterly incapable they were of prosecuting his projects any longer[¶].

IN order to shew the probability of what I have suggested, and to give my readers the clearest idea of the real importance of this place, it may not be amiss to observe, that at such time as the *French* king *Francis I.* was prisoner in *Spain*, there wanted not some, who advised king *Henry VIII.* to lay hold of this opportunity of parting with this fortrefs, and all he held in *France*, supposing, that by such a step, he might add to his profit, without diminishing

[†] Strype, Burnet, Stowe. [‡] Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 216. [¶] See the copy of the council's letter, dat.d Feb. 1, 1557. Cotton Library, Titus, B. 2.

diminishing his honour: but upon a debate in his privy council, it was resolved to keep it*. This is certain; that the expence of preserving *Calais* was very great; not amounting to less, during the time we held it, than three millions. How to compute the advantages we derived from it, I confess, is not easy to say, but surely the indifference with which queen *Elizabeth* and her ministers treated it, and the little inclination we have since shewn to get it into our possession, may render what I have advanced credible†. Add to this, that in those days the house of *Austria* was almost as formidable as the house of *Bourbon's* now; which made the greatest part of *Europe* afraid of it, and of it only. How well this apprehension was conducted, and with what address the *English* ministry managed this general inclination, so as to render the weakness of other states the cause of weakening *Spain*, to such a degree as she has never recovered, I shall hereafter have occasion to shew. In the mean time, let us return to the last, indeed the only naval expedition in this reign.

THE war still continued hot between the *French* and *Spaniards*, and the former being earlier in the field, in 1558, began to gain great advantages in the low countries; but growing upon this too warm, as is common with the *French*, they attacked count *Egmont*, near *Gravelin*, whose army made a gallant resistance, till such time as the *English* squadron, then cruising in the narrow seas, hearing the incessant noise of their artillery, and having the advantage of the wind, approached the field of battel, which was close to the sea-side, and bringing their guns
to

* Ex litera Archiep. Cantuar. ad Cardinal Wolfey, † See Styrpe's Annals, vol. i.

to bear upon the left wing of the *French*, they did such terrible execution, as quickly decided the fate of the day, and forced two hundred of the enemy to fly to the *English* ships for quarter. This battle was fought on the 3^d of *July*, and was of infinite consequence to king *Philip*. In the mean time, the queen caused a considerable navy to be drawn together, in order to make a descent upon *France*. The ships were not fewer than two hundred and forty sail; but there were great uncertainties about the time, place, and manner of acting, occasioned by the king's feeding queen *Mary* with hopes of his coming over to *England*, which it is more than probable he never intended. At length, the lord *Clinton*, then high-admiral, put to sea with a stout fleet in the month of *July*, and landed seven thousand men in lower *Bretagne*, where they took the town of *Conquet*, and soon after reembarked. Before they reached the *English* coast, they were joined by a squadron of thirty sail of *Spanish* ships, which induced the admiral to think of taking *Brest*; but arriving on the coast of *Bretagne* a second time, they found the whole country in arms, so that they were constrained to abandon their enterprize, and to lay aside all thoughts of action for this year ².

THIS disappointment joined to the coldness of her husband, the calamities which the war had brought upon her native country, and the general discontent of her subjects, greatly affected the queen's tender constitution, now in a manner worn out by a dropsy: yet this distemper was not the immediate cause of her death, but rather a kind

² *Histoire de France*, par P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 233. Strype, Stowe, Speed.

kind of infectious fever, which raged excessively in the autumn of this year, especially among the better sort. According to the accounts in some of our old chronicles, it differed little from a plague ^a. While she laboured under her last sickness, king *Philip* entered into a treaty with the *French* king, wherein at first he pretended to insist strenuously on the restitution of *Calais*; but it afterwards appeared, that this was only for form-sake, and in order to obtain better terms for himself, the poor queen was wont to say in her languishing condition, that as yet they knew not her distemper, but that, if after she was dead, they opened her, they would find *Calais* written in her heart ^b. Worn with her disease, and excruciated by her griefs, she expired the 17th of *November* 1558, the parliament then sitting. We have said somewhat as to her character before, but it may not be amiss to observe, that in the latter part of her reign, and especially after the death of *Stephen Gardiner* bishop of *Winchester*, and lord-chancellor, her prime minister, things went but indifferently in parliament, where but a few weeks before her death, one of the members for the city of *London*, made a long speech in the house of commons, wherein he fully and freely laid open all their grievances, and entered into a particular detail of the state of the nation, affirming amongst other things, that the city of *London*, was then worth less by three hundred thousand pounds than at the death of king *Edward* ^c. We need not wonder, therefore, that

^a Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 377. Stowe's Annals, p. 684. Dr. Haddon's answer apologetical to Hierome Oforius (who alledged the queen was poisoned) fol. 28.

^b Stowe, Halinghed, Speed. ^c Sir Thomas Smith reports this in his oration on the question, whether it would be more expedient for the nation, that queen Elizabeth should marry a native or a foreigner?

that this princess was very little regretted ; especially if we consider, that throughout her whole reign, she put herself at the head of a party both in church and state, and thereby exceedingly provoked the body of her people.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that by the hardships the nation underwent, in consequence of the queen's foreign marriage, they were for that season cured of their unreasonable attachment to the house of *Burgundy*, which from the time that *Maximilian* married the heiress of the last duke, to the death of queen *Mary*, cost *England* in the bare expence of wars and subsidies entered into, or granted on their behalf, six millions of our money, exclusive of the inexpressible advantages derived to them from our trade, of which enough has been said in the former reign. To this we may justly ascribe in a great measure, the putting our commerce upon a right foot, by which I mean, taking it out of the hands of the foreigners in the steel-yard, and out of the hands of an exclusive company here at home, which had been impracticable, or which comes to the same thing, never had been practised ; if through the distresses brought upon us by queen *Mary's* administration, our political system had not been changed, and the bringing this to pass, ought in justice to be ascribed to Sir *William Cecil*, who being little employed, tho' much regarded by that princess, spent much of his leisure time in making himself entirely master of the practical, as well as speculative knowledge relative to coin and commerce, which with so much credit to himself, and glory to his sovereign, he exerted in the next reign. For as it was the bane of queen *Mary's* government, that she was entirely guided by foreign councils, so it was the principal source of her sister's fame and felicity, that her views were entirely *English*, as were those of her minister before-mentioned

tioned, whose maxim it was, that his mistress could not be great, and himself secure, by any other means than consulting for, and procuring the common benefit of the nation.

SOME things, however, were done under the reign of king *Philip* and queen *Mary*, for the benefit of trade. King *Edward's* decree against the merchants of the *Steelyard* was enforced, and the privileges this company pretended to were entirely taken away, for this just and wise reason, because that though they were said to be for the benefit and advancement of commerce, yet they were found in effect to be prejudicial thereto, by maintaining in these merchants a monopoly, by secreting the mystery of traffick from the natives of this realm, and by establishing a kind of foreign republic in the metropolis of this kingdom ^d. The *Russia* company, or as it was then called the *Muscovy* company, was established by the charter which has been mentioned before, with a particular view to the discovery of new trades, and in this respect, the wisest and most useful establishment that was ever founded. It was therefore further encouraged by an act in the eighth of the next reign, and so lately as in the time of *William III.* another act passed, whereby the company are obliged to admit as a member, and to a joint participation of all their privileges any subject of this realm who requests the same, paying for such admission five pounds; so that this society stands on a broad bottom, and cannot be charged with any of those inconveniencies which may be justly imputed to other companies ^e. The first

Russian

^d Wheeler's discourse on trade.
late petition.

^e See their cases on their

Russian ambassador sent hither was in this reign, and was received with great respect, having his first public audience of king *Philip* and queen *Mary*, on the 25th of *March* 1557. We find also, that several letters were written to princes and states, in favour of our merchants, by the direction of their majesties; and by the favour of king *Philip*, there was a considerable intercourse with *Spain*, and with all the provinces subject to his catholic majesty throughout *Europe*; which, though it might possibly be the effects of his policy, in order to gain the affections of the *English*, yet it was certainly of great advantage to private persons, quickned the spirit of trade, and added somewhat to the public stock. It must however be allowed, that these favours did by no means balance the inconveniencies which arose from the influence of foreign councils, much less would they have made us amends, if the intrigues of this enterprizing prince had taken effect; for that he had thoughts of adding *England* and *Ireland* to his other hereditary dominions, and of awing them by *Spanish* garrisons, is very certain, though the war with *France*, and the queen's early death, prevented such schemes from being carried into execution^f. This, as it was very fortunate for us, so it was such a heavy disappointment to him, that, as we shall see in the succeeding part of this work, he exerted all his address, and employed his utmost power to atchieve by force, what he had failed of obtaining by fraud, and thereby ruined his own maritime strength, and increased ours much beyond what could otherwise have been by our utmost industry effected.

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^f See lord keeper Bacon's speech in d'Ewes's journal, an. 1. Eliz.

As to discoveries, there were not many attempted in this short space. *Stephen Burroughs*, as we before observed, was fitted out, to prosecute Sir *Hugh Willoughby's* attempt to find a passage by the north to the *East-Indies*; but he failed, though he passed as far as the Straights of *Weygatz* ^a. Captain *Richard Chancellor*, who had so happily begun an intercourse between us and *Russia*, and procured such ample privileges for our merchants from the *Czar*, made two other voyages into his dominions, which were very successful; but in returning from the last, he was unfortunately lost on the coast of *Scotland*, in the latter end of the year 1556 ^b. The next year the *Russia* company sent captain *Anthony Jenkinson* into *Muscovy*, who the year following passed with infinite labour, and incredible danger, into *Bucharia*, having traversed the countries bordering on the *Caspian* sea, and so was actually the first discoverer of the *Persian* trade by the way of *Muscovy*, which the *Russia* company were by an act of parliament obtained a few years ago, enabled to prosecute, which has been very beneficial already, and which there is the highest probability, will in succeeding times become as highly advantageous to the nation, as it does honour to this company at present, who (in an age so degenerate as this we live in, wherein monopolies, and the art of making money generate money, seemed to have stifled all just notions of commerce) have exerted themselves so vigorously, and in a manner so agreeable to their charter, by reviving this old trade of theirs so long forgot, that it seems equivalent to a new discovery. If the nature

of

^a Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 282.
 shed, Speed.

^b Stowe, Holing-

of this work, and the bounds prescribed me would permit, I could easily shew, that this very project was long ago entertained by the *Genoese*, hath been carefully enquired into by the *French*, and silently exercised by the *Dutch*, till now that it is like to return to its first inventors, and therefore best entitled proprietors, the *Russia* company of *England*¹.



CHAP. XII.

Containing the Naval History of ENGLAND under the auspicious reign of queen Elizabeth, an account of the many discoveries made, and plantations settled, during that space of time, with the measures pursued for the advancement of trade; including also memoirs of the famous admirals and eminent seamen, who flourished in that glorious period.



ON the demise of queen *Mary*, one would have thought there needed no considerations in order to settle the succession, since, according to the will of king *Henry*, which had been hitherto obeyed, as well as the laws of nature and

¹ Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 324.—336. Compare the trade opened by captain Jenkinson in that voyage, with what is set forth in the *Russia* company's case, and with our subsequent accounts from *Persia*.

and of the land; the lady *Elizabeth* became immediately queen. The ministry in the late reign, however, seem to have been in some doubt about taking this step, and very probably if the parliament had not been sitting, they might have made some attempt to have secured their own power, at the expence of the public peace: but it fell out more happily for the nation, so that after a short consultation, they resolved to give notice to the house of lords of the demise of the queen; and upon this, orders were immediately given for proclaiming queen *Elizabeth* ^a.

THERE never was perhaps a kingdom in a more distressed condition than *England* at the accession of this queen. It was engaged in a war abroad for the service of a foreign prince; at home the people were divided and distracted about their religious and civil concerns. Those of the reformed religion had been lately exposed to the flames, and those of the *Roman* communion found themselves now in a declining state. On the continent we had no allies; in this very island the *Scots* were enemies, and their queen claimed the *English* crown. The *Exchequer* was exhausted, most of the forts and castles throughout the kingdom mouldering into ruins; at sea we had lost much of our ancient reputation, and too a sharp sense of their misfortunes, had dejected the whole nation to the last degree ^b. *Elizabeth* was about twenty-five years of age, had quick parts, an excellent education, much prudence, and withal, what she inherited from her father, a high and haughty spirit, qualified by a warm and tender affection for her people, and an absolute contempt of those pleasures,

VOL. I.

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by

^a Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 465.

^b Gul. Camden. Annal. vol. i. p. 27. Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 2, 3. and the speech of lord keeper Bacon, in Sir Simmond's D'Ewes's journal.

by the indulging which, princes are too commonly missed. Her wisdom consisted in good sense, rather than refined maxims, and her policy seems to have rose no higher than to this plain rule, of, steadily minding her business. From the moment she became a queen, she never suffered herself to forget the station in which God had placed her. She received the compliments on her accession with majesty, and she supported her dignity even in her dying moments. The subsequent part of this history will shew, that this character is drawn from her actions, and that I have been no more inclined to flatter her, than to asperse some of her royal predecessors; though, if authorities could support scandal, I might have cited not a few to countenance both. But let us see by what steps this great queen and her able ministers, extricated their country from the misery in which it was involved, and restored this realm not only to a settled and flourishing condition, but raised her glory higher than in her most happy times she had ever stood, laying the foundation of that extensive power, which she has since enjoyed, and which she may always enjoy, if there be not wanting honest men at the helm, or if the spirit of the nation co-operates constantly with that of their rulers.

THE first act of the queen's government was asserting her independency. She made an order in council, in the preamble of which was recited, that the distresses of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign counsels in the late reign, and therefore the queen thought fit to declare, that she was a free princess, and meant so to act, without any further applications to *Spain*, than the concerns of her people required. On the twenty-first

first of *November*, when she had worn the crown but three days, she sent orders to vice-admiral *Malyn*, to draw together as many ships as he could for the defence of the narrow seas, and for preventing likewise all persons from entering into, or passing out of the kingdom without licence, which he performed so strictly, that in a short time the council were forced to relax their orders, and to signify to the warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, that the queen meant not to imprison her subjects, but that persons might pass and repass about their lawful concerns^d. With like diligence, provision was made for the security of *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and the *Isle of Wight*^e, so that by the end of the year, the kingdom was out of all danger from any sudden insult, and the queen at leisure to consider how she might farther strengthen it, so as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive.

In the month of *April* 1559, peace was concluded with *France*, and therein, amongst other things, it was provided, that, after the term of eight years, the *French* should render to the queen the town of *Calais*, or pay her fifty thousand crowns by way of penalty. In this treaty, the *Dauphin* and the queen of *Scots* were also included; but it was very indifferently performed; for the *French* immediately began to send over great forces into *Scotland*, where they intended, first to root out the protestant religion, and then to have made themselves entirely masters of the kingdom^f. This proceeding so alarmed the nobility of *Scotland*, that many of them had immediate

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recourse

^d Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 6. ^e See Sir William Cecil (lord Burleigh's) diary in the Cotton library, Titus, c. 10. ^f Buchanan, Camden, Keith, Burnet, Rapin, and even the french historians, who all own this project of their king Francis II.

recourse to arms, and not finding their own strength sufficient, applied themselves for protection to queen *Elizabeth*, who foreseeing the consequence of suffering the *French* to fix themselves, and establish an interest in *Scotland*, determined to send thither the assistance that was desired both by land and sea ^g. In the mean time a strict enquiry was made into the loss of *Calais* in the late reign. The lord *Wentworth*, on whom many aspersions had fallen, was very fairly tried and honourably acquitted by his peers; but the captains *Chamberlain* and *Harleston*, were condemned, though the queen thought fit to pardon them ^h. As for lord *Grey*, his gallant defence of the fortress, wherein he was governor, exempted him from any prosecution; instead of which, he was appointed commander in chief of the forces that were to march into *Scotland*. The fleet was commanded by admiral *Winter*, which sailing up the *Firth of Forth*, blocked up *Leith* by sea, while the army of the *Scotts* lords, and the *English* auxiliaries under lord *Grey*, besieged it by land, and in a very short space forced the *French* garrison to capitulate; whereby all the designs of *France* on that side, were entirely broken ⁱ, and the queen left to look to her own concerns, which she did with such diligence, that in two years space, religion was restored, the principal grievances felt under the former government redressed, base money taken away, the forts throughout the kingdom repaired, and trade brought into a flourishing condition.

BUT above all, the navy was the queen's peculiar care; she directed a most exact survey of it to be made, a very strict enquiry into the causes of its decay, and the most effectual

^g See Keith's history of the church and state of Scotland, vol. i. p. 113. ^h Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Camden, Strype. ⁱ Keith, Camden, Mezeray, Daniel, Rapin.

effectual means by which it might be recovered. She issued orders for preserving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of brass cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making gunpowder here at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vast expence. For the security of her fleet, which generally lay in the river *Medway*, she built a strong fortress, called, *Upnore-Castle*. The wages of the seamen she raised, enlarged the number, and heightened the salaries of her naval officers; drew over foreigners skilled in the arts relating to navigation, to instruct her people, and by the pains she took in these affairs, excited a spirit of emulation among her subjects, who began every where to exert themselves in like manner, by repairing of ports, and building vessels of all sizes, especially large and stout ships, fit for war, as well as commerce. From all which, as Mr. *Camden* tells us, the queen justly acquired the glorious title of the RESTORER of NAVAL POWER, and SOVEREIGN of the NORTHERN SEAS; insomuch, that foreign nations were struck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing respectfully to court a power, which had been so lately the object of their contempt ^k.

THE civil dissensions in the kingdom of *France*, which gave the court a pretence for oppressing those of the reformed religion, whom they called *Huguenots*, produced in the year 1562, very destructive consequences to their neighbours. A general spirit of rapine and confusion.

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^k Camden, Annal. vol. i. p. 86. where he somewhat exceeds the truth, when he says, the queen, with the assistance of her subjects, might fit out a fleet that would require 20,000 seamen, since in 1582, all the sea-faring people in her realm did not exceed 14,295. Sir Willam Monson's tracts, p. 279.

having spread itself through the inhabitants of that extensive kingdom, and the greatest crimes meeting with impunity, such as dwelt on the sea-coast, and who were mostly *Huguenots*, fitted out ships to annoy their enemies; upon which the court party did the like, so that at last, pyracies were frequent, and the *English* trade suffered thereby so intolerably, that at length the queen resolved to interpose ¹. The *French* protestants had long sued to her for protection, and offered to put the port of *Havre de Grace*, then called *Newhaven*, into her hands; which she at length accepted, and sent over *Ambrose Dudley*, earl of *Warwick*, in the month of *September* 1562, with a considerable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered into the town, and kept possession of it till the 29th of *July* following ^m. The taking into our hands this place, proved of infinite detriment to the *French*, for the court having declared all *English* ships good prize, so long as the queen held that port, she found herself obliged to issue a like proclamation, whereupon, such numbers of privateers were fitted out from the *English* ports, and from *Newhaven*, that the spoil they made is almost incredible ⁿ. For example, we are told, that one *Francis Clarke* equipped, at his own expence, three frigates, and after a cruize of six weeks, brought into *Newhaven* no less than eighteen prizes, which were valued at upwards of fifty thousand pounds ^o. But by degrees this spirit of privateering grew to such a height, that the queen for her own safety, and the honour of the nation, was obliged to restrain it, those who had fitted out ships of force, from a disposition
natural

¹ See her manifesto, published in Stowe's Annals. ^m Mezeray, P. Daniel, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Camden, Rapin.
ⁿ Camden, Holingshed, Speed. ^o Stowe's Annals, p. 653.

natural enough to privateers, plundering indiscriminately all vessels that came in their way.

PHILIP II. king of *Spain*, from the time of queen *Elizabeth's* accession to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully, sometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others, seeking every occasion to injure and molest her subjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing, from the great commerce they carried on in *Flanders* ^p. What served also to heighten the peoples hatred against the *Spaniards* was, the cruelty and treachery with which they had treated captain * *Hawkins* and his crew in the *West-Indies*, an insult the queen could but very ill bear, though as things were circumstanced, she could not well resent it, all trade to the *Spanish West-Indies* being in some respect repugnant to treaties ^q. Yet, while these things disturbed the nation's tranquillity in some measure, *France* and the low countries, were much more grievously torn through religious disputes, which by degrees kindled a civil war ^r. The protestants being the weakest, and withal the most injured party, the queen was inclined to favour them, and to afford them some assistance, though she was not willing absolutely to break either with the most *Christian*, or with the *Catholic* king. The latter had sent the duke of *Alva*, to govern the *Netherlands*, who was a fierce and cruel man, but withal a person of great courage, an able captain, and a consummate statesman. This duke, as he was a bitter enemy to the protestants, so he had conceived probably on that account, a great hatred against queen *Elizabeth*, which

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^p Camden, Burnet, Strype, Stowe, Speed.

* A. D. 1567.

^q Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1177.

^r Mezeray, P. Daniel, Basnage.

he soon found occasion to discover. Towards the end of the year 1568, some merchants of *Genoa*, intending to have set up a bank in the low countries, procured a licence from the king of *Spain* to transport thither a very large sum in ready money, on board certain ships belonging to the province of *Biscay*. These ships were chased in their passage by some *French* privateers, and were forced to take shelter in the ports of *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, and *Southampton*, where, by the queen's order, their vessels were protected, and those on board them, well treated, till at the request of the *Spanish* ambassador, the money was brought ashore. Cardinal *de Chatillon*, who was at that time here, as a refugee, informed the queen, that this money, did not belong, as was pretended, to the king of *Spain*, but to private merchants, and that in case she gave leave for transporting it into the *Netherlands*, the duke of *Alva* would certainly seize it, in order to carry on some of his dark designs. The queen, by the advice of her very wise and great minister *Cecil*, resolved to defeat this scheme, by taking the money to her own use, promising to repay it immediately, if it should appear to be the king of *Spain's* treasure, and to gratify the *Genoese* merchants with just interest, if it was theirs*. This was highly resented by king *Philip*, and the duke of *Alva*; the former by his ambassador here, endeavoured to get secretary *Cecil* assassinated, tampering also with the duke of *Norfolk*, and the earl of *Ormonde*, to raise disturbances both in *England* and *Ireland*; in which, however, he failed: but the duke of *Alva* seized all the *English* effects

* Stowe, Camden, Burnet, Strype, Rapin, life of lord Burleigh, MS.

fects in *Flanders*, and permitted his frigates and privateers to cruize on the *English* coast. The queen made reprisals in her turn; and allowing her subjects to fit out ships, they pursued this trade of privateering with so much eagerness and success, that at length they began not to distinguish friends from foes, upon which her majesty was compelled to issue a proclamation, forbidding the purchase of any ship, or effects taken by these privateers. Soon after which, these disputes were compromised †, and peace restored, though it did not last long, both the *Spaniards* and the *English* being generally inclined to break it †.

IN the midst of all these difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people, in prosecuting new schemes of trade abroad, or pursuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view she sometimes contributed ships, sometimes gave money, at others, entered into partnerships: in short, she neglected nothing which might shew her maternal tenderness for all her subjects. She likewise afforded in a very delicate conjuncture a shining proof of her generosity, in directing a strong squadron of her ships to escort *Anne* of *Austria*, in her voyage from *Flanders* into *Spain*, notwithstanding the bad terms wherein she then stood with king *Philip* †. Her treaties with *France*, did not hinder her from fortifying *Portsmouth* thoroughly, in which it quickly appeared, that her precaution was far from being the effects of a needless timidity; for the *French* soon fitted out a considerable fleet, pretending to take some offences at the supplies she had sent the *Huguenots*, as if it was contrary to

† A. D. 1573. * Camden, Strada, Turquet † Cam-
den, Stowe, Holingsted.

to the treaties between them; but when it appeared that her majesty had provided effectually against any attempts they were able to make, they were glad to desist, and even to make greater professions of friendship than before, which disposed the queen to send over the earl of *Worcester* to the christning * of the *French* king's daughter †. This proved unlucky for the *Huguenots*, who having fitted out abundance of rovers from *Rochelle*, they stooped and visited vessels of all nations approaching the *French* coast: amongst the rest, they seized a bark with part of the earl of *Worcester's* baggage, which they took, and killed three or four people. This being reported to the queen, she issued her orders by the lord high admiral to scour the narrow seas, who appointed *William Holstock*, Esq; comptroller of the navy, with three light frigates, and three hundred and sixty men on board, to perform this service, which he did with such industry and effect, that between the *Northforeland* and *Falmouth*, he took twenty privateers of several nations, with nine hundred men on board them, and sent them as they were taken to *Sandwich*, *Dover*, *Newport*, and *Portsmouth*. He likewise retook, and set at liberty, fifteen merchant-men, by them made prize, and all this within so short a time as six weeks, returning into *Portsmouth* in the middle of the month of *March*. Among these prisoners were three persons who were known and proved to be of the crew of that vessel which had plundered the earl of *Worcester's* baggage, and therefore they were immediately tried and hanged as pirates; but the rest were ransomed ‡. A few years after the nation found itself under the same difficulties, though from another quarter.

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* A. D. 1576.

† Camden, Mezeray, P. Daniel, Stowe, Speed.

‡ Stowe, Speed, Camden, Strype.

THE provinces of *Zeland* and *Holland* had now delivered themselves from the *Spanish* bondage, and were growing considerable in the world by their maritime power. This, however, had a bad effect on the disposition of the common people, who became insufferably insolent to all their neighbours, and particularly to us who had been their principal benefactors. Their pretence for this was, our corresponding with the inhabitants of *Dunkirk*, who were their enemies. At first, therefore, they took only such ships as were bound to that port; but by degrees they went farther, and committed such notorious pyracies, that the queen was again forced to send the commander of the navy, Mr. *Holstock*, with a small squadron to sea, who quickly drove the *Dutch* frigates into their harbours, and sent two hundred of their seamen to prison. The queen, not satisfied with this punishment, sent Sir *William Winter* and *Robert Beale*, Esq; to demand restitution of the goods taken from her subjects, which, however, they did not obtain; and on this account the *Dutch* factors here suffered severely. But as for refugees of all nations, who fled for the sake of religion, she not only received them kindly, but granted them various privileges, in order to induce their stay, and to fix here the manufactures in which they had laboured in their own countries. This policy succeeded so well, that *Colchester*, *Norwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Canterbury*, and many other places were filled with those industrious foreigners, who taught us to make variety of silk and worsted stuffs, while many also from *Germany* were sent into the north, where they employed themselves in mining, making salt-petre, forging

y Camden, Strype, Burchet, Sir Walter Raleigh's Essays.

ing all sorts of tools made of iron, which were arts absolutely unknown to us before their arrival, and which, for ages to come, might have continued so, but for the wisdom and public spirit of the queen and her ministers. The *French* and *Spaniards*, who were sensible of the advantages we gained, and the losses they suffered, by the retiring of their artificers into this island, had recourse to severe laws in order to prevent it, which were so far from answering the end, that they drove people over faster than they came before; so that we may truly say, our extensive trade was a blessing, bestowed by god, for the countenance we afforded in those their dismal days of distress, to the afflicted protestants in *France* and *Flanders* ².

THE growth of this kingdom's power and commerce, being so conspicuous, left king *Philip* of *Spain*, the most penetrating prince of his time, no room to doubt, that his projects for assuming the entire dominion of *Europe*, or at least the direction of it, would be rendered entirely abortive, unless some method could be contrived for ruining *England* at once. While he meditated this design, and took various steps towards it, he found himself daily more and more irritated, by the pains the queen took to frustrate his schemes, and to diminish the power which had been derived to him from his father the emperor *Charles V.* ². We have shewn, how, during the administration of the duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, differences had arisen between the court of *England* and the king of *Spain's* subjects

² Mezeray, Strada, Camden, Strype, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, and, in general, all the writers of those times, particularly, such as have made the progress of the reformation the subject of their writings; though, after all, the point has never been so thoroughly discussed as it deserves. ³ Camden, Strype, Rapin.

jects there, and how, after much warmth shewn on both sides, these matters were in some measure accommodated in 1573. That accommodation was so far from being the effects of any cordial disposition in either of these powers, that it was a mere act of policy on both sides, neither having as yet brought those things to bear, which were requisite for fulfilling their designs ^b. The catholic king had three points in view, not for distressing only, but for destroying queen *Elizabeth*, and utterly subverting the *English* state ^c. The first of these was, uniting against her, under colour of religion, most of the princes and states abroad, which, by the assistance of the pope, joined to his own extensive influence, he, in a good measure, effected; carrying (as we shall hereafter see) his distaste so far, as to practise even with the little republics in *Germany*, to disturb our commerce, and to affront our government. His second point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the popish faction, and by maintaining, at a vast expence, such fugitives as fled from hence, in which he was likewise prosperous for some time, the peace of the kingdom being broken, its strength enervated, the government, nay, the queen's life, often in danger by those restless spirits, who were as assiduous in the blackest cause, as if their industry had been prompted by the most honourable motives. The last thing king *Philip* had at heart, was the providing, as secretly as might be, such a force as, with the assistance of his other schemes, might enable him to make himself entirely master of *England* at once; to which end he with great diligence sought to increase his maritime

^b Hugo Grotius in Hist. Belg.

^c The reader may find a more copious detail of the political motives to the invasion in 1586, in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 512.

maritime power, and under colour of his wars in the *Netherlands*, to keep under the command of the prince of *Parma*, one of the ablest generals that, or perhaps any other age ever produced, such an army in constant readiness there, as might be sufficient to achieve this conquest, when he should have a fleet strong enough to protect them in their passage. In the prosecution of these deep laid projects, *Philip* met with many favourable circumstances, which might, and very probably did, strongly flatter his hopes; particularly, the death of the queen of *Scots*, that deeply stained the character of *Elizabeth* in foreign courts, and his own acquisition of the kingdom of *Portugal*, by which he gained a vast accession of naval strength ^d.

QUEEN Elizabeth and her ministers, were too penetrating, and had too quick, as well as certain intelligence, to be at all in the dark, as to the purpose of the king of *Spain*, and their prudence was such, that by every method possible, they worked to disappoint him, without signifying any of their apprehensions to the world. With this intent they laboured to convince foreign states, that king *Philip* was a common enemy, and that he aimed alike at subduing all his neighbours, which being a thing strictly true and nearly concerning them, had, undoubtedly, a proper weight ^e. In the next place, pains was taken to cultivate a closer correspondence with his discontented subjects in the *Netherlands*, and to furnish them with money, and other private aids, whereby they were enabled to give some check to his power, both by sea and land. Our own privateers, were allowed to pass into the *West-Indies*, where they

^d Camden, Buchanan, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Strype, Rapin.

^e Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 424, as also such letters in the *cabala*, as relate to the year 1587, and 1588.

they carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than the public benefit; for, by this means, they gained a perfect acquaintance with the ports, rivers, and fortresses in the *West-Indies*, with the nature of the commerce carried on there, the method of sharing it by fair means, or of destroying it by force^f. Thus, notwithstanding their immense wealth, and extensive dominions, the *English* were in some measure a match for the *Spaniards* at all points. But still, the great secret by which the queen defeated all king *Philip's* politic inventions, seems to have been scarce known, to most of the writers, who have undertaken to acquaint us with the transactions of her reign. It was in reality this; she discovered the principal instruments he intended to make use of for her destruction; but instead of exposing or taking them off, she contrived so to manage them by her creatures, as to make them actually fulfill her purposes, though they remained all the time tools and pensioners to *Spain*. Thus she caused the ambassador *Mendoza*, whose arts might have been otherwise dangerous had he remained here, to be so wrought on, as to forfeit his character, by suborning persons to murder secretary *Cecil*, and to spread libels in the night, through the streets, reflecting on herself^g. The *Spanish* emissaries, employed to seduce her people, in order to form a strong party on any invasion, she took care to engage in plots against her person, whereby they became speedily obnoxious to a legal conviction, and so brought to an ignominious death, equally terrible and shameful to the popish faction. This appears clearly by the case of *Parry* and other conspirators, with whom

^f Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Fluyt, Purchas. ^g Camden, Stowe, Speed, and more particularly in the life of lord Burleigh, written by one of his servants, and published by the reverend Mr Peck, in the first volume of his *Desiderata Curiosa*.

whom her secretaries played till their treasons were ripe, and then seized and convicted them; and thus at last, after all the pains the king had taken, she escaped an invasion by procuring such notions to be infused into the prince of *Parma's* head, as inclined him rather to seek his own than his master's advantage, by which she reaped a double benefit, that prince being soon after poisoned, and so his particular schemes were likewise cut short ^b. But it is time to return to our more immediate subject, the pains and precautions taken by the queen and her ministers, to put the nation in such a state of defence, both by land and sea, as might give the people courage, and strike the enemy with a strong sense of danger; the rather, because these facts seem hitherto not to have been extremely well understood.

THE queen's apprehensions of the *Spaniards* designs, were certainly conceived much earlier than most of our historians imagine, as appears from the state-papers in her reign; among which, from the year 1574, we meet with nothing more frequent, than instructions for viewing Fortifications, examining the condition of our forts, enquiring into the strength and posture of our militia, taking frequent musters, and, in fine, forming from all these enquiries, a brief state of the military and naval power of her dominions, of which I have seen many in ancient MSS. amongst them, one in 1575, whereby it appears, that the able men throughout *England*, were computed to be one hundred, eighty-two thousand, nine hundred, twenty-nine, by which were intended serviceable men; and of such as were armed, and in a continual capacity of acting, there were sixty-two thousand, four hundred, and sixty-two; and of light-horse

^b Stowe's annals, p. 746.

horse two thousand five hundred sixty-six. I have likewise an account of the royal navy in 1578, by which it appears, that it consisted of no more than twenty-four ships of all sizes¹. The largest was called the *Triumph*, of the burthen of a thousand tons; the smallest was the *George*, which was under sixty tons. At the same time, all the ships throughout *England*, of an hundred tons and upwards, were but one hundred thirty-five, and all under an hundred, and upwards of forty tons, were six hundred and fifty-six. I am, therefore, amazed to find a late writer, who ought certainly to be as well acquainted with the state of the navy as any man, give us the following list under so strange a title as²,

WHAT OUR NAVY WAS IN 1573.

	Guns.	N ^o .	
Of	100	1	} 59 of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in those days.
From	80 to 60	9	
From	58 to 40	49	
From	38 to 20	58	
From	18 to 6	29	
			146

THOUGH nothing is easier than to discern at first sight, that this account is absurd and improbable; yet another writer has copied it implicitly, and no doubt, by degrees, it would gain credit; though, I dare say, there is an

VOL. I.

F f

ror

¹ E Codice antiq. MS. penes Sam. Knight, S. T. P. ² Mr. Burchet, in his preface to his *Naval History*. See also Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. i. p. 160.

ror of an hundred years at least, in the title of this state of the navy. That it is absolutely false, may appear from hence, that in an estimate in the office of ordnance, the guns on board the queen's ships, in 1578, are computed to be five hundred and four ¹; whereas, according to the foregoing state, they must have been, five years before, as we see, no less than five thousand, ninety-nine, which, if we compare with the number of cannon in the *Spanish* armada, being but two thousand, six hundred and thirty, as appears by a list printed by authority of the *Spanish* court, we shall have a proper idea of the accuracy of this computation, which I have been forced to treat in this manner, to prevent so strange a fact from being longer imposed even on the most unattentive peruser ^m.

As I find authority has so great weight with some people, that they will not be brought to believe that the naval strength of *England* was so inconsiderable at this time, I have thought it necessary to insert *verbatim* the list beforementioned in this edition, and to add some remarks, which will, I think, put the matter beyond all dispute.

The names of her Majesty's ships, with the number of men and furniture requisite for the setting forth of the same, A. D. 1578.

I. TRIUMPH.			2 Furniture		
1 Men	780	wh. eof	Harquebus	—	250
Mariners	—	450	Bows	—	50
Gunners	—	50	Arrows, sheaves of	—	100
Soldiers	—	200	Pikes	—	200
			Corselets		

¹ E Codice antiq. antedat.
p. 221. in the appendix.

^m Strype's Annals, vol. iii.

Of *Queen* ELIZABETH. 435

Corflets ——— 100 3 Burthen ——— 803

* Mariners ——— 200

3 Burthen 1000 3.

V. PRIMROSE.

Men, Furniture and Bur-
then as the last.

II. ELIZABETH.

1 Men 600 whereof

Mariners ——— 300

Gunners ——— 50

Soldiers ——— 200

2 Furniture

Harquebus ——— 200

Bows ——— 50

Arrows, sheaves of 100

Pikes ——— 280

Bills ——— 170

Mariners ——— 200

3 Burthen ——— 900

III. WHITE BEAR.

1 Men, Furniture and Bur-
then as the last.

IV. VICTORY.

1 Men 500 whereof

Mariners ——— 330

Gunners ——— 40

Soldiers ——— 160

2 Furniture

Harquebus ——— 200

Bows ——— 40

Arrows, sheaves of 80

Corflets ——— 80

Mariners ——— 160

VI. MARY ROSE.

1 Men 350 whereof

Mariners ——— 200

Gunners ——— 50

Soldiers ——— 120

2 Furniture

Harquebus ——— 125

Bows ——— 30

Arrows, sheaves of 60

Pikes ——— 100

Bills ——— 120

Corflets ——— 50

Mariners ——— 160

3 Burthen ——— 600

VII. HOPE.

Men, Furniture and Bur-
then as the last.

VIII. BONAVENTURE.

1 Men, 300 whereof

Mariners ——— 160

Gunners ——— 30

Soldiers ——— 110

2 Furniture

Harquebus ——— 110

Bows ——— 30

Arrows,

F f 2

* A kind of arms in use at that time, since laid aside.

436 NAVAL HISTORY

Arrows, sheaves of	60
Pikes	90
Bills	100
Corfleets	50
Mariners	100
3 Burthen	600

IX. PHILIP and MARY.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the last.

X. LYON.

1 Men 290 whereof	
Mariners	150
Gunners	30
Soldiers	110
2 Furniture and Burthen as the two last.	

XI. DREADNOUHT.

1 Men 250 whereof	
Mariners	140
Gunners	20
Soldiers	80
2 Furniture	
Harquebus	80
Bows	25
Arrows, sheaves of	50
Pikes	50
Bills	60
Corfleets	40
Mariners	80
3 Burthen	400

XII. SWIFTSURE.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the last.

XIII. SWALLOW.

1 Men, 200 whereof	
Mariners	120
Gunners	20
Soldiers	60
2 Furniture	
Harquebus	75
Bows	25
Arrows, sheaves of	50
Bills	60
Corfleets	30
Mariners	70
3 Burthen	350

XIV. ANTELOPE.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the last.

XV. JENNET.
Men, Furniture and Burthen as the two last.

XVI. FORESIGHT.
Men and Furniture as the three last.
Burthen 300.

XVII.

Of Queen ELIZABETH. 437

XVII. AID.

1 Men 160 whereof		
Mariners	—	90
Guns	—	20
Soldiers	—	50
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	50
Bows	—	20
Arrows, sheaves of	—	40
Pikes	—	40
Bills	—	50
Corflets	—	20
Mariners	—	50
3 Burthen	—	240

XVIII. BULL.

1 Men 120 whereof		
Mariners	—	10
Guns	—	10
Soldiers	—	40
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	35
Bows	—	15
Arrows, sheaves of	—	30
Pikes	—	30
Bills	—	40
Corflets	—	20
Mariners	—	40
3 Burthen	—	160

XIX. TYGER.

Men, Furniture and Burthen
as the last.

XX. FAULCON.

1 Men 80 whereof		
Mariners	—	60
Guns	—	10
Soldiers	—	20
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	24
Bows	—	10
Arrows, sheaves of	—	20
Pikes	—	20
Bills	—	30
Corflets	—	12
Mariners	—	24
3 Burthen	—	

XXI. AIBATES.

1 Men 60 whereof		
Mariners	—	30
Gunnors	—	10
Soldiers	—	10
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	16
Bows	—	10
Arrows, sheaves of	—	20
Pikes	—	20
Bills	—	30
Corflets	—	12
Mariners	—	24
3 Burthen	—	80

XXII. HANDMAID.

Men, Furniture and Burthen
as the last.

F f 3 XXIII.

XVII.

XXIII. BARK of BULLEN.

1 Men 50 whereof

Mariners — 30

Gunners — 10

Soldiers none

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 12

Bows — 10

Arrows, sheaves of 20

Pikes — 15

Bills — 20

Mariners — 30

3 Burthen — 60

Bows — 10

Arrows, sheaves of 20

Pikes — 15

Bills — 20

Mariners — 30

The sum of all other, as
well merchant ships as
others in all places of *Eng-*
land of an 100 tuns and
upwards 135

The sum of all barks and
ships of 40 tun and up-
wards, to 100 tun 656

XXIV. GEORGE.

1 Men 50 whereof 40

Mariners — 40

Guns — 10

Soldiers none

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 12

There are besides by estima-
tion 100 sail of hoyes.

Also of small barks and
and fishermen an infinite
number. So as the num-
ber - - - - through the
realm cannot be less than
600 besides *London*.

There cannot be fuller evidence expected for the authenticity of this list, than the visible conformity between it and all the lists of the queen's ships of war, published in the relations by authority during that reign, and by Sir *William Monson* in his naval memoirs, with one of which, containing the state of the navy at the queen's demise, the reader will find an opportunity of comparing it hereafter. On the other hand, that there could be no such fleet at the time the beforementioned abstract is dated, will still farther appear from the following considerations, that the building

building and maintaining it was utterly inconsistent with the state of the public revenue at that time. That there is not the least mention of any such force in any of the histories of those times. That all the lists of ships published by authority directly contradict it; so that unless we can believe the wisest and most active men in those times, were totally ignorant of what it most imported them to know, we must conclude that this abstract belongs to another period of time, or that it is a downright chimera, but the former appears to me infinitely more probable than the latter.

It must give every attentive reader a very high idea of the wisdom and fortitude of queen *Elizabeth*, and her ministers, when he is told, that during the whole time *Spain* was providing so formidable an invasion, they were employed in cherishing the commerce and naval power of *England*, without suffering themselves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boasts, or by the intelligence they had of their great strength and vast preparations. To distress king *Philip* in bringing home his treasures from the *West-Indies*, many adventurers were licensed to cruise in those seas, and the queen herself lent some ships for this purpose. To delay the invasion as much as possible, or if it had been practicable to defeat it, the queen sent a stout fleet under Sir *Francis Drake*, in 1587, to *Cadiz*, where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected; for he forced six galleys which were designed to have guarded the port, to shelter themselves

F f 4

under

^a Camden, Strype, Bohun, Lord Bacon's Character of Queen Elizabeth, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts. ^o Stowe, Hallingsted, Speed, Camden, Sir Walter Raleigh's Essays.

under the cannon of their castles, and then burnt a hundred ships and upwards in the bay, all of which were laden with ammunition and provisions. From thence he sailed to cape *St. Vincent*, where he surprized some forts, and entirely destroyed all the fishing-craft in the neighbourhood. Arriving at the mouth of the *Tago*, and understanding that the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, lay hard by with a squadron of good ships, he challenged him to come out and fight; but the marquis, who was one of the best seamen in *Spain*, adhering closely to his master's orders, chose rather to let *Drake* burn the coast than hazard an engagement. Sir *Francis*, having done this, steered for the *Azores*, where he took a large ship homeward bound from the *East-Indies*, which added as much to his profit, as his former glorious exploits had done to his reputation, and so returned home in triumph^p. This expedition delayed the *Spaniards* for some months; but in the spring of the next year, this enormous fleet being almost ready, king *Philip* gave orders that it should rendezvous at *Lisbon*, in order to pass from thence to *England*.

HIS catholic majesty presumed so much on the force of this extraordinary fleet, superior certainly to any thing that had been fitted out for ages before, that instead of concealing its strength, he caused a very accurate account of it to be published in *Latin*, and most of the languages spoken in *Europe*, except *English*^q. This piece was dated *May 20, 1588*, and according to it, the most happy *Armada*

^p Sir William Menfon's Naval Tracts, p. 170. ^q The Title in Spanish ran thus, *La felicissima Armada que el Rey Felipe nuestro Senior mando Junlar en el puerto de la Citedad de Lisboa en el Reyno de Portugal: En Anno de mille quinientos y ocenta y ochta. Hecha per Pedro de Pas Salas.*

mada (for so it was filed therein) consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, making in all fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred, sixty-eight ton; on board of which, there were nineteen thousand, two hundred ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand, four hundred fifty mariners, two thousand, eighty eight slaves, with two thousand, six hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. Besides, there was a large fleet of tenders, with a prodigious quantity of arms on board, intended for such as should join them. There were also on board this fleet, one hundred and twenty-four volunteers of quality, and about one hundred and eighty religious persons of several orders. The command of the whole was originally designed to have been vested in the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, a nobleman of known valour, and great experience, of which he had given high proofs in the famous battle of *Lepanto*; but he dying, the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, *Don Alphonso de Gusman*, was appointed in his stead, rather on account of his quality than his merit, under whom served *Don Martinez de Ricalde*, an old experienced *Biscaneer*, who had the direction of all things, and by whose advice the general was entirely led. These great officers repaired to *Lisbon*, in the latter end of the month of *May*, and in a few days after, their navy was in a condition to sail. But it is now time to return to the dispositions made in *England* for warding off so dangerous a blow.

In the first place, the queen took care to give proper information to all foreign states, of the nature and intent of this project of the king of *Spain's*, pointing out to them, not her own, but their dangers, in case that monarch should

* Camden, Strype, Rapin.

should prevail, which method being as prudently carried into practice, as it was wisely contrived, the king of *Denmark*, at the request of her ambassador, laid an embargo on a very strong squadron of ships hired for the use of king *Philip* in his dominions *. The *Hanse-Towns*, determined enemies at that time to *England*, retarded, however, the ships they were to have sent to *Spain*, which though a very seasonable act of prudence then, proved fatal to them afterwards. King *James VI.* of *Scotland* buried all his resentments for his mother's death, and steadily adhered to his own, by following the queen's interests. The *French* were too wise to afford the *Spaniards* any help, and the *Dutch* fitted out a considerable navy, for the service of the queen, under the command of count *Justin* of *Nassau*. The *English* fleet was commanded by *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, then high-admiral, who had under him for his vice-admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*; for his rear-admiral, Sir *John Hawkins*, and abundance of experienced officers, who had signalized their courage and conduct: their orders were to lie on the west-coast, that they might be ready to receive the enemy. Lord *Henry Seymour*, in conjunction with count *Nassau*, cruized on the coast of *Flanders*, the better to prevent the prince of *Parma* from making any descent, as it was expected he would attempt to do with the army under his command. Then, as to a land-force, the queen had three armies, the first consisted of twenty thousand men, cantoned along the south-coast, another of two and twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, which was encamped near *Tilbury*, under the command of the earl of *Leicester*; the third, which was made up

* *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 524.

up of thirty four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, all chosen men, was for the guard of the queen's person, their commander being the lord *Hunsdon*, a brave, active, and resolute nobleman, the queen's near relation †.

THE *Spanish* fleet sailed from the river of *Lisbon*, on the first of *June*, N. S. with as great pomp, and as strong hopes, as any fleet ever did. The king's instructions to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, were to repair to the road of *Calais*, in order to be joined by the prince of *Parma*, and then to pursue such further orders as he should find in a sealed letter delivered to the general with his instructions. It was further recommended to him, to keep as close as possible to the *French* shore, in order to prevent the *English* from having any intelligence of his approach, and in case he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting to the utmost of his power, and to endeavour only to defend himself. But in doubling the *North-cape*, the fleet was separated by foul weather, which obliged the general to sail to the *Groyne*, where he re-assembled his ships, and had intelligence that the *English* fleet was put into *Phymouth*. Upon this he held a council of war, to consider whether they should adhere strictly to the king's order, or embrace this favourable opportunity of burning the *English* fleet in their harbour. After a long debate, wherein many were of a contrary opinion, it was resolved to attempt the *English* fleet; and this chiefly at the instigation of Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, admiral of the *Andalusian* Squadron. The pretence, indeed, was very plausible, and, but for an unforeseen accident, they had certainly carried their point. The first land they fell in with was the *Lizard*, which they

† Stowe, Hollingshed, Speed, Camden, Strype, Rapin, &c.

they mistook for the *Ram's-head* near *Plymouth*, and being towards night, stood off to sea, till the next morning. In this space of time they were descryed by a *Scotch* pyrate, one captain *Fleming*, who bore away immediately for *Plymouth*, and gave the lord admiral notice, which proved the ruin of their design, as well as the preservation of the *English* fleet *.

THE season was so far advanced, and the *English* had so little intelligence of the *Spaniard's* departure, that their fleet was not only returned into port, but several of their ships also were already laid up, and their seamen discharged. The admiral, however, sailed on the first notice, and though the wind blew hard into *Plymouth-Sound*, got out to sea, but not without great difficulty *. The next day, being the 20th of *July*, they saw the *Spanish* navy drawn up in a half-moon, sailing slowly through the channel, its wings being near seven miles asunder. The admiral suffered them to pass by quietly, that having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and success, and though Don *Martinez de Ricalde*, did all that it was possible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmost disorder, and many of them received considerable damage. More had been done, but that a great part of the *English* fleet lay at too great a distance, so that the admiral was forced to wait for them. The night following, a *Dutch* gunner, who by some *Spanish* officers had been ill-used, set fire to the ship on board which was their treasure;

* Stowe, Hakluyt, Sir William Monson's naval tracts, Camden.
 * Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 172. Stowe's annals, p. 747. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 591. where there is a compleat narration of this expedition from a dutch writer.

Of Queen ELIZABETH. 445

treasure; nor was it without great difficulty, that the flames were extinguished. The greatest part of the money was put on board a galleon commander by Don *Pedro de Valdez*, which soon after sprung her foremast, and being thus disabled, and the night very dark, fell into the hands of Sir *Francis Drake*, who sent her captain to *Dartmouth*, and left the money on board to be plundered by his men *. The next day was spent by the *Spanish* general in disposing his fleet, giving orders to his officers, and dispatching an advice-boat to hasten the duke of *Parma*, by giving him an account of the great loss he had suffered, and the danger he was in. On the 23d, they fought again, with variety of success, which however demonstrated to the *Spaniards*, that the great bulk of their ships was a disadvantage to them, their shot flying over the heads of the *English*, while every bullet of theirs took place. On the 24th, the *English* were able to do little for want of ammunition; but a supply arriving in the evening, the admiral made the necessary dispositions for attacking the *Spaniards* in the dead of the night, dividing his fleet into four squadrons, the first commanded by himself, the second by Sir *Francis Drake*, the third by admiral *Hawkins*, and the fourth by captain *Martin Forbisher*, but a dead calm prevented the execution of this design. On the 25th, one of the *Spanish* ships was taken, and on the 26th, the admiral resolved to make no farther attempts upon them, till they should enter the *Streights of Dover*, where he knew lord *Henry Seymour*, and Sir *William Winter*, waited for them with a fresh squadron. He also took this opportunity of knighting lord *Thomas Howard*, lord *Sheffield*, Roger *Townsend*,

* Stowe's annals, and Sir William Monson's naval tracts.

send, admiral *Hawkins*, and captain *Forbisher*, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement ⁷.

THE wind favouring the *Spanish* fleet, they continued their course up the channel, with the *English* ships close to their rear. The strength of the *Spaniards* had not only alarmed, but excited the courage of the whole nation, inso-much, that every man of quality and fortune was ambitious of distinguishing himself upon this occasion, against the common enemy. With this view, the earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, Sir *Thomas Cecil*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Thomas Vavasor*, and many others, fitted out ships at their own expence, and went, most of them in person, to attend the admiral. Men of lower rank, shewed their zeal and loyalty, by sending ammunition and provisions; and so unanimous were all men against these foreigners, that even the papists, whom the *Spaniards* expected to have found in arms, were glad to wipe off the aspersions which had been thrown upon them, by serving as common soldiers. When, therefore, the *Spanish* fleet anchored on the twenty-seventh of *July* before *Calais*, the *English* admiral had with him near a hundred and forty ships, which enabled him to gall the enemy extremely. But, perceiving on the twenty-eighth, that the *Spaniards* had so disposed their great ships, that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into disorder, he resolved to practise an expedient long before thought of, in case the enemy should have come up the river *Thames*, which was converting some of their worst vessels into fire-ships. This method he accordingly pursued, filling eight large barks with all sorts of combustible matter

⁷ Camden, Stowe, Hakluyt, &c.

matter, and sending them under the command of the captains *Young* and *Prowse*, about midnight, into the thickest part of the *Spanish* fleet, where they speedily began to blaze, and, as the admiral had foreseen, obliged the navy to separate, and each ship to seek its own safety. The next day a large galeas ran ashore on the sands of *Calais*, where she was plundered by the *English*. Desirous, however, of attempting somewhat, the *Spaniards* again rendezvoused near *Graveling*, where they waited some time, in hopes the prince of *Parma* would have come out; but in this they were disappointed, whether through the want of power, or of will, in that great general, is uncertain. At last, finding themselves hard pressed by the *English* fleet, which continued to make a terrible sea upon them, they made a bold attempt, to have retreated through the straits of *Dover*; but the wind, coming about with hard gales at north-west, drove them on the coast of *Zeland*; but soon after veering to the south-west they tacked and got out of danger. The duke *de Medina Sidonia*, took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that there were now no hopes left of succeeding, and therefore, that the most prudent thing they could do, was to save as many ships as possible ².

THIS resolution being once fixed, was immediately carried into execution, and the whole *Spanish* navy, made all the sail they could for their own coast, going north-about, which exposed them to excessive dangers. The *English* admiral very prudently sent lord *Henry Seymour* with a strong squadron to cruize on the coast of *Zeland*, to prevent

² Camden, Stowe, Hakluyt, Monson, Strype.

vent any danger from their joining with the prince of *Parma*, and afterwards left them to pursue their course. When the *Spanish* fleet arrived on the *Scotch* coast, and found that care was every where taken they should meet with no supply, they threw their horses and mules overboard, and such of them as had a proper store of water, bore away directly for the bay of *Biscay*, with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, making in all about twenty-five ships. The rest, about forty sail, under the command of the vice-admiral, stood over for the coast of *Ireland*, intending to have watered at cape *Clare*. On the second of *September*, however, a tempest arose, and drove most of them ashore, so that upwards of thirty ships, and many thousand men, perished on the *Irish* coast. Some likewise were forced a second time into the *English* channel, where they were taken, some by the *English*, and some by the *Rochellers*. Several very large vessels were lost among the western isles, and upon the coast of *Argyleshire*. Out of these, about five hundred persons were saved, who came into *Edinburgh*, in a manner naked, and out of mere charity, were clothed by the inhabitants of that city, who also attempted to send them home to *Spain*: but, as if misfortunes were always to attend them, they were forced in their passage upon the coast of *Norfolk*, and obliged to put into *Tarmouth*, where they stayed till advice was given to the queen and council, who, considering the miseries they had already felt, and not willing to appear less compassionate than the *Scots*, suffered them to continue their voyage ^a.

THUS,

^a Stowe's annals, p. 749. Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 226. in the appendix, Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 6c8.

THUS, in the short space of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been three years preparing, was destroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ships, there returned but fifty-three or four, and of the people embarked, there perished twenty thousand men at least. We may best form an idea of their loss, from the precaution taken by king *Philip* to hide it, by publishing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. As to the courage and constancy he expressed upon this occasion, I should be loath to contradict many great authorities; yet this is certain, that the lord treasurer *Burleigh* received intelligence of another kind, viz. that the king should say, after mass, that he would spend the wealth of *Spain*, to one of those candlesticks upon the altar, rather than not revenge himself upon the *English* ^b. His future conduct agreed so exactly with this threatening, that we may well conclude, if he did not say, he thought so, and was therefore far from being so unmoved at this disaster as is commonly reported. What might in some measure justify his resentment, was, the falling out of this mischief, through the breach of his orders, which is well remarked by a writer of our own; for, if the king's instructions had been pursued, it is more than probable, that queen *Elizabeth's* government had run the utmost hazard of being overturned. The duke of *Medina Sidonia* escaped punishment, through the interest of his wife; but as for don *Diego Flores de Valdez*, whose persuasions induced the general to take that rash step, he was arrested as soon as he set foot on shore, and conducted to the castle of *St. Andero*, after which, he was never heard of more. The same writer, from whom we have

VOL. I.

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this

^b Strype's annals, 525. Camden's annals, p. 418.

this particular, remarks also an error in the conduct of the *English*, viz. that they did not attack the *Spanish* fleet after it arrived before *Graveling*, which, however, he assures us, was not through any fault in the admiral, but was occasioned through the negligence of some under-officers, who had the direction of the military stores, and had been too sparing of powder and ammunition; otherwise, he tells us, it was thought, the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, at the persuasion of his confessor, would have yielded both himself and his ships, which, it seems, in that particular, were not at all better provided. This would have been a conquest indeed, a conquest equally glorious and important, the loss of which, ought to teach posterity, not to be too hasty in censuring great officers, or too remiss in punishing little ones. In the present case, this mischance seems to have been covered by the many favours bestowed by providence, and the offenders to have escaped through that general joy which their deliverance from so great an evil diffused through the whole nation ^c.

It seems to be injurious to the reputation of those brave men, who on this occasion achieved such great things, to give no account of the force of the *English* fleet, which, however, I find not in any of our general historians; a deficiency which I shall endeavour to supply, by adding a list collected at that time, and which for any thing I know, has not hitherto been published ^d.

^c Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 172, 173. Camden, Stowe, Hakluyt, Rapin. ^d Communicated to me by the revd. Dr. Knipe, Canon of Christ-Church, Oxon.

A LIST of the English FLEET, in the
YEAR 1588.

M EN of war belonging to her majesty,	17
Other ships hired by her majesty for this service,	12
Tenders and store ships;	8
Furnished by the city of <i>London</i> , being double the number the queen demanded, all well-manned, and thoroughly provided with ammunition and provision,	16
Tenders and store-ships;	4
Furnished by the city of <i>Bristol</i> , large and strong ships; and which did excellent service,	3
A tender,	1
From <i>Barnstable</i> , merchant-ships converted into fri- gates,	3
From <i>Exeter</i> ;	2
A stout pinnace;	1
From <i>Plymouth</i> , stout ships every way equal to the queen's men of war,	7
A fly-boat;	1
Under the command of lord <i>Henry Seymour</i> , in the narrow seas, of the queen's ships and vessels in her service;	16
Ships fitted out at the expence of the nobility, gen- try, and commons of <i>England</i> ,	43
By the merchant-adventurers, prime ships, and ex- cellently well furnished,	10
Sir <i>William Winter</i> 's pinnace;	1

In all 143

THE queen having intelligence that the *Spaniards* meditated a second attempt upon her dominions, resolved like a wise princess to find them work at home, in order to which, in the spring of the year 1589, she expressed her royal intention of assisting don *Antonio* to recover his kingdom of *Portugal* ^a. The expedition was undertaken partly at the queen's expence, and partly at the expence of private persons. Her majesty furnished six men of war, and sixty thousand pounds: Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Norris*, were joint commanders, who with their friends adventured fifty thousand pounds: the rest of the charges was defrayed by *London*, the *Cinque-Ports*, *Ipswich*, *Harwich*, *Newcastle*, &c. and the whole navy consisted of a hundred and forty-six sail ^f. To which also the *Dutch* joined a small squadron ^g. The first exploit they performed was landing near *Corunna*, commonly called the *Groyne*, which place they attacked, burnt the adjacent country, together with many magazines of naval stores, defeated a great body of *Spaniards*, and then reimbarked their forces, and sailed, as they had first designed, for the river of *Lisbon* ^h. On their arrival before *Peniche*, the troops were landed, and the place quickly surrendered to don *Antonio*; and from thence Sir *John Norris* with the earl of *Essex*, and the whole army under their command, marched by land towards *Lisbon*, where they expected to have met the fleet under the command of Sir *Francis Drake*; but, he finding it impossible to proceed up the river with safety to her majesty's ships, staid at the castle
of

^a Camden, Stowe, Rapin. ^f Stowe's Annals, p. 752. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, Camden, Strype, Rapin. ^g Burchet, p. 355. ^h Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Camden, Sir William Monson.

of *Cascais*, which place he took, and also seized sixty sail of ships belonging to the *Hanse-Towns*, laden with corn and ammunition, which with about one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, were the principal fruits of this voyage¹. It was intended, indeed, to have gone to the *Canaries*; but by this time the soldiers and sailors were so weakened with sickness, that it was thought more expedient to return. In their passage home they landed at *Vigo*, took and plundered it, and having made some addition to their booty reached *England*, Sir *Francis Drake* arriving at *Plymouth* on the twenty-first of *June*, and Sir *John Norris* with the rest of the fleet on the 3d of *July*, after having been about ten weeks abroad².

THIS expedition was inexpressibly destructive to the *Spaniards*, disappointed all their designs, weakened their naval force, and spread a mighty terror of the *English* arms through their dominions. But as to any advantages which the proprietors reaped, they were but very inconsiderable, and the generals met with a cold reception in *England*; Sir *John Norris* charging Sir *Francis Drake* with breach of his promise, and Sir *Francis* accusing him of expecting services that were impracticable from the fleet. The chief grounds of their miscarriage were in those days, when men could best judge, held to be these. First, they were but indifferently manned, and victualled, of which they were very sensible before they were out of the channel. Secondly, their landing at the *Groyne* was contrary to their instructions, gave the

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¹ See all the before cited authors who write copiously of this affair, and yet memoir-writers ascribe this miscarriage to the variance between our generals.

² Stowe's Annals, p. 757. Holingsted, Speed, Camden, Rapin.

men an opportunity of drinking new wines, and exposed them to a great and unnecessary loss. Thirdly, the disagreement of the generals before *Lisbon*, defeated the remaining part of their design, and obliged them to think of coming home sooner than they intended, or was necessary: whereas, if in pursuance of their instructions, they had sailed directly to the coasts of *Portugal*, and landed their forces there, it is more than probable, they had placed don *Antonio* upon the throne of *Portugal*, which would have given a mortal wound to the power of *Spain*, and must have greatly promoted the interest and commerce of *England*¹.

THE disappointments which happened in this voyage, did not discourage either the queen or her subjects from pursuing the war by sea, and endeavouring as much as possible to ruin the maritime force of *Spain*, and augment their own. In order to this, her majesty settled a part of her revenue for the ordinary supply of the navy, amounting to about nine thousand pounds a year, and by expressing a very high esteem for such young lords, and other persons of distinction, as had shewn an inclination to the sea-service, she encouraged others to undertake yet greater things^m. Amongst these, the earl of *Cumberland* particularly distinguished himself for fitting out a stout squadron, in the summer, of the year 1589, he sailed with them to the *Tercera islands*, where he did the *Spaniards* incredible damage, and obtained considerable advantages for himself,

¹ Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 174, 175. Stowe's Annals, p. 757. in which we find that on their return, the soldiers and sailors thought of making themselves amends for their disappointments, by plundering Bartholomew-fair. ^m Camden, Sir R. Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia. Lord Bacon in his character of queen Elizabeth.

himself, and for his friends. The Island of *Fayall* he reduced, took the city and castle, from whence he carried forty-five pieces of cannon; forced the island of *Graciosa* to a composition, and took several rich ships; amongst the rest, one, the cargo of which was valued at upwards of an hundred thousand pounds, which in his return; however, was lost in *Mount's-Bay*, on the coast of *Cornwall*ⁿ. In 1590, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Martin Forbisher* were at sea with two squadrons, and by interrupting the return of the *Spanish* plate-fleets from *America*, and other services, kept king *Philip* entirely employed at home, tho' his thoughts were still busy in contriving another expedition against *England*. The succeeding year, lord *Thomas Howard*, second son to the duke of *Norfolk*, sailed with a squadron to the islands, in hopes of intercepting the *Spanish* fleet from the *West-Indies*, which was now forced to return home. In this, he had probably succeeded, if his force had been greater; but having no more than seven of the queen's ships, and about as many fitted out by private adventurers, he very narrowly escaped being totally destroyed by the *Spaniards*. For king *Philip*, knowing the dreadful consequences that must have followed, in case his plate-fleet was intercepted, resolved to employ that force, which was intended against *Ireland*, for its relief, and accordingly sent an experienced seaman with a fleet of forty-five sail to attack lord *Thomas Howard*, who very narrowly escaped them. His vice-admiral, Sir *Richard Greenville*, in the *Revenge*, was taken through his own obstinacy; for, when the enemy was in sight, he would not be persuaded that it was the *Armada*, but insisted that

ⁿ Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Hakluyt, Sir William Monson.

it was the *American* fleet, and so was surrounded. He sold his life and his ship, which was the only one of the queen's taken in the war, dearly; for a man of war called the *Ascension*, of *Seville*, and a double fly-boat, full of men sunk by his side. The *Revenge* was so battered, that she could not be carried into *Spain*, but sunk at sea with two hundred *Spaniards* on board; and as for Sir *Richard Greenville*, he died two days after he was taken, of his wounds. The very next day the plate-fleet arrived, which shews the uncertainty of expeditions of this kind; for, had it come one day sooner, or had the *Armada* been one day later, the *English* had possessed themselves of an immense treasure. Yet the *Spaniards* gained very little by their dear-bought success; for in their return home, near a hundred vessels were wrecked, and the greatest part of the wealth on board them was lost, while lord *Thomas Howard*, with his little fleet still kept the sea, and by picking up stragglers, saved the expences of his expedition*. In 1591, the earl of *Cumberland* made another expedition; and in 1592, Sir *Martin Frobisher*, and Sir *John Boroughs*, infested the *Spanish* coast, and did much mischief. In 1594, the queen sent a small squadron to sea, under the command of Sir *Martin Frobisher*, to reduce the port of *Brest* in *Bretagne*, which the king of *Spain* had taken, by the assistance of the *Leaguers* in *France*, from king *Henry IV.* a place that if it had been long kept, would have given the *Spaniards* great advantages against us. It was strong, both by situation, and by the art and expence employed in fortifying it, and had, besides, a numerous garrison of *Spanish* troops. Sir *John Norris*, with

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* Camden, Rapin, Sir William Monson, p. 178, 179.

a small *English* army, formed the siege by land ; Sir *Martin Frobisher*, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour, and having thus blocked up the place by sea, landed his sailors, and in conjunction with Sir *John Norris*, stormed the fort, which, though gallantly defended, was taken ; but with the loss of abundance of brave men, and amongst them, Sir *Martin* himself, who died of the wounds he received in that service. The same year sir *Francis Drake* and sir *John Hawkins* sailed on their last expedition into the *West-Indies* ^p.

THE *Spaniards*, who seldom abandon any design they once undertake, were all this time employed in fitting out another fleet for *England* ; and as an earnest of their intentions, in the year 1595, don *Diego Brochero*, with four gallies, arrived in *Mount's-Bay*, in *Cornwall*, and landing with all his men, burnt three little places, viz. *Moufe-Hole*, *Newlin*, and *Penzance*, with a neighbouring church ; but without killing or taking so much as a man ^q. This, however, alarmed the nation, and engaged the queen to undertake an invasion of the *Spanish* dominions, to prevent any future visits to her own ; in order to which, a stout fleet and a numerous army were provided, under the most experienced officers of those times.

THE true design of this expedition, was, to destroy the *Spanish* fleet in the port of *Cadiz*, and to make themselves masters of that rich city. The force employed was very great, in all not less than a hundred and fifty sail, of which, one hundred twenty-six were men of war, but of

^p Camden, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin. ^q Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

of these, only seventeen were the queen's ships, the rest were hired and fitted up for this voyage. On board this mighty fleet, were embarked upwards of seven thousand men^r. The joint commanders of the expedition were, the earl of *Essex*, and the lord high-admiral (*Howard*) assisted by a council of war, composed of the following honourable persons, *viz.* lord *Thomas Howard*, sir *Walter Raleigh*, sir *Francis Vere*, sir *George Carew*, and sir *Comyers Clifford*. There was besides, a *Dutch* squadron, under the command of admiral *Van Duvenvoord*, consisting of twenty-four ships, well manned and victualled. This navy lay for some time at *Plymouth*, till all things could be got ready, and then, on the first of *June* 1596, sailed for the coast of *Spain* with a fair wind, and the good wishes of all their countrymen^e.

IN their passage they were divided into five squadrons, and whereas, in former expeditions, great inconveniencies had happened by the enemy's having early intelligence, in this they were so happy as to arrive in sight of *Cadiz* on the twentieth of the same month, before they were either looked for, or so much as thought of. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a strong castle. In the port were fifty-nine *Spanish* ships, amongst them many laden with treasure, and nineteen or twenty gallies. It was resolved the same day in a council of war, to have landed all their forces at *St. Sebastian's*; but when they came to attempt it, that was found impracticable. After this, some time was lost in coming to another resolution, which was owing to the joint command; for the earl of *Essex*, who was young and warm, affected to dilate,

^r Stowe's Annals p. 771. Holingshed, Speed, &c. ^e Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Hakluyt, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

State; and on the other hand, the admiral, who had as much courage, and much more experience, could not brook being treated in such a manner. At last, it was determined to attack the ships in the haven, before any attempt was made upon the town; whereupon a new difficulty arose, which was, who should command this attack, first demanded by the earl of *Essex*, then given to sir *Walter Raleigh*, lastly challenged and enjoyed by the vice-admiral, lord *Thomas Howard*. In the execution of it, some errors were committed by the *English*, through too great heat and emulation of their commanders; but others more gross and fatal by the *Spaniards*, who, when they found themselves compelled to fly, did it without any precaution, whereby they might have provided for their safety; for instead of running their ships ashore under the town, where they might have been covered by their own artillery, and where at least their men might have gone ashore in safety, they ran them up the bay, as far from the enemy as possible; by which means, part fell into the hands of the *English*, and the rest were burnt^{*}.

In the mean time the earl of *Essex* landed his men quietly, the enemy deserting a strong fort, from which they might have done him much mischief; three regiments also were sent to make themselves masters of the bridge which unites the island to the main. This they performed with very small loss, but afterwards quitted it again, which gave the galleys an opportunity of escaping; another

^{*} See the relation at the end of the first volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, said to be written by a person who was in the expedition; as also a better copy of the same relation in Stowe's Annals, p. 771. See likewise Sir William Monson's account and observations on this voyage in his Tracts, p. 184.

another oversight, for which no account can be given. The lord admiral, hearing the earl was landed, landed also with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordship could have kept the place; and while the two generals were employed in reducing the city, sir *Walter Raleigh* was sent to seize the ships in the harbour of *Port-Real*, to prevent which, the duke of *Medina Sidonia* caused them to be set on fire, and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the sea^u. The city and its forts they possessed for a fortnight, and the earl of *Essex* was very desirous of being left there with a garrison, however small; which was, notwithstanding, over-ruled by the council of war, and then it was agreed to sail to *Faro*, in the kingdom of *Algarve*, where they found the place deserted by its inhabitants, and void of any thing that could become plunder. To repair this disappointment, the earl of *Essex* was for sailing to the *Azores*, and there waiting for the *East-India* Ships; but in this too he was over-ruled, because there was a great complaint of the want of provision and ammunition on board their fleet. In their return, they looked into the ports of the *Groyne*, *St. Andero*, and *St. Sebastian's*, where they expected to find ships, but met with none; and after this, nothing remarkable happened, till their arrival in *England*, which was on the 8th of *August* the same year. They brought with them two galleons, one hundred brass guns, and an immense booty, the desire of keeping which, is conceived to have hindered them from performing more. But with respect to the damage done the *Spaniards*, it is not easy to form any computation thereof. However, this we know, that

^u Camden. Stowe, Speed, Holingshed, Hakluyt, Monson.

that they burnt eleven men of war, forty ships from the *Indies*, four large merchant-men besides, and many magazines of ammunition and provision; so that, however the people might murmur here at home about the miscarriage of this voyage, as from the writings in those times it manifestly appears they did, yet taking all things together, it answered very well, and distressed the enemy excessively *.

IN the spring of the year 1597, the king of *Spain* fitted out a fresh *Armada* from *Lisbon*, composed not only of his own ships and gallies, but also of all that he could take up, and hire in *Italy*, or elsewhere. On board of these, he embarked a great body of troops, especially of the *Irish*, intending to have invaded both *England* and *Ireland*; but the winds disappointed him, scattered his fleet, and thirty-six sail were cast away. In the mean time the queen resolved to fit out another fleet, under the command of the earl of *Essex*, with an intent to intercept the plate-fleet near the *Azores*, after burning such vessels as were in the harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*. This fleet consisted of forty men of war, and seventy other ships, to which the *Dutch* added ten men of war, under sir *John Van Duvenwoord*, who was knighted in the former expedition *. They sailed from *Plymouth* the 9th of *July*; but a storm arising, they were forced back thither again, and did not sail the second time till the 7th of *August*. They used their best endeavours to perform the first part of their instructions, but finding it impracticable

* See Sir William Monson's remarks, and compare them, with the apology of the earl of *Essex*; as also with the account given by Mr. Oldys, in his excellent life of Sir Walter Raleigh. * Camden, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Hakluyt, Monson.

impracticable, they thought it expedient to steer for the islands, which accordingly they did. In this voyage, sir *Walter Raleigh's* ship sprung a mast, which, however, did not hinder him, when he had repaired his loss, from proceeding to the place of rendezvous, which was the island of *Floris*. He had scarce began to wood and water there, before the earl of *Essex* sent him orders to follow him to *Fayal*, which island the general himself intended to attempt. *Raleigh* obeyed him; but not finding *Essex* on his arrival, and perceiving that the people were securing their goods, throwing up retrenchments, and making every other preparation necessary for their defence, he with the advice of his officers resolved, in case *Essex* did not arrive in four days, to attempt the reduction of the island, which accordingly he performed; but tho' he got reputation by this exploit, yet he lost the general's friendship, so that a coldness thence forward prevailed, which afterwards encreased to open hatred ^r.

AFTER *Essex's* arrival they sailed together to *Gratiosa*, which immediately submitted. Here the general intended to have stayed, and if he had done so, undoubtedly it had answered his purpose, and he had taken the whole *Spanish* fleet; but being a person too easily wrought to alter his purposes, he took another method, which gave the *Spaniards*, who arrived the next day, an opportunity of proceeding for *Tercera*, with the loss of no more than three ships, which were taken by sir *William Monson* ^z. The rest of the fleet, consisting of about thirty-seven sail, arrived

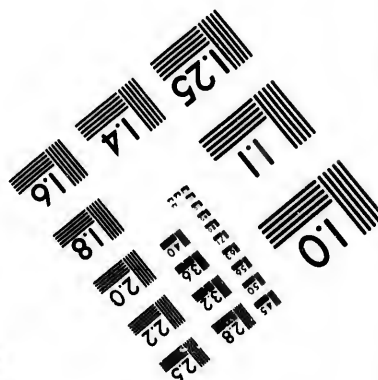
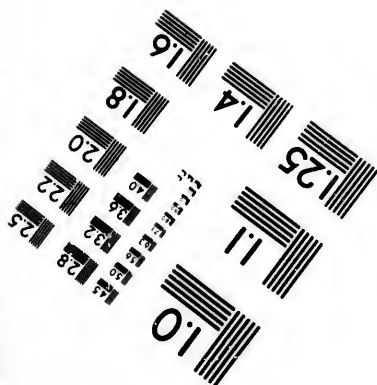
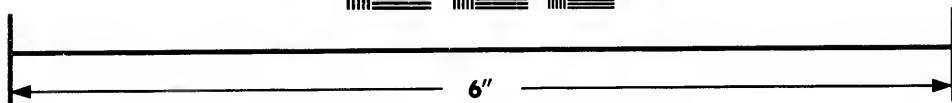
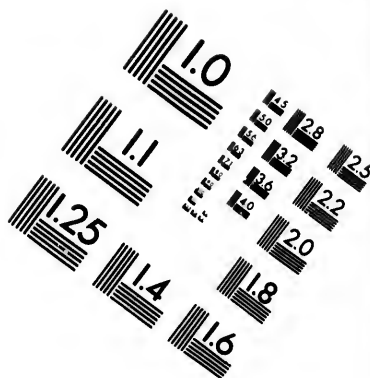
^r See Sir William Monson's reflections upon this expedition, the life of Sir Walter Raleigh before cited, and Stowe's Annals, p. 783. ^z Burchet's Naval History, p. 365, and all the old historians before cited.

arrived safely in the port of *Angra*, which was well defended by several forts, so that on mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with success.

THE earl of *Essen*, vexed at this disappointment, resolved to do somewhat of consequence before he returned, and therefore landing, surprized the town of *Villa Franca* and plundered it, after which he re embarked his forces, and prepared for his return home. In his passage he had the good luck to take a very rich *Spanish* ship, which fell into his fleet, mistaking it for their own, and had taken another in the same manner, but for the imprudence of a *Dutch* captain, who firing hastily upon her frightened her away. In the mean time, the *Spaniards* were meditating great designs. The absence of the *English* fleet gave them an opportunity of sending out their squadrons from the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*. With these they intended to have made a descent in *Cornwall*, and to have possessed themselves of the port of *Falmouth*, in which leaving a strong garrison, they thought next of intercepting the *English* fleet in their return, when they knew it must be weakened by so rough and troublesome an expedition, in which so long a space of time had been spent, and their ships were to return so late in the year. This design, as it was wisely laid, so it was well conducted; the *Spanish* admiral joined his squadrons as he intended, and proceeded with them to the islands of *Scillee*, almost within sight of our shore. There he thought fit to call a council of war, in order to give his officers necessary instructions as to the intended

* See a copious account of this expedition written by Sir Arthur Gorges, who was employed therein, in the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrim, p. 1935.





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intended descent. But it so happened, that, while his captains were on board, a very high storm arose, which hindered them a long time from getting back to their respective ships, and afterwards entirely separated their fleet, tossing them to and fro, sometimes on our coast, sometimes on their own. In this storm eighteen capital ships were lost, several forced into *English* ports were taken, and the *Spanish* admiral's schemes thereby entirely disconcerted. Nor did our fleet escape the fury of this tempest, but were terribly beaten; however, their ships being light and strong, and manned by able seamen, they with much difficulty reached our western coast in the latter end of the month of *October*^b. The compass of this work, I confess, ought to deter me from digressions; but as the principal intention of it is to give the reader a just and impartial notion of the conduct of our naval affairs under every reign, so I think myself obliged to make a few short reflections on the facts before set down, in order to shew how little we stood indebted for our safety to the management of our own commanders, or the faults of our enemies, and how much we owe to the care of divine providence, which a heathen would have called the fortune of queen *Elizabeth*.

THIS expedition to the *Azores* might have proved, if well managed by us, the ruin of the *Spanish* power, and as it was managed, had very near been fatal to our own; so much depends on the conduct of commanders, and so little regard ought there to be had to title and quality, where the safety of a nation is at stake. The earl of *Essex* was chosen for this command from court-motives, such

^b Camden, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin.

such as his birth, interest, and personal accomplishments, though he wanted almost all the qualities requisite for a commander in chief. His courage was hot and fierce, but not lasting or resolute; his wit was quick, but his judgment slow and unsettled; and besides all this, he wanted experience. Sir *William Monson*, who went the voyage with him, and who appears enough inclined to favour him, owns that their miscarriage was entirely owing to his lordship's incapacity, who was unable to form any right resolution of himself, or to pursue steadily any measures recommended to him by those who were more knowing than he^c. Sir *Walter Raleigh* fell into disgrace with him, and, as sir *William Monson* says, had smarted severely, if the earl had not been afraid of being called to an account for it in *England*, and all this for doing his duty, for performing the only important service done in the whole expedition. This demonstrates, that the earl had no view but to his own particular glory, and that the public service was to be postponed whenever it came in competition therewith. By this management that plate-fleet escaped, which, if it had been taken, would have ruined the *Spaniards* and made us. His subsequent attempts to repair his own honour, and to make a shew of that resolution which he really had not, delayed the return of the fleet, and gave the *Spanish* admiral an opportunity of invading *England*, which an accidental storm prevented. So much is due to truth, and to the interest of the nation; nor would I have this looked on as flowing from any pique to the memory of the earl of *Essex*, who was certainly a popular nobleman, endowed with

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^c Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 191.

many virtues: but where the public suffers, an historian ought to spare no man, however supported by the favour of his prince, or magnified by the folly of the people ^a.

IN 1598, the earl of *Cumberland* fitted out a squadron of eleven sail at his own expence, with which he first attempted to intercept the *Lisbon* fleet in its passage to the *East-Indies*. Being disappointed in this, he sailed to the *Canaries*, where he made a descent on the island of *Lancerota*, plundered it, and then proceeded for *America*, where he promised himself great things. The place he fixed upon was the island of *Puerto Rico*, where he landed, and took the capital with small loss. This city he determined to keep, and therefore refused a very large ransom offered him by the inhabitants, whom he turned out; and then thought of fortifying the place, with an intent to have cruised from thence upon the *Spanish* coast; but he was quickly convinced that the design was impracticable, diseases spreading amongst his soldiers and seamen to such a degree, that he was obliged to abandon his conquest, and to return home with reputation rather than reward ^c.

IN 1599, there was a great fleet fitted out by the queen's command: but it seems rather with an intent to watch the *Spaniards*, than to undertake any enterprize of importance; since after remaining about three weeks in the *Downs* it was laid up again. Yet this fleet had a great effect upon *Spain*, and all the Powers of *Europe*, for it was drawn together in twelve days time, well-victualled, and

^a The reader may be convinced of the truth of what is above asserted, by comparing the relation of Sir Arthur Gorges, before-cited, with Sir William Monson's account in his naval tracts, and what is said on the same subject by Mr. Oldys, in his life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

^c Camden, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Monson, Burchet.

and thoroughly manned, which shewed the strength of our maritime power, and how much it was improved since 1588^f. The next year, being 1600, Sir *Richard Levenson* was sent to intercept the plate-fleet, which design though it was well contrived and wisely executed, yet failed^g. In 1601, the same admiral was employed in *Ireland*, where he did good service, in obliging the *Spaniards*, who had landed a considerable body of forces, to relinquish their design, and withdraw out of that island^h. In 1602, the same admiral in conjunction with Sir *William Monson*, was employed in an expedition for intercepting the galleons, which had infallibly taken effect, if the *Dutch* had sent their squadron, pursuant to their engagements with the queenⁱ. Notwithstanding this disappointment, they continued on the coast of *Portugal*, and at length resolved to attack a galleon which lay with eleven gallies in the road of *Cerimbra*, which was one of the most gallant exploits performed in the whole war, and therefore deserves to be circumstantially related. The town of *Cerimbra* was large and well built with free-stone, defended by a good citadel well furnished with artillery. Above the town, on the top of a mountain, stood an abbey, so fortified as to command the place, the citadel, and the road. The galleon was moored close to the shore, so as to defend by its fire, part of the citadel and part of the town: the gallies had so flanked and fortified themselves, that they were able to make a great fire upon the *English* fleet, without receiving any damage themselves,

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^f Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 195. ^g Camden
Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Monson. ^h Sir William Mon-
son's naval Tracts, p. 197. ⁱ Camden, Holingshed,
Burchet.

till such time as our ships were just before the town. Yet, in spite of this and many other disadvantages, the *English* admirals resolved to attack them, which they did on the third of *June*. A gale of wind blowing fresh about two in the morning, the admiral weighed, and made the signal for an attack. The vice-admiral did the like, and soon after they fell upon the enemy with great fury; and though the *Spaniards* defended themselves with much resolution, yet in the end several of the galleys were burnt, the garrison driven from the castle, and the rich galleon, for which this struggle was made, taken, with about a million of pieces of eight on board ^k. This was the last great exploit performed by sea in this reign; for the queen now far in years, and worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, died on the twenty-fourth of *March* following, in the forty fifth year of her reign, and in the seventieth of her life, when she had settled the protestant religion throughout her kingdom, had restored the crown to its ancient reputation, supported her allies with the greatest firmness, and humbled her enemies, so as to compel them to think of soliciting for peace.

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^k Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 199, 200, 201.

^l Camden, Lord Bacon in his character of queen Elizabeth, and in his discourse of peace and war, Stowe, Holinghed, Speed, Rapin.

Of Queen ELIZABETH. 469

The names of such ships as her majesty left at her death.

Names of ships.	Tonnage.	Men in harbour.	Men at sea; where of,	Masters,	Gunners,	Soldiers.
Elizabeth Jonas	900	30	500	340	40	120
Triumph	1000	30	500	340	40	120
White Bear	900	30	500	340	40	120
Victory	800	17	400	268	32	100
Mer-Honneur.	800	30	400	268	32	100
Ark Royal	800	17	400	268	32	100
Saint Matthew	1000	30	500	340	40	120
Saint Andrew	900	17	400	268	32	100
Due Repulse	700	16	350	230	30	90
Garland	700	16	300	190	30	80
Warspight	600	12	300	190	30	80
Mary Rose	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Hope	600	12	250	150	30	70
Bonaventure	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Lion	500	12	250	150	30	70
Nonpareil	500	12	250	150	30	70
Defiance	500	12	250	150	30	70
Rainbow	500	12	250	150	30	70
Dreadnought	400	10	200	130	20	50
Antelope	350	10	160	114	16	30
Swiftsure	400	10	200	130	20	50
Swallow	330	10	160	114	16	30
Forcight	300	10	160	114	16	30
The Tide	250	7	120	88	12	20
The Crane	200	7	100	70	10	20
Adventure	250	7	120	88	12	20
Quittance	200	7	100	70	10	20
Answer	200	7	100	70	10	20
Advantage	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tyger	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tramontain		6	70	52	8	10
The Scout	120	6	66	48	8	10
The Cat	100	5	60	42	8	10
The Charles	70	5	45	32	6	7
The Moon	60	5	40	30	5	5
The Advice	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Spy	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Merlin	45	5	35	26	5	4
The Sun	40	5	30	24	4	2
Synnet	20	2				
George Hoy	100	10				
Pennyrose Hoy.	80	8				

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abeth, and
ed, Speed,

HER attention to trade appears in many instances, some of which it may not be amiss to treat more particularly. The merchants of the *Hanse-towns* complained loudly in the beginning of her reign, of the treatment they had received in the days of king *Edward* and queen *Mary*; to which she very prudently answered, *That as she would not innovate any thing, so she would protect them still in the immunities and condition she found them*, which not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of *English* merchants; for they trying what they could do themselves herein, their adventures and returns proving successful, they took the whole trade into their own hands, and so divided themselves into staplers and merchant-adventurers; the one residing constant at some one place, the other keeping their courie and adventuring to other towns and states abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This so nettled the *Hanse*, that they devised all the ways that a discontented people would, to draw upon our new staplers or adventurers, the ill opinion of other nations and states; but that proving of too small a force to stop the current of so strong a trade as they were now run into, they resorted to some other. They applied themselves to the emperor, as being a society incorporated into the empire; and upon complaint, obtained ambassadors to the queen, to mediate the business, but they returned *re infecta*. Hereupon the queen caused a proclamation to be published, that the merchants of the *Hanse* should be entreated, and used as all other strangers in her dominions, in point of commerce, without any mark of distinction. At last, the *Hanse Towns* prevailed so far as to gain an imperial edict, whereby the *English* merchants were prohibited all commerce in the empire; this was answered by a proclamation

sion, in consequence of which, sixty sail of their ships were taken in the river of *Lisbon*, laden with contraband goods for the use of the *Spaniards*. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as desiring to have compromised all difference with those trading cities; but when she was informed that a general assembly was held at the city of *Lubeck*, in order to concert measures for distressing the *English* trade, she caused the ships and their cargoes to be confiscated; only two of them were released to carry home this news, and that the queen had the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings. After this, *Sigismund* king of *Poland* interposed in their behalf, sending hither an ambassador, who talking in a very high stile, the queen, in her answer, told him plainly, that the king his master made no right estimate of his own power, and that himself was very little fit for the employment in which she found him^m. Thus were we rid- ded for ever of foreign factors, and our own merchants established in the right of managing our own commerce. In the latter end of her reign, some disputes happening with the king of *Denmark*, and he most unadvisedly seiz- ing the *English* ships that were in his ports, the queen sent one *Dr. Parkins* to demand Satisfaction; which he did in so peremptory a stile, that the *Dane* was glad to compound the matter for forty thousand dollars, which he paid her majesty, and which she caused to be divided a- mong the merchants who were injured.

THESE are instances of her noble spirit in obtaining redress of grievances in foreign countries, even in the most

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^m Camden, Stowe, Molloy *de jure maritimo*, Book ii. cap. 12.

ⁿ Stow's Annals, p. 787.

perillous times, and when her affairs were in the utmost embarrassment. As to her care of trade and navigation in her own dominions, we have already mentioned many particulars; however, it may not be amiss to observe, that in 1563, an act was made for the better regulation, maintenance, and increase of the navy^o; and in 1566, there was a law to enable the master, wardens, and the assistants of the trinity-house, to set up beacons and sea-marks,. The same year there passed an act for incorporating, and more effectually establishing the company of merchant adventurers¹. In 1581, there likewise passed an act for the increase of mariners, and for the maintenance of navigation, and more especially, for recovering the trade to *Iceland*, which began then to decay, and in which there had been employed annually upwards of two hundred sail of stout ships². In 1585, the queen erected by her letters patent, a new company for the management of the trade to *Barbary*³, and in the year 1600, she incorporated a society of merchants trading to the *East-Indies*⁴, whence the present *East-India* company is derived, as will be hereafter shewn. Besides these marks of her royal favour, and strict attention to the commerce of her subjects, the queen afforded others continually, by sending envoys and agents to the *Czar*, to the *Shah* of *Persia*, to several great princes in the *East-Indies*, and in short, wherever her interposition could be of any use to open, to promote, or recover any branch

^o See the Statute, Anno 1 Eliz. cap. 5. ^p Anno .xii. Eliz. cap. 13. ¹ Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 394. ² An. xxii. Eliz. cap. 7. ³ Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 114. ⁴ Dated at Westminster, Dec. 31 A. R. 43. and recited at large in Purchas. vol. i. lib. iii. p. 144.

branch of traffic, as appears by all the histories that are extant, of her reign ^u.

BUT the peculiar glory of queen *Elizabeth's* reign in this respect, was the great care she took of the coin, which, as we have shewn, was dreadfully debased in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* and tho' her sister had put an entire stop to this bad practice, yet the circumstances of her affairs were very far from being such, as admitted her taking any measures towards an entire amendment, the base coin continuing to have a currency, tho' it began to sink in its value; which however did not hinder foreigners from pouring in vast quantities of that mixed money, to the great detriment of the nation, and this, notwithstanding that princess expostulated with her neighbours upon that subject, and her doing all she could to hinder it. But immediately after the accession of queen *Elizabeth*, the lord *Burleigh*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, whose papers upon that head are yet extant, interposed with the queen, and shewed her clearly the bad consequences of a debased coinage, and farther informed her, that it was not the short ends of wit, or some slight and temporary devices that could sustain the expence of a great monarchy, but sound and solid courses. I make use of their expressions, which tho' not elegant, are very emphatic. They therefore exhorted her to pursue the steps of her great grandfather *Edward IV.* and rejecting all expedients as ineffectual in themselves, and unworthy of her, to strike at the root of the evil.

SHE took their advice, and by a proclamation in the second year of her reign, called in all the debased money, direct-

^u Camden, Bacon, Osborne, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin.

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directing it to be marked with a greyhound, portcullis, lyon, harp, rose, or flower-de-lys, to distinguish the several intrinsic values of the pieces, it being her design to refine the coin, not according to the legal, but natural estimation of money; and therefore she directed, that foreign coin and bullion should be brought to her mint, as there was from eight thousand to twenty two thousand pound every week, and about the like quantity of gold in *Spanish* pistols for the space of about six months, when she repaid her subjects, the full value of the silver, in new money of that standard, which has since continued, and which was fixed after mature deliberation, and with a just regard to the value silver and gold had attained in foreign countries at that time. In the very next year, the majority of her council were for undoing all again, by introducing a fresh debasement, but the lord *Burleigh*, then Sir *William Cecil*, and secretary of state, withstood this, as he did every other project of that kind, so long as he lived, with such vehemence of speech, and with such strength of argument, as kept the queen steady to her first measure.

WHEN this great undertaking was thoroughly perfected, the queen took occasion to tell her people in a proclamation, that she had now conquered *that monster* which had so long devoured them, and it is very wisely recited in the preamble of an act of parliament, in the fifth year of her reign, "that by her great goodness new money had been coined of the same fineness, as in the time of her noble progenitors." Neither was this *famous act*, as she herself called it, upon another occasion forgot, in the inscription placed upon her monument, where after mention being made of restoring religion to its primitive sincerity, and establishing a lasting tranquility, it follows *that*
she

she reduced the coin to its just value. Hence we may perceive how great an action this was, and of what lasting benefit to the kingdom.

It may, however, contribute not a little to our satisfaction, if we enquire what quantity of coin, both gold and silver there might be in the nation toward the close of her reign, that is, at the beginning of the last century, because it is of very great consequence to have a just notion of what was the nation's stock in ready money at that period, when our great foreign commerce began. We have indeed an authentic account of her entire coinage in silver, amounting to above four millions and a half; but then if we consider that she recoined almost all the silver specie of the kingdom, and that there was a small alteration in the standard in the latter end of her reign, which raised silver from five shillings, to five and two-pence an ounce, which occasioned a new fabrication; so that much of the former coin came to the mint again as bullion: we may, with the judicious Dr. *Davenant*, estimate the silver coin at that time in this kingdom, at two millions and a half, to which if we add the gold of her own and her predecessors coin, and estimate this at a million and a half, we may be pretty sure that we are not much wide of the truth, and that one hundred and fifty years ago, the current coin of *England* amounted in the whole, to four million or thereabouts.

As the restoring the coin was in effect putting the first wheel in motion, so this being thus early set right, all the subordinate parts of general commerce began quickly to resume their respective forces, and the willingness which the queen shewed upon every occasion, to facilitate whatever designs were formed for improving her dominions, employing her subjects, and venting the produce of their industry;

dustry, had such effects, that, by degrees, one thing opening a way to another, the face of affairs soon changed. All the complaints that were formerly made, gave place to a general approbation of the queen's government, amongst the better part of her subjects, that is, amongst those who were willing to help themselves by their honest and chearful endeavours to enlarge their properties, and to turn to the utmost advantage, the laudable desire which their sovereign expressed, of encouraging whatever could be invented, for promoting their welfare, and augmenting the publick stock.

THIS disposition in the queen, excited a like spirit throughout the whole nation. Not only persons bred to trade, and some of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for discoveries, and planted new-found countries; but even persons of the first distinction, became encouragers and adventurers in those designs, such as the lord-treasurer *Burleigh*, the earl of *Warwick*, the earl of *Leicester*, &c. and some of them actually engaged in the execution of such projects, amongst whom were the earls of *Cumberland*, *Essex* and *Southampton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Richaru Greenville*, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, &c. ^w. and therefore we need not wonder at the surprizing increase of our maritime power, or the number of remarkable undertakings of this sort, within so short a period of time. Let us mention only a few. In 1575, Sir *Humphry Gilbert* attempted the discovery of a north-west passage. In 1557, Sir *Martin Frobisher* sought one to the north-east ^x. *Pet* and *Jackman* sailed on a like design in 1580, by the direction of the governor of the company

^w Hakluyt's, Monson's, and Purchas's collections consist chiefly of instances of this sort. ^x Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 32.

pany of merchant-adventurers ¹. An expedition was undertaken at a great expence by Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, in order to settle *Florida*; nor did it miscarry through any error of the undertaker ². The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* would have settled *Virginia* in 1584, if prudence, industry, and public spirit could have effected it; but though he failed in their extent, yet he was not totally defeated in his hopes, since he laid the foundation of that settlement which hath since so happily succeeded. But it is now time to speak of those great men by whom these celebrated actions were achieved, and first of,

CHARLES HOWARD, *baron of Effingham, afterwards earl of Nottingham, knight of the garter, and lord high-admiral of England.*

WE have already seen two brothers of this illustrious family of *Howard*, successively lord high-admirals, and we are now to speak of another *Howard*, who arrived by merit at the same high honour, and, which is more, was also the son of a lord high-admiral of *England* ³. He was born in the year 1536, in the latter end of the reign of king *Henry VIII.* his father having the title only of lord *William Howard* ⁴. His mother's name was *Margaret*, the daughter of Sir *Thomas Gamage*, of *Glamorganshire*. lord *William* being raised to the title of baron of *Effingham*,
and

¹ Ibid. vol. i. p. 445.

² See a full account of this matter in Sir George Peacham's relation, who was concerned therein.

³ See the lives of Sir Edward, and Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, and uncle to this noble lord.

⁴ Baro-nagium Angliæ, p. 34. M. S.

and admiral, his son served under him in several expeditions, till the accession of queen *Elizabeth*, when he was about twenty-two years of age ^c. His father coming into great favour with that princess, he enjoyed a share of it, and in 1559, was sent over into *France*, to compliment king *Charles IX.* who had just ascended that throne ^d. Nine years afterwards, he was general of the horse, in the expedition made by the earl of *Warwick*, against the earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, who had taken arms in the north, and in crushing whose rebellion he was very active ^e. In the following year, he commanded a squadron of men of war, which, as we before observed, the queen was pleased should escort *Anne* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*, to the coast of *Spain* ^f. Upon this occasion, the *Spanish* fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the *British* seas, having been sufficiently instructed in the ceremonial in their passage to *Flanders*, by Sir *John Hawkins*, as the reader will find at large, related in our memoirs of that gallant seaman. In 1571, he was chosen to parliament as knight of the shire for the county of *Surry*, and very soon after, succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died *January* 12, 1572, in the great office of lord privy-seal, and very highly in the queen's favour ^g.

THE queen distinguished the son, as she had done the father, by raising him to the highest offices in the kingdom; not hastily, but by a due progression. He became first chamberlain of the household, an office which his father had enjoyed, and on the 24th of *April*, 1573, he was elected

^c Dugdale's baronage, &c. ^d Camden annal. p. 54. ^e Holingshed, p. 1212. ^f Camden. annal. 220, 221. ^g Holingshed, p. 1257.

elect knight of the garter ^b. Some of the writers of those times say, that he was raised to check *Leicester's* greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the most opposite people in the world in their tempers ^c. For, whereas, *Leicester* was a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things; the lord chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, publick-spirited man, in the good graces of the queen, from his known affection to her person, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most noble, most loyal and heroic family. When therefore the earl of *Lincoln* died, in 1585, the queen immediately determined to raise the lord *Effingham* to the post of high-admiral, which she did; with the general approbation of her subjects, and much to the satisfaction of the seamen, by whom he was excessively beloved ^d.

When the *Spaniards* had spent three years in preparing their *armada*, the queen willingly entrusted the care of herself and the nation, to this noble lord, of whose conduct, and whose fortune she had equal hopes. We have already seen how happily that important contest ended for the honour of this nation; here, therefore, we are to speak only of what was personally performed by the admiral. As soon as he knew that the *Spanish* fleet was ready to sail, he put to sea, and continued cruising for some time, till the court having received advice, that the *Spaniards* would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateness of the season rendring this probable, secretary *Walsingham* wrote to him, directing, that four of the largest ships should
be

^b Camden, Stowe, Holinghed, Speed.

^c L'ody's State-

worthies, p. 736.

^d Camden. annal. p. 451.

be sent into port, and the seamen discharged, to save expence. The admiral wrote back to excuse his not obeying this direction, and in the close of the letter, desired, that if his reasons were thought insufficient, the ships might remain at his expence ¹. When he received intelligence from captain *Fleming* of the approach of the *Spanish* fleet, and saw of what mighty consequence it was to get out what few ships were ready in the port of *Plymouth*, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himself, but wrought also with his own hands, and with *six ships only*, got the first night out of *Plymouth*; and the next morning, having no more than thirty sail, and those the smallest of the fleet, attacked the *Spanish* navy ^m. He shewed his conduct and prudence, by dispatching his brother-in-law, Sir *Edward Hobby*, to the queen, to inform her of the great disproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to desire her to make the proper disposition of her land-forces, for the security of the coasts, and to hasten as many ships as possible to his assistance ⁿ. His valour he discovered in the repeated attacks he made on a superior enemy, and the excellency of his cool temper appeared in his passing a whole night in the midst of the *Spanish* fleet, and retiring as soon as he had light enough to discover his own, without loss ^o. It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence, that the victory was so great; and such as have suggested that it might have been still greater, readily acknowledge, that this did not happen through any fault of the admiral's, who always shewed

¹ Ibid. p. 720.
 in the first volume of Hakluyt's collection.
 p. 747.

^m See the account of this victory printed
ⁿ Stowe's annals,
^o Hakluyt vol. i. p. 597.

shewed the utmost alacrity in his country's service ^p. The queen acknowledged his merit in the most honourable terms, and, though extremely frugal, rewarded him with a pension for life ^q; and at his request, granted a pardon and a pension to captain *Fleming*, the pyrate, who first brought the news of the *Spanish* fleet's being on our coasts; which I mention, to shew, how careful this great man was, that the merits of meaner persons should not pass unrewarded or be over-looked ^r.

SIR *Richard Hawkins*, in his observations, has a very remarkable passage, in relation to this noble person, which the reader will, no doubt, be very well pleased, to see in his own words.

“ WORTHY of perpetual memory, says he, was the
 “ prudent policy and government of our *English* navy, in
 “ *Anno* 1588, by the worthy earl of *Nottingham*, lord
 “ high-admiral of *England*, who, in like case, with ma-
 “ ture and experimented knowledge, patiently withstood
 “ the instigations of many courageous and noble captains,
 “ who would have persuaded him, to have laid them
 “ aboard; but well he foresaw, that the enemy had an ar-
 “ my aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in num-
 “ ber of shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built,
 “ and higher molded; so that they, who with such advan-
 “ tage fought from above, might easily distress all opposi-
 “ tion below, the slaughter, peradventure, proving more
 “ fatal than the victory profitable, by being overthrown,
 “ he might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas by the
 V O L. I. I i “ conquest

^p See the reflections made by Sir William Monson on this action, in his *Naval Tracts*.

^q Camden, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

^r Stowe's annals, p. 795.

“ conquest (at most) he could have boasted of nothing but
 “ glory and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance, he al-
 “ ways advantaged himself of wind and tide, which was
 “ the freedom of our country, and security of our navy,
 “ with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the
 “ ignorant (who judge all things by the external appear-
 “ ance) seemed invincible, but truly considered, was much
 “ inferior to ours in all things of substance, as the event
 “ proved; for we sunk, spoiled and took many of them,
 “ and they diminished of ours but one small pinnace, nor
 “ any man, of name save only captain *Cocke*, who died
 “ with honour amidst his company. The greatest damage,
 “ that as I remember, they caused to any of our ships,
 “ was, to the *Swallow* of her majesty’s, which I had, in
 “ that action, under my charge, with an arrow of fire,
 “ shot into her beak-head, which we saw not, because of
 “ the sail, till it had burned a hole in the rose, as big as a
 “ man’s head: the arrow falling out, and driving along
 “ by the ship’s side, made us doubt of it, which after we
 “ discovered”.

In 1596, he commanded in chief at sea, as the earl of
Essex did at land, the forces sent against *Spain*, and was at
 very great expence in providing for that expedition. His
 prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience
 and reputation amongst the seamen and soldiers, were the
 principal causes of the success the *English* met with in that
 attempt; and his conduct throughout the whole, was so
 wise and fortunate, that upon his return home, the queen,
 on the twenty-second of *October*, the same year, advanced
 him to the dignity and title of earl of *Nottingham* (being
 descended from the family of *Mowbray*, whereof some had
 been

been earls of that county) the reasons whereof are thus inserted in his patent *.

"THAT, by the victory obtained, *anno* 1588, he
" had secured the kingdom of *England* from the invasion
" of *Spain*, and other impending dangers; and did also,
" in conjunction with our dear cousin *Robert*, earl of *Es-*
" *sex*, seize by force the isle, and strongly fortified the ci-
" ty of *Cadiz*, in the farthest part of *Spain*; and did like-
" wise entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the king of
" *Spain*, prepared in that port against this kingdom".---

An honourable preamble! but less needful in that reign, than in any other, since it was well known, that queen *Elizab-eth* parted not with titles till they were deserved, and where she knew the public voice would approve her favour, as in this case it did; for the earl of *Nottingham*, on his first going to the house of peers, was received with unusual marks of joy, sufficiently testifying how worthy the best judges esteemed him of his new dignity, to which the queen shortly after added another, making him justice-iti-nerant of all the forests south of *Trent* for life †.

THE next great service in which the earl of *Notting-
ham* was employed, was in 1599, when the state was in very great danger. On the one side, the *Spaniards* seemed to meditate a new invasion, and some conceived they were on the very point of executing it, having assembled a great fleet at the *Groyne*, on board of which many *English* fugi- tives were directed to repair. On the other hand, the earl of *Essex*, who was then lord-lieutenant of *Ireland*, acted in a strange manner, treating with the rebels he was sent to reduce, and forming some designs of employing the

I i 2

Troops

* Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3.

† Pat. 39. Eliz. p. 8.

troops with the command of which he was entrusted by the queen, to the disturbance of her government. Her majesty, who always placed her safety in being too quick for her enemies, issued her orders to the city of *London*, to furnish immediately sixteen ships for the reinforcement of the navy, and six thousand men for her service by land. The like directions being sent into other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet, and such an army, were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all appearance of success from foreign and domestic enemies; and to shew the confidence she had in the admiral's fidelity and capacity, she was pleased to repose in him the sole and supreme command both of fleet and army, with the high title of **LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF ALL ENGLAND**, an office unknown to succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with the fleet in the *Downs*, and sometimes on shore with the forces ^u.

THE unfortunate earl of *Essex*, having taken a sudden resolution to leave his command in *Ireland*, and return to *England*, the queen thought fit to punish this contempt with a short restraint, and afterwards seemed inclined to have received him again into favour; but he, either hurried on by his own rash disposition, or instigated thereto by some desperate persons about him, attempted to raise a force sufficient to have compelled the queen to do what he thought expedient, and failing in this, retired with such as were about him to *Essex-House* in the *Strand*, where he fortified himself, and confined the chancellor, the chief justice of *England*, and other privy counsellors, sent by the queen,

^u Camden. annal. p. 794. Stowe's annals, p. 778. Holingshed, Speed, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

queen, to enquire into the grievances he pretended. This was on the eighth of *February* 1600; and the queen saw herself (in the decline of her life, and after she had triumphed over foreign foes in the utmost peril, from an assuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindness, and who had thus attempted a rebellion in her capital) on the point of being imprisoned or deposed. In this perillous situation, she had recourse to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the lord admiral, who, she often said, *was born to serve, and to save his country*. He performed, on this occasion, as on all others, the utmost the queen could expect; for he reduced the earl of *Essex* to such distress, that he was content to yield himself, and when he had so done, the lord high admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindness possible ^w. The same year, the admiral was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of earl-marshal of *England* ^z, and to him, upon her death-bed, the queen was pleased to declare her intention, as to the succession, in favour of the king of *Scots* ^y.

UPON the accession of king *James*, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured with a large share of that prince's confidence, but was likewise made choice of to officiate as lord high-steward at the ceremony of the coronation ^z. Soon after this, he was named ambassador to the court of *Spain*, for the conclusion of a strict intercourse of friendship with that crown, in pursuance of the treaty made at *London* the eighteenth of *August* 1604, wherein also his lordship was an acting commissioner. It

I i 3

was

^w Stowe, Holinshed, Speed, Camden. Sir Walter Raleigh's life by Mr. Oldys. ^z Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 14. in dorso. ^y Camden, &c. ^z Pat. 1 Jac. 1. p. 18.

was very requisite, that much state should be kept up in this embassy; and therefore the earl of *Nottingham* was thought of, not as a man of very great fortune, but from the known generosity of his temper, and the number of his dependants, who were content to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he set out for *Spain*, with a retinue wherein were six peers and fifty knights, and for the support of this great train, he had an appointment of fifteen thousand pounds, which fell, however, very far short of his expences. During the time that he resided at the court of king *Philip III.* he was treated with the utmost deference and respect, maintained, to the admiration of the *Spaniards*, his dignity, and did the highest honour to the nation. At his departure, the king of *Spain* made him as many presents as amounted to twenty thousand pounds ^a.

ON his return, he was not so well received at court as he had good reason to expect; which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or to the king's, himself being injured, and his master abused, by false reports, that the admiral, while in *Spain*, had assumed more state, and acted with less precaution than became him ^b. However, he quickly recovered his master's good graces, attended on the lady *Elizabeth* when she was married to the elector *Palatine*, and afterwards convoyed her with the royal navy to *Flushing* ^c. This was the last service he did his country in that capacity; for being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient that he should resign his office to the new favourite *Villiers*, at that time earl, and afterwards duke, of *Buckingham*. Some of the memoir-writers

^a See the second volume of Winwood's memorials, p. 69.

^b Ibid. p. 91, 92.

^c Wilson's life of king James in Kennet's complete history of England, vol. ii. p. 690, 691.

ters of those days, treat this matter in a way prejudicial to the king's memory, disgraceful to *Buckingham*, and not much for the reputation of the earl of *Nottingham*^d. It appears, however, upon due consideration, that most of these stories are very ill founded, and that in reality, the earl of *Nottingham* laying down his post, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneasy to him, or capable of fixing any disgrace on his master. The proposition came first from himself, and was very easily agreed to. His estate was not great, and he had lately married a young wife, the daughter of the earl of *Murray*, for whom he was desirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he consented to resign, were these, that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds due from him to the crown should be remitted^e, that he should have an annual pension of a thousand pounds^f; and that, as earl of *Nottingham*, he should take place in the house, according to the descent of his ancestors, and not as a new made peer^g. These terms were quickly adjusted. The duke went in person to see him, and to return him thanks for resigning in his favour, at the same time that he made the young countess a present of extraordinary value, he carried his respect to this venerable old man, as far as possible, calling him always *father*, and bending his knee when ever he approached him. Besides all this, Sir *Robert Mansel*, who had been once the earl of *Nottingham's* menial servant, but then vice-admiral during pleasure, by the favour of the duke, had that office con-

I i 4

firmed

^d See the writer last mentioned, and the court and character of king James, by Sir A. W. p. 123. ^e Camden's annals of king James, p. 651, 653. ^f Aulicus Coquinarix, p. 169. ^g Camden's annals of king James, p. 653.

firmed to him for life by patent, which his old master took so kindly, that, aged and infirm as he was, he made *Buckingham* a visit to return him thanks ^h. On the whole, therefore, there seems to be nothing dishonourable in this transaction; for all parties were served, and all seem to have been content. What is said to the contrary, flows evidently from a desire of prejudicing the world against the memory of men, from surmises and conjectures; a method of all others the most destructive of the end and fruit of history, which ought to discover the truth, and thereby instruct such as peruse it.

THE remaining years of his life were spent by the earl of *Nottingham* in honourable ease and retirement to the time of his decease, which happened on the 14th of *December* 1624, when he was eighty-eight years old ⁱ. He was a person extremely graceful in his appearance, of a just and honest disposition, incapable either of doing bad things, or seeing them done without exposing them. His steady loyalty to the crown preserved his reputation unstained, and his fortune unhurt, when the rest of his family were in the utmost danger ^k. Queen *Elizabeth* knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites. She had a peculiar felicity in suiting men's employments to their capacities; and this never appeared more clearly than on those occasions, wherein she made choice of this nobleman, whose courage no danger could daunt, whose fidelity no temptation could impeach, much less corrupt. In public employments

^h *Aulicus Coquinariz*, p. 170. ⁱ From a MS. catalogue of nobility deceased, in the reign of king James I. ^k Camden, sir Robert Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, Lloyd's *State-Worthies*, p. 751.

employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hospitality in private life, keeping seven standing houses, as Dr. Fuller phrases it, at once^l. It is true, we meet with opposite accounts of this lord, his character and conduct, especially in the latter part of his life; but as these are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced against him of whom he speaks; and as the rough soldier-like behaviour of *Elizabeth's* active times, suited little with the stiff and solemn air of the statesmen in king *James's* court, we need not wonder, that among these the earl of *Nottingham* met with some detractors^m. His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of malicious censures. He who beat the *Spanish Armada*, equipped a fleet sufficient to assert the sovereignty of the sea in a fortnight's time, and by his presence alone dispirited the earl of *Essex's* adherents, must have been a very extraordinary man, though we should grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expressed himself a little bluntly, and, though a man of so high quality, had little or no tincture of those arts which tho' they are peculiar, do no great honour to a court.

I have placed his memoirs here, because, though he died in the reign of king *James*, he spent his life in the service of queen *Elizabeth*. He was indeed, the king's ambassador in *Spain*; but as he is celebrated for being an able admiral, rather than a great statesman, I thought it but just to place his memoirs where they might do him most honour. For the same reason I refer those of sir
Walter

^l English Worthies, Surry, p. 84.

^m The reader will find enough of this in a letter of the earl of Northampton to sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain, Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 91.

Walter Raleigh to the succeeding reign, because the last action of his life, and that which led to his unfortunate death, fell out under king *James*. But it is time to resume the thread of our discourse, and to proceed to an account of,

**Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT, *knt. an
eminent seaman, and great discoverer.***

THIS gentleman was descended of a very ancient and honourable family in *Devonshire*, seated there at least as early; and, if some writers are to be credited, even before the conquest ⁿ. His father's name was *Otho Gilbert*, of *Greenway*, Esq; his mother, *Catherine* daughter of sir *Philip Châmpenon*, of *Modbury*, in the same county, who afterwards married *Walter Raleigh* of *Fardel*, Esq; and by him was mother to the famous sir *Walter Raleigh*, half brother to the gentleman of whom we are now writing ^o. He was but a second son, though his father, having a good estate, left him a considerable fortune. It was to his mother's care that he owed an excellent education, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to distinguish himself in an age fruitful of great men ^p. His genius naturally led him to the study of cosmography, navigation, and the art of war; which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice; for he ventured himself early in the service of his

ⁿ Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families in *Devonshire*, by sir J. Northcote, bart. MS. ^o Sir William Poles description of *Devonshire*. ^p See the dedication of Mr. Hooker's discourse of sir John Gilbert.

Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT. 491

his country, and acquired a very just reputation from his actions, before he set any of his great projects on foot ^a.

THE first place wherein he was taken notice of for his ripe judgment, as well as for his daring courage, was in the voyage to *Newhaven*, wherein he behaved with so much prudence, and his attempts were attended with so great success, that, though then but a young man, he was much talked of, and raised high expectations in all who knew him. In several expeditions undertaken in those troublesome times, he added to his fortune, as well as to his fame; and being always ready, both in discourse and with his pen, to render a reason for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be considered by some of the most eminent persons in the court of queen *Elizabeth*, as one capable of rendering his country great service, particularly in *Ireland*, where men of true abilities were much wanted ^r. Their conceptions concurring with Mr. *Gilbert's* views, and with that ambition of making himself known by great achievements, which was the ruling passion of his noble mind, he accepted the offers that were made him, and passing over into that island, became president of *Munster*, where he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the *Irish*, than any *Englishman* employed in that service. By his industry and address, he composed the stirrs raised by the *Mac Carthies*, and by his valour and activity, drove the *Butler's* out of his province, when they swerved from their duty. He likewise forced *James Fitz-Morris*, the greatest captain amongst the *Irish*, to abandon his coun-

^a Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts.
Worthies, p. 626.

^r Lloyd's State

country^{*}, and seek for safety abroad, and performed many other things in conjunction with his brother sir *Walter Raleigh*, which would well deserve to be recorded here, if the limits of this work would permit, or if they fell in with my design: but as we mention him only as a seaman, it will be unnecessary to dwell on such actions of his life, as have no relation to that character; and therefore let us hasten to the proposals he made for discovering a passage by the north to the *Indies*, in which he laboured as rationally and as assiduously, though at the same time as unsuccessfully, as any man in the age in which he lived.

It is not very clear, whether this gentleman had acquired the honour of knighthood, before his return out of *Ireland*, or not: there are authorities on both sides[†]; but I incline to think, that he received that honour from sir *Henry Sidney*, deputy of *Ireland*, about the year 1570, and that he did not come over to *England* till some years afterwards[‡]. The first discovery he made both of his knowledge, and of his intentions, was in his discourse to prove that there is a north-west passage to the *East-Indies*, which was first printed in the year 1576, though I conceive it was written some time before[¶]. It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece; and at the close of it, there is an account of another treatise of navigation, which he had written and intended to publish, and which is now probably lost. The design of this discourse was, to stir up a spirit of discovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate

^{*} Stowe's Annals, p. 812. Life of sir Walter Raleigh, &c.
[†] Prince's Worthies of Devonshire, wherein he first places his knighthood, A. D. 1570, afterwards 1577; but in both asserts from sir William Pole's MS. that it was conferred by queen Elizabeth, p. 327. [‡] Supply of Irish chronicles by Hooker, p. 132.
[¶] This treatise is still preserved in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 11.

Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT. 493

facilitate a design he had formed, for planting unknown countries, as well as for the discovery of this north-west passage, for that he still had this, among other projects in view, is plain from the letters patent granted to his brother *Adrian Gilbert*, in 1583. For the present, however, he adhered to his design of planting, and with that view, procured from the queen an ample patent, dated at *Westminster*, June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the western discovery of *America*, and to inhabit and possess any lands hitherto unsettled by christian princes or their subjects *.

IMMEDIATELY on the procuring these letters patent, sir *Humphry* applied himself to the getting partners in so great an undertaking, wherein at first he seemed to be highly successful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander, thoroughly established; yet, when the project came to be executed, many flew off from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, separated themselves, and chose to run their own fortunes in their own way. These misfortunes, however, did not hinder sir *Humphry* from prosecuting his scheme, in which also he was seconded by his brother sir *Walter Raleigh*, and a few other friends of unshaken resolution. With these, he sailed to *Newfoundland*, where he continued but a short time, and being then compelled to return, he in his passage home, met with some *Spanish* vessels, from whom he cleared himself with great difficulty. This seems to have been in the summer of 1579; but we have a very dark account of it, without

* This patent is also extant in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 135. † See Mr. Haies's account in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 145.

out dates or circumstances, further than those which have been already given ². Yet his miscarriage in this first undertaking of his, was far from discouraging him; for after his return, he went on as chearfully as he had done before, in procuring fresh assistance for compleating what he intended, and for promoting christian knowledge, by the means of *English* settlements, in undiscovered lands. This conduct sufficiently shewed not only the steadiness of his courage, but the extent of his credit, since after such a disappointment, another commander would scarce have found any adventurers to join with him; which however, was not his case ³.

ONE thing which hastened his second expedition, was this, that though his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clause in it, by which it was declared void, in case no possession was taken within the space of six years. This term drawing to a close, sir *Humphry* in the spring of the year 1583, hastened his friends in their preparations, so as by the first of *June*, his little fleet was in a readiness to sail. It consisted of five ships. I. *The Delight*, of the burthen of 120 tons, admiral, in which went the general, sir *Humphry Gilbert*, and under him captain *William Winter*. II. *The Bark Raleigh*, a stout new ship, of 200 tons, vice-admiral, built, manned, and victualled at the expence of sir *Walter*, then Mr. *Raleigh*, under the command of captain *Butler*. III. *The Golden Hinde*, of 40 tons, rear-admiral, commanded by captain *Edward Hayes*, who was also her owner. IV. *The Swallow*, of like burthen; commanded by captain *Maurice Brown*. V. *The Squirrel*,

² See the life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, by Mr. *Oldy's*, p. 13.

³ As appears by sir *George Peckham's* relation of sir *Humphry's* voyage. *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 165.

Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT. 495

Squirrel, of the burden of 10 tons, under the command of captain *William Andrews*^b. They sailed from *Plymouth* on the 11th of *June*, and on the 13th, the *Bark, Raleigh*, returned, the captain and most of those on board her falling sick of a contagious distemper. On the 30th of the same month, the rest of the fleet had sight of *Newfoundland*. On the 3d of *August*, they landed, the general read his commission, which was submitted to by all the *English* vessels upon the coast; and on the 5th, he took possession of the harbour of *St. John*, in the name of the queen of *England*, and granted, as her patentee, certain leases unto such as were willing to take them. At the same time a discovery was made of a very rich silver mine, by one *Daniel*, a *Saxon*, an able miner, brought by the general for that purpose^c. Sir *Humphry* now inclined to put to sea again, in order to make the best use of his time in discovering as far as possible; and having sent home *The Swallow*, with such as were sick, or discouraged with the hardships they had undergone, he left the harbour of *St. John's* in 47° 40. N. L. on the 20th of *August*, himself in the small sloop called, *The Squirrel*, because being light, she was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours; captain *Brown*, in *The Delight*, and captain *Hayes*, in *The Golden Hinde*. On the 27th they found themselves in the latitude of 45°; and though the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue so, yet on the 29th of *August*, in the evening, a sudden storm arose, wherein *The Delight* was lost, twelve men only escaping in her boat. This was a fatal blow to Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, not only with respect to the value of the

^b Ibid. p. 148.

^c Ibid. p. 154.

the ship, and the lives of the men, but also in regard to his future hopes ; for in her, he lost his *Saxon* miner, and with him, the silver ore which had been dug in *Newfoundland*, and of which he was so confident, as to tell some of his friends, that upon the credit of that mine, he doubted not to borrow ten thousand pounds of the queen for his next voyage ^d.

ON the second of *September*, he went on board *The Golden Hinde*, in order to have his foot dressed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board all day, and those who were in that vessel, did all that in them lay, to persuade him to make his voyage home in her, which he absolutely refused to do, affirming, that he would never desert his bark, and his little crew, with whom, he had escaped so many dangers. A generous but fatal resolution ! for the vessel, being too small to resist the swell of those tempestuous seas, about midnight, on the ninth of *September*, was swallowed up, and never seen more ^e. In the evening, when they were in great danger, sir *Humphry* was seen sitting in the stern of the ship with a book in his hand, and was often heard to say with a loud voice, *Courage, my lads ! we are as near heaven at sea, as at land*. Thus he died like a christian hero, full of hope, as having the testimony of a good conscience. Mr. *Edward Haies*, who accompanied sir *Humphry* in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it, affirms that he was principally determined to his fatal resolution of sailing in the *Squirrel*, by a malicious report

^d Ibid. p. 155.

^e Ibid. p. 158. See also an account of his death, with some remarks thereon, and the danger of launching out mens private fortunes in selling colonies, *Camd. Annal.* p. 402.

Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT. 497

port that had been spread of his being timorous by sea.¹ If so, it appears that death was less dreadful to him than fame; but it is hard to believe that so wise a man could be wrought upon by so weak and insignificant a reflection.

SUCH was the fate of sir *Humphry Gilbert*! one of the worthiest men of that age, whether we regard the strength of his understanding, or his heroic courage. Some further particulars relating to him I might have added from *Prince's Worthies of Devonshire*; but that I am suspicious of their credit, and the more so, because they do not agree well together; besides, they are but trivial, and my design leads me to take notice of such only as concern his character.² The reason I have given his memoirs a place here is this, that he was in a manner the author of all our plantations; being the first who introduced a legal and regular method of settling, without which such undertakings must necessarily prove unsuccessful. Besides, his treatise of the north-west passage was the ground of all the expectations which the best seamen had for many years, of actually finding such a route to the *East-Indies*; and though at present we know many things advanced therein to be false, yet we likewise find

VOL. I. K k many

¹ Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 159. He tells us amongst other things, that the queen of her particular grace, gave to sir Humphry Gilbert, a golden anchor, with a large pearl at the peak. If this were true, it is strange that, in the prolix accounts we have of his voyages, and in the latin poem written expressly to do him honour by Stephen Parmenius, an Hungarian, who accompanied him in his last voyage, there should be no mention of it. Perhaps he had this circumstance from no better authority, than that from whence he took sir Humphry's motto, which he says was, *Mallem mori, quam mutare*; whereas sir Humphry himself gives it thus, *Mutare vel timere serno*. *Worthies of Devon*. p. 326—329. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 24.

many of his conjectures true, and all of them founded in reason, and the philosophy then commonly received. I shall conclude my account of him, by transcribing a passage which he affirms of his own knowledge, and which I judge worthy of consideration, because some later accounts of the *Spanish* missionaries in *California* affirm the same thing. “ There was, says he, one *Salvaterra*, a “ gentleman of *Victoria* in *Spain*, that came by chance “ out of the *West-Indies* into *Ireland*, Anno 1568, who “ affirmed the north-west passage from us to *Cataia*, constantly to be believed in *America* navigable; and further said, in the presence of sir *Henry Sidney* (then lord-deputy of *Ireland*) in my hearing, that a frier of *Mexico*, “ called *Andrew Urdaneta*, more than eight years before “ his then coming into *Ireland*, told him, that he came “ from *Mer del Sur* into *Germany* through this north-west “ passage, and shewed *Salvaterra* (at that time being then “ with him in *Mexico*) a sea-card made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly “ set down and described this north-west passage, agreeing “ in all points with *Ortelius’s* map. And further, this “ frier told the king of *Portugal*, as he returned by that “ country homeward, that there was (of certainty) such “ a passage north-west from *England*, and that he meant “ to publish the same; which done, the king most earnestly “ desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the “ passage known to any nation; for that (said the king) “ if *England* had knowledge and experience thereof, it “ would greatly hinder both the king of *Spain* and me. “ This frier (as *Salvaterra* reported) was the greatest discoverer by sea, that hath been in our age. Also *Salvaterra* being persuaded of this passage by the frier *Urdaneta*, and by the common opinion of the *Spaniards* inhabiting

Sir JOHN HAWKINS. 499

“habiting *America*, offered most willingly to accompany me in this discovery, which it is like he would not have done, if he had stood in doubt thereof.” It is true, that Sir *William Monson* discredits this relation, as he endeavours to refute all the reasons that have been offered to support the opinion of a passage to the north-west²; yet I meddle not with the dispute, but with the fact, which, as I have said, is confirmed by later testimonies to the same purpose. Let us now proceed to

Sir JOHN HAWKINS, a famous Admiral, and one who performed many great services against the Spaniards.

THIS gentleman was a native of *Devonshire*, as well as the former, and descended also of a good family, his father was *William Hawkins*, esq; a gentleman of a considerable estate; his mother's name was *Joan Trelawny*, daughter of *William Trelawney* of the county of *Cornwall*, esq. Our *John Hawkins* was their second son, born at *Plymouth*^a, but in what year I have not been able to find: however, from circumstances we may gather, that it could not be later than 1520. He was from his youth addicted to navigation, and the study of the mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began very early to put his skill in practice, by making several voyages to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Canaries*, which were in those days extraordinary undertakings, and must have given him much more experience than almost any of his Contemporaries^b. Of these

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voyages

¹ Ibid. p. 19. ² Naval Tracts, p. 428.
p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 389.

^a Stowe's Annals,

^b Stowe, ubi sup.

voyages we have no particular account, any more than of those of his father Mr. *William Hawkins*, who was likewise a very great seaman, and the first of our nation who made a voyage to *Brazil*. His son, probably, reaped the benefit of his observations; for he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by queen *Elizabeth* as an officer at sea, when some who were afterwards chief commanders were but boys, and learned the skill, by which they rose, from him.

IN the spring of the year 1562, he formed the design of his first famous voyage, advantageous to himself and most of his proprietors; but much more so in its consequences to his country. In several trips to the *Canaries*, where by his tenderness and humanity he had made himself much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the slave-trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the sale of *Negroes* in the *West-Indies*. After due consideration he resolved to attempt somewhat in this way, and to raise a subscription amongst his Friends (the greatest Traders in the city of *London*) for opening a new trade, first to *Guinea* for slaves, and then to *Hispaniola*, *St. John de Porto Rico*, and other *Spanish* Islands for sugars, hides, silver, &c. Upon his representation of the affair, Sir *Lionel Ducket*, Sir *Thomas Lodge*, Sir *William Winter*, Mr. *Bromfield*, and Mr. *Gunson*, whose daughter Mr. *Hawkins* married, readily joined in the undertaking. At their expence a little fleet was prepared, composed of the following ships; The *Solomon*, of the burthen of 120 tons, in which went Mr. *Hawkins* himself; the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, commanded by captain *Thomas Hampton*, and a bark of 40 tons called the

the *Jonas*, on board of which there were about a hundred men in all. With this squadron he sailed from the coast of *England* in the month of *October* 1562, and in his course first touched at *Teneriffe*, sailed thence to the coast of *Guinea*, where having by force or purchase acquired 300 *Negro* slaves, he sailed directly to *Hispaniola*, and making there a large profit he returned safe into *England*, in the month of *September* 1563^d.

THE next year he made another voyage with a greater force, himself being in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a ship of 700 tons, accompanied by the *Solomon*, and two barks, the *Tyger* and the *Swallow*. He sailed from *Plymouth* the eighteenth of *October* 1564, proceeded to the coast of *Guinea*, and thence to the *Spanish West-Indies*, where he forced a trade much to his profit, and after visiting the port of the *Havaya*, came home through the gulph of *Florida*, arriving at *Padstowe* in *Cornwall*, on the twentieth of *September* 1565, having lost but twenty persons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities^e. His skill and success had now raised him to such a reputation, that Mr. *Harvey*, then *Clarencieux* king at arms, granted him by patent for his crest, a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord^f.

IN the beginning of the year 1567, he sailed to the relief of the *French* protestants in *Rochelle*, and returning home in the summer, began to make the necessary preparations for his third voyage to the *West-Indies*, which he undertook some time afterwards^g.

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^d Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 500.

^e Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 389. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 501.

^f Prince, in the Page before cited, tells us, he took this from the Original Patent.

^g Stowe, Holingsted, Spred.

Mr. *Hawkins* made this, as he did his former voyage in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, accompanied by the *Minion* and four other ships. He sailed with these from *Plymouth* the second of *October* 1567. At first they met with such storms that they had thoughts of returning home, but the weather growing better, and the wind coming fair, he continued his course to the *Canaries*, thence to the coast of *Guinea*, and so to the *Spanish America* to sell his *Negroes*. The governor of *Rio de la Hacha*, refusing to trade, *Hawkins* landed, and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion; for notwithstanding this they traded together in a friendly manner till most of the *Negroes* were sold. Thence he sailed to *Carthagena*, where he disposed of the rest; but in returning home being surprized with storms on the coast of *Florida*, he was forced to steer for the port of St. *John de Ulloa*, in the bottom of the bay of *Mexico*. He entered the port the sixteenth of *September* 1568, when the *Spaniards* came on board, supposing him to have come from *Spain*, and were exceedingly frightened when they found their mistake. Mr. *Hawkins* treated them very civilly, assuring them, that all he came for was provisions; neither did he attack twelve merchant-ships that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth two hundred thousand pounds, but contented himself with seizing two persons of distinction, whom he kept as hostages, while an express was sent to *Mexico* with an account of his demands. The next day the *Spanish* fleet appeared in sight, which gave captain *Hawkins* great uneasiness; for, if he kept them out, he was sensible they must be lost with all they had on board, which amounted to near two millions sterling; an act which, considering there was no war declared against *Spain*, he was afraid queen *Elizabeth* would never pardon. On the other hand he was no less

sensible

sensible that, the port being narrow, and the town pretty populous, the *Spaniards* would not fail, if once they were suffered to come in, to attempt some treachery. At length he determined to admit the Fleet, provided the new viceroy of *Mexico*, who was on board it, would agree that the *English* should have victuals for their money, that hostages should be given on both sides, and that the island, with eleven pieces of brass cannon therein, should be yielded to his crew while they staid. At these demands the viceroy at first seemed highly displeased, yet quickly after he yielded to them, and at a personal conference with Mr. *Hawkins*, solemnly promised to perform them.

At the end of three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on the twenty-sixth, with the usual salutations, and two days more were employed to range the ships of each nation by themselves, the officers and sailors on both sides using reciprocal civilities, and professing a great deal of friendship. But the *Spaniards* intended nothing less; for they had by this time mustered a thousand men on land, and designed on *Thursday* the twenty-fourth at dinner-time to set on the *English* on every side. On the day appointed, in the morning, the *English* perceived the *Spaniards* shifting their weapons from ship to ship, pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewise observed great numbers of men, passing to and fro, than the business on board the ships required, which with other circumstances giving grounds of suspicion, captain *Hawkins* sent to the viceroy to know the meaning of such unusual motions, whereupon the viceroy sent orders to have every thing removed that might give the *English* umbrage,

with

^h Camden's Annals, p. 158. Sir John Hawkins's Account of his Voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 522, 523.

with a promise on the faith of a vice-roy, to be their defence against any clandestine attempts of the *Spaniards*. However, the captain not being satisfied with this answer, because he suspected a great number of men to be hidden in a ship of 900 tons, which was moored next the *Minion*, he sent the master of the *Jesus*, who understood *Spanish*, to know of the vice-roy, whether it was so or not. The vice-roy, finding he could conceal his mean and villainous design no longer, detained the master, and causing the trumpet to be sounded, the *Spaniards* at the signal of which they were apprized, set upon the *English* on all sides. Those who were upon the island, being struck with fear at this sudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ships, but the *Spaniards*, landing in great numbers at several places at once, (which they might do without boats, the ships lying close to the shore) slew them all without mercy, excepting a few who escaped on board the *Jesus*¹.

THE great ship, wherein three hundred men were concealed, immediately fell on board the *Minion*, but she having put all hands to work the moment their suspicions commenced, had in that short space, which was but half an hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the first brunt of the great ship, the latter clapped the *Jesus* aboard, which was at the same time attacked by two other ships. However, with much ado, and the loss of many men, she kept them off, till she cut her cable, and got clear also. As soon as the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were got two ships length from the *Spanish* fleet, they began the fight, which was so furious, that in one hour, the admiral of the *Spaniards* and another ship were supposed

¹ Camden, as before, Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524.

supposed to be sunk, and their vice-admiral burned, so that they had little to fear from the enemy's ships; but they suffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the island, which sunk their small ships, and mangled all the masts and rigging of the *Jesus*, in such a manner, that there was no Hopes of bringing her off. This being the case, they determined to place her for a shelter to the *Minion* till night, and then, taking out of her what victuals and other necessities they could, to leave her behind. But presently after, perceiving two large ships, fired by the *Spaniards*, bearing down directly upon them, the Men aboard the *Minion*, in great consternation, without consent of either the captain or master, set sail and made off from the *Jesus* in such haste, that captain *Hawkins* had scarce time to get on board her. As for the men, most of them followed in a small boat, the rest were left to the mercy of the *Spaniards*, which, says the captain, I doubt was very little^k.

THE *Minion*, and the *Judith*, were the only two *English* ships that escaped, and in the night, the *Judith*, which was a bark only of fifty tons, separated herself from the *Minion*, on board which was captain *Hawkins* and the best part of his men. In this distress, having little to eat, less water, in unknown seas, and many of his men wounded, he continued till the eighth of *October*, and then entered a creek in the bay of *Mexico*, in order to obtain some refreshment. This was about the mouth of the river *Tampico*, in the lat. of 23°. 36. N. where his company dividing, one hundred desired to be put on shore, and the rest, who were about the same number, resolved, at all events, to endeavour to get home. Accordingly on the 16th they weighed

^k Ibid.

weighed and stood through the gulph of *Florida*, making the best of their way for *Europe*. In their passage, they were forced to put into *Ponte Vedra*, in *Spain*, where the *Spaniards* coming to know their weakness, thought by treachery to seize them a second time ; but they suspecting this sailed forthwith to *Vigo*, not far off. They there met with some *English* ships, which supplied their wants, and departing on the 20th of *January*, 1586, arrived in *Mount's-Bay*, in *Cornwall*, the 25th of *January* following. As to the hardships endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more strongly, or exactly pictured, than in the following Lines, with which captain *Hawkins* concludes his own relation¹. " If all the miseries and trouble-
 " some affairs, says he, of this sorrowful voyage should
 " be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a
 " painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had
 " that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs."^m In reward of his famous action at *Rio de la Hacha*, Mr. *Cook*, then *Clarencieux*, added to his arms, on an escutcheon of pretence, Or, an escallop between two palmer's staves Sable; and his patent for this augmentation is still extantⁿ.

WHEN the *Spanish* fleet went to fetch *Anne of Austria*, the last wife of *Philip* the second out of *Flanders*. Sir *John Hawkins* with a small fleet of her majesty's ships was riding in cat-water, which the *Spanish* admiral perceiving, he

¹ Camden, Annal, p. 352. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524, 525. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1177. ^m These are the last Words of Captain Hawkins's Relation; but the inquisitive Reader may find some further Circumstances relating to this unfortunate Voyage, in the Travels of Miles Phillips, and of Job Hartop, two of the Men set on Shore by Sir John Hawkins, in the Bay of Mexico, in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. iii. p. 469, 487. ⁿ Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 389. from the Copy of this Patent.

he endeavoured to run between the island and the place without paying the usual salutes. Sir *John* ordered the gunner of his own ship to fire at the rigging of the *Spanish* admiral, who taking no notice of it, the gunner fired next at the Hull and shot through and through. The *Spaniards* upon this took in their flags and topsails and run to an anchor. The *Spanish* admiral then sent an officer of distinction in a boat to carry at once his complements and complaints to Sir *John Hawkins*. He standing upon deck would not either admit the officer, or hear his message; but bid him tell his admiral, that having neglected the respect due to the queen of *England*, in her seas and port, and having so large a fleet under his command he must not expect to lie there; but in twelve hours weigh his anchor and begone, otherwise he should regard him as an enemy declared, his conduct having already rendered him suspected.

THE *Spanish* admiral upon receiving this message came off in person, and went in his boat to the *Jesus of Lubec*, on board which Sir *John Hawkins's* flag was flying, desiring to speak with him which at first was refused, but at length granted. The *Spaniard* then expostulated the matter, insisted that there was peace between the two crowns, and that he knew not what to make of the treatment he had received. Sir *John Hawkins* told him, that his own arrogance had brought it upon him, and that he could not but know what respect was due to the queen's ships, that he had dispatched an express to her majesty with advice of his behaviour, and that in the mean time he would do well to depart. The *Spaniard* still pleaded ignorance, and that he was ready to give satisfaction.

UPON this Sir *John Hawkins* told him mildly, that he could not be a stranger to what was practised by the *French*
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and *Spaniards*, in their own seas and ports; adding, put the case Sir, that an *English* fleet came into any of the king your master's ports, his majesty's ships being there, and those *English* ships should carry their flags in their tops. Would you not shoot them down, and beat the ships out of your port? The *Spaniard* owned he would, confessed he was in the wrong, submitted to the penalty Sir *John* imposed, was then very kindly entertained, and they parted very good friends. This account we have from his son Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who was eye-witness of all that passed.

THE next great action of this worthy seaman, was his service under the lord high-admiral in 1588, against the *Spanish Armada*, wherein he acted as rear-admiral, on board her majesty's ship the *Victory*, and had as large a share of the danger and honour of that day, as any man in the fleet, for which he most deservedly received the honour of knighthood^o; and in the pursuit of the flying *Spaniards*, he did extraordinary service, insomuch, that on his return from the fleet, he was particularly commended by the queen. In 1590, he was sent in conjunction with Sir *Martin Frobisher*, each having a squadron of five men of war, to infest the coasts of *Spain*, and to intercept, if possible, the plate-fleet. At first, his catholic majesty thought of opposing these famous commanders, with a superior fleet of twenty sail, under the command of *Don Alonzo de Bassan*; but upon more mature deliberation he abandoned this design, directed his ships to keep close in port, and sent instructions into the *Indies*, that the fleet, instead of returning, should winter there. Sir *John Hawkins* and his colleague, spent seven months in this station, without

without performing any thing of note, or so much as taking a single ship. They afterwards attempted the island of *Fayal*, which had submitted the year before to the earl of *Cumberland*; but the citadel being reformed, and the inhabitants well furnished with artillery and ammunition, Sir *John* and his associates were forced to retreat. It must be owned, that with the populace very small reputation was gained by the admirals in this expedition; and yet they lost no credit at court, where the issue of the business was better understood. By compelling the *Spanish* navy to fly into fortified ports, they destroyed their reputation as a maritime power; and their wintering of their plate-ships in the *Indies*, proved so great a detriment to the merchants of *Spain*, that many broke in *Seville*, and other places; besides, it was to great a prejudice to their vessels, to winter in the *Indies*, that the damage could not be repaired in many years. Thus, though no immediate profit accrued the end of this expedition was fully answered, and the nation gained a very signal advantage, by grievously distressing their enemies.^p

THE war with *Spain* continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the *Indies*, a proposition was made to the queen by Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Francis Drake*, the most experienced seamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts, than had been hitherto made through the whole course of the war; and, at the same time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest. There were many motives

^p Camden. Annals, p. 620. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 177. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

motives which induced our admiral, though then far in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his person, in this dangerous service; amongst which, this was not the last, or the least, that his son *Richard*, who was afterwards *Sir Richard Hawkins*, was at this time a prisoner in the hands of the *Spaniards*; and some hope there was, that in the course of such an enterprize, an opportunity might offer of redeeming him¹. The queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furnished on her part, a stout squadron of men of war, on board one of which, the *Garland*, *Sir John Hawkins* embarked. Their whole force consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and their whole force was about two thousand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which so great hope was conceived as this, and yet none succeeded worse. The fleet was detained for some time after it was ready, on the *English* coast, by the arts of the *Spaniards*, who having intelligence of its strength, and of the ends for which it was equipped, they conceived, that the only means by which it could be defeated, was practising some contrivances that might disappoint the first exploits intended, by procuring delay; in order to which, they gave out, that they were ready themselves to invade *England*; and to render this the more probable, they actually sent four gallies to make a sudden descent on *Cornwall*. By these steps, they carried their point; for the queen, and the nation being alarmed, it was held by no means proper to send so great a number of stout ships, on so long a voyage, at

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¹ *Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations on his Voyage to the South Seas*, p. 133.

Sir JOHN HAWKINS. 511

so critical a juncture. At last, this storm blowing over, the fleet sailed from *Plymouth*, on the 28th of *August*, in order to execute their grand design, of burning *Nombre de Dios*, marching thence by land to *Panama*, and there seizing the treasure which they knew was arrived at that place from *Peru*. A few days before their departure, the queen sent them advice, that the plate-fleet was safely arrived in *Spain*, excepting only a single galloon, which, having lost a mast, had been obliged to return to *Porto Rico*, the taking of this vessel, she recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at sea, the generals differed, as is usual in conjunct expeditions. Sir *John Hawkins* was for executing immediately what the queen had commanded, whereas Sir *Francis Drake* inclined to go first to the *Canaries*, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unsuccessful, and then they sailed for *Dominica*, where they spent too much time in refreshing themselves, and setting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the *Spaniards* had sent five stout frigates to bring away the galloon from *Porto Rico*, having exact intelligence of the intention of the *English* admirals to attempt that place. On the 30th of *October*, Sir *John Hawkins* weighed from *Dominica*, and in the evening of the same day, the *Francis*, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the *Sternmost*, of Sir *John's* ships, fell in with the five sail of *Spanish* frigates beforementioned, and was taken, the consequences of which being foreseen by Sir *John*, it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the 21st of *November*, 1595, when they were in sight of the island of *Porto Rico*, and not, as Sir *William Monson* suggests, of chagrin, on the miscarriage

In attempting the city of the same name, which in truth he never lived to see.

At so great a distance of time, it may seem strange to enter into, or at least to enter minutely into the character of this famous seaman; but as we have good authorities, and such reflections, may be of use to posterity, we think it not amiss to undertake this task; in performing which, we shall use all the care and impartiality that can be expected*. Sir John had naturally strong parts, which he improved by constant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reserved in discovering his own. He was slow, jealous, and somewhat irresolute, yet in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a strict observer of his word. As he had passed a great part of his life at sea, he had too great a dislike of land-soldiers. When occasion required it, he could dissemble, though he was naturally of a blunt rather than reserved disposition. And now we are making a catalogue of his faults, let us not forget the greatest; which was the love of money, wherein he exceeded all just bounds. Yet, in spite of his imperfections, he was always esteemed one of the ablest of his profession; of which there

* Camden. Annal. p. 698, 699, 700. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 182, 183. There is an accurate and copious Account of this Voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. As also in Purchas's pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1183. See likewise Stowe, Holingshed, and Speed. † In order to this, I have compared what is to be met with in Hakluyt, Purchas, Monson, Stowe, and Sir Richard Hawkins's book, as also whatever notices I have been able to collect from other contemporary writers. ‡ Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 183. § See a very remarkable Letter signed R. M. by one who had sailed with Hawkins and Drake, and drew a parallel between them. Purchas, Vol. vi. p. 1185. ¶ I take this from the said Letter, and from some MS. Remarks on Hakluyt.

these are no inconsiderable proofs, that he was a noted commander at sea forty-eight years, and treasurer of the navy two and twenty *. He and his eldest brother *William* were owners at once of thirty sail of good ships^y, and it was generally owned, that Sir *John Hawkins* was the author of more useful inventions, and introduced into the navy better regulations, than any officer who had bore command therein before his time^z.

*Memoirs of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE,
a most skilfull seaman, the first who made
a voyage round the world, and vice-ad-
miral of the English Fleet in 1588.*

IT seems in some measure to detract from the common notions about nobility of birth, and the advantages of blood, that the most illustrious persons in our nation have risen from very obscure beginnings, and have left their historians difficulties enough to struggle with in deriving their descents. This is particularly true of Sir *Francis Drake*, concerning whose family I must confess, I can say nothing with much certainty. That he was born in *Devonshire*, occasioned his being taken notice of by the Reverend Mr. *Prince*, who has left us a life of him, not much to be depended on^a; and as to earlier writers, many of them are silent. According to the account given by Mr. *Camden*, who professes to have taken it from his

VOL. I.

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* *Camden. Annal. p. 158. Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.* ^y *Stowe's Annals, p. 807.* ^z *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.* ^a *Worthies of Devon: p. 289.*

own mouth, we are told that he was son of a person in ordinary circumstances, who lived in a village in *Devonshire*, and that Sir *Francis Russel*, afterwards earl of *Bedford*, was his godfather. His father having embraced the protestant religion, was obliged to quit his country and retire to *Kent*, where he first read prayers on board the fleet, was afterwards ordained a deacon, and in process of time became vicar of the church of *Upnore*. As for our *Francis Drake*, he was bound out apprentice to the master of a coasting vessel, whom he served so faithfully, that dying unmarried, he bequeathed his ship to *Drake*; which laid the foundation of his fortunes^b. I do not doubt, but many of the circumstances in this story may be true, if brought into their right order; but, as they stand in *Camden*, they cannot be so. For first, this account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled about the six articles, and he was born some time before, Sir *Francis Russel* could have been but a child, and therefore, not likely to be his godfather^c. Another story there is, as circumstantial, and written as early, which perhaps some judicious reader will be able to reconcile with this: but whether that can be done or not, I think it of better credit. According to this relation I find that he was the son of an honest sailor, and born near *Tavistock* in the year 1545, being the eldest of twelve brethren and brought up at the expence, and under the care, of his kinsman Sir
John

^b Camden's Annals, p. 351. English Hero, p. 1. and Fuller's Holy State, p. 123. ^c It appears by the Monumental Inscription on the Tomb of this noble Person, that he was born A. D. 1527. and was, therefore, but ten Years old at Drake's Christening, according to this account; but might well be his Godfather, if born 1545. See Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 101.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE. 515

John Hawkins. I likewise find that, at the age of eighteen, he was purser of a ship trading to *Biscay*; that at twenty he made a voyage to *Guinea*, and at the age of twenty-two, had the honour to be appointed captain of the *Judith*, in the harbour of *St. John de Ulloa*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, where he behaved most gallantly in that glorious action, under Sir *John Hawkins*, and returned with him into *England* with a very great reputation, but not worth a groat^d. Upon this he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of *Spain*; which, some say, was put into his head by the minister of his ship, and to be sure in sea-divinity the case was clear, the king of *Spain's* subjects had undone Mr. *Drake*, and therefore Mr. *Drake* was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on the subjects of the King of *Spain*^e. This doctrine how rudely soever preached was very taking in *England*, and therefore he no sooner published his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no such pretence to colour their proceedings as he had^f. In 1570, he made his first expedition, with two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*; and the next year in the *Swan* alone, wherein he returned safe, if not rich; and having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design, with respect to himself and to his enemies^g. This he put in execution on the twenty-fourth of *March* 1572, on which day he sailed from *Ply-*

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^d Stowe's Annals, p. 807. ^e Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 239. ^f Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden's Annals, p. 351.
^g Sir Francis Drake-revived, by Philip Nichols, Preacher, a 4to. of 94 pages in black Letter, published by Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, his Nephew.

mouth, himself in a ship called the *Pascha*, of the burthen of seventy tons, and his brother *John Drake* in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons burthen, their whole strength consisting of no more than twenty-three men and boys; and with this inconsiderable force on the twenty-second of *July*, he attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then served the *Spaniards* for the same purposes (though not so conveniently) as those for which they now use *Porto Bello*. He took it in a few hours by storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet after all they were no great gainers, but after a very brisk action were obliged to betake themselves to their ships with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*; but in this scheme too he was disappointed. However, he attacked the town of *Venta Cruz*, carried it, and got some little booty. In their return they met unexpectedly with a string of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the rest. In these expeditions he was greatly assisted by a nation of *Indians*, who are engaged in a perpetual war with the *Spaniards*. The prince or captain of these people was named *Pedro*, to whom captain *Drake* presented a fine cutlass which he at that time wore, and to which he saw the *Indian* had a mind. *Pedro* in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, which captain *Drake* threw into the common stock, with this remarkable expression; *that he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced*. Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for *England*, and was so fortunate as to
sail

sail in twenty-three days from cape *Florida* to the isles of *Scilly*, and thence without any accident to *Plymouth*, where he arrived the ninth of *August* 1573^h.

His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation; and the use he made of his riches, still a greater; for fitting out three stout frigates at his own expence; he sailed with them to *Ireland*, where, under *Walter* earl of *Essex* (the father of that unfortunate earl who was beheaded) he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions^l. After the death of his noble patron, he returned into *England*, where *Sir Christopher Hatton*, who was then vice-chamberlain to queen *Elizabeth*, privy-counsellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her majesty, and procured him her countenance^k. By this means, he acquired a capacity of undertaking that grand expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he first proposed, was, a voyage into the *South-Seas*, through the streights of *Magellan*, which was what hitherto no *Englishman* ever attempted. This project was well received at court, and in a short time, captain *Drake* saw himself at the height of his wishes; for in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the *South-Seas*, he framed an ardent prayer to god, that he might sail an *English* ship in them, which he now found an opportunity of attempting, the queen's permission furnishing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force sufficient^l.

^h See that relation, as also Camden's Annals, p. 351. Stowe, Hollinshed, Speed.

ⁱ Stowe's Annals, p. 307.

^k Id.

ibid.

^l Camden's Annals, p. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Prince's Worthies of Devon.

THE fleet with which he sailed on this extraordinary undertaking, consisted of the following ships; the *Pelican*, commanded by himself, of the burden of one hundred tons; the *Elizabeth*, vice-admiral, eighty tons, under captain *John Winter*; the *Marygold*, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by captain *John Thomas*; the *Swan*, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under captain *John Chester*, and the *Christopher*, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain *Thomas Moon*^m. In this fleet, were embarked no more than one hundred sixty-four able men, and all the necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for *Alexandria*, though all men suspected, and many knew he intended for *America*. Thus equipped, on the fifteenth of *November 1577*, about three in the afternoon, he sailed from *Plymouth*; but a heavy storm taking him as soon as he was out of port, forced him, in a very bad condition, into *Falmouth* to refit, which having expeditiously performed, he again put to sea the thirteenth of *December* followingⁿ. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, he fell in with the coast of *Barbary*, and on the twenty-ninth with *cape Verd*; the thirteenth of *March*, he passed the *Equinoctial*, the fifth of *April*, he made the coast of *Brazil* in 30 N° L. and entered the river *de la Plata*, where he lost the company of two of his ships; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the provisions they had on board, he turned them a-drift. On the twenty-ninth of *May*, he entered the port of *St. Julian's*, where he did the least commendable action of his life in executing Mr.

John

^m Camden's Annals, p. 354. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46. ⁿ Camden's Annals, p. 354.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE. 519

John Doughty, a man next in authority to himself; in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice °. On the twentieth of *August*, he entered the straits of *Magellan*, on the twenty-fifth of *September* he passed them, having then only his own ship, which in the *South-Seas*, he new named the *Hind*; on the twenty-fifth of *November*, he came to *Machao*, in the latitude of 30 degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in case his ships separated; but captain *Winter* having repassed the straits, was returned to *England*. Thence he continued his voyage along the coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*, taking all opportunities of seizing *Spanish* ships, or of landing and attacking them on shore, till his crew were sated with plunder; and then coasting *North-America* to the height of 48 degrees, he endeavoured to find a passage back into our seas on that side, which is the strongest proof of his consummate skill and invincible courage; for if ever such a passage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method; and we can scarce conceive a clearer testimony of an undaunted spirit, than attempting discoveries, after so long, so hazardous, and so fatiguing a voyage P. Here being disappointed of what he sought, he landed, and called the country, *New-Albion*, taking possession of it in the name and for the use of queen *Elizabeth*, and having trimmed his ship, set sail from thence on the twenty-ninth of *September* 1579, for the *Molucca's*. The reason of captain *Drake's* chusing this passage round, rather than returning

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° See the relation in *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 733. all which is omitted in the revised account in *Purchas* before referred to.
P Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 400. See also some remarks on this passage in *Dampier's Voyages*.

by the streights of *Magellan*, was partly the danger of being attacked at a great disadvantage by the *Spaniards*, and partly the lateness of the season, whence dangerous storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended^a. On the thirteenth of *October*, he fell in with certain islands inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with, in all his voyage. On the fourth of *November*, he had sight of the *Molucca's*, and coming to *Ternate*, was extremely well received by the king thereof, who appears from the most authentic relations of this voyage, to have been a wise and polite prince. On the tenth of *December*, he made *Celebes*, where his ship unfortunately ran on a rock, the ninth of *January* following, whence, beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculously, they got off, and continued their course. On the sixteenth of *March*, he arrived at *Java Major*, thence he intended to have proceeded for *Malacca*, but found himself obliged to alter his purpose, and think of returning directly home. On the twenty-fifth of *March* 1580, he put this design in execution, and on the fifteenth of *June*, he doubled the cape of *Good-hope*, having then on board his ship fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the twelfth of *July* he passed the Line, reached the coast of *Guinea* on the sixteenth, and there watered. On the eleventh of *September* he made the island of *Tercera*, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month entered the harbour of *Plymouth*. In this voyage he compleatly surrounded the globe, which no commander in

^a See all the relations before cited for the confirmation of this circumstance; but perhaps captain Drake might be deterred by the confident, though false report of the *Spaniards*, that the streights could not be repassed. *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 743.

in chief had done before[†]. His success in the voyage, and the immense mass of wealth he brought home, raised much discourse throughout the kingdom, some highly commending, and some as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himself, but to his country; that it would establish our reputation for maritime skill in foreign nations, and raise a useful spirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our merchants having suffered deeply from the faithless practices of the *Spaniards*, there was nothing more just than that the nation should receive the benefit of *Drake's* reprisals. The other party alledged, that in fact he was no better than a pyrate; that of all others, it least became a trading nation to encourage such practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with *Spain*, but likewise of our old leagues with the house of *Burgundy*; and that the consequences would be much more fatal, than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of the year 1580, and the spring of the succeeding year. At length they took a better turn; for on the 4th of *April* 1581, her majesty dining at *Deptford* in *Kent*, went on board captain *Drake's* Ship, where she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her absolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confusion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends[‡]. She likewise gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument of his own, and his country's glory. In process of time, the vessel decaying, it was
broken

[‡] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 742. Purchas, vol. i. p. 46—57.

[†] Camden's Annals, p. 351. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 400. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Holingshead, Speed.

broken up; but a chair made of the planks was presented to the university of *Oxford*, and is still preserved *.

In 1585, he sailed again to the *West-Indies*, having under his command, captain *Christopher Carlisle*, captain *Martin Frobisher*, captain *Francis Knollys*, and many other officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of *St. Jago*, *St. Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and *St. Augustin*, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were sanguine to the last degree *. Yet the profits of this expedition, were but moderate, the design of sir *Francis* being rather to weaken the enemy, than to enrich himself *. In 1587, he proceeded to *Lisbon* with a fleet of thirty sail, and having intelligence of a great fleet assembled in the bay of *Cadix*, which was to have made part of the *Armada*, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thousand ton of shipping, and after having performed all the service that the state could expect, he resolved to do his utmost to content the merchants of *London*, who had contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large *Carrack* expected at *Tercera* from the *East-Indies*, thither he sailed; and tho' his men were severely pinched for want of victuals, yet by fair words and large promises, he prevailed upon them to endure these hardships for a few days; within this space the *East-India* ship arrived, which he took and carried home in triumph; so that throughout the whole war, there

* See Mr. Cowley's Poems, edit. 1680. p. 8, 42. * Hakluyt vol. iii. p. 534. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169. Camden. Annal. p. 353. Stowe's Annals, p. 709. Holingshed, Speed.

x Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169.

there was no expedition so happily conducted as this, with respect to reputation or profit¹; and therefore we need not wonder, that upon his return, the mighty applause he received, might render him somewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, since it always vented itself in service to the public. Thus at this time he undertook to bring water into the town of *Plymouth*, through the want of which, till then, it had been grievously distressed; and he performed it by conducting thither a stream from springs at eight miles distance, that is to say, in a straight line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the course it runs is of upwards of twenty miles².

IN 1588, sir *Francis Drake* was appointed vice-admiral, under *Charles* lord *Howard of Effingham*, high-admiral of *England*; here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever; for he made prize of a large galleon, commanded by don *Pedro de Valdez*, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this vessel, fifty thousand ducats were distributed among the seamen and soldiers, which preserved that love they had always borne to this their valiant commander. It must not, however, be dissembled, that, through an oversight of his, the admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy; for *Drake* being appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the *English* fleet, he, being in full pursuit of some hulks belonging to the *Hanse-Towns*, neglected it; which occasioned the admiral's following the *Spanish* lights, and remaining almost in the
centre

¹ Stow's Annals, p. 808. Sir William Monson's Tracts, p. 170. ² Westcot's Survey of Devonshire, MS. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

centre of their fleet 'till morning. However, his succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake, the greatest execution done on the flying *Spaniards*, being performed by the squadron under his command ^a.

THE next year he commanded as admiral at sea, the fleet sent to restore don *Antonio*, king of *Portugal*, the command of the land-forces being given to sir *John Norris*. They were hardly got out to sea, before the commanders differed; though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an admiral better disposed with respect to soldiers, than sir *Francis Drake*. The ground of their difference was this, the general was bent on landing at the *Groyne*, whereas sir *Francis*, and the sea-officers were for sailing to *Lisbon* directly; in which if their advice had been taken, without question their enterprize had succeeded, and don *Antonio* been restored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading *Portugal*, that the enemy had made use of the time they gave them, to so good purpose, that it was not possible to make any impression. Sir *John Norris* indeed marched by land to *Lisbon*, and sir *Francis Drake* very imprudently promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but when he saw the consequences which would have attended the keeping his word, he chose rather to brake his promise, than to hazard the queen's navy; for which he was grievously reproached by *Norris*, and the miscarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken. Yet, sir *Francis* fully justified himself on his return; for he made it manifest to the queen and council, that

^a Camden's Annals, p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 602. Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.

that all the service that was done, was performed by him, and that his sailing up the river of *Lisbon*, would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off, and that, without reducing it, there was no taking the town ^b.

His next service was, the fatal undertaking in conjunction with sir *John Hawkins*, in 1594, for the destroying *Nombre de Dios*, of which I have already given an account, to the death of the last-mentioned commander, which, as we have shewn, was the day before sir *Francis* made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of *Porto Rico*. This was performed with all courage imaginable, on the 13th of *November* 1595, and attended with great loss to the *Spaniards*, yet with very little advantage to the *English*, who meeting with a more resolute resistance, and much better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of *Rio de la Hacha*, which he burnt to the ground, a church, and a single house belonging to a lady, only excepted. After this he destroyed some other villages, and then proceeded to *Santa Martha*, which he likewise burned. The like fate had the famous town of *Nombre de Dios*, the *Spaniards* refusing to ransom any of these places, and the booty taken in them being very inconsiderable. On the 29th of *December*, sir *Thomas Baskerville* marched with seven hundred and fifty men towards *Panama*, but returned on the second of *January*, finding the design of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This disappointment made such an impression on

^b Camden. Annal. p. 601.—606. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 174. Stowe's Annals, p. 755. Holingshead, Speed.

on the admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the 28th, about four in the morning, though sir *William Monfon* hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his sickness killed him. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived fifty-five years^c; but his memory will survive as long as that world lasts which he first surrounded. Hitherto we have spoken of his public actions; let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, discourse somewhat of his person and character.

He was low of stature, but well set; had a broad open chest, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh, chearful, and very engaging countenance^d. As navigation had been his whole study, so he understood it thoroughly, and was a perfect master in every branch, especially in astronomy, and in the application thereof, to the nautic art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them; we need not wonder that Sir *Francis Drake*, who performed so many great things, should have as much ill spoken of him, as of any man of the age in which he lived. Those who disliked him, alledged that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, ostentatious, self-sufficient, an immoderate speaker, and, though indisputably a good seaman, no great general; in proof of which, they took notice of his neglecting to furnish his fleet throughly in

1585;

^c See an account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1183. Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts, p. 182. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Camden. Annal. p. 700. English Heroe, p. 206. Fuller's Worthies, p. 261. ^d Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 131.

1585; his not keeping either *St. Domingo*, or *Cartagena*, after he had taken them; the slender provision he made in his expedition to *Portugal*; his breaking his word to *Sir John Norris*, and the errors he committed in his last undertaking*. In excuse of these, it is said, that the glory of what he did, might very well remove the imputation of his mean descent; what was thought haughtiness in him, might be no more than a just concern for the support of his authority; his display of his great services, a thing incident to his profession; and his love of speaking, qualified by his wisdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak, or an ungraceful expression. In equipping his fleet, he was not so much in fault as those whom he trusted; sickness hindered his keeping the places he took in the *West-Indies*; his councils were continually crossed by the land-officers in his voyage to *Portugal*; and as to his last attempt, the *Spaniards* were certainly well acquainted with his design, at least as soon as he left *England*, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an incontestable proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-sightedness, and public spirit, since therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country, to his own reputation or private gain†.

THE only act of his whole life that laid him open to just censure, was his severity towards *Mr. John Doughty*, which I have touched before, and which many reasons incline me to mention again. The cause he alledged, was
Doughty's

* *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*, p. 399. *Purchas's Pilgrim* v. 6. p. 1185. *Stowe's Annals*, p. 808. † *C Camden's Annals*, p. 351. The world encompassed, p. 18. *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*, p. 399. *English Heroe*, p. 206.

Doughty's attempting to raise some disturbance in the fleet, which they say was partly proved from his own confession, and partly from papers found in his custody ^a. But in those days, it was shrewdly suspected, that *Doughty* was sent abroad for no other purpose than to meet with his end, and this, because he had charged the great earl of *Leicester* with poisoning the earl of *Essex* ^b. A fact generally believed at that time, on account of the earl's marrying in a short space *Lettice* countess of *Essex*, with whom the world held him to be too familiar before, and this to have made that lord's death necessary. The fullest account I know of this matter, is to be found in a poem called *Leicester's Ghost*, wherein there is a great deal of true, and, I doubt not, a little false history. The stanzas relating to this matter, are as follow ⁱ.

*I doubted, least that Doughtie would bewray
My counsel, and with other party take;
Wherefore, the sooner him to rid away,
I sent him forth to sea, with captain Drake,
Who knew how t'entertaine him for my sake.
Before he went, his lot by me was cast;
His death was plotted, and perform'd in haste.*

He

^a This story is plainly and circumstantially told in the relation we have in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733, and is also mentioned in Mr. Winter's account of his voyage, p. 752, but in the relation printed in Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46, it is slipped over in one line.

^b Winstanley's English Worthies, in the life of sir Francis Drake. ⁱ P. 22, 23. This is a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1641. and most of the facts contained in it, are taken from *Leicester's Commonwealth*, written by father Persons; as the reader may perceive, by comparing these stanzas with what is said of *Doughty's* death in that book, p. 49.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

529

*He hoped well; but I did so dispose,
That he at port St. Gillian lost his head;
Having no time permitted to disclose
The inward griefs, that in his heart were bred;
We need not fear the biting of the dead.
Now let him go transported to the seas,
And tell my secrets to th' Antipodes.*

YET it may be offered in defence of *sir Francis Drake*, that this man was openly put to death, after as fair a trial as the circumstances of time and place would permit; that he submitted patiently to his sentence, and received the sacrament with *Drake*, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Besides these, there are two points which deserve particular consideration: first, that in such expeditions, strict discipline, and legal severity are often absolutely necessary; secondly, that, as to the earl of *Essex*, for whose death *Doughtie* had expressed concern, he was *Drake's* first patron, and it is therefore very improbable he should destroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. *Camden* mentions the fact^k, and the report; but in such a manner as seems to justify *Drake*: and indeed, on the strictest review of the evidence, I can see no ground to condemn him.

It was the felicity of our admiral, to live under the reign of a princess, who never failed to distinguish merit, or to bestow her favours where she saw desert. *Sir Francis Drake* was always her favourite, and she gave a very lucky proof of it in respect to a quarrel he had with his countryman *sir Bernard Drake*, whose arms *sir Francis* had assumed, which so provoked the other, who was a seaman likewise, that he gave him a box on the ear. The queen

VOL. I.

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took

^k Annals, p. 555.

took up the quarrel, and gave sir *Francis* a new coat, which is thus blazoned: *Sable a fess wavy between two pole stars argent*, and for his crest, a *ship* on a *globe* under *ruff*, held by a *cable* with a *band* out of the *clouds*; over it this motto, *Auxilio divino*, underneath *Sic parvis, magna*; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a *Wivern Gules*, which was the arms of sir *Bernard Drake*¹. Her majesty's kindness, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for she suffered his brother *Thomas Drake*, whom he made his heir, to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which much diminished the advantages he would otherwise have reaped from his brother's succession^m.

It would swell this work much beyond its intended bulk, if we should enter particularly into the history of all the remarkable commanders who flourished in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; and therefore, we shall be more concise in our accounts of such heroes as we are yet to mention, and whose actions it would be however injurious to the reader to pass over in absolute silence.

SIR *Martin Frobisher* was a native of *Yorkshire*, born near *Doncaster* of mean parents, who bred him to the seaⁿ. We have very little account of his junior years, or the manner in which they were spent. He distinguished himself first by undertaking the discovery of the north-west passage in 1576, and made a voyage that year, wherein, though he had not full success, yet it gained him great reputation^o. In the year 1577, he undertook a second expedition, and in 1578, a third; in all which he gave the

¹ This story is related by Prince, from the mouth of sir John Drake, bart: a direct descendant from sir Bernard.^m Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 400. ⁿ Stowe's Annals, p. 808. ^o A very full account of his voyages above-mentioned may be found in Hakluyt, vol. iii p. 26.—96.

Sir MARTIN FROBISHER. 531

the highest proofs of his courage and conduct, in providing for the safety of his men, and yet pushing the discovery he went upon as far as it was possible; so that, notwithstanding his disappointment, he still preserved his reputation, and this in spite of a little accident which would certainly have overturned the credit of a less noted commander. He brought from the *Streights*, which he discovered, and which are still known by his name, a large quantity of black, soft stone, full of yellow shining grains, which he supposed to be gold-ore; but after numberless trials it was reported to be nothing worth, and so thrown away ^p. On this occasion, I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of captain *Monk*, who was sent to make discoveries to the north-west by the king of *Denmark*. He brought home a quantity of shining sand, which he also apprehended contained gold, but upon trial, it was judged to be of no value, and the ill usage which on account of this supposed mistake the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards, the chancellor of *Denmark* shewed a small parcel of this sand to a *French* chemist (the rest by the king's orders had been thrown into the sea); and this *Frenchman* extracted two ounces of pure gold, out of twenty ounces of that sand ^q.

BUT to return to *Frobisher*; he commanded her majesty's ship *The Triumph*, in the famous sea-fight with the *Spanish Armada*, and therein did such excellent service, that he was among the number of the few knights made by the lord high-admiral on that signal occasion ^r. In

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1590.

^p Stowe's Annals, p. 808.
Voyages, vol. i. p. 558.

^q See Churchill's Collection of
^r Camden's Annals, p. 576.

1590, he commanded a squadron on the coast of *Spain*, which hindered the coming home of the plate-fleet *. In 1592, Sir *Martin Frobisher* took the charge of a fleet fitted out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which went to the coast of *Spain*; and though he had but three ships, yet he made a shift to burn one rich galleon, and bring home another †. In 1594, he sailed to the coast of *France*, to assist in retaking *Brest*, which was attacked by land by sir *John Norris*, with three thousand *English* forces, at the same time that our admiral blocked up the port. The garrison defended themselves bravely, till such time as sir *Martin* landed his sailors, and desperately attacking the place, carried it, but with the loss of several captains, sir *Martin* himself receiving a shot in the side, and this through want of skill in his surgeon, proved the cause of his death, which happened at *Plymouth* within a few days after his return ‡. He was one of the most able seamen of his time; of undaunted courage, great presence of mind, and equal to almost any undertaking; yet in his carriage blunt, and a very strict observer of discipline, even to a degree of severity, which hindered his being beloved ¶.

THOMAS Cavendish of *Trimley* in the county of *Suffolk*, Esq; was a gentleman descended from a noble family of *Devonshire*, and possessed of a very plentiful estate, which he, being a man of wit, and great good humour, hurt pretty deeply by his expences at court. Upon this, he took it into his head to repair his shattered fortunes at
the

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 177. † Ibid. p. 180.
 ‡ Camden's Annals, p. 680. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed.
 ¶ Stowe's Annals, p. 803. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 182.

THOMAS CAVENDISH. 533

the expence of the *Spaniards* *. With which view he built two ships from the stocks, one of a hundred and twenty, the other of threescore tons ; and with these and a bark of forty tons, he sailed from *Plymouth* on the twenty-first of *July* 1586. He first made the coast of *Barbary*, then steered for *Brazil*, and entered the streights of *Magellan*, the fifth of *January* 1587, and passed them very happily ; then coasting along *Chili* and *Peru*, they took abundance of rich prizes, continuing their course as high as *California*, they there took the *St. Anne*, which *Mr. Cavendish*, in a letter to my lord *Hunsdon*, rightly calls an *Acapulco* ship, though in most relations of his voyage, she is stiled the admiral of the *South-Seas*. Her cargo was of immense value, which his ships being too small to carry, he was forced to burn, taking out of her, however, as much gold as was worth sixty thousand pounds. He then steered for the *Phillipine* islands, where he safely arrived, and proceeded from them to *Java Major*, which he reached the first of *March* 1588. He doubled *The Cape of Good Hope*, the first of *June*, and so without any remarkable accident returned safe to *Plymouth*, the ninth of *September* in the same year, having sailed compleatly round the globe, and brought home an immense fortune †. This, however, he quickly wasted, and in the year 1591, was compelled to think of another voyage, which was far from being so successful as the former. He left *Plymouth* the twenty-sixth of *August* 1591, with three stout ships and two barks. On the

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eighth

* Camden's Annals, p. 552. Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 401. † Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 803. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 57. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 401.

eighth of *April* 1592, he fell in with the streights of *Magellan*, and continued in them to the fifteenth of *May*, when on account of the badness of the weather he determined to return; which accordingly he did to the coast of *Brazil*, and there died of grief. One of his ships *The Desire*, under the command of Mr. *John Davis*, actually passed the streights ².

ANOTHER great adventurer by sea was Mr. *Edward Fenton*, a gentleman who seems to have been a favourite and dependant on the potent earl of *Leicester*. Of this gentleman's voyage we have several authentic accounts; and yet it is not easy to apprehend the true design of it. The instructions given by the privy-council to Mr. *Fenton*, and which are still preserved, say expressly, that he should endeavour the discovery of a north-west passage; but by a new route which is laid down to him, *viz.* he was to go by the *Cape of Good Hope* to the *East-Indies*, and being arrived at the *Molucco's*, he was to go from thence to the *South-Seas*, and to attempt his return by the supposed north-west passage, and not by any means to think of passing the streights of *Magellan*, except in case of absolute necessity ^a. Notwithstanding these instructions, Sir *William Monson* tells us plainly, that Mr. *Fenton* was sent to try his fortune in the *South-Seas* ^b; and so himself understood it. In the month of *May* 1582, Mr. *Fenton* left the *English* coast, with three stout ships and a bark. With these he sailed, first to the coast of *Africa*, and then for that of *Brazil* directly, from whence he intended

^a Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 842. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1182.

^b Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 704. ^c Naval Tracts, p 402.

ed to have failed for the streights of *Magellan*, but hearing there that the king of *Spain*, who had better intelligence, it seems, of his project and intentions, than he would have obtained if he had read his instructions, had sent don *Diego Flores de Valdez*, with a strong fleet into the streights to intercept him, he upon mature deliberation resolved to return. Putting into a *Portuguese* settlement to refit, he there met with three of the *Spanish* squadron, one of which was their vice-admiral, which he sunk, after a very brisk engagement, and then put to sea, in order to come home. His vice-admiral captain *Luke Ward*, after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived safely in *England* on the thirty-first of *May* 1583^c; but as to Mr. *Fenton*, we have no distinct account of him, only Sir *William Monson* says, that he returned home without seeing the streights, which sufficiently shews, that he did not perish in this undertaking^d; nay, I have found in some MS. notes on *Hakluyt's* voyages, that he commanded her majesty's ship the *Antelope*, in the engagement with the *Spanish Armada*^e.

NOTWITHSTANDING the disappointment which this gentleman met with, fresh attempts were made for the discovery of this so much talked of passage to the north-west, in which captain *John Davis* was employed. The first was in 1585; a second time he failed in 1586; but in both voyages atchieved nothing beyond raising of his

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^c We have an account of this voyage, written by this captain *Luke Ward*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 757.

^d Naval Tracts, p. 402. ^e We find in the list of ships given us by Sir *William Monson*, the *Antelope* assigned to Sir *Henry Palmer*, and the *Mary Rose* to captain *Fenton*; but as these ships stand together, it is not impossible that the names of their commanders may have been exchanged.

own reputation, which continued to be very great for upwards of thirty years^f. Sir *William Monson* tells us, that he conferred with Mr. *Davis*, as well as Sir *Martin Frobiher* on this subject, and that they were able to give him no more assurance, than those who had never gone so far; though he confesses, that they did offer him some very plausible reasons to prove, that such a passage there was. In his discourse on this subject, he labours hard to prove the undertaking impracticable; but admitting it were not so, he pretends to shew, that no such mighty advantages as are expected could be reaped by this discovery. He concludes his discourse with hinting, that a more profitable, and at the same time a more probable attempt, might be made by sailing due north under the pole, which he supposes would render the direct passage between us and *China*, no more than fifteen hundred leagues^g.

AMONGST the naval heroes of this glorious reign, we must not forget *George Clifford* earl of *Cumberland*, who undertook many expeditions,* both in *Europe* and the *West-Indies*, at his own expence, and in several, hazarded his person, merely to serve his queen and country, and thereby acquire a just right to fame. In some of those voyages, Sir *William Monson* assisted, and has left us accounts of them, and of the rest we have many relations extant. It does not appear, however, that the earl added any thing to his private fortune, by these testimonies of his public spirit; and therefore the queen, to shew how just a sense she had of his zeal and resolution, honoured him,

^f We have an account of all the Voyages in Hakluyt, as also of a Voyage of his to the East Indies in 1604. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 132.

^g Naval Tracts, p. 426.

Sir ROBERT DUDLEY. 537

him, in the year 1592, with a garter ; which, in her reign, was never bestowed, till it had been deserved by signal services to the public. This noble peer survived the queen, and was in great favour and high esteem with her successor. He deceased in 1605, and was the last heir-male of his noble family ^h.

SIR *Robert Dudley*, son to the great earl of *Leicester*, distinguished himself by his application to maritime affairs, by his great skill in them, and by his known encouragement to eminent seamen, as well by his personal exploits, which were such, as deserve to be remembered. In 1594, he fitted out a squadron of four sail at his own expence, and leaving *Southampton* on the 6th of *November*, proceeded for the coast of *Spain*, where he lost the company of the other three ships. This however, did not hinder him from continuing his voyage to the *West-Indies* ; and in his passage, he took two large ships, though of no great value. After remaining some time about the island of *Trinidad*, he found himself under a necessity of returning home, in a much worse condition than he came out ; and yet, coming up in his passage with a *Spanish* ship of 600 tons, his own vessel being of no greater burthen than two hundred, he engaged her, fought two whole days, till his powder was quite exhausted, and then left her ; but in so torn, and shattered a condition, that she afterwards sunk. This made the ninth ship which he had either taken, sunk, or burnt in his voyageⁱ. He lived many years afterwards, though a voluntary exile in *Italy*, where

^h. Camden, Stowe, Speed, Hollingshed.
vol. iii. p. 574.

ⁱ Hakluyt,

where he projected the making *Leghorn* a free port, which has been of such mighty consequence to the duke of *Tuscany*, ever since, and was himself created by the emperor *Ferdinand* the second, a duke of the holy *Roman* empire*.

SIR *Richard Hawkins*, son to the famous Sir *John Hawkins*, of whom we have before treated, was born at *Plymouth*, in *Devonshire*; and as he was little inferior to his father in skill or courage, he too much resembled him in his misfortunes¹. In 1593, he fitted out two large ships, and a pinnance, at his own expence; and had the queen's commission to empower him to infest the *Spaniards*, in *South-America*. His expedition was unlucky from his first setting out; and yet, notwithstanding a number of untoward accidents, he resolutely persisted in his design of passing the streights of *Magellan*, and surrounding the globe, as *Drake* and *Cavendish* had done. He shared, however, in none of their success, though he met with most of their misfortunes. One captain *Tharleton*, who had been very culpable in distressing Mr. *Cavendish* in his last voyage, was guilty of the like baseness towards Sir *Richard Hawkins*; for though he knew his pinnance was burnt, he deserted him at the river of *Plate*, and returned home, leaving Sir *Richard* to pursue his voyage through the streights of *Magellan* with one ship only, which with equal prudence and resolution he performed in the spring of the year 1594, and entering into the *South Seas* took several prizes, one of which was of considerable value. On the coasts of *Peru*, he was attacked
by

* Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 761.

¹ Prince's Worthies of

Devon. p. 391.

Sir RICHARD HAWKINS. 539

by *Don Bertrand de Castro*, who had with him a Squadron of eight sail, and two thousand choice men on board; yet *Hawkins* made a shift to disengage himself, after he had done the *Spaniards* incredible damage. But staying too long in the *South-Seas*, in order to take more prizes, he was attacked a second time by admiral *de Castro*, who was now stronger than before; yet *Hawkins* defended himself gallantly for three days, and three nights, and then most of his men being killed, his ship in a manner sinking under him, and himself dangerously wounded, he was prevailed on to surrender upon very honourable terms, *viz.* That himself, and all on board, should have a free passage to *England*, as soon as might be. After he was in the enemies hands, *Don Bertrand de Castro* shewed him a letter from the king of *Spain*, to the vice-roy of *Peru*, wherein was contained a very exact account of *Hawkins's* expedition, the number of his ships, their burden, men, guns, ammunition, &c. which demonstrated how close a correspondence his catholic majesty entertained with some who were too well acquainted with queen *Elizabeth's* councils ^m. He continued a long time prisoner in *America*, where he was treated with great humanity by admiral *de Castro*; but in the end, by order of the court of *Spain*, he was sent thither instead of returning to *England*, and remained for several years a prisoner in *Seville* and *Madrid*. At length he was released, and returned to his native country, where he spent the latter part of his life in peace, leaving behind him a large account of his adventures, to the time of his being taken by

^m Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, p. 122, 143, 154, 169.

by the *Spaniards*^a, and intended to have written a second part, in which he was prevented by a sudden death; for having some business which called him to attend the privy council, he was struck with an apoplexy in one of the outer rooms. Mr. *Westcot*, speaking of this accident, says very justly of this gentleman and his father^o; *That if fortune had been as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, valour and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any age.* Some of his descendants are still remaining in *Devonshire*, but in an obscure condition P.

CAPTAIN *James* (by many called *John Lancaster*) was fitted out by some merchants of *London*, to cruise on the coast of *Brazil*, then in the hands of the *Spaniards*. He sailed from *Dartmouth* the 30th of *November*, 1594, with three ships, one of 140, another of 170, and the third of 60 tons. On board these were two hundred and seventy-five men and boys. In the space of a few weeks, they took thirty-nine *Spanish* ships, four of which they kept, and plundered the rest; and then joining with captain *Venner*, at the isle of *May*, they steered for the coast of *Brazil*, where they took the city of *Fernambuco*, on the 20th of *March*, 1595, in a manner scarce to be paralleled in history; for captain *Lancaster* ordered his fine new pinnace, in which he landed his men, to be beat
to

^a Th's Book was put to the Press in his Life-time, but was published by a Friend after his Decease, in 1562, in folio, under the Title of the observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage to the South-Sea. A. D. 1593. Printed for John Jaggard at the hand and star in Fleet-street. See also Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1367. and Captain Ellis's Account, p. 1415.
^o Description of Devonshire, Art. Plymouth. M. S. P. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 392.

to pieces on the shore, and sunk his boats, that his men might see, they must either die or conquer; the sight of which so frightened the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, that after a very poor defence they abandoned the lower town. This the *English* held for thirty days, in which space they were attacked eleven times by the enemy¹. The spoil was exceeding rich, and in so great a quantity, that captain *Lancaster* hired three sail of large *Dutch* ships, and four *French-men* to carry it home; and having thus encreased his fleet to fifteen ships, he brought them safely into the *Downs*, in the month of *July* 1595. This was the most gainful adventure, on a private account, throughout the whole war; and the courage and conduct of the commander appears so conspicuously therein, that he deserves to be ever remembred with honour, even supposing he had performed nothing more. But it appears from several circumstances in the relations, that he was the same who opened the trade to the *Indies*.

WE have already taken notice of the patent granted to the *East-India* company by queen *Elizabeth*, in the year 1600. Their first stock consisted of seventy-two thousand pounds, and the first fleet they fitted out, as a company, consisted of four large ships, which sailed from *London* the 13th of *February* 1600, under the command of this Mr. *James Lancaster*, who was afterwards knighted, and who performed his voyage to *Achen*, very successfully, and established the *English* trade throughout the *Indies*, as happily and prudently as could be wished. In his return, his ship, which was the *Dragon*, was in the utmost peril off the *Cape of Good Hope*, having lost her rudder, and being

¹ Camden. Annal. p. 683. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 708.

ing otherwise much damaged, yet he refused to go on board the *Hector*, contenting himself with writing a short letter to the company, wherein he told them, they might be sure he would do his utmost to save the ship and cargo, by thus venturing his own life and the lives of those who were with him ; adding this remarkable postscript in the midst of his confusion,

THE passage to the East-Indies lies in 62°, 30, by the North-West, on the America side.

HE had, however, the good fortune to get into the port of *St. Helena*, where he repaired his weather-beaten ship as well as he could; brought her safely into the *Downs*, the 11th of *September* 1603; and lived near thirty years afterwards in an honourable affluence, acquired chiefly by this successful voyage^{*}.

CAPTAIN *William Parker*, of *Plymouth*, was fitted out by certain merchants to cruize on the *Spaniards*, in the *West-Indies*, in 1601. His whole strength consisted in two ships, one of 130, and the other of 60 tons, with about two hundred and twenty men[†]. He sailed in the month of *November*, reduced *St. Vincent*, one of the *Cape de Verd*-islands ; then steering for the coast of *America*, he took the town of *la Rancheria*, in the island of *Cubagua*, where the pearl-fishery is, and plundered it. He proceeded next to *Porto Bello*, which was then a very strong, well-built town ; entering the port by moon-light, he passed without resistance, and attacked the place by sur-

^{*} Camden. Annal. p. 639. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 147.

[†] Harris's collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 747.

surprize^u. The governor, *Don Pedro Melendez*, made a gallant defence in the king's treasury, to which he retreated; but at length that too was carried by assault, and the governor taken. The booty was far from being considerable, and the best part of it, captain *Parker* distributed amongst his men. Notwithstanding this disappointment, our hero behaved most generously towards the enemy. He set *Don Pedro* at liberty, out of respect to his courage; he spared the place, because it was well built, and burning it could do him no good; he set his prisoners at large, because the money was really gone, and they had not wherewith to pay their ransom. Having done all this, he passed the forts at the mouth of the harbour, by the fire of which the *Spaniards* supposed they should infallibly have sunk his vessels, and returned with immortal glory to *Plymouth-Sound*, May the 6th, 1602^w. The *Spaniards* themselves mention his behaviour with honour, and applause.

THESE are the principal naval heroes, who flourished in that glorious reign, wherein the foundation was strongly laid of the prodigious maritime power, and extensive commerce, which the *English* nation have since enjoyed. I shall conclude, with wishing that the same generous spirit may again arise, with a force that may excite us to emulate the wisdom, courage, industry and zeal for the public good, which animated our ancestors, and enabled them to surmount all difficulties, and to spread the reputation of their arms and virtues through the whole habitable world.

^u See the Captain's Relation in Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1243. ^w Life of Captain Parker, in a Supplement to Prince's Worthies of Devon, M. S.

