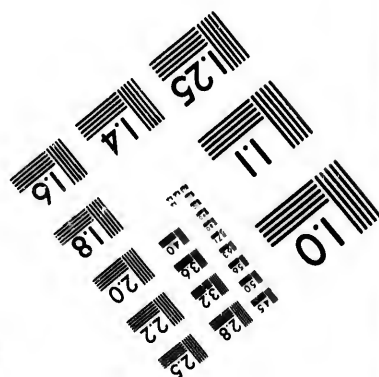
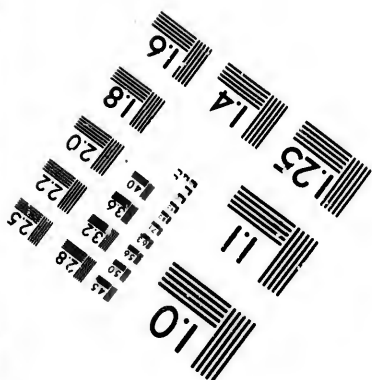
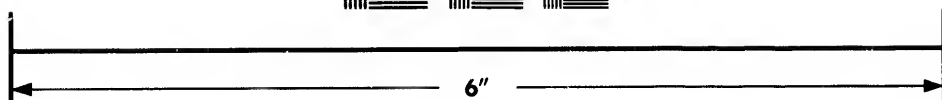
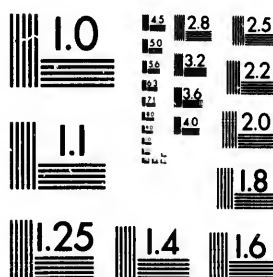


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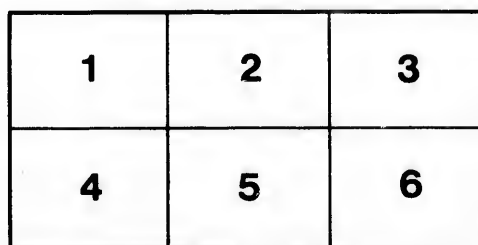
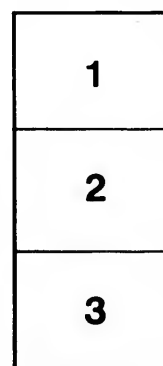
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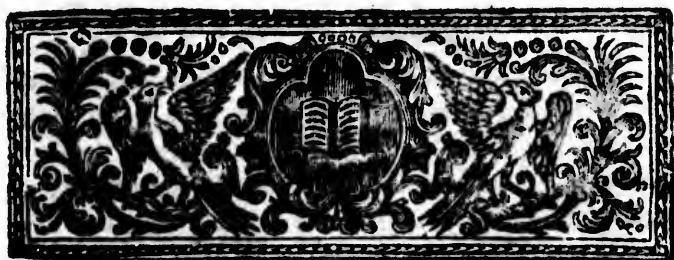
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# L I V E S

OF THE

## ADMIRALS, &c.

Including a new and accurate NAVAL  
HISTORY, &c.

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### CHAP. I.

*The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN  
under the reign of king James I. including  
also an account of the progress of our trade,  
and the growth of our plantations; toge-  
ther with memoirs of the most eminent sea-  
men who flourished in that space of time.*



HERE were many accidents that contri-  
buted to the peaceable accession of the king  
of Scots to the *English* throne, notwith-  
standing what had happened to his mother,  
and the known aversion of the nation to  
the dominion of strangers. On the one hand, the famous

VOL. II.

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secretary

secretary *Cecil* and all his friends, who were in the principal posts of the government, had been for a long time secretly in king *James's* interest, though, to avoid the suspicion of their mistress, they had sometimes pretended an inclination to the *Infanta's* title <sup>a</sup>; which I suspect to have been the cause, why some persons of great quality, who sided with the *Cecils* against *Essex*, came afterwards to fall into intrigues with the court of *Spain*. On the other hand, the potent family of the *Howards*, with all such of the nobility and gentry as were inclined to the old religion, had an unfeigned affection for the king of *Scots*<sup>b</sup>. The bulk of the people too were inclined to wish him for their king, out of respect to the memory of *Essex*, who was held to be his martyr, as well as out of dislike to some of queen *Elizabeth's* ministry, who they believed would be instantly discarded, when he should be once seated on the throne. Yet there wanted not many powerful enemies to this succession both abroad and at home. The *Spaniards* had views for themselves <sup>c</sup>, the *French* king had an aversion mixed with contempt for king *James*, and the pope had many projects for restoring his power here, by bringing in some prince of his own religion <sup>d</sup>. There were, besides, some *English* pretenders, viz. such as claimed under the house of *Suffolk*, and had been competitors against queen *Mary* <sup>e</sup>; and some again, as the *Bassets*, who affected to derive themselves from the house of *Plantagenet* <sup>f</sup>; so that no small precaution was necessary to prevent any disturbance

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<sup>a</sup> Sir Henry Wotton's remains, p. 211. Naunton's fragmenta regalia, Osborne's works, vol. ii. p. 104. <sup>b</sup> Stowe, Speed, Willon, Baker, Echard, Rapin. <sup>c</sup> Doleman's treatise of the succession. <sup>d</sup> Lettres du cardinal d'ossat. <sup>e</sup> Treatise of the succession, p. 196. <sup>f</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 114. Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 366.

bance on the death of the queen, or opposition to the design the ministry had formed, of immediately proclaiming king *James*, and bringing him with all convenient speed to *London*.

IN the methods made use of for this purpose, the wisdom of the great men by whom they were concerted was very conspicuous. For, in the first place, care was taken that the lieutenants in the northern counties, and all who had any authority in those parts, were either well affected to king *James*, or absolute dependants on the administration<sup>s</sup>. Then, as to the fleet, which was of mighty consequence at such a juncture, provision was made for its security without the least jealousy given, that this was the council's intention. For, it having been found of great benefit to the nation, to have a strong squadron of ships on the *Spanish* coast from *February* to *November*, there could be no umbrage taken at the increasing of these in the spring of the year 1602, because the war with *Spain* still continued; and though the lords had little confidence in Sir *Richard Leveson*, who for some years had been intrusted with this command, yet they would not remove him, but contented themselves with appointing sir *William Monson*, on whom they could depend, his vice-admiral, giving him, however, the command of a better ship than the admiral himself had. They likewise intimated to sir *William*, when he went to his command, (the queen being then so low that her recovery was not expected) that in case of any stir, lord *Thomas Howard* should immediately come and take charge of the fleet, by entering sir *William Monson's* ship, and sir *William* go on board sir

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<sup>s</sup> Speed, Echard, Rapin.



*Richard Leveson's*, with a *superfedeas* to his commission <sup>a</sup>. But, as it fell out, there was no occasion for executing this project: the queen died, king *James* came in peaceably, was proclaimed the twenty-fourth of *March* 1602, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of *July* following; the fleet in the mean time keeping sometimes on the *English*, sometimes on the *French* coast, and thereby preventing any trouble from abroad, if any such had really been intended.

KING *James*, at his accession to the *English* crown, was about thirty-six years of age, and, if he had been a private person, would not have rendered himself very remarkable either by his virtues or his vices. Sober and religious he certainly was; and as to learning, he had enough, if he had known better how to use it. The greatest of his failings were timorousness, dissimulation, and a high opinion of his own wisdom; which, however, were more excusable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we consider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the strange treatment he met with in *Scotland*, from the several factions prevailing in that kingdom during his junior years, and the excessive flatteries bestowed on him after he came hither, by all ranks of people. The nature of this work does not lead me to speak of any part of his administration, except that which relates to maritime affairs, and therefore I shall content myself with observing, that, though it was impossible for him to have made himself much acquainted with such matters while he continued in *Scotland*, yet it does not at all appear, that he was negligent of naval affairs, after he was once seated

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<sup>a</sup> Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 510.

seated on the *English* throne, unless his hasty conclusion of a peace with *Spain* (which, however, was done by the advice of his council) may be reckoned an error in this respect; or his too great fear of engaging in any war afterwards should be so accounted.

THE accession of king *James* gave a fair opportunity to the house of *Austria*, to make an end of the long quarrel which had subsisted with *England*; because during all that time they had been in peace and amity with king *James* as king of *Scots*<sup>1</sup>. Immediately after his arrival at *London*, the arch-duke sent over a minister to the *English* court, and in consequence of his negotiations, a peace was soon after concluded with *Spain*<sup>k</sup>. Some of the writers of those times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's ministers and favourites, especially to the countess of *Suffolk*, for her husband's interest, and to the earl of *Northumberland*, for his own; which gratuities they would further persuade us, enabled them to build the two famous structures of *Audley-End* in *Essex*, and *Northumberland-House* in the *Strand*<sup>l</sup>. It seems, however, more reasonable to conclude, that this peace was the effect of the king's inclination, supported by the advice of his most eminent statesmen, some of whom were known to have been for this measure in the queen's time<sup>m</sup>. There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both sign-

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<sup>1</sup> See Camden's annals of king James's reign. Stowe, Wilson, Sanderson, Echard, Rapin. <sup>k</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 844. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 229.

<sup>l</sup> Osborne's traditional memoirs of the reign of king James, in his work, vol. ii. p. 105. Sir A. W. court and character of king James, Wilson, Rapin.

<sup>m</sup> See the life of lord Burleigh written by one of his domestics in the first volume of Peck's desiderata curiosa.

ed at *London* the eighteenth of *August* 1604<sup>n</sup>, the constable of *Castile*, the greatest subject in *Spain*, being sent over for that purpose. \*All the trading part of the nation were very well pleased with this proceeding, and would have been much more so, if the king had not taken a very strange step upon its conclusion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the *Spanish* commerce exclusively, which gave both general and just offence; for as the whole nation had borne the expence of the war, and trade in general had suffered thereby, it was but reasonable, that the benefits of peace should be as universal. This evil, however, was of no long continuance; the parliament represented to the king so clearly the mischiefs that would inevitably attend such a monopoly, that his majesty was content to dissolve the new-erected company, and to leave the *Spanish* trade entirely open<sup>o</sup>.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that there was a very strong party against making this peace, and who did not cease to publish their apprehensions concerning it, even after it was concluded<sup>p</sup>. The point was certainly of high importance, otherwise it would not have been so warmly canvassed in those days; and it must also have been pretty difficult, since the dispute has reached even to our time, modern writers differing as much about the wisdom of king *James* in this article, as those who lived in his time. To discuss the matter here, would require more room than we have to spare; to pass it entirely over would be amiss, considering the near relation it has to the subject of this work. I will, therefore, content myself with

<sup>n</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 579—596. Stowe's annals, p. 846.

<sup>o</sup> Rapin, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Camden's annals, of king *James*. Wilson's history, Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 7.

with stating the best reasons that have been offered against the peace, as they were drawn up by the masterly hand of sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the answers given to them; both which I will leave to the reader's consideration, without any comment of my own<sup>a</sup>. Sir *Walter's* reasons were five, turning chiefly on the inability of the king of *Spain* to continue the war, and the mighty profits he was likely to reap from the conclusion of the peace. 1. He alledged, *That his catholic majesty had so exhausted his treasure, that he was no longer able to maintain the arch-duke's army in Flanders.* To this it was answered, that the fact was very doubtful, especially, if the king of *Spain* was in a condition, to bestow those mighty bribes, that were talked of, at the time this peace was made. 2. *The interruption of his trade, and the losses of his merchants were so great, as to break both his banks at Seville.* It is granted, that the subjects of the king of *Spain* suffered excessively by the continuance of this war, but it does not follow, that we gained in proportion; nor is it clear, that, if his catholic majesty had been undone, the king of *Great-Britain* or his subjects would have been gainers. 3. *He was afraid that the English and Netherlands would plant in the West-Indies.* If this fear drove him to grant us better terms, it was our advantage; if not, we could have obtained little by settling in those parts of *America* which are claimed by *Spain*; and it was never pretended that we made this war to extend the trade of the *Dutch*. 4. *The king of Spain makes this peace to recruit*

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<sup>a</sup> These are to be found in sir *Walter's* dialogue between a recusant and a Jesuit among the genuine remains, published at the end of an abridgment of his history of the world, by Philip *Raleigh*, Esq; 8vo. 1700.

*his coffers, and enable himself to break into war again.* To judge by what was past, this could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be supposed that *Spain* would soon recover as great strength, as she had at the commencement of the war, when yet she was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herself against us.

5. *The king of Spain took this step, that the English might decline, and forget the passages and pilotage to the West-Indies, and their sea-officers be worn out; for, except a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ship that sails that way, and seeing the Spaniards may hang up the English, or put them to death by torments, as they do, and that the English dare not offend the Spaniards in those parts, a most notable advantage gotten in the conclusion of the peace! it is certain that the English will give over that navigation to the infinite advantage of the Spanish king, both present and future.* Experience shewed, that, though this was a plausible, yet it was not a true deduction; for in consequence of this peace, many plantations were settled, and our trade to *America* in particular, as well as our commerce in general, flourished beyond the example of former times. Instead of objections, which are easily framed against the best measures by men of quick parts, and much political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpose to have shewn what advantages we were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at last, than by such a peace as was now made.

BUT if this treaty gave some dissatisfaction at home, it raised no less discontent abroad. The *Hollanders*, who were left to shift for themselves, and who had reaped so great advantages from the favour of queen *Elizabeth*,  
were

were exceedingly exasperated at a step so much to their disadvantage. But as they found themselves still strong enough, not only to cope with the *Spaniards*, but also to make a greater figure than most nations at sea, they lost that respect which was due to the *English* flag, and began to assume to themselves a kind of equality even in the narrow seas. This was quickly represented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to sir *William Monson*, with instructions to maintain the honour of the *English* flag, and that superiority which was derived to him from his ancestors in the *British* seas<sup>r</sup>. This fleet put to sea in the spring of 1604, and was continued annually under the same admiral, who appears to have been a man of spirit and experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he served in the first ship of war fitted out in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, and was an admiral in the last fleet she sent to sea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commission; the *Dutch*, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language, and fair promises; but they minded them very little, taking our ships on very frivolous pretences, and treating those they found on board them with great severity, till such time as it appeared the admiral would not bear such usage, and began to make reprisals, threatening to hang, as pyrates, people who shewed themselves very little better in their actions. There were also high contests about the flag, which began through some accidental civilities paid to the *Hollanders*, in the late reign, when they sailed under the command

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<sup>r</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 237.

mand of *English* admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her majesty's subjects; which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independant state \*. We have no matters of very great importance to treat of in this reign, and therefore I think it will not be amiss to give the reader an account in Sir *William Monson's* own words, of the spirit with which he insisted on satisfaction from the *Dutch* on this head, whereby the right of the *English* flag, which has been so much stood upon since, was established with regard to this republick; the rather because I know there are many who will scarce believe, that matters of this nature were carried so far, (perhaps as far as ever they were carried) under so pacific a prince.

" In my return from *Calais*, says sir *William*, the 1st  
 " of *July* 1605, with the emperor's ambassador, as I ap-  
 " proached near *Dover* road, I perceived an increase of  
 " six ships to those I left there three days before, one of  
 " them being the admiral: their coming in shew was to  
 " beleaguer the *Spaniards*, who were then at *Dover*.

" As I drew near them the admiral struck his flag  
 " thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the  
 " other coast, at such a time, caused me to make ano-  
 " ther construction than he pretended; and indeed it so  
 " fell out, for I conceived his arrival at that time was  
 " for no other end than to shew the ambassador, who he  
 " knew would spread it abroad throughout all *Europe*,  
 " as also the *Spaniards*, that they might have the less  
 " esteem

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\* See this matter stated in *Selden's* mare clausum. *Molloy de jure maritimo*, tit. flag.

“ esteem of his majesty’s prerogative in the narrow seas,  
 “ that by their wearing their flag, they might be reputed  
 “ kings of the sea, as well as his majesty. I hastened  
 “ the embassador ashore, and dispatched a gentleman to  
 “ the admiral, to entreat his company the next day to  
 “ dinner, which he willingly promised.

“ THE gentleman told him, I required him to take  
 “ in his flag, as a duty due to his majesty’s ships: he an-  
 “ swered, that he had struck it thrice, which he thought  
 “ to be a sufficient acknowledgment, and it was more  
 “ than former admirals of narrow seas had required at his  
 “ hands.

“ THE gentleman replied, that he expected such an  
 “ answer from him, and therefore he was prepared whar  
 “ to say to that point. He told him, the times were al-  
 “ tered; for when no more but striking the flag was  
 “ required, *England* and *Holland* were both of them in  
 “ hostility with *Spain*, which caused her late majesty to  
 “ tolerate divers things in them; as for instance, the ad-  
 “ miral’s wearing his flag in the expedition to *Cadix*,  
 “ and the islands, where the lord admiral of *England* and  
 “ the lord of *Essex* went as generals, and that courtesy they  
 “ could not challenge by right, but by permission; and the  
 “ wars being now ceased, his majesty did require by me, his  
 “ minister, such rights and duties as have formerly belonged  
 “ to his progenitors.

“ THE admiral refused to obey my command, saying,  
 “ he expected more favour from me than from other ad-  
 “ mirals, in respect of our long and loving acquaintance;  
 “ but he was answered, that all obligation of private  
 “ friendship must be laid aside, when the honour of one’s  
 “ king and country is at stake. The gentleman advised  
 “ him



“ him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand ; if  
 “ not, he had commission to tell him, that I meant to  
 “ weigh anchor, and come near him, and that the force  
 “ of our ships should determine the question ; for, rather  
 “ than I would suffer his flag to be worn in view of so  
 “ many nations as were to behold it, I resolved to bury  
 “ myself in the sea.

“ THE admiral, it seems, upon better advice, took  
 “ in his flag, and stood immediately off to sea, firing a  
 “ gun for the rest of the fleet to follow him. And thus  
 “ I lost my guest the next day, at dinner, as he had  
 “ promised.

“ THIS passage betwixt the admiral and me, was ob-  
 “ served from the shore, people beholding us to see the  
 “ event. Upon my landing, I met with *Sciriago*, the  
 “ general of the *Spaniards*, who, in the time of queen  
 “ *Elizabeth*, was employed under *Mendoza*, the embassador  
 “ of *Spain*. He told me, that if the *Hollanders* had worn  
 “ their flag, times had been strangely altered in *England*,  
 “ since his old master king *Phillip* the second, was shot at  
 “ by the lord admiral of *England*, for wearing his flag  
 “ in the narrow seas, when he came to marry queen  
 “ *Mary* :”

THESE disputes continued for many years ; and though,  
 through the vigilance of admiral *Monson*, the *Dutch* were  
 defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of  
 the *British* sovereignty at sea, were thoroughly maintained ;  
 yet the republick of *Holland* still kept up a spirit of re-  
 sentment, which broke out in such acts of violence, as  
 would not have been past by in the days of queen *Eliza-  
 beth* ; yet our admiral does not seem to charge the king,  
 or

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\* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243.

or his ministry in general, with want of inclination to do themselves justice; but lays it expressly at the door of secretary *Cecil*, afterwards earl of *Salisbury*; who thought it; he says, good policy, to pass by such kind of offences; but he does not report any reasons upon which that kind of policy was grounded; yet it did not absolutely, or constantly prevail, even in the councils of king *James*; for upon some surmises that foreigners took unreasonable liberties in fishing in our seas, a proclamation was published in the year 1608, roundly asserting the king's sovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the *British* coast; this, though general in appearance, had yet particular relation to the *Dutch*, who found themselves so far affected thereby, especially when the king appointed commissioners at *London*, for granting licences to such foreigners as would fish on the *English* coast; and at *Edinburgh*, for granting licences of a like nature to such as would fish in the northern sea; and to these regulations, though with great reluctance, they submitted for the present; the reason of which seems to be, their having then affairs of great moment to manage with the court of *Great-Britain* \*. In these, notwithstanding all that had passed, they succeeded, and two treaties were concluded on the 26th of *June*, 1608, between the crown of

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\* The reader may consult the dispatches of this great minister, in Winwood's memorials. The grand Point upon which the *Hollanders* stood, was our old treaties with the house of *Burgundy*, which, they said, should be observed towards them. The reason, probably, of *Salisbury's* countenancing them, was this, that his father had advised queen *Elizabeth* to insist on those treaties as sufficient to justify her assisting the provinces, notwithstanding her league with *Spain*. Sir *William Monson's* naval tracts, 244.

W Winwood's memorials. vol. ii. p. 358, 359.

of *Great-Britain*, and the *States-General*; the one of peace and alliance, the other for stating and settling the debt due to king *James* \*. One would have imagined, that the advantages obtained by these treaties, should have brought the republic to a better temper, in respect to other matters; but it did not, for within a short time after, they disputed paying the assize-herring in *Scotland*, and the licence-money in *England*; and to protect their subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring-busses †. These facts, as they are incontestable, I think myself obliged to relate, though without the least prejudice against the *Dutch*, who are a people certainly to be commended for all such instances of their public spirit, as appear to be consistent with the right of their neighbours, and the law of nations ‡.

BUT at this time of day, ministers were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of losing any of the nations rights, for want of insisting upon them, and therefore they prevailed upon the king, to republish his proclamation, (which follows) that a parliament, whenever they met, might see they had done their duty, and advise the king thereupon as they should think fit.

*The Proclamation concerning Fishing.*

WHEREAS, we have been contented, since our coming to the crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiscuous kind of liberty, to all our friends whatsoever,

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\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xvi. p. 674. et sequen. y Selden. *Mare Claus.* lib. ii. cap. 31. ex parliam. ent. 4 Jac. C. c. 60. et Parliament 6 ejusd. c. 86. † The vouchers for these facts may all be found in the paper office.

ever, to fish within our streams, and upon any of our coasts of *Great-Britain, Ireland*, and other adjacent islands, so far forth as the permission, or use thereof, might not redound to the impeachment of our prerogative royal, nor to the hurt and damage of our loving subjects, whose preservation and flourishing estate, we hold ourself principally bound to advance before all worldly respects: so finding, that our continuance therein, hath not only given occasion of over-great encroachments upon our regalities, or rather questioning for our right, but hath been a means of daily wrongs to our own people, that exercise the trade of fishing, as (either by the multitude of strangers, which do pre-occupy those places, or by the injuries which they receive most commonly at their hands) our subjects are constrained to abandon their fishing, or at least, are become so discouraged in the same, as they hold it better for them to betake themselves to some other course of living, whereby not only diverse of our coast towns are much decayed, but the number of our mariners daily diminished, which is a matter of great consequence to our estate, considering how much the strength thereof consisteth in the power of shipping and use of navigation; we have thought it now both just and necessary, in respect, that we are now, by God's favours, lineally and lawfully possessed, as well of the island of *Great-Britain*, as of *Ireland*, and the rest of the isles adjacent; to bethink ourselves of good and lawful means, to prevent those inconveniencies, and many others depending on the same. In consideration whereof, as we are desirous that the world may take notice, that we have no intention to deny our neighbours and allies those fruits and benefits of peace and friendship, which may be justly expected at our hands,

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in honour and reason, or are afforded by other princes mutually in the point of commerce, and exchange of those things which may not prove prejudicial to them; so because some such convenient order may be taken in this matter, as may sufficiently provide for all those important considerations which depend thereupon; we have resolved, first, to give notice to all the world, that our express pleasure is, that, from the beginning of the month of *August* next coming, no person, of what nation or quality soever, being not our natural-born subject, be permitted to fish upon any of our coasts and seas of *Great-Britain, Ireland*, and the rest of the isles adjacent, where most usually heretofore any fishing hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained licences from us, or such our commissioners as we have authorized in that behalf, *viz.* at *London* for our realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and at *Edinburgh* for our realm of *Scotland*, which licences our intention is, shall be yearly demanded for so many vessels and ships, and the tonnage thereof, as shall intend to fish for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of our coasts and seas, as aforesaid, upon pain of such chastisement, as shall be fit to be inflicted upon such as are wilful offenders.

Given, at our palace of *Westminster*, the 6th day of *May*, in the 7th year of our reign of *Great-Britain*, *Anno Dom.* 1609.

THERE were also some struggles in this reign with the *French*, about the same rights of fishery, and the sovereignty of the sea, in which, through the vigorous measures taken by sir *William Monson*, the nation prevailed, and the *French* were obliged to desist from their practices  
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of disturbing our fishermen, and otherwise injuring our navigation <sup>a</sup>. In 1614, the same admiral was sent to scour the *Scotch* and *Irish* seas, which were much infested with pyrates. We need not much wonder at this, if we consider, that 'till king *James's* accession to the throne of *England*, there was little naval strength in his country, and that in *Ireland*, the *Spaniards*, by frequently practising this pyratrical trade, during the war, had given the barbarous inhabitants such a relish of it, that they could not forsake it in time of peace: yet the noise their depredations made, far exceeded the damage; for when on the first of *June*, sir *William Monson* made the coast of *Cathness*, the most northern part of *Scotland*, he found that, instead of twenty pyrates he expected to have heard of cruising in those parts, there were in fact but two, one of which immediately surrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the admiral on the coast of *Ireland*, where, by a proper mixture of clemency and severity, he extirpated these rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the sea-coast from their scandalous way of living, by affording shelter and protection to pyrates, furnishing them with provisions, and taking their plunder in exchange. This service Sir *William* performed in three months <sup>b</sup>.

IN 1617, sir *Walter Raleigh* was released from his imprisonment in the *Tower*, and had a commission from the king, to discover and take possession of any countries in the south of *America*, which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce, and the propagation of religion <sup>c</sup>; in the undertaking which expedition, his ex-

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<sup>a</sup> Stowe's annals. Sir William Monson's naval traacts, p. 243.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 247, 251. <sup>c</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 789.

pences were borne by himself, his friends, and such merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His design has been variously represented, and I shall be at liberty to examine it hereafter, more at large in its proper place. At present, I am to speak of it only as a public concern, in which light it was justifiable beyond all question, notwithstanding the out-cries that were made against it by the *Spaniards*. It is indeed, pretty evident, that the complaints of their minister *Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna*, so well known afterwards by the title of *Count Gondemar*, were not so much grounded on any notions he himself had of the injustice of this design, as on a piece of *Spanish* policy, by raising a clamour on false pretences, to discover the true scope and intent of sir *Walter's* voyage. In this he was but too successful; for, upon his representations, that excellent person was obliged to give a distinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the design he was to execute: and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the *Spaniards*, who thereby gained an opportunity, first of disappointing him in *America*, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the lasting dishonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation; for without all doubt, this project of sir *Walter Raleigh's* for settling in *Guiana*, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, if it had been followed, might have been as beneficial to *Britain*, as *Brazil* is to *Portugal*<sup>4</sup>.

THE disputes with the states of *Holland*, in reference to the right of fishing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the old causes, which were plainly a very high presumption

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<sup>4</sup> See the life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, by mr. *Oldys*, p. 96.

sumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained, of the king's being much addicted to peace. It is not at all impossible, that they had a great opinion likewise of their minister's capacity, and that sooner or later, if they could but keep up a long negotiation, they might either prevail upon the king to drop his pretensions, or repeat their own ill founded excuses so often, till they gained credit. At this time, those who hated the *English* ministry, treated these differences with that republick, as rather criminal, than honourable; but the same men living long enough to get the supreme power into their own hands, in the time of the long parliament, caused the letters of state written at that juncture, to be diawn out of dust and rubbish, and made them the foundation of that quarrel, which they prosecuted with force of arms. It is to be hoped, that no occasion of the like nature, will ever happen; but nevertheless, as those letters are very curious, and much to the purpose, a few extracts from them, can not but be acceptable, and may be useful.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *secretary Naunton*, to *sir Dudley Carleton*, *embassador to the States-General*, dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1618.

" I Must now let your Lordship know, that the *States*  
 " commissioners and deputies, both, having attended his  
 " majesty at *Newmarket*, and there presented their let-  
 " ters of credence, returned to *London* on *Saturday* was fe-  
 " vennight, and, upon *Tuesday*, had audience in the coun-  
 " cil chamber, where being required to communicate the  
 " points of their commission, they delivered their medita-  
 " ted answer at length. The lords, upon perusal of it,  
 " appointed my lord *Bining* and me, to attend his majesty



“ for directions, what reply to return to this answer of  
“ theirs, which we represented to their lordships yesterday to  
“ this effect; that his majesty found it strange, that they  
“ having been so often required by your lordship, his ma-  
“ jesty’s ambassador, as from himself in their public as-  
“ semblies, to send over commissioners fully authorized to  
“ treat and conclude, not only of all differences grown  
“ between the subjects of both states, touching the trade  
“ to the *East-Indies*, and the whale-fishing, and to regu-  
“ late and settle, a joint and an even traffick in those quar-  
“ ters; but withal, to take order for a more indifferent  
“ course of determining other questions, growing between  
“ our merchants and them, about their draperies and the  
“ tare; and more especially, to determine his majesty’s  
“ right for the sole fishing, upon all the coasts of his three  
“ kingdoms, into which they had of late times incroached  
“ farther than of right they could; and lastly, for the re-  
“ glement and reducing of their coins, to such a propor-  
“ tion and correspondence, with those of his majesty, and  
“ other states, that their subjects might make no advan-  
“ tage to transport our monies by inhancing their valua-  
“ tion there. All which they confessed, your lordship  
“ had instanced them for in his majesty’s name, that after  
“ all this attent on his majesty’s part, and so long delibe-  
“ ration on theirs, they were come at last with a proposi-  
“ tion, to speak only to the two first points, and instruct-  
“ ed thereunto with bare letters of credence only, which  
“ his majesty takes for an imperious fashion of proceeding  
“ in them, as if they were come hither to treat of what  
“ themselves pleased, and to give law to his majesty in his  
“ own kingdom, and to propose, and admit of nothing,  
“ but what should tend merely to their own ends.

“ To

“ To the second, whereas they would decline all debate  
 “ of the fishing upon his majesty’s coasts first, by allega-  
 “ tions of their late great losses, and the fear of an esmeute  
 “ of their people, who are all interested in that question,  
 “ and would belike break out into some combustion to the  
 “ hazard of their state, which hath lately scaped naufrage,  
 “ and is not yet altogether calmed. What is this, but to  
 “ raise an advantage to themselves, out of their disadvan-  
 “ tage? But afterwards, they professed their lothness to call  
 “ it into doubt, or question, claiming an immemorial posses-  
 “ sion, seconded by the law of nations; to which his ma-  
 “ jesty will have them told, that the kings of *Spain* have,  
 “ sought leave to fish there by treaty from this crown,  
 “ and that the king of *France*, a nearer neighbour to our  
 “ coasts than they, to this day requests leave for a few ves-  
 “ sels to fish for provision of his own household; that they  
 “ being a state of so late date, should be the first that  
 “ would presume to question his majesty’s ancient right so  
 “ many hundred years inviolably possessed by his progeni-  
 “ tors, and acknowledged by all other ancient states and  
 “ princes. That themselves, in their public letters of  
 “ the last of *June*, sent by your lordship, seemed then to  
 “ confirm their immemorial possession, as they term it,  
 “ with divers treaties as are that of the year 1550, and ano-  
 “ ther between his majesty’s predecessors and *Charles* the  
 “ fifth, as prince of those provinces, and not by the law  
 “ of nations. To which, their last plea, his majesty  
 “ would have them told, that he being an islander prince,  
 “ is not ignorant of the laws and rights of his own king-  
 “ doms, nor doth expect to be taught the law of nations  
 “ by them, or their *Grotius*, whose ill thriving, might  
 “ rather teach others to disavow his positions; and his ho-

“ To

“neſty called in queſtion by themſelves, might render his  
 “learning as much ſuſpected to them as his perſon. This  
 “his majeſty takes for an high point of his ſovereignty,  
 “and will not have it ſlighted over, in any faſhion what-  
 “ſoever.

“THUS I have particulated unto you, the manner of  
 “our proceeding with them. Let them adviſe to ſeek  
 “leave from his majeſty, and acknowledge in him his right,  
 “as other princes have done, and do, or it may well come  
 “to paſs, that they that will needs bear all the world be-  
 “fore them, by their *Mare Liberum*, may ſoon come to  
 “have, neither *Terram & Solum*, nor *Rempubicam Li-*  
 “beram.”

EXTRACT of a LETTER of the ſaid ambaffador, to ſe-  
 cretary Naunton, dated at the Hague, 30th of Decem-  
 ber, 1618.

“WHETHER the final reſolution here, will be accord-  
 “ing to his majeſty’s deſire, in that point, con-  
 “cerning the fiſhing upon the coaſts of his three king-  
 “doms, I cannot ſay; and by ſomewhat which fell from  
 “the prince of *Orange*, by way of diſcourſe, when he  
 “took leave of me, on *Monday* laſt, at his departure, I  
 “ſuſpect it will not, in regard the magiſtrates of theſe  
 “towns of *Holland*, being newly placed, and yet ſcarce  
 “faſt in their ſeats, who do authorize the deputies, which  
 “come hither to the aſſembly of the ſtates, in all things  
 “they are to treat and reſolve, will not adventure, for  
 “fear of the people, to determine of a buſineſs on which  
 “the livelihood of fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of this  
 “one ſingle province doth depend. I told the prince, that  
 “howſoever his majeſty, both in honour of his crown  
 “and

“ and person, and interest of his kindoms, neither could,  
 “ nor would any longer desist, from having his right ac-  
 “ knowledged by this state, as well as by all other princes  
 “ and commonwealths, especially finding the same open-  
 “ oppugned, both by their statesmen and men of war, as  
 “ the writings of *Grotius*, and the taking of *John Brown*  
 “ the last year, may testify; yet this acknowledgment of  
 “ a right, and a due, was no exclusion of grace and fa-  
 “ vour, and that the people of this country, paying that  
 “ small tribute upon every one of their buffes, which is  
 “ not so much as disputed by any other nation whatsoever.  
 “ Such was his majesty’s well-wishing to this state, that I  
 “ presumed of his permission, to suffer them to continue their  
 “ course of fishing, which they might use thereby with  
 “ more freedom and less apprehension of molestation and  
 “ let than before, and likewise spare the cost of some of  
 “ their men of war, which they yearly send out to main-  
 “ tain that by force, which they may have of courtesy.

“ THE prince answered, that for himself, at his return  
 “ from *Utrecht*, he would do his best endeavours, to pro-  
 “ cure his majesty’s contentment; but he doubted the *Hol-*  
 “ *landers* would apprehend the same effect in their pay-  
 “ ment for fishing, as they found in the passage of the  
 “ *Sound*, where, at first, an easy matter was demanded  
 “ by the king of *Denmark*, but now more exacted than  
 “ they can possibly bear: and touching their men of war,  
 “ he said, they must still be at the same charge with them,  
 “ because of the pyrates. Withal, he cast out a question  
 “ to me, whether this freedom of fishing, might not be  
 “ redeemed with a sum of money. To which I answer-

“ ed, it was a matter of royalty more than of utility,  
 “ tho’ princes were not to neglect their profit \*.”

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *secretary Naunton*, to  
*the lord ambassador Carleton*, dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of Janu-  
 ary, 1618.

“ A S I had dictated thus far, I received direction from  
 “ his majesty, to signify to the states commissioners  
 “ here, that albeit their earnest intreaty, and his gracious  
 “ consideration of the present trouble of their church and  
 “ state, had moved his majesty to consent to delay the  
 “ treaty of the great fishing, till the time craved by the  
 “ commissioners; yet understanding by new and fresh  
 “ complaints of his mariners and fishers, upon the coasts  
 “ of *Scotland*, that within these four or five last years, the  
 “ *Low-Country* fishers have taken so great advantages of  
 “ his majesty’s toleration, that they have grown nearer  
 “ and nearer upon his majesty’s coasts year by year, than  
 “ they did in preceding times, without leaving any bounds  
 “ for

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\* Yet, that we may perceive, whenever our court proceeded  
 with due spirit, it had its effect, and brought even these subtle  
 negotiators to make concessions, which, in reality, destroyed all  
 their pretensions at other times, will appear, from an EXTRACT  
 of a LETTER dated *January* the 14<sup>th</sup>, 1618, from the same  
 ambassador to *secretary Naunton*, in which he gives him to under-  
 stand, “ that having been expostulated with, but in a friendly  
 “ manner, by certain of the states, about his late proposition, as  
 “ unseasonable, and sharp; they said, they acknowledged their  
 “ commissioners went beyond their limits, in their terms of im-  
 “ memorial possession, immutable *droit de gens*, for which they  
 “ had no order, that he then desired them, to consider what a  
 “ wrong it was, to challenge that upon right, which those pro-  
 “ vinces had hitherto enjoied, either by connivance or courtesy,  
 “ and yet never without claim on his majesty’s side.”

“ for the country people and natives to fish upon their prince’s  
 “ coasts, and oppressed some of his subjects of intent to  
 “ continue their pretended possession, and driven some of  
 “ their great vessels through their nets, to deter others by  
 “ fear of the like violence from fishing near them, &c.  
 “ His majesty cannot forbear to tell them, that he is so  
 “ well persuaded of the equity of the states, and of the  
 “ honourable respect they bear unto him, and to his sub-  
 “ jects for his sake, that they will never allow so unjust  
 “ and intollerable oppressions; for restraint whereof, and  
 “ to prevent the inconveniencies which must ensue upon  
 “ the continuance of the same, his majesty hath by me  
 “ desired them to write to their superiors, to cause pro-  
 “ clamation to be made, prohibiting any of their subjects  
 “ to fish within fourteen miles of his majesty’s coasts this  
 “ year, or in any time hereafter, until orders be taken  
 “ by commissioners to be authorized on both sides, for a  
 “ final settling of the main business. His majesty hath  
 “ likewise directed me to command you from him to  
 “ make the like declaration and instance to the states  
 “ there, and to certify his majesty of their answers with  
 “ what convenient speed you may.”

WHAT effect the ambassadors negotiation had with the  
 states, appears by a letter of his from the *Hague* of the  
 6th of *February* 1618, to king *James* himself.

“ I find likewise in the manner of proceeding, that  
 “ treating by way of proposition here, nothing can be  
 “ expected but their wonted dilatory and evasive answers,  
 “ their manner being to refer such propositions from  
 “ the *States-General* to the states of *Holland*. The states  
 “ of *Holland* take advice of a certain council residing at  
 “ *Delft*,

“ *Delft*, which they call the council of the fishery, from  
 “ them such an answer commonly comes as may be ex-  
 “ pected from such an oracle. The way therefore (un-  
 “ der correction) to effect your majesty’s intent, is to  
 “ begin with fishers themselves, by publishing against the  
 “ time of their going out, your resolution at what di-  
 “ stance you will permit them to fish, whereby they will  
 “ be forced to have recourse to their council of fishery,  
 “ that council to the states of *Holland*, and those of *Hol-*  
 “ *land* to the *States-General*, who then in place of being  
 “ sought unto, will for contentment of their subjects seek  
 “ unto your majesty.”

THESE letters make it perfectly clear, that king *James* asserted his rights through the long course of this negotia-  
 tion, as clearly and as explicitly as it was possible, and  
 brought the states themselves to acknowledge, that these  
 rights had a just foundation. If it should be enquired how it  
 came to pass, that after carrying things so far, and to  
 such a seeming height, they should fall again into silence  
 and oblivion; the best answer that can be given to this  
 question is, that in the midst of this dispute, the prince  
 of *Orange* asked sir *Dudley Carleton* a very shrewd que-  
 stion, viz. whether this claim about the fishery might not  
 be quieted for a sum of money? That gentleman, who  
 was afterwards created viscount *Dorchester*, was certainly  
 a man of honour, as fully appears from the advice given  
 in the last letter we have cited; but whether some men  
 in power might not find a method by agents of their own,  
 to convey an answer to so plain a demand, is more than  
 at this distance of time can be determined. Sir *William*  
*Monson* tells us, that in reference to the disputes about  
 the



the flag, the *Dutch* found a kind of protector in the great earl of *Salisbury*; nor is it at all impossible, that they might find an advocate in this important business of the fishery; but if they did, this must have been a ministerial and not a national bargain, since we shall find that in the next reign, this claim was insisted upon as warmly, and with some better effect, than in that of king *James*.

It may not be amiss however to observe here, that by whatever means things were settled and quieted at that time, it could never affect the claim of right by the crown of *Great-Britain*; for as sir *Dudley Carleton* very wisely returned for answer to the question before-mentioned, that it was a royalty, so beyond all doubt, those ancient and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and tho' treaties may be made for explaining, regulating, and adjusting them with our neighbours, yet this must be always understood as done with a view to the maintaining them; these rights belonging to the crown and not to the king, who tho' bound by the duty of his office to support and vindicate them, yet is at the same time restrained by that duty from alienating them; and therefore whatever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances there may be in particular reigns, or from particular circumstances, these can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which always subsist, tho' they may not always be insisted upon. This doctrine the reader has before seen, was particularly urged and applied by sir *William Monson* in the case of the flag, when the *Dutch* were desirous of availing themselves of queen *Elizabeth's* waving her right in a case where indeed it could not well be insisted upon, that is, where a *Dutch* squadron



dron served as auxiliaries, in a fleet commanded by an *English* admiral, and consequently for that time, were treated as *English* subjects.

WE come now to the only naval expedition of consequence, which was undertaken during the time this king sat upon the throne, I mean the attempt upon *Algiers*. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking, seems not easy to be discovered. The common story is, that count *Gondemar* having gained an ascendancy over his majesty's understanding, persuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of *Spain* \*. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older standing, that the earl of *Nottingham* had solicited the king to such an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord high admiral; and that sir *Robert Mansel* infused it into the head of his successor *Buckingham*, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if such a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his administration. As *Buckingham* easily brought the king to consent to whatever himself approved, there is the utmost probability that it was by his influence this design was carried into execution; notwithstanding that, sir *William Monson*, who had been consulted upon it, gave his judgment, supported by strong and clear arguments, that it was rash and ill founded, and that instead of raising the reputation of the *British* arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, because the whole world would take notice of the

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\* Camden, Wilson, Rapin, Barchet.

the disappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real causes; and of the little reason there was to measure the naval strength of *Britain* thereby<sup>f</sup>.

IN the month of *October* 1620, this fleet sailed from *Plymouth*. It consisted of six men of war, and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. Of these sir *Robert Mansel*, then vice-admiral of *England*, had the command in chief, sir *Richard Hawkins* was vice, and sir *Thomas Button* rear-admiral, sir *Henry Palmer*, *Arthur Manwaring*, *Thomas Love* and *Samuel Argall*, Esqrs; were appointed to be members of the council of war, and *Edward Clarke*, Esq; was secretary. On the twenty-seventh of *November*, they came to an anchor in *Algier*-road, and saluted the town, but without receiving a single gun in answer. On the twenty-eighth, the admiral sent a gentleman with a white flag to let the *Turkish* vice-roy know the cause of his coming, who returned him an answer by four commissioners, that he had orders from the *Grand Seignior* to use the *English* with the utmost respect, to suffer their men to come on shore, and to furnish them with what provisions they wanted. Upon this, a negotiation ensued, in which it is hard to say, whether the *Turks* or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refused to dismiss the gentleman first sent, unless an *English* consul was left at *Algiers*, and the latter, to rid himself of this difficulty, prevailed upon a seaman to put on a suit of good cloaths, and to pass for a consul; this cheat not being discovered by the *Turks*, they sent forty *English* slaves on board the admiral, and promised to give him satisfaction as to his other demands; upon

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<sup>f</sup> Naval Tracts, p. 253.

upon which, he sailed again for the *Spanish* coast, attended by six *French* men of war, the admiral of which squadron had struck to the *English* fleet on his first joining it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage too that attended this whole expedition <sup>a</sup>.

It had been well if this enterprize had ended thus; but after receiving a supply of provisions from *England*; it was resolved to make another attempt upon *Algiers* in the spring, and, if possible, to burn the ships in the mole <sup>b</sup>. Accordingly in the month of *May* the fleet left the coast of *Majorca*, and upon the twenty-first of the same month, anchored before *Algiers*, and began to prepare for the execution of this design. Two ships taken from the *Turks*, one of an hundred, the other of sixty tons, were fitted up for this purpose. They were filled with dry wood, oakum, pitch, rosin, tar, brimstone, and other combustible matter, and provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men; next followed the three brigantines, which the admiral bought at *Alicant*, with fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes to fasten their fire-works to the enemy's ships. They had also a gunlod, fitted up with fire-works, chains, and grappling irons; the gunlod was to be fired in the midst of the ships in the mole, having likewise a boat to bring off her men. Seven armed boats followed to sustain those of the fire-ships, in case they were pursued

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<sup>a</sup> Purchas's Pilgrim, p. 881. See also an account of this expedition, published by authority in 1621. <sup>b</sup> See the relation of this expedition before referred to; which is almost the only authentic account we have of it; and yet it is an account only on one side, and was certainly written to justify the undertaking.

sued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole.

THE wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S. S. W. the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole; but when they were within less than a musket-shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered, by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a christian slave, who swam from the town, that the *Turks* had left their ships unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay they put to sea, and in the month of *June* returned to *England*. This ill-concerted enterprize had no other effect, than that of exposing our own commerce to the insults of the *Algerins*, who did a great deal of mischief, while we did them little or none; though two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under the command of the lord *Willoughby*, and the other under that of the earl of *Denbigh*; but both did so little, that very few of our histories take any notice of them<sup>1</sup>. Sir *William Monson* has made some severe but just observations<sup>2</sup> upon these

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<sup>1</sup> In the continuation of Stowe's chronicle by Howes, there is not a word of it, and in many other books of the same kind, we are barely told when this fleet sailed, and when it came back.

<sup>2</sup> There are three discourses of his upon this subject, one addressed to the privy-council on the properest method for attempting the ruin of *Algiers*; another dissuading from that enterprize; and the third on the mistakes in this expedition, wherein he observes, that, during all the time they were out, they were but twenty days at sea.

these undertakings, and particularly remarks, that notwithstanding the whole nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such miscarriages, yet they never had any satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that spirit which vented itself afterwards in a civil war.

In 1623, happened the bloody affair of *Amboyna*, of which I shall give a short and fair account; because it gave birth to our national hatred of the *Dutch*, which subsisted long, and had such fatal effects. By a treaty concluded between *Great-Britain* and the *United provinces* in 1619, it was stipulated amongst other things, that, to prevent farther disputes, the *Dutch* should enjoy two thirds of the trade at *Amboyna*, and the *English* one. In pursuance of this, a factory was erected in that island as well as other places; yet in the short space of two years, the *Dutch* grew weary of their company, and, under a pretence of a plot, seized the principal persons in the factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them some confessions, put as many of them as they thought fit to death, and under a shew of clemency discharged the rest, seizing, however, not only on this, but all the other factories likewise, which at that time the *English* had in the *Spice-islands*, and thereby engrossing that most valuable trade to themselves. That this was really a contrivance, seems to be pretty plain, not to make use of a stronger word, from the following circumstances which are incontestable. The *English* had only a house wherein their factory resided; whereas the *Dutch* were possessed of a very strong fort, the number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garrisoned soldiers in the castle, and eight stout ships riding in the port.

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The prisoners all denied it solemnly at their deaths, and would have taken the sacrament on the truth of what they said; but it was refused them by the *Dutch*<sup>1</sup>. But that I may not be suspected of injustice towards them, I will transcribe their own account of this matter. "This island says a writer, who addressed his work to the states of *Holland*<sup>m</sup>, was a long time the subject of dispute between the *Dutch* and *English*. The *East-India* company, who had made themselves masters of it, entered into a treaty with the *English*, for driving out the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*; and by one of the articles of this treaty it was agreed, that they should furnish ten men of war for this purpose. They neglecting this armament, the *Indians* of *Ternate*, taking advantage of the weakness which this omission of theirs had occasioned, agreed to a suspension of arms with the *Spaniards*, and having made an alliance with the king of *Tidore*, who was an enemy to the *Dutch*, attacked several islands dependant on *Ambouyna*, and having made themselves masters of them, resolved to attack the citadel; and the *English* are said to have been concerned with them in this design, which was discovered by a *Japonese*. The governor heard from all sides, that the *English* had taken his citadel. Astonished at these reports, though false, he put himself on his guard, and seized the *Japonese*, whom he suspected. This man confessed, that the *English* were engaged in a conspiracy against the governor, that taking advantage of his absence, the citadel was to be seized, and that the *Japonese*

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<sup>1</sup> See a pamphlet entitled, "A true relation of the unjust, cruel, and barbarous proceedings against the English at Ambouyna, published by authority 1624, 4to," and several other tracts. M. Basnage in his *Annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 129.

in the island had engaged to execute this project. The governor without hesitation arrested all who were accused of having any hand in this design. The *English* confessed, that their factor had sworn them upon the gospel never to reveal the secret; which, however, they did, and signed their confessions, some freely, and the rest constrained thereto by the violence of the torture. They were all executed; and this is what is commonly called the massacre of *Amboyna*. The *English* have always maintained, that this crime was purely imaginary, and only made use of a pretext to sacrifice their nation to the vengeance of a governor; and therefore they continued to demand satisfaction for this loss from 1623 to 1672, when, through the indifferent state of their affairs, they were glad to depart from it." This *Dutch* account, and indeed all the accounts I have ever seen of their drawing up, sufficiently prove, that there was more of policy, than of any thing else in this whole proceeding, and that what the *Dutch* aimed at, was the excluding us from the spice-trade, in which they effectually prevailed.

It is indeed strange, that, considering the strength of the nation at sea at the time we received this insult, and the quick sense which the *English* always have of any national affront, no proper satisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous measures entered into, in order to exact it. But the wonder will in a great measure cease, when we consider the state of the crown, and of the people, at that period. The king had been engaged for many years in a tedious, dishonourable and distasteful negotiation for the marriage of his son prince *Charles* with the princess of *Spain*; to the chimerical advantages he proposed from this, he sacrificed the interest of his family, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people; and yet could

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could never bring the thing to bear, but was at last forced to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think of entering upon a war, to which he had been always averse, especially at the close of his life and reign. Such was the situation of things when this accident happened at *Ambony*; and therefore, though it made a great noise, and occasioned much expostulation with that republic, yet the attention of the crown to the proposed war with *Spain*, and its concern for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, joined to the necessity there was of managing the *Dutch* at so critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than remonstrances, while our competitors kept exclusively so very considerable a branch of trade. I have taken the more pains to settle and clear up this matter, because it is a full proof of a truth we ought never to forget, *viz.* that domestic dissensions are particularly fatal to us as a trading nation, and that it is impossible for us to maintain our commerce in a flourishing condition, if we do not at least enjoy peace at home, whatever our circumstances may be abroad.

I KNOW of nothing relating to naval affairs in this reign of which I have not already spoken, except the sending a fleet to bring home prince *Charles* from *Spain*, may be reckon'd in that number. It consisted, however, of a few ships only; but in good order and well manned, so that the *Spaniards* are said to have expressed great satisfaction at the sight of it; which, however, true or false, is a matter of no great consequence. This voyage, though a short one, gave prince *Charles* some idea of maritime affairs, which proved afterwards of benefit to the nation. The breaking the *Spanish* match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the satisfaction of the *English*; but in the midst of the preparations that were



making for it, the king ended his days at *Thesbald's* on the 27<sup>th</sup> of *March* 1625, in the 59<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign <sup>n</sup>. His pacific temper occasioned our having but little to say in this part of our work; but before we proceed to mention the eminent seamen who flourished in his time, it will be proper to give the reader a concise view of the improvement of trade and navigation within this period, as well as a brief account of the colonies settled, while this prince set upon the throne.

It has been already shewn, that under the public-spirited administration of queen *Elizabeth*, this nation first came to have a notion of the benefits of extensive commerce, and began to think of managing their own trade themselves, which down to that period had been almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with *Spain*, our merchants went on in a right way; by which I mean, that they prosecuted their private advantage in such a manner, as that it proved likewise of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen, and of stout ships belonging to this kingdom: but after king *James's* accession, and the taking place of that peace, which they had so long and earnestly expected, things took a new and strange turn. Our traders saw the manifest advantage of using large and stout ships; but instead of building them, were content to freight those of their neighbours, because a little money was to be saved by this method. In consequence of this notion, our shipping decayed in proportion as our trade increased; 'till in the year

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<sup>n</sup> Wilson's history of the reign of king James I. Stowe's chronicle continued by Howes, Baker's chronicle, Echard, Rapin.

year 1615, things were come to so strange a pass, that there were not ten ships of 200 tons belonging to the port of *London*. Upon this, the *Trinity-house* petitioned the king, setting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful consequences it would have with respect to our naval power, through the decay of seamen, and praying, that the king would put in execution some good old laws, which were calculated for the redress of this evil; suggesting also the example of the state of *Venice*, who on a like occasion, had prohibited their subjects to transport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimously opposed the mariners in this dispute, and having better interest at court prevailed. Yet, in a year's time, the tables were turned, and the merchants convinced of their own mistake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An accident produced this happy effect. Two ships, each of the burden of three hundred tons, came into the river of *Thames*, laden with currants and cotton, the property of some *Dutch* merchants residing here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders: they saw now, that, through their own error, they were come back to the very point from which they set out, and that if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was issued, forbidding any *English* subject to export or import goods in any but *English* bottoms<sup>o</sup>.

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<sup>o</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 31<sup>o</sup>.

WHEN once people have entered into a course of industry, the benefits accruing from it, will generally keep them in that road, and even the difficulties they meet with, turn to their advantage. Thus after the *English* merchants had built a few large ships in their own ports, and furnished them with artillery, and other necessaries, they found themselves in a condition to launch into many trades, that were unthought of before; and though for some time they suffered not a little by the *Algerines*, and other pyrates of *Barbary*, yet in the end, they got more than they lost by these accidents, for it put them upon building still larger ships, as well as taking more care in providing, and manning small ones; which had such an effect in the space of seven years, that whereas ships of a hundred tons had been before esteemed very large vessels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the seas; now there were many merchant-men of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to several ports, and upwards of a hundred vessels, each of above two hundred tons burthen, belonging to *Newcastle* alone, all built at home, and better built than elsewhere; and before the death of king *James*, our trade was so far increased, that, in the opinion of sir *William Monson*, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force to the *Dutch* <sup>p</sup>.

In respect to the encouragements given by the crown, for promoting commerce and plantations in the *East-Indies*, and *America*, they were as great under this reign, as under

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<sup>p</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 329, 350. Stowe's annals, p. 994. and the same facts, are also to be met with, in several of the treatises on commerce, which will be hereafter mentioned.

der any succeeding one. Several voyages were made on account of the *East-India* company, and the king did not spare sending an ambassador into those parts for their service. *Virginia* and *New-England* were in a great measure planted, *Barbadoes* possessed and settled, and *Bermudas* discovered in his time <sup>9</sup>. I do not know whether the attempts made for fixing colonies in *Newfoundland*, and *Aradia*, or *New-Scotland*, deserve any commendation, because as they were managed at that time, they could turn to little account; yet it must be allowed, that the government meant well by the encouragement given to these undertakings, which went so far as directing proposals for settling *Newfoundland*, to be read in churches, that all who had any mind to be concerned in such attempts might have due notice <sup>r</sup>. Some benefits certainly accrued even from these abortive projects, they occasioned building a great many good ships, increased the *Newfoundland* fishery, added to the number of our sailors, and kept alive that spirit of discovering, which is essential to a beneficial commerce, since, whenever a nation comes to think it has trade enough, that trade will quickly decline. Besides, it engaged abundance of knowing and experienced persons to write upon all branches of traffick; and their books, which yet remain, sufficiently prove, that there were numbers in those days, who thoroughly under-

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<sup>9</sup> See a declaration of the state of the colony in Virginia, by his majesty's council for Virginia, London, 1620, 4to. Captain Smith's general history of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer-Islands, London, 1627. fol. Purchas's pilgrims and pilgrimage. <sup>r</sup> Order of the king in council at Theobald's, April 12th, 1622, printed with other things, and directed to be read in churches, London, 1622, 4to.

derstood all the arts necessary to promote manufactures, navigation, and useful commerce<sup>t</sup>.

As to the navy which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find that it frequently engaged the attention of the king himself, as well as of his ministers. In most of our naval histories, we have a list of nine ships added to the royal navy of *England* by this prince, which list is taken from sir *William Monson*, and stands thus<sup>t</sup>.

S H I P S.	Men in harbour.	Men at Sea.
Reformation.	9	250
Happy Entrance.	7	160
Garland.	7	160
St. George.	9	250
Mary Rose.	6	120
Triumph.	12	300
Swiftsure.	9	250
Bonaventure.	7	160
St. Andrew.	9	250

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<sup>t</sup> Such as, *An essay of the means, to make travel useful profitable and honourable*, by Thomas Palmer, London, 1606, 4to. *Virginia richly valued*, by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1609, 4to. *The planter's plea, or the grounds of plantations examined, and objections answered*, London, 1620, 4to. *A discourse on the trade to the East-Indies*, by Thomas Mun. *The maintainance of free trade*, by George Malynes, merchant, London, 1622, 8vo. *The centre of the circle of commerce*, by the same hand, London, 1623, 4to. <sup>t</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 277. Lediard's naval history, p. 475.

BUT that this list is very defective, we may conclude from hence, that there is no mention therein of the greatest ship built in this king's reign, and built too by his express direction; of which we have so exact, and at the same so authentic an account, that it may not be amiss to transcribe it.

" THIS year 1610, the king built a most goodly ship  
" for war, the keel whereof was 114 feet long, and  
" the cross beam was 44 feet in length: she will carry  
" 64 pieces of great ordinance, and is of the burthen of  
" 1400 tons. This royal ship is double-built, and is  
" most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with  
" all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gild-  
" ing, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest  
" ship that ever was built in *England*; and this glorious  
" ship the king gave unto his son *Henry* prince of *Wales*.  
" The 24th of *September*, the king, the queen, the  
" prince of *Wales*, the duke of *York*, and the lady *Eli-*  
" *zabeth*, with many great lords, went unto *Woolwich*,  
" to see it launched; but because of the narrowness of  
" the dock, it could not then be launched: Whereupon  
" the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and  
" then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it after  
" his own dignity, and called it, *The Prince*. The great  
" workmaster in building this ship, was master *Phineas*  
" *Pet*, gentleman, sometime master of arts of *Emanuel*  
" *College* in *Cambridge*."

IN the same author, we have an account of the king's going on board the great *East-India* ship of 1200 tons, which

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" Stowe's annals, continued by Howes, p. 996.

which was built here, and seems to have been the first of that size launched in this kingdom. The king called it, *The Trade's Increase*, and a pinace of 250 tons, which was built at the same time, he called, *The Pepper-Corn* <sup>w</sup>. This shews that he was a favourer of navigation; and though I cannot pretend to say exactly, what additions he made to the *English* fleet, yet, from some authentic calculations I have seen, I think I may venture to affirm, that queen *Elizabeth's* ships of war at the time of her death, might contain somewhat more than 16,000 tons, and that in the days of king *James*, they amounted to upwards of 20,000 tons <sup>x</sup>. The king also granted a commission of enquiry, for reforming the abuses in the navy, the proceedings upon which, are still preserved in the *Cotton Library* <sup>y</sup>. He was liberal likewise to seamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but as in other things, so in this. he was too much governed by his favourites <sup>z</sup>. *Buckingham* managed the admiralty very indifferently, and before his time, *Gundemor* had persuaded king *James* against reason, law, the inclinations of his people, nay, against his own sense of things, to take off the head of the greatest man who flourished in his reign, and of whom I am now particularly to speak.

### MEMOIRS of Sir WALTER RALEGH, knight.

AS the glory of this gentleman's actions were sufficient to have established and given lustre to any family

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. p. 994.  
<sup>y</sup> Vitellius. F. 8.  
and Rapin.

<sup>x</sup> From some notes on Hakluyt, MS.  
<sup>z</sup> Wilson, Baker, Kennet, Echard,



family, so his descent was honourable enough to exempt him from envy in the high posts which he by his merit obtained. There were several families of the name of *Ralegh* in the west, and three particularly, which were seated in several parts of the country, and bore different arms. That from which this gentleman sprung, may be, and indeed is, traced to the reign of king *John*, as the *Raleghs* in general are beyond the conquest <sup>a</sup>. His father was *Walter Ralegh*, Esq; of *Fardel* in the county of *Devon*. This gentleman had three wives, and children by them all. The last was *Catherine* the daughter of sir *Philip Champernon* of *Modbury*, and relict of *Otho Gilbert* of *Compton* in *Devonshire*, Esq; by this lady Mr. *Ralegh* had two sons; *Carew*, who was afterwards knighted, and *Walter*; of whom we are treating, as also a daughter *Margaret*, who was twice married. Thus it appears, that this gentleman was brother by the mother's side to those famous knights, sir *John*, sir *Humphry*, and sir *Adrian Gilbert* <sup>b</sup>.

HE was born in the year 1552, at a pleasant farm called *Hayes*, seated in that part of *Devonshire* which borders on the sea, and after laying the foundations of literature in his own country, was sent to *Oxford* while a very young man; since according to the best authority, he was there in 1568, and soon distinguished himself by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age <sup>c</sup>. When he came to, and how long he staid in *Oriel-college* is not very clear; neither

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<sup>a</sup> See these points judiciously cleared by Mr. Oldys, in his life of sir Walter Ralegh, p. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>b</sup> Visitation of Devonshire, by William Hervy, Esq; clarencieux, MS. in the heralds-office.

<sup>c</sup> Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 435.



neither is it well made out, though often and very confidently asserted, that he was afterwards of the *Middle-Temple*. This we are sure of, that about 1569, he in company with many young gentlemen of good families, and martial dispositions, went over into *France*, as well to instruct themselves in the art of war, as to assist the protestants in that kingdom, then grievously oppressed<sup>d</sup>. He served there some considerable time, and attained both skill and reputation. The former is evident from many judicious observations on those wars, which we meet with scattered through his works; and the latter is attested by contemporary and credible authors. It appears from a comparison of facts and dates, that he was somewhat more than five years thus employed, and having still an earnest desire to improve his military skill, and an eager thirst for glory, he passed next into the *Netherlands*, where he served likewise some time against the *Spaniards*<sup>e</sup>. In these transactions he followed, as it was natural for a young man to do, the fashion of the times. *France* and the *Netherlands* were in those days the schools of *Mars*; to which all were obliged to go who addicted themselves to the sword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by exposing their persons in the service of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this course, suffering their minds to be corrupted by the licence of camps, and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boisterous humour, which some take for a soldier-like freedom; *Raleigh* on the contrary, made the true

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<sup>d</sup> Camden's Annals, A. D. 1569. Jac. August. Thuani historiarum sui temporis, tom. ii. fol. 1526. lib. 46. p. 60r.  
<sup>e</sup> Naunton's fragmenta regalia, p. 28.

Sir WALTER RALEGH. 45

true use of his service in a foreign country, increased his stock of knowledge in all kinds, improved his skill as a soldier by experience, and so compleatly polished his manner of address, that at his return he was considered, as one of the best bred and most accomplished gentlemen in *England*.

ON Mr. *Raleigh's* coming back to his native soil in 1578, he found his brother sir *Humphry Gilbert* engaged in a design of making discoveries in *North-America*, for which he had obtained a patent; and in the furtherance of which he had procured the assistance of many friends. *Raleigh* was much taken with the design, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been concerned drew back; but Mr. *Raleigh* not only continued firm to his engagements, but resolved to accompany his brother in person <sup>f</sup>. This was but an unfortunate undertaking, and would have frightened a man of less resolution than *Raleigh*, from venturing to sea again; for they not only missed the great discoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the *Spaniards* in their return; and though they made a very gallant defence, had no reason to boast of success, losing one of the best ships in their small fleet, and in it a very gallant young gentleman, whose name was *Miles Morgan* <sup>g</sup>. From this unlucky adventure, Mr. *Raleigh* arrived safe in *England*, in the spring of the year 1579, and had soon after thoughts of serving his queen and country in *Ireland*, where his holiness and the *Spaniards* had sent men, money, and

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<sup>f</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 173. Hooker's dedication of his translation and continuation of the Irish chronicles. <sup>g</sup> See captain Haies's relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 164.

and blessings, to comfort and assist such as in breach of their oaths would take arms against their sovereign, and cut the throats of the *English* <sup>n</sup>.

It is not very clear at what time our hero crossed the seas; but it appears from indubitable authority, that in 1580, he had a captain's commission under the president of *Munster*, which was then a more honourable commission than now, because there were fewer soldiers, and consequently more care was taken in distributing commissions <sup>1</sup>. The next year captain *Raleigh* served under the noble earl of *Ormonde*, then governor of *Ulster*, a man illustrious by his illustrious birth, and near relation to queen *Elizabeth*; but still more so by his virtues and steady adherence to his duty, in spite of greater temptations, than any other man met with, and by whose directions *Raleigh* performed many signal services. The *Spanish* succours, under the command of an officer of their own, assisted by a choice body of their *Irish* confederates, had raised and fortified a castle, which they called *del Ore*, and which they intended should serve them for a place of retreat, whenever they found themselves distressed, and prove also a key to admit fresh succours from abroad, which they daily expected; and for which it was mighty well situated, as standing upon the bay of *Smerwick* in the county of *Kerry*. The then deputy of *Ireland*, lord *Grey*, was a person of great courage, and indefatigable industry, but withal of a very severe temper, and particularly prejudiced against the *Irish*, and who resolved at all hazards to dispossess them of this fort; which he accordingly

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<sup>n</sup> Hooker's supplement to the Irish chronicles, p. 154. <sup>1</sup> Cox's history of Ireland, p. 366.

ingly besieged with his small army for some time. In this dangerous enterprize captain *Raleigh* had his share, commanding often in the trenches, and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place, which was at last forced to surrender at discretion, and the lord-deputy directed the greatest part of the garrison to be put to the sword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the captains *Raleigh* and *Mackworth*<sup>k</sup>. Many other services he performed in *Ireland*, of a nature not necessary for me to relate, and these very justly recommended him to the notice of the government, who in 1581, honoured him with a joint commission to be governor of *Munster*. In this character he continued to do the state many important services, which were amply rewarded by the grant of a large estate in the county he had subdued<sup>l</sup>.

YET all his care, and all his services, did not hinder his having many enemies, and amongst them the lord-deputy *Grey*; so that he seems to have been recalled in the latter end of the same year to *England*, where he was quickly introduced to the queen's notice, and by his own merits attained a large share in her favour<sup>m</sup>; and as he was forward to distinguish himself in all public services of reputation, so on the return of the duke of *Anjou* into the *Netherlands*, he was one of those who accompanied him out of *England*, by the express command of queen *Elizabeth*; and on his coming back into *England* in 1582, he

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<sup>k</sup> See Mr. Carte's life of the duke of Ormonde, vol. i. in the introduction, Cox's history of Ireland, Spenser's state of Ireland, in the 6th volume of his works.

<sup>l</sup> Naunton's fragmenta regalia, p. 28, 29. <sup>m</sup> Leicester's common-wealth, p. 37. Aulic. coquin. p. 90.

he brought over the prince of *Orange's* letters to the queen<sup>n</sup>. Some months after this he resided at court, and was honoured with the favour and protection even of the contending statesmen, who were proud of shewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to *Raleigh*<sup>o</sup>. In 1583, he was concerned in his brother *Gilbert's* second attempt, and though he went not in person, yet he built a new ship called *The Bark Raleigh*, and furnished it compleatly for the voyage; the unsuccessful end of which, it seemed to predict, by its untimely return in less than a week to *Plymouth*, through a contagious distemper which seized on the ships crew<sup>p</sup>. Yet neither this accident, nor the unfortunate loss of his brother sir *Humphry*, which has been heretofore related; could drive from *Raleigh's* thoughts a scheme so beneficial to his country, as these northern discoveries seemed to be. He therefore, digested into writing an account of the advantages which he supposed might attend the prosecution of such a design; and having laid his paper before the council, obtained her majesty's letters patent in favour of his project, dated the twenty-fifth of *March* 1584<sup>q</sup>. By this seasonable interposition, he kept alive that generous spirit of searching out, and planting distant countries, which has been ever since of such infinite service to the trade and navigation of *England*.

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<sup>n</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh's invention of shipping in his *Select Essays*, p. 36.

<sup>o</sup> Shirley's life of sir Walter Raleigh, p. 19. Lloyd's *State-Worthies*, p. 487.

<sup>p</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 149.

<sup>q</sup> Historical Account of the Voyages of sir Walter Raleigh, London 1719, 8vo. p. 8. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 243.

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It was not long before Mr. *Raleigh* carried his patent into execution; for having made choice of two worthy commanders, captain *Philip Amadas*, and captain *Arthur Barlow*, he fitted out their vessels with such expedition, though entirely at his own expence, that on the twenty-seventh of *April* following, they set sail from the west of *England* for the coast of *North-America*, where they safely arrived in the beginning of the month of *July*, and took possession of that fine country, which has been since so famous by the name bestowed on it by queen *Elizabeth*, and not given (as is generally surmised) by sir *Walter Raleigh*, of *VIRGINIA* <sup>1</sup>.

ABOUT this time he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of *Devon* <sup>2</sup>, and making a considerable figure in parliament, he, upon some occasion, entering the royal presence, in his capacity as a member of the house of commons, received the honour of knighthood; but at what time is not exactly known. In 1585, sir *Walter Raleigh* fitted out a second fleet for *Virginia*, in which he had very good success, his ships in their return taking a *Spanish* prize worth fifty thousand pounds <sup>3</sup>. He was likewise concerned in captain *Davis*'s undertaking, for the discovery of the north-west passage; for which reason a promontory in *Davis*'s streights, was called *Mount-Raleigh* <sup>4</sup>. In respect to these public-spirited, and very expensive projects, the queen was pleased to make him some profitable grants; particularly two, the first of wine-licences <sup>5</sup>, and the other of a signiory in *Ireland*, consisting of 12,000 acres, which he planted at his own expence, and many years after sold to

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<sup>1</sup> Life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, by mr. *Oldys*, p. 25.      <sup>2</sup> *Notitia parliamentaria*, by *Browne Willis*, esq; vol. iii. p. 254.      <sup>3</sup> *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 251.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 101.      <sup>5</sup> Mr. *Oldys*'s life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 26.

*Richard Boyle*, the first earl of *Cork* \*. Encouraged by these favours, he fitted out a third fleet for *Virginia*, and two barks, to cruize on the *Spaniards* near the *Azores*, which had such success, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them †. This good fortune of his abroad, was so improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the queen, in the latter part of the year 1586, made him seneschal of the dutchies of *Cornwall* and *Exeter*, and lord-warden of the stannaries in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, which preferments, though no more than his merit deserved, yet exposed him to the envy of such as, having no deserts of their own, despaired of attaining, by their intrigues, the like advantages ‡.

IN the year 1587, sir *Walter Raleigh* fitted out a fourth fleet for *Virginia*, at his own expence; and in 1588 a fifth; but neither had any great success, notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken to provide them thoroughly in all respects, and to employ none in this service, but men of resolution and reputation §. These disappointments, however, served only to shew the constancy of our hero's temper, and the firmness with which he pursued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good, how little soever it turned to his private advantage. With justice, therefore, was the wise queen *Elizabeth* liberal to such a man, who, whatever he received from her bounty with one hand, bestowed it immediately in acts glorious to the nation with the other.

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\* Cox's history of Ireland, p. 389—391.

vol. ii. part 2. p. 120.

† See Hooker's dedication of his supplement to the Irish chronicles to sir *Walter Raleigh*.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 208.

§ Hakluyt,

vol. iii. p. 208.

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WHEN the nation was alarmed with the news of the king of *Spain's* famous *Armada*, sir *Walter Ralegh* was one of the council appointed to consider of ways and means for repulsing those invaders; and his application of his thoughts to this important question, at that time, produced such a scheme, for defence, as may be of the greatest use to this island, while it remains such <sup>b</sup>. He did not, however, confine himself to this province of giving advice; but as he had often fitted out ships for his country's honour, and his own, so he now did the like for its defence; and not satisfied even with that, he exposed also his person, among the many noble volunteers, who went to sea on that occasion, and performed such signal services in the attack and destruction of that formidable fleet, as recommended him further to the queen's favour, who granted him some additional advantages in his wine-office, which he enjoyed throughout her whole reign, and was the principal source of that wealth, which he employed so much to his honour in all public services <sup>c</sup>.

ABOUT this time, he made an assignment of all his right, title, and interest in the colony of *Virginia*, to certain gentlemen and merchants of *London*, in hopes they might be able to carry on a settlement there, more successfully than he had done. He had already spent upwards of forty thousand pounds, in his several attempts for that purpose; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his property, either out of a prospect of gain, or through an unwillingness to run any further hazard; for instead of taking a consideration, he gave them at the time of making

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<sup>b</sup> See an extract of this piece in Mr. Oldys's life of sir Walter Ralegh, p. 39.     <sup>c</sup> Townshend's historical collections, p. 244.



the assignment, an hundred pounds towards their first expences; neither did he make any reserve, except the fifths of all gold and silver mines. All his view, was, to engage such a number of joint-adventurers, as by their concurring interests, and industry, might strengthen his infant colony, and enable it, to reach the end which he had designed. With the same view, he continued to assist the company with his advice and protection, whenever they desired it; and the difficulties they struggled with, for twenty years after, sufficiently shewed, that it was not through any fault of the original proprietor, *Virginia* did not sooner flourish, and that his wisdom and prudence were no less to be admired in this disposal of his concern therein, than his courage and conduct deserved applause, in first fixing upon so advantageous a spot, which has since proved itself worthy of all the care and expence employed in the support of it <sup>d</sup>.

WHEN a proposition was made by don *Antonio* king of *Portugal*, to queen *Elizabeth*, to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, the terms he offered, appeared so reasonable, that her majesty was content to bear a considerable share in that undertaking, and to encourage her public-spirited subjects to furnish the rest <sup>e</sup>. Her majesty's quota, consisted of six men of war, and threecore thousand pounds; to which, the adventurers added a hundred and twenty sail of ships and between fourteen and fifteen thousand men, soldiers and sailors. In the fitting out this fleet, sir *Walter Raleigh* was deeply concerned, and took a share himself in the expedition, of which a large account has been given in the former

<sup>d</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, first edition, p. 815.  
 Antonio's letter to the treasurer, in Strype's annals, vol. iiii. p. 536.

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<sup>f</sup> See  
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mer volume <sup>f</sup>, and therefore there is no need of repeating it here; especially since we meet with no particulars, which personally respect sir *Walter*, worth mentioning, except it be taking some hulks belonging to the *Hanse-Towns*, for which, he, together with some other commanders, received, as a special mark of the queen's favour, a gold chain <sup>g</sup>. The next year, he made a voyage to *Ireland*, and towards the latter end of it, formed a grand design of attacking the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, taking the plate-fleet, and sacking *Panama* <sup>h</sup>.

THIS enterprize, like that of *Portugal*, was partly at the queen's charge, and partly at that of private persons, among whom the principal were sir *Walter Ralegh*, and sir *John Hawkins*; the former intending to go in person as commander in chief of the fleet, which consisted of two of the queen's ships, and thirteen sail besides <sup>i</sup>. Many accidents happen'd, which detained these ships on the *English* coast, for twelve weeks; but at last sir *Walter Ralegh* sail'd on the 6th of *May* 1592. The very next day sir *Martin Frobisher* followed, and overtook him with the queen's letter, to recall him; but he, thinking his honour too deeply engaged, continued at sea, till all hopes of success, according to their intended scheme, was lost; and then returned, leaving the command of the fleet to sir *Martin Frobisher*, and sir *John Burgh* (or *Burrough*) with orders to cruize on the coast of *Spain*, and the islands. In pursuance of these orders, sir *John Burgh* happily made himself master of the *Madre de Dios*, or *Mother of God*, one of the greatest ships belonging to the crown of *Portugal*,

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which

<sup>f</sup> See the naval history of queen Elizabeth, p. 407. <sup>g</sup> Life of sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 50. <sup>h</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 194. <sup>i</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 180.

which he brought safely into *Dartmouth*, on the 7th of *September*, in the same year <sup>k</sup>. This is said to have been the most considerable prize, till then, taken in this war, and therefore it may not be amiss to give a particular account of it.

THIS *Carrack* was in burden, no less than 1600 <sup>l</sup>. s. whereof 900 were merchandize; she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordinance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks, seven story, one main orlope, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spar-deck of two floors a-piece. According to the observations of Mr. *Robert Adams*, an excellent geometrician, she was, in length, from the beak-head to the stern, 165 feet; in breadth, near 47 feet; the length of her keel, 100 feet; of the main-mast, 121 feet; its circuit, at the partners, near 11 feet; and her main-yard, 106 feet <sup>l</sup>. As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at *Leadenball*, the 15th of *September* this year, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelane, or china-ware, ebony; besides pearl, musk, civet, and ambergrease, with many other commodities of inferior value. The *Caragison* freighted ten of our Ships for *London*, and was, by moderate computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling <sup>m</sup>. When this vessel was first taken, both sir *Walter Raleigh* and sir *John Hawkins* judged it to be worth four times that sum <sup>n</sup>; and so in all probability she was:

<sup>k</sup> See a true report of the honourable service by sir John Burrough, L. General of the fleet, prepared by sir W. Raleigh, in Hakluyt, as before cited.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Affirmed in the

close of the said account.

<sup>n</sup> This original is still preserved in the Harleian collection, Oldys's life of sir Walter Raleigh, p. 65.

was: but in spite of all the care sir *John Burgh* could take, the seamen embezzled a vast quantity of valuable effects; neither were the proprietors in a much better situation, when she was brought home. Sir *William Monson* tells us the reason, and I chuse to give it in his own words. "The queen's adventure, says he, in this voyage, was only two ships, one of which, and the least of them too, was at the taking the *Carrack*; which title joined to her royal authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the adventurers were forced to submit themselves to her pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently." Thus it appears from unexceptionable authority, that the queen, and not sir *Walter*, was most benefited by this capture; and there is reason to believe, the like happened upon other occasions, though sir *Walter* was generally left to bear the blame.

WHILE sir *Walter* remained at home, his great genius displayed itself in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free state. He shone in the senate as a patriot, and the remains we have of his speeches, leave us in doubt which we ought most to admire, the beauty of his eloquence, or the strength of his understanding. He was, besides, the patron and protector of learned men; the great encourager of all public undertakings, and one of the queen's declared favourites at court. It was here, that sir *Walter Raleigh* found himself at a loss. In spite of all his wisdom and prudence, he became enamoured of mrs. *Throckmorton*, one of the queen's ladies of honour, and the con-

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sequences

\* Naval tracts, p. 181.      † Sir Simonds d'Ewes journal of queen Elizabeth's parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Hayward Townshend's historical collections, fol. 65.      ‡ Naunton's fragmenta regalia, Lloyd's state-worthies.

sequences of this amour proved such, as could not be concealed. The queen, though she had passed by errors of a like nature in *Leicester* and *Essex*, yet she punished this mistake of *Raleigh's* very severely: but whether led thereto by the insinuations of his enemies, or from a notion, that the greater a man's abilities, the less his offences deserved pardon, I pretend not to determine. However, the queen's frowns wrought in this respect, a proper reformation. Sir *Walter* meditated in his retirement, a greater design than hitherto he had undertaken, while in the queen's favour; and that was, the discovery of the rich and spacious empire of *Guiana*, a noble country in *South-America*, which the *Spaniards* had then only visited, and to this day have never conquered.

FROM the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever informations might be had relating to this place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himself as much master of the subject as books could make him, he drew up instructions for captain *Whiddon*, an old experienced officer, whom he sent to take a view of the coast, and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country, the possibility of discovering and subduing it, and the treachery and cruelty of the *Spaniards* settled in its neighbourhood. This fixed sir *Walter* in his resolution; and therefore, having provided a squadron of ships at his own expence, and those of his noble friends, the lord high-admiral *Howard* and sir *Robert Cecil*, he prepared for this adventure, which he also accomplished.

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\* Camden's annals, p. 697. Naunton, Lloyd, &c. See the dedication prefixed to his own discourse hereafter mentioned.  
 † Life of sir Walter Raleigh, by mr. Oldys, p. 77.

ON the 6th of *February*, 1595, he sail'd from *Plymouth*, and arrived at the isle of *Trinidad*, on the 22d of *March*. He there made himself easily master of St. *Joseph's*, a small city, and took the *Spanish* governor, *Antonio Boreo*, prisoner, who gave him a large description of the neighbouring continent, and the trade in those parts, unknown before to the *English*. On this information, he left the ship at *Trinidad*, and with a hundred men, in several little barks, proceeded up the river *Oronoque*, 400 miles high, in search of *Guiana*. *Carrapana*, one of the petty kings of the country, and several others of them, resigning their sovereignties into his hand, for the queen's use. But the weather was so hot, and the rains so violent, that he was forced to retire in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as of his enemies. The inhabitants of *Cumana*, refusing to bring in the contribution he assigned them to pay, to save the town, he fired it, as also part of St. *Mary's*, and *Rio de la Hacha*; which done, he returned home, with glory and riches. Of the whole of his proceedings, the manner of his entering this hidden country, and making a farther progress there in a month, than the *Spaniards* had done in half a century; of the nature of the soil, and the certainty of finding many and rich mines of gold, sir *Walter* has left us so fair, so copious, and so well-written a relation <sup>u</sup>, that if his subsequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a shade over so bright a prospect, we could scarce render a reason why *Guiana* should not

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<sup>u</sup> Under the title of, "the discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of GUIANA, with a relation of the great and golden city MANAO, called by the Spaniards EL DORADO, and performed in the year 1595, by sir Walter Raleigh, imprinted at London, by Robert Robinson, 4to, 1596."



not at this time, have been as thoroughly known, and as compleatly settled by, the *English*, as *Virginia*.

WHATEVER might be pretended by the deep and cunning statesmen of that age, as that many things fabulous, and more uncertain, were related in Sir *Walter*'s account, and that it was hazarding too much, to send a large fleet, well mann'd, into so sickly a climate; whatever, I say, of this kind, was pretended (as wise men will never want pretences, even when their passions incline them to do weak things) yet envy was certainly the true cause why his proposals were postponed at first, and afterwards, notwithstanding all his pressing solicitations, absolutely rejected\*. Sir *Walter*, however, to shew his own entire confidence in this scheme, and perhaps with a view to make things so plain, that even his detractors should have nothing to object, fitted out two ships at his own expense, *The Delight*, and *The Discoverer*, and sent them under captain *Kemeys*, who had served in the former enterprize to *Guiana*, as well to make farther inquiries, as in some measure to keep his word with the *Indians*, to whom he had promised, in the name of the queen his mistress, such assistance as might enable them to drive away the *Spaniards*, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate than subdue them. This voyage *Kemeys* successfully performed, and, at his return, published such an account of his expedition\*, as might have converted to Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s opinion of *Guiana*, all whom invincible ignorance

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\* See captain *Kemeys*'s dedication to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. \* A relation of the second voyage to *Guiana*, performed and written in 1596, by Lawrence *Kemeys*, Gent. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 683.

or over-weening prejudice, had not destined to remain infidels.

THE next important expedition in which we find *sir Walter* engaged was, that famous one to *Cadiz*, wherein the earl of *Essex* and the lord high-admiral *Howard* were joint commanders, and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, with many other persons of great military skill and prudence, appointed of their council<sup>y</sup>. In the former volume we have given a general account of the nature and design of this expedition, and here, therefore, we shall dwell only on such particulars as more immediately relate to the gentleman of whom we are speaking. The fleet sailed in the beginning of *June* 1596, and on the twentieth of the same month, they arrived before *Cadiz*. The lord admiral's opinion was to attack and take the town first, that the *English* fleet might not be exposed to the fire of the ships in the port, and that of the city and forts adjacent, at the same time. The council of war which he called upon this occasion, concurred with him in opinion, and so a resolution was taken instantly to attack the town<sup>z</sup>.

It so happened that *sir Walter Raleigh* was not at this council, and the earl of *Essex* was actually putting his men into boats before *Raleigh* was acquainted with the design. As soon as he knew it, he went to the earl and protested against it, offering such weighty reasons for their falling first on the galleons, and the ships in the harbour, that the earl was convinced of the necessity of doing it, and desired *sir Walter* to dissuade the lord-admiral from landing. *Sir Walter* undertook it, and prevailed with him to consent, that

<sup>y</sup> Camden's annals, p. 720.  
val. tracts, p. 184. Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 137. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1929.

<sup>z</sup> Sir William Monson's naval



that the fleet should first enter the port, and fall on the *Spanish* galleons and gallies. When he returned to the earl of *Essex* with the news, crying out aloud in his long boat, *entramos*, the earl flung his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. Sir *Walter* gave the lord-admiral a draught of the manner in which he thought best to begin the fight. Two great fly-boats were to board a galleon, after they had been sufficiently battered by the queen's ships of war; which being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the main body of the fleet, *Raleigh* in the *Warfight*, had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour, and consisted of the *Mary Rose*, commanded by sir *George Carew*, the *Lyon* by sir *Robert Southwell*, the *Rainbow* by sir *Francis Vere*, the *Swiftsure* by captain *Cross*, the *Dreadnought* by sir *Conyers Clifford*, and the *Non-pereil* by Mr. *Dudley*. These were followed by the fly-boats and *London* hired ships, lord *Thomas Howard* leaving his own ship the *Mer Honeur*, to go on board the *Non-pereil*. Yet the action did not commence that evening, because being a matter of great importance, the council had not time to regulate the manner of it exactly\*.

ON the twenty-second of *June*, sir *Walter* weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in towards the *Spanish* fleet, which had thus disposed itself to resist the attack. Seventeen gallies were ranged under the walls of the city, that they might the better flank the *English* ships as they entered, and hinder them from passing forward to the galleons.

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\* Sir *Walter Raleigh's* relation of the action at *Cadiz*, published by his grandson *Philip Raleigh, esq;* at the end of an abridgment of sir *Walter Raleigh's* history of the world, 1700. 8vo. *Triumphs of Nassau*, and *Purchas's* pilgrim before-cited.

leons. The artillery from *Fort-Philip* played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and some culverins scoured the channel. When the *Spanish* admiral, the *St. Philip*, perceived the *English* approaching under sail, she also set sail, and with her the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Thomas*, the *St. Andrew*, the two great galleasses of *Lisbon*, three frigates, convoy to their plate-fleet from the *Havanah*, two argosies, very strong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of *Nueva Espanna*, with forty other great ships bound for *Mexico*, and other places. Of these the *St. Philip*, the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Andrew*, and the *St. Thomas*, four capital ships, came again to anchor under the fort of *Puntal*, in a streight of the harbour which leads to *Puerto-Real*. On the starboard-side they placed the three frigates, behind them the two galleasses of *Lisbon*. The argosies, and the seventeen gallies, they posted to play on the *English* as they entered the harbour; and behind these the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of *New-Spain*, with the body of the fleet, hoping by this great strength to defend the entrance; their line reaching like a bridge over the streight from point to point, and was guarded by the fort of *Puntal*. Sir *Walter* in the van of the *English* was saluted by *Fort-Philip*, by the cannon on the curtain, and by all the gallies in good order. *Raleigh* scorned their fire, and answered with a flourish of trumpets, without discharging a gun. The ships that followed him beat so thick on the gallies, that they presently betook them to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the streight. Sir *Walter* gave them several broad sides as they drove by him, and bore down on the *St. Philip* and *St. Andrew*, as more worthy his fire. The lord *Thomas Howard* came to an anchor by him; sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lion* did the same on the one side,

side, and the *Dreadnought*, and the *Mary Rose* on the other; the *Rainbow* lay on *Pantal*-side: and thus they cannonaded each other for three hours. About ten o'clock the earl of *Essex*, impatient to hear the noise of the guns and to be himself out of action, made through the fleet, headed the ships on the larboard-side of the *Warspite*, and anchored as near sir *Walter* as possible. *Raleigh* kept always closest to the enemy, and stood single in the head of all. After they had played so long on the capital ships, sir *Walter* went in his skiff to the admiral, desiring that the fly-boats which were promised him might come up, and then he would board the enemy; if not, he would board them with the queen's ship, it being the same to him, whether he sunk or burnt, and one of them would certainly be his fate. The earl of *Essex*, and the lord *Thomas Howard* had assured him they would second him <sup>b</sup>.

AFTER a long and desperate fight, sir *Walter* despairing of the fly-boats, and depending on lord *Essex* and lord *Thomas Howard*'s promises to assist him, prepared to board the *Spanish* admiral; which the latter no sooner perceived, than she, and the other capital ships following her example, ran ashore. The admiral and the *St. Thomas* they burnt, the *St. Matthew*, and the *St. Andrew* were saved by the *English* boats before they took fire. The *English* were merciful after their victory; but the *Dutch*, who did little or nothing in the fight, put all to the sword, till they were check'd by the lord admiral, and their cruelty restrained by sir *Walter Raleigh*. The most remarkable circumstance in this whole affair, seems to be the disproportion

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<sup>b</sup> See the foregoing relations, and the voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's collection.

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tion between the *English* and *Spanish* force, there being but seven ships of the former against seventy-one of the latter. This great blow rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more easy, which, however, was performed rather by dint of valour than conduct, and with such an impetuosity, as did less honour to the officers than to the soldiers. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to whom undoubtedly the chief honour of the naval victory was due, went ashore, though he was wounded, to have some share of this, but when he saw that all things were in confusion, he very wisely returned on board the fleet.

THE next morning Sir *Walter* sent to the lord admiral for orders to follow the *Spanish West-India* fleet outward bound, lying then in *Puerto-real*, where they could not escape him; but in the hurry and confusion every one was in on the taking of the town, this opportunity was slight, and no answer sent to his desire. In the afternoon the merchants of *Sevill* and *Cadiz* offered two millions to save those ships; and while the bargain hung, the duke of *Medina Sidonia* caused all that rich fleet to be burnt; and thus were all the galleons, gallies, frigates, argosies, and the fleets of *New-Spain*, royal and trading, consumed, except the *St. Matthew*, and the *St. Andrew*, in possession of the *English*. The town was very rich in merchandize and plate. Many wealthy prisoners were given to the land-commanders, who were enriched by their ransom; some had 10, some 16, some 20,000 ducats for their prisoners; others had houses and goods given them, and sold them to the owners for vast sums of money.

Sir

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<sup>d</sup> Camden, *Triumphs of Nassau*, Hakluyt's account of the *Cadiz* voyage, Vere's *Commentaries*, p. 39, and Sir *Walter*'s own account before-mentioned.

Sir *Walter* got, to use his own words, *a lame leg and deformed*; for the rest, he either spoke too late, or 'twas otherwise resolved; he wanted not good words, yet had possession of nought but poverty and pain<sup>d</sup>.

In their return home they took *Faro* in the kingdom of *Algarve*; and *Essex* proposed some other enterprizes, in which he was opposed, and the point carried against him by the concurring opinions of the chief land and sea-officers. Yet on his return *Essex* published some remarks, or, as he calls them, objections in relation to this voyage, wherein (as Mr. *Oldys* well observes, and therein justly censures sir *Henry Wotton*) the earl questions every body's conduct but his own. The queen, however, taking time to inform herself, made a right judgment of the whole affair; in consequence of which, she paid a due respect to every man's merit, and greater to none than to that of sir *Walter Raleigh* <sup>e</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after his return, our hero bethought himself of his favourite project, the settling *Guiana*. In order to further discoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he sent a stout pinnace, well freighted with every thing necessary, under the command of captain *Leonard Berrie*, which safely arrived there in the month of *March* 1597; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coast, and learned from them very particular accounts of the present state and riches of the higher country, they returned again to the port of *Plymouth* the twenty-eighth of *June* following. This expedition seems to be an indubitable proof of two things:

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<sup>d</sup> Camden, Vere's Commentaries, p. 42, and sir *Walter*'s relation. <sup>e</sup> Life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 106.

things: first, that sir *Walter* himself was in earnest in this discovery, otherwise there can be no cause assigned, why, having so many matters of importance upon his hands, he should yet busy himself in an undertaking of this kind. Secondly, that sir *Walter's* hopes were as well founded, as it was possible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature, since the account given us of this voyage is such a one as is liable to no just objections<sup>f</sup>.

THE next public service wherein we meet with sir *Walter Ralegh* is, that called, *The Island-Voyage*, of which we have also given a copious account in our former volume. In this undertaking of which we have as full and clear memorials, as of any in the glorious reign of queen *Elizabeth*; it very plainly appears, that *Essex* had the command, and *Ralegh* the abilities; which was the true reason why the former acquired so little honour, and the latter so much; though with a less jealous commander, he had certainly attained more. Their disputes began early. A misfortune fell out in *Ralegh's* ship in the bay of *Biscay*, which obliged him to lie behind the fleet; and afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of *Lisbon*, he met with a large number of ships and tenders, which were by him conducted to the *Azores*. This signal service, the creatures of *Essex*, by a sort of logic in which they were well practised, construed into a high offence; for they pretended, that these vessels had quitted the general, to wait on the rear-admiral; but sir *Walter* having convinced the earl, that these ships came to the rock of *Lisbon*, as the rendezvous appointed by himself,

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<sup>f</sup> See the relation of this voyage by Mr. Thomas Masham, in Hakluyt, vol. iii p. 692.



and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his lordship, *Essex* had sense enough to be pacified for that time<sup>a</sup>: but soon after, things went wrong again. It was agreed in a council of war, that the general, and sir *Walter Raleigh*, should land jointly on the island of *Fayall*, where *Raleigh* waited four days for his lordship, and hearing nothing of him, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, by such as were less concerned for *Essex*'s honour, than the nation's glory, that sir *Walter* should attempt by himself, what they should jointly have performed. This resolution he executed, and shewed therein as much personal courage as any private soldier, and all the conduct that could be expected from a very wise and experienced commander; so that we need not wonder he met with success, and did all that he designed. *Essex*, on his arrival, forgot the public service, and thought of nothing but his own private disgrace, which vexed him so much, that he broke some of the officers who had behaved gallantly under *Raleigh*; and some talk there was, of trying him, and taking off his head; but at last, by the mediation of lord *Thomas Howard*, who was vice-admiral, and sir *Walter*'s condescending to excuse his having done so much, before his lordship did any thing, matters were made up once again. The cashiered officers were restored, *Raleigh* returned to his care of the public service, and *Essex* proceeded in his mistakes<sup>b</sup>. In consequence of these, they missed the *West-India* fleet, though *Raleigh* had the good luck to take some prizes, the

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<sup>a</sup> See the accurate relation of all that passed in this voyage, by sir Arthur Gorges, in Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1938. <sup>b</sup> See an excellent account of this affair by sir Walter himself, in his History of the world, book v. cap. i. sect. ix. and in the before-mentioned relation.

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the produce of which paid his men, so that he lost neither credit nor money by the voyage. On his return, though *Essex* is said to have found means to throw the miscarriage of all his pompous promises on inevitable accidents, with the mob, and some of his creatures imputed them to sir *Walter*; yet these accusations would not pass with the queen, who shewed *Raleigh* more favour than ever; even though he took less pains to vindicate himself, and testified more respect for the great earl, than perhaps any other man would have done<sup>1</sup>.

THE next year we find him again in parliament, where he distinguished himself, by uniting what of late have been thought opposite characters; the patriot, and the servant of the crown, but which he shewed to be very consistent. By his interest with the queen, he procured some griping projects to be discountenanced; by his weight in the house, he promoted supplies; he also obtained some indulgencies for the tanners in *Cornwall*, and shewed himself, upon all occasions, a ready and a rational advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the queen was pleased to fit out, in the space of a fortnight, so great a navy as struck her neighbours with awe, sir *Walter* was appointed vice-admiral; which honour, though he enjoyed it but for a single month, yet was a high mark of the queen's confidence, since at that time, she was no less apprehensive of stir at home, than of an invasion from abroad. In 1600, the queen was pleased to send lord *Cobham*, and sir *Walter Raleigh*, to the *Dutch*, and after conferring with prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, sir *Walter* returned again about

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<sup>1</sup> See sir Arthur Gorge's account, before referred to, *Veres*'s Commentaries, p. 65, 66, 67.



the middle of the year, and a little after, he was by the queen made governor of the island of *Jersey*; but she reserved three hundred pounds a year out of that government, to be disposed of as she thought fit <sup>k</sup>.

His next great service was, against *Essex*, in his insurrection in the *February* following. It would be a great deal beside our purpose, to enter into a long detail of that perplexed affair. Let it suffice then, that we observe, after a due comparison of what contemporary writers have left us of this matter, that lord *Essex* was his own enemy, and that he brought sir *Walter's* name upon the carpet, to screen his own designs. He gave out, that the cause of his arming was to defend himself against his personal enemies, pretending that *Cobham* and *Raleigh* had contrived a scheme to assassinate him: whereas sir *Christopher Blount* had in truth made a proposal of this sort to *Essex*, with respect to *Raleigh*; and when this was judged impracticable, advised the propagating the other story to colour their proceedings, as himself confessed. When the mischief broke out, sir *Walter* did his duty, and no more than his duty. Some, indeed, have reported, that, after the earl of *Essex* was condemned, he pressed the queen to sign a warrant for his execution; and that he shewed a particular pleasure in beholding his death: which however, is not strictly true; for though he had placed himself near the scaffold, before the earl appeared, yet he removed from thence before his death, because the people seemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light: but this he afterwards repented; because when the earl came to die, he expressed a great desire to have seen and spoke to him,

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<sup>k</sup> Life of sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, 126, — 130.

from a foresight of which, sir *Walter Raleigh* had taken that post. When sir *Christopher Blount* came to die, he actually begged sir *Walter's* pardon, and confessed the wrong that had been done him, in the reports spread to inflame the populace. Yet it is certain, that even this confession did not quash such reports; but from this time forward, *Raleigh* had more enemies than ever; and, which was worse, the queen's successor was prejudiced against him, by such accounts as were transmitted to him in *Scotland*<sup>1</sup>.

It is not at all impossible, that those artful statesmen, who had so much address, as to make the populace then, and by employing the pen of a learned historian, the world in general now believe, they were seconds only in these quarrels, and *Essex* and *Raleigh* principals, hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other; by inflaming *Essex* against *Raleigh* first, which induced him to write in his prejudice to king *James*, with whom, by the hands of Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, he kept a constant correspondence, and after bringing him to the block, allowing the truth of those informations, that they might run no hazard (in a new reign) from sir *Walter Raleigh's* abilities. The conjecture is render'd probable enough from the whole thread of the relation, nor would it be a very hard task to prove it was really so from incontestible authorities. So easy it is in courts, for malice and cunning to get the better of courage and sense.

In the summer of the year 1601, he attended the queen in her progress, and on the arrival of the duke *de Biron*, as ambassador from *France*, he received him, by

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 133. — 132.

her majesty's appointment, and conferred with him on the subject of his embassy. In the last parliament of the queen, sir *Walter* was a very active member, and distinguished himself upon all occasions, by opposing such bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppression of the meaner sort of people; such as that for compelling every man to till a third part of his ground, and others of a like nature. Nor was he less ready to countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders; where it was evident, that private interest clashed with public benefit, and there was a necessity of hurting some, for the sake of doing good to all. This shews that he had a just notion of popularity, and knew how to distinguish between discerning and desiring it. An instance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the restraining the exportation of ordnance, which at that time, was of mighty advantage to such as were concerned in that commerce, but of inexpressible detriment to the nation; because it was the source of the enemy's power at sea, the *Spanish* navy making use of none but *English* cannon.

In the point of monopolies, indeed he was not altogether so clear; but he shewed that he made a moderate use of the grants he had obtained from the crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to surrender his freely<sup>m</sup>.

UPON the demise of queen *Elizabeth*, sir *Walter* was not without hopes of coming into favour with her successor, whose countenance he had sought by various presents, and other testimonies of respect, which he sent into *Scotland*, and from the reception they met with, had no reason

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<sup>m</sup> Heyward Townshend's Collections, and sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journal of queen Elizabeth's parliaments.

reason at all to suspect that he stood upon ill terms with king *James* <sup>a</sup>. He was not ignorant, however, of the pains taken by *Essex*, to infuse into the king's mind, prejudices against him, which, however, he thought to wear out by assiduous service. On the king's coming into *England*, he had, notwithstanding common reports, frequent access to him, and thereby an opportunity of discovering both his desire and his capacity of serving his majesty. But he quickly found himself coolly treated, nor was he long at a loss for the reason. Sir *Robert Cecil*, who had been his friend and associate, so long as they were both in danger from *Essex*, foreseeing that, if ever *Raleigh* came into king *James*'s confidence, his administration would not last long, drew such a character of him to that prince, as he thought most likely to disgust him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that *Raleigh* was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarrass him with his neighbours°. Sir *Walter*, in return for this good office, did him another; for he drew up a memorial, wherein he shewed plainly, that the affection of the *Cecil*s for his majesty, was not the effect of choice, but of force; that in reality, it was chiefly through the intrigues of one of that family, his mother lost her head, and that they never thought of promoting his succession, till they saw it would take place in spite of them<sup>p</sup>. This memorial was far from having the effects he expected; nor indeed

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<sup>a</sup> Dr. Peter Heylyn's *Examen. Historicum*, p. 170. A brief relation of sir Walter Raleigh's troubles, p. 1. <sup>o</sup> Baker's *Chronicle*, Osborne's *Memorials* of the reign of king James, &c. <sup>p</sup> See Dr. Welwood's notes on Arthur Wilson's history of king James, as it is printed in Dr. Kennet's complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 663, 664.

would he have expected them, if he had known king *James* thoroughly. That timorous prince saw the power of *Cecil* at that time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting that it was the effects of his own favour, and so became dependant upon him, as he afterwards was upon *Buckingham*, whom, for many years before his death, he trusted, but did not love<sup>9</sup>. This, with his aversion to all martial enterprizes, engaged him to turn a deaf ear to sir *Walter's* proposals; and perhaps to do more than this, if we are so just to *Cecil*, as to suppose that he did not afterwards persecute *Raleigh* without a cause, I mean without personal offence given to him. However it was, *Raleigh* had the mortification to see himself, notwithstanding the pains he had taken, slighted and ill used at court: and this might probably determine him to keep company with some who were in the same situation, and who were his intimate acquaintance before; which, however, proved his ruin<sup>1</sup>.

AMONG these companions of his was lord *Cobham*, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune, over whom *Raleigh* had a great ascendant, and with whom he lived in constant correspondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much discontented, had an intercourse with various sorts of people, and talked to each in such a stile as he thought would be most agreeable to them. In the reign of queen *Elizabeth* he had conferred with the duke of *Arenberg*, a *Flemish* nobleman in the king of *Spain's* service, and who was now in *England* as ambassador from

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<sup>9</sup> See the earl of Bristol's answer to the articles of high-treason, exhibited against him in parliament, printed in Frankland's *Annals of king James*, and king *Charles*, p. 127, 128, 129. See Mr. Oldys's life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 152, 153.

from the arch-duke; but in truth, with a view to negotiate a peace with *Spain*. With him *Cobham* renewed his acquaintance, and in his name proposed giving sir *Walter* a large sum of money, if instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace\*. In the mean time, some popish priests, and other disaffected and disappointed persons, had framed a plot against the king and royal family, which was to be executed by seizing, if not destroying his majesty and his children, and with some of these people *Cobham* also had an intercourse, by the means of his brother Mr. *Brooke*. This last treason being discovered, and traced to the person we have just mentioned, there grew a suspicion of *Cobham*, and in consequence of his intimacy with *Raleigh*, there arose some doubts also as to him. Upon this, they were all apprehended, and *Cobham*, who was a timorous man, was drawn in to charge sir *Walter* with several things in his confession†. The enemies of *Raleigh* contrived to blend these treasons together, though they, or at least *Cecil*, knew them to be distinct things; and so he states them in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, wherein he shews his dislike to sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his sense at the same time of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in proof, was made up in force and fraud. The priests, *Watson* and *Clerk*, were first tried and convicted; so was Mr. *George Brooke*, who had been their associate: and on the seventeenth of *November* 1603, sir *Walter Raleigh* was tried at *Winchester*, and convicted of high-treason, by the influence of the court, and the bawling

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\* Arraignment of sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 97.  
 † See the whole proceedings in the first volume of *State Trials*.

† See the



ling *Billingsgate* eloquence of the attorney-general *Coke*, without any colour of evidence<sup>u</sup>. This is that treason which was so justly slighted in his days, and which has so much perplexed ours.

THAT there was really no truth in what was alledged against sir *Walter*, may be proved to a demonstration, if we consider, that all the evidence that was ever pretended, in relation to his knowledge of the surprizing treason, or plot to seize the king and his family, was the hearsay testimony of *George Brooke*, that his brother *Cobham* should say, *That it would never be well, until the fox and cubbs were taken off*; and afterwards, speaking to this *Brooke*, that he, lord *Grey*, and others were only on the bye, but *Raleigh* and himself were on the main; intimating, that they were only trusted with lesser matters, but that the capital scheme, before-mentioned, was concerted between him and sir *Walter*<sup>v</sup>. Yet when *Brooke* came to die, as he did deservedly, upon his own confession, he recalled and retracted this circumstance, owning, that he never heard his brother make use of that phrase *about the fox and cubbs*<sup>x</sup>, which takes away consequently the credit of that other story grounded upon it: and this we have upon the best authority that can be, that of lord *Cecil*, afterwards earl of *Salisbury*, himself, who commends *Brooke* for shewing this remorse in his last moments<sup>y</sup>. Thus out of his capital enemy's mouth I have proved the innocence of sir *Walter Raleigh*, who constantly and judiciously

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<sup>u</sup> Lord *Cecil*'s letter to Mr. *Winwood*, in *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 8; *Life of sir Walter Raleigh* by Mr. *Oldys*, p. 157.

<sup>v</sup> See sir *Thomas Overbury*'s copy of sir *Walter*'s arraignment, p. 12.

<sup>x</sup> *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 8.

<sup>y</sup> In the before-cited letter of lord *Cecil* to Mr. *Winwood*.

diciouſly at his trial, diſtinguiſhed between *the ſurprizing treaſon* and the *conferences with Aremberg*. The former he denied the leaſt knowledge of; but as to the latter, owned that *Cobham* had talked to him of a large preſent, in caſe he would be for a peace with *Spain*, and complained of the hardſhip of dying, *for having once heard a vain man ſay a few idle things* <sup>2</sup>.

THOUGH the law made no diſtinction between ſir *Walter Raleigh* and the reſt, who were involved in this treaſon, yet the king made a great deal, for he never ſigned any warrant for his execution <sup>a</sup>; but on the contrary, projected that ſtrange tragi-comedy of bringing the two lords *Cobham* and *Grey*, with ſir *Griffin Markham*, to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to diſcover the truth of what *Cobham* had alledged againſt *Raleigh*, and what might be drawn by the fright of death from the other two <sup>b</sup>. As all this brought forth nothing, the king laid aſide all thoughts of taking away his life; and if *Raleigh* laboured ſome time under an uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the malice of his potent adverſaries, than to any ill intention in the king, of which I diſcern no ſigns, and of the contrary to which ſir *Walter* himſelf in his letters, ſeems to be poſitive <sup>c</sup>. Neither do I ſay this with any view of excuſing king *James*, but purely out of reſpect to truth, and that it may appear how dangerous a thing it is to live under a prince, who ſuffers himſelf to be abſolutely directed by his miniſters; ſince not only the vices of ſuch a monarch are deſtructive, but even his virtues become uſeleſs.

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<sup>2</sup> Arraignment of ſir Walter Raleigh, p. 101, 106. <sup>a</sup> Stowe's Annals, p. 831. <sup>b</sup> Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 110. <sup>c</sup> Raleigh's Remains, p. 192.



IN the month of *December*, *Raleigh* was remanded to the *Tower*, and upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the consolation of her company, and by degrees obtained still greater favours; for the king was pleased to grant all the goods and chattels, forfeited to him by sir *Walter's* conviction, to trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of his lady and children <sup>d</sup>. In a reasonable space, his estate followed his goods; and now he began to conceive himself in a fair way of being restored to that condition from which he had fallen. In this, however, he was much mistaken, for a new court-favourite arising, who had a mind to enrich himself by such kind of grants, he discovered a flaw in the conveyance of *Raleigh's* estate to his son, which, being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to *Raleigh*. Upon an information in the court of *Exchequer*, judgment was given for the crown, and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favourite, who in 1609, had a compleat grant of all that sir *Walter* had forfeited <sup>e</sup>. This courtier was sir *Robert Carr*, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of *Somerset*, to whom sir *Walter* wrote an excellent letter, wherein he stated the hardship of his own case without bitterness, expostulated freely, and yet inoffensively, about the wrong done him, and entreated the favourite's compassion, without any unbecoming condescension <sup>f</sup>. All this, however, signified nothing; sir *Walter* lost his estate, but not his hopes.

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<sup>d</sup> Rymer's *foedera*, tom. xvi. p. 596.

<sup>e</sup> A brief relation of sir *Walter Raleigh's* troubles, p. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Printed from a MS. in

Mr. *Oldys's* life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 165.

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HE spent a great part of his confinement in writing that noble and immortal monument of his parts and learning; *The History of the World*; wherein he has shewn that he consulted the wise rule of *Horace*, and fixed upon such a subject as suited with his genius, and under which, if we may guess from former and subsequent attempts, any genius but his must have sunk. He likewise devoted a part of his time to chemistry, to rational and useful chemistry, wherein he was no less successful, discovering that noble medicine in malignant fevers, which bears the name of his *Cordial*, though I think it is now doubtful, whether the true receipt of it be preserved or not<sup>s</sup>. Besides these, he turned his thoughts on various other subjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of sir *Walter Raleigh*. Of these treatises many are printed; some are still preserved in MS. and not a few, I doubt, are lost. The patron of his studies was prince *Henry*, the glory of the house of *Stuart*, the darling of the *British* nation while he lived, and the object of its sincere and universal lamentation, by his untimely death. After his demise, sir *Walter* depended chiefly upon the queen, in whom he found a true and steady protectress, while the earl of *Somerset's* power lasted, whose hate was chiefly detrimental to *Raleigh*; for the king trusted him now, as he had *Salisbury* before, with implicit confidence, even after he had lost his affection: but he, by an intemperate use of his authority, having rendered him-

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<sup>s</sup> See an excellent and copious account of his writings in the life before-cited. Dr. Quincy, in his dispensary, p. 445, 446. of the eleventh edition, seems to undervalue this medicine, chiefly on account of the number of ingredients; but Mr. Oldys shews, in his life of sir *Walter*, p. 169, that great liberties have been taken with this receipt, and the number of ingredients heightened by physicians.

self obnoxious to the law, sir *Walter* saw him his companion in the *Tower*, and his estates, by that favourite's forfeiture, once more in the hands of the crown <sup>b</sup>. His enemy thus out of the court, sir *Walter* was able to obtain the favour he had been long seeking, which was after thirteen years confinement, to get out of the *Tower*; not to lead a lazy and indolent life in retirement, for which, though cruelly spoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable provision; but to spend the latter part of his days, as he had spent the first, in the pursuit of honour, and in the service of his country; or, as he himself has with great dignity expressed it in a letter to secretary *Wintwood*, by whose interest chiefly this favour was obtained, *To die for the KING, and not by the KING, is all the ambition I have in the world* <sup>1</sup>.

THE scheme he had now at heart, was his old one, of settling *Guiana*; a scheme worthy of him, and which, as he first wisely contrived, so he as constantly prosecuted. We have seen how many voyages he encouraged thither in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, when considering the many great employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwise occupied; and, indeed, so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly persuaded, and that too upon the best evidence in the world, his own eye-sight and judgment, that this was the richest country in the world, and the worthiest of being settled, for the benefit of *Britain*. This persuasion was so strong upon him, that during his confinement, he held a constant intercourse with *Guiana*, sending at his own charge, every

<sup>b</sup> Prince Henry endeavoured to obtain it for him. At last sir *Walter* had 8000 l. for it, as he tells us in his apology, p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> *Raleigh's remains*, p. 164.

every year, or every second year, a ship, to keep the *Indians* in hopes of his performing the promise he had made them of coming to their assistance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the *Spaniards*, who now encroached upon them again. In these ships were brought over several natives of that country, with whom sir *Walter* conversed in the *Tower*, and from whom, questionless, he received the clearest, and most distinct intelligence of the situation and richness of the mines, that he could possibly desire <sup>k</sup>. Upon these informations, he offered the scheme, for prosecuting his discovery to the court; three years before he undertook it in person; nor was there then any doubt, either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulness, notwithstanding the peace made with *Spain*; otherwise the king would not have made such grants as he did, even at that time: which shews that he was then convinced sir *Walter* had in his first voyage discovered, and taken possession of that country for the crown of *England*; and that consequently, his subjects were justly entitled to any benefits that might accrue from this discovery, without the least respect had to the pretensions of the *Spaniards* <sup>l</sup>. It may also deserve our notice, that at the time sir *Walter* first moved the court upon this subject, the *Spanish* match was not thought of: but the wants of king *James* were then very pressing, and he may reasonably be presumed to have at this time placed as great hopes in this discovery, as he did in that match; though when he came to idolize this project afterwards, he grew somewhat out of conceit with sir *Walter's*; so that if he had pleased,

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<sup>k</sup> Raleigh's apology, p. 52, 55.  
ago to Guiana, 4to. 1613.

<sup>l</sup> See Hartcourt's voy-

pleased, he might, for 700*l.* have had an ample pardon, and leave to relinquish his voyage: but he remaining firm to his purpose, and the king feeling his necessities daily increase, was yet willing that he should proceed in his enterprise, in hopes of profiting thereby, without losing the prospect he then had of concluding the *Spanish* match. Such was the situation of sir *Walter*, and such the disposition of the court, when he obtained leave to execute his design, and was empowered by a royal commission (but at the expence of himself and his friends) to settle *Guiana* <sup>m</sup>.

It has been a great dispute, amongst writers too of some eminence, what sort of a commission that was, with which sir *Walter* was trusted. According to some, it should have been under the great seal of *England*, and directed, to our trusty and well-beloved sir *Walter Raleigh*, knight<sup>n</sup>; according to others, and indeed, according to the account given by king *James* himself, it was under the privy seal, and without those expressions of trust or grace<sup>o</sup>. To end this dispute, I have consulted the most authentic collection we have of public instruments, and there I find a large commission to sir *Walter Raleigh*, which agrees with that in the declaration<sup>p</sup>, and is dated the 26th of *August*, in the 14th year of the king's reign over *England*, and over *Scotland* the 50th. It is likewise said to be, *per breve de privato Sigillo*; yet I think, that it is not impossible it might pass both seals, and I apprehend the conjecture is warranted by

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<sup>m</sup> Camden's annals of king *James*, A. D. 1615, 1617. <sup>n</sup> C. C. Ke's detection of the four last reigns, p. 85. Rapin's history of *England*, and Tindal's notes. <sup>o</sup> See a declaration of the demeanour and carriage of sir *Walter Raleigh*, knt. as well in his voyage. &c. 4to. 1618, p. 4. <sup>p</sup> Rymer's *foedera*, tom. xvi. p. 789.

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## Sir WALTER RALEGH. 81

by an expression in one of *sir Walter's* letters <sup>4</sup>. However, the commission was certainly a legal commission, and though the formal expressions of grace and trust are omitted, yet the powers granted him are very extensive in themselves, and as strongly drawn as words can express; so that *sir Walter*, had all the reason imaginable, to conceive, that this patent implied a pardon. By one clause, he is constituted general and commander in chief in this enterprize. By another, he is appointed governor of the new country he is to settle; and this, with ample authority. By a third, he has a power rarely intrusted with our admirals now, that of exercising martial law, in such a manner, as the king's lieutenant-general by sea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of *England* had. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive, that when this commission was granted, *sir Walter Raleigh* was looked upon as a condemned man; or that the lords of the privy council, or the lord privy-seal, could think it reasonable, for the king to grant such full power over the lives of others, to one who had but a precarious title to his own; and therefore, I think, that *sir Francis Bacon's* opinion, when *sir Walter* consulted him, whether it would not be adviseable for him to give a round sum of money, for a pardon in common form, answered like an honest man, and a sound lawyer: *sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money: spare your Purse, in this particular, for upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal, made you ADMIRAL, your FLEET, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers* <sup>5</sup>.

VOL. II.

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<sup>4</sup> Oldys's life of *sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 193.  
 ters, vol. ii. p. 371.

<sup>5</sup> *Hower's* let-



IT is now time for us to enquire what force this gentleman had, when he sailed upon this expedition; for it appears clearly by the king's commission, that the whole expence of the undertaking, was to be defrayed by him and his friends: which shews, how sincere sir *Walter* must have been in this matter, especially if we consider, that he vested his whole fortune therein, and even prevailed upon his wife to sell her estate at *Mitcham*, for the promoting this design; in the issue of which, he interested also all his friends; and how extensive his influence in this kind, was, the following list of his fleet will sufficiently inform us. First then, was the admiral, a fine, new, stout ship, built by *Raleigh* himself, called, *The Destiny*, of the Burden of 440 tons, and carrying 36 pieces of cannon. On board it were sir *Walter Raleigh* general, and his son *Walter* captain, besides 200 men, whereof 80 were gentlemen-voluntiers and adventurers, most of them sir *Walter's* relations; which number was afterwards encreased. Second, *The Jason of London*, 240 tons, and 25 pieces of ordnance, captain *John Pennington* vice-admiral, 80 men, one gentleman and no more. Third, *The Encounter*, 160 tons, 17 pieces of ordnance, *Edward Hastings* captain [no man more, except the master, mentioned] but he dying in the *Indies*, was succeeded in the command by captain *Whitney*. Fourth, *The Thunder*, 150 tons, 20 pieces of ordnance, sir *Warham Sentleger* captain, 6 gentlemen, 60 soldiers, and 10 land-men. Fifth, *The Flying Joan*, 120 tons, 14 pieces of ordnance, *John Chidley* captain, 25 men. Sixth, *The Southampton*, 80 tons, 6 pieces of ordnance, *John Bayly* captain, 25 mariners, 2 gentlemen. Seventh, *The Page*, a pinace, 25 tons, 3 rabnets of brass, *James Barker* captain, 8 sailors. But before *Raleigh* left the coast of *England*, he was joined by as many ships more; so that

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his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides his own ship. And though we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it; that one ship, named *The Convertine*, was commanded by captain *Keymis*; another, called *The Confidence*, was under the charge of captain *Woolaston*; there was a shallop, named *The Flying Hart*, under sir *John Ferne*; two fly-boats, under captain *Samuel King*, and captain *Robert Smith*; and a *Caravel*, with perhaps another, named *The Chudley*, besides\*.

WITH part of this fleet, sir *Walter* sailed from the *Thames* on the 28th of *March*, 1617; but it was the month of *July*, before he left *Plymouth*, with his whole fleet: after which, he was forced to put into *Cork*, through stress of weather, and remained there till the 19th of *August*. On the 6th of *September*, he made the *Canaries*, where he obtained some refreshments, and an ample certificate from the governor, that he had behaved with great justice and equity. Thence he proceeded to *Guiana*, where he arrived in the beginning of *November*. He was received with the utmost joy by the *Indians*, who not only rendered him all the service that could be expected from them, but would have persuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the sovereignty of their country; which, however, he refused. His extreme sickness hindered him from undertaking the discovery of the mine in person, and obliged him to intrust that important service to captain *Keymis*. For this purpose, he ordered, on the 4th of *December*, five small ships to sail into the river *Orenoque*; aboard these five vessels, were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by captain *Parker*.

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the second by captain *North*, the third by Mr. *Ralegh*, the fourth by captain *Prideux*, the fifth by captain *Chidley*<sup>1</sup>; *Keymis*, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the mine with only eight persons, which sir *Walter* thought too great a hazard, and therefore wrote him the following letter.

“ *KEYMIS*, whereas you were resolved, after your  
 “ arrival into the *Orenoque*, to pass to the mine with my  
 “ cousin *Herbert* and six musqueteers, and to that end,  
 “ desired to have Sir *John Ferne*’s shallop; I do not allow  
 “ of that course, because you cannot land so secretly, but  
 “ that some *Indians* on the river-side may discover you,  
 “ who giving knowledge thereof to the *Spaniards*, you may  
 “ be cut off before you recover your boat. I therefore  
 “ advise you to suffer the captains and companies of the  
 “ *English* to pass up westward of the mountain *Aio*, from  
 “ whence you have no less than three miles to the mine,  
 “ and to encamp between the *Spanish* town and you, if  
 “ there is any town near it; that being so secured, you  
 “ may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds,  
 “ or whether or no it will answer our hopes. And if you  
 “ find it royal, and the *Spaniards* begin to war upon you,  
 “ then let the serjeant-major repel them, if it is in his  
 “ power, and drive them as far as he can: but if you find  
 “ the mine is not so rich as to persuade the holding of it,  
 “ and it requires a second supply, then shall you bring  
 “ but a basket or two, to satisfy his majesty that my  
 “ design was not imaginary, but true, though not an-  
 “ swerable to his majesty’s expectation; for the quantity  
 “ of which I never gave assurance, nor could. On the  
 “ other side, if you shall find any great number of sol-  
 “ diers

<sup>1</sup> Raleigh’s apology for his voyage to Guiana, p. 26. O.

“ diers are newly sent into the *Orenoque*, as the  
 “ *Cassique* of *Caliana* told us there were, and that  
 “ the passages are already enforced, so as without  
 “ manifest peril of my son, yourself, and the other  
 “ captains, you cannot pass towards the mine; then be  
 “ well advised how you land, for I know (that a few  
 “ gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have;  
 “ and I would not, for all the world, receive a blow  
 “ from the *Spaniards* to the dishonour of the nation.”

IN obedience to this order, captain *Keymis* landed his men in the night, somewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They presently found, the *Spaniards* had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They shot at the *English* both with their great and small arms, and the *Spaniards* being the aggressors, the *English* landed, drove them to the town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Mr. *Raleigh*, the general's son, was killed in the action; he himself staid at *Trinidado*, with the other ships, resolving rather to burn, than yield, had the *Spanish Armada* attacked him. Captain *Keymis* made up the river with his vessels; but in most places near the mine, he could not get within a mile of the shore, the river was so shallow; and where they could have made a descent, volleys of musket shot came from the woods on their boats, and *Keymis* did not proceed to the mine, saying in his excuse, that the *English* could not defend *St. Thomas*, the town they had taken; that the passages to the mine were thick and impassible woods, and that supposing they had discovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For these reasons he concluded

concluded it was best not to open it all. The *Spaniards* themselves had several gold and silver mines near the town, which were useless for want of negroes<sup>w</sup>. At *Keymis's* return, *Raleigh* told him, he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the king, past recovery: which reproach affected him so deeply, that he went into his cabin, from whence, soon after, the report of a pistol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and asking whether he knew whence it proceeded, he said, he fired it himself, because it had been long charged. About two hours after, he was found dead with a great deal of blood under him; and upon search it was discovered, he had first shot himself, and the wound not proving mortal, he had thrust a knife after the ball<sup>x</sup>. Sir *Walter*, when he heard his son was slain, said, that he mattered not the losing of a hundred men, so his reputation had been saved. He was afraid of incurring the king's displeasure, and with grief and sickness brought very low in his health. He is blamed for not going up the river himself, which his indisposition would not suffer him to do. Nine weeks was *Keymis* searching the river, all which time his master staid at *Punta de Gallo*, nearer death than life: yet the misfortunes and disappointments he met with, did not alter his resolution of returning home, though several of his men were for landing and settling themselves at *Newfoundland*; others were for going to *Holland*; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to *England*, happen what would: so rather like a prisoner than general,

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<sup>w</sup> See *Raleigh's* letter to his lady in his remains, p. 178. See also his apology, and *Camden's* annals of the reign of King *James*.

<sup>x</sup> See *Raleigh's* apology, p. 39. and *Howel's* letters.

he arrived with his leaky ships, first at *King'sale*, in *Ireland*, and then at *Plymouth* <sup>1</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after his coming to *Ireland*, a proclamation issued, setting forth the King's disapprobation of Sir *Walter's* conduct, and requiring such as were acquainted with any particulars, relating either to his scheme, or to his practices, should give information of them to the council. This proclamation was dated the 11th of *June*<sup>2</sup>, and though it pretends to refer to Sir *Walter's* commission, yet it plainly mentions, things, which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the month of *July*, Sir *Walter* landed at *Plymouth*, and hearing of this proclamation, resolved to surrender himself; but as he was on the road to *London*<sup>3</sup>, he was met by Sir *Lewis Stucley*, vice-admiral of *Devonshire*, and his own kinsman, whom the court had made choice of to bring him up a prisoner<sup>4</sup>. This man appears to have acted very deceitfully, for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a design Sir *Walter* had framed for making his escape, and when he had so done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir *Walter*, that he meant to convey himself to *France*, and had actually entered into some unjustifiable correspondence with the *French* king; but in reality all that Sir *Walter* intended was to have gone back again to *Guiana*, in order to efface the memory of his late miscarriage,

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<sup>1</sup> Raleigh's apology, and king James declaration. <sup>2</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xvii. p. 92. <sup>3</sup> See captain King's narrative a MS. quoted by Mr. Oloys. <sup>4</sup> Stucley's petition and information, touching his own behaviour in the charge of bringing up Sir *Walter* Raleigh, 4to. 1618. Camden's annals of king James, A. D. 1618.

by a happier undertaking<sup>c</sup>. On his second apprehension, he was carried to the *Tower*, from whence it was already settled he should never be released but by death. It was the earl's interest of the *Spanish* court, by their instrument count *Goniemar*, produced this heat in the *English* councils<sup>d</sup>, and yet if we strictly consider the matter, we shall find that the violence with which the *Spanish* court drove this prosecution, is one of the strongest proofs that can be alleged in favour of sir *Walter's* scheme; for if *Guiana* was a place of no consequence, why were they so uneasy about it? If sir *Walter* had been no more than a projector, who sought to restore his own broken fortunes by fleecing other people, as the calumny of those times suggested, why was he not let alone? The more expeditions he made, the more clearly his folly would have appeared, and the greater advantage the *Spaniards* would have reaped from its appearance; because it would have discountenanced all succeeding projects: but by thus contriving to murder him, they must, in the opinion of every impartial judge, raise the credit of his project, though they might fright people at that time from carrying it into execution. In short, the *Spaniards* knew what sir *Walter's* friends believed; the latter confided in him, the former were positive as he was; because they knew by experience, that *Guiana* was rich in gold, and that, if it was once thoroughly settled by the *English*, there would be an end of their empire in the *West-Indies*<sup>e</sup>. But to return to sir *Walter*.

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<sup>c</sup> See sir *Walter Raleigh's* dying-speech. <sup>d</sup> For this the reader may find numerous authorities in *Oldys's* life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 210.

<sup>e</sup> This I have great reason to say, having consulted many of the *Spanish* writers while I was composing the short history of *SPANISH AMERICA*. *Francis Co-*

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IT was not easy, though his death was already decreed, to take his life. His conduct in his late expedition, how criminal soever in the eyes of the court, was far from being so in the sight of the nation; and, though judges could have been found who might pronounce it felony or treason, yet at that time of day, it was not easy to meet with a jury, who, taking this upon trust, would find him guilty. The commissioners, therefore, who had been appointed to enquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from what had passed in this late expedition<sup>f</sup>. Upon this, it was resolved to call him down to judgment upon his former sentence, which was accordingly done, with all the circumstances of iniquity and brutality that can well be conceived. He was taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and so brought to the bar of the court of *King's-Bench*, where sir *Henry Montague*, the chief justice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded, what he had to offer why execution should not be awarded? To this sir *Walter* pleaded his commission, which was immediately overruled: next he would have justified his conduct  
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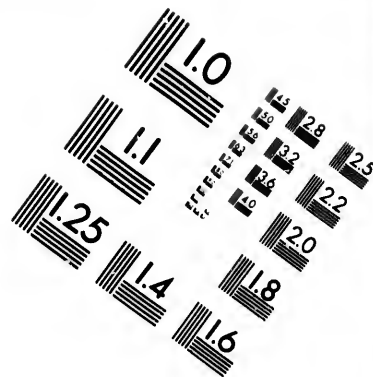
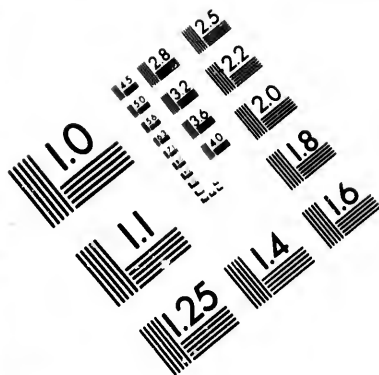
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real, one of the best and latest Spanish travellers, acknowledges this country to be very rich; and in the map printed with his travels, the place is marked where the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa are supposed to be; and in the French translation printed at Amsterdam in 1722. Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Guiana is added as a necessary supplement. Also in Sanfon's map, the lake of Parima and the city of Manoa are both visible; so that if what is reported of them be fabulous, yet the opinion is not hitherto exploded. In some De Lisle's Maps they are mentioned, for I have consulted several, and what is more, there are several mines marked in this country, of which the Spaniards are still suspiciously careful.

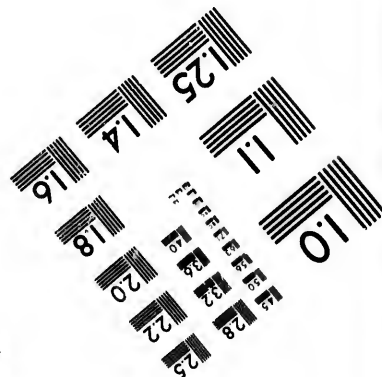
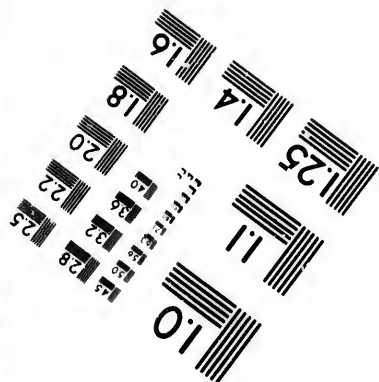
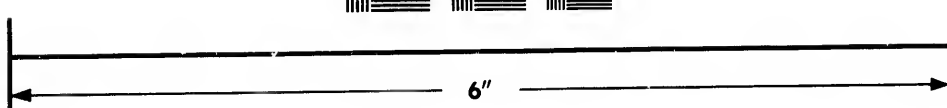
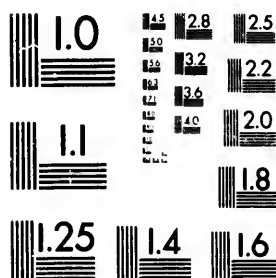
<sup>f</sup> Howell's letters, vol. ii. p. 374.







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in *Guiana*, but that the court would not hear; and so execution was awarded, and the king's warrant for it produced, which had been signed and sealed before-hand<sup>2</sup>. That this judgment was illegal, and that sir *Walter* was really murdered, has been often said, and I believe seldom doubted; but I think it has not been made so plain a sit might be, and therefore, in gratitude to his memory I will attempt it, by shewing, that the judgment was absolutely illegal, as well as it was manifestly iniquitous.

It is a maxim in our law, that *The king can do no wrong*; and most certain it is, that no king can do *legal wrong*, that is to say, can employ the law to unjust purposes. Sir *Walter Raleigh* after his conviction was *dead in law*, and therefore, if king *James's* commission to him had not the virtue of a *pardon*, what was it? Did it empower a *dead man* to *act*, and not only to *act*, but to have a power over the lives and estates of the *living*? It either conveyed *authority*, or it *did not*. If it did *convey authority*, then sir *Walter* was capable of *receiving it*; that is, he was no longer *dead in law*, or, in other words, he was *pardoned*. If it conveyed *no authority*, then this was an *act of legal wrong*. I cannot help the blunder; the absurdity is in the thing, and not in my expression. A commission under the *privy*, if not under the *great seal*, granted by the king, with the *advice* of his *council*, to a *dead man*; or, to put it otherwise, a *lawful commission* given to a man *dead in law*, is *nonsense* not to be endured; and therefore to avoid this, we must conceive as sir *Francis Bacon*, and every other lawyer did, that the commission included a *pardon*. Indeed the same thing may  
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<sup>2</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xvii. p. 115.

be made out in much fewer words. *Grace* is not so strong a mark of *royal favour* as *trust*; and therefore, where the latter appears, the law ought, and indeed does, *presume* the former. This judgment, therefore, did not only murder sir *Walter Ralegh*, but in this instance *subverted* the constitution, and ought to be looked upon, not only as an act of the basest prostitution, but as the most flagrant violation of justice that ever was committed.

As the method of bringing him to his death, was violent and unjust, so the manner was hasty and inhuman. The very next day, being *Thursday* the 29th of *October*, and the lord-mayor's day, sir *Walter* was carried by the sheriffs of *Middlesex*, to suffer in the *Old-Palace-Yard*. We have many accounts of his death, and particularly one written by doctor *Robert Tounson*, then dean of *Westminster*, afterwards bishop of *Salisbury*, who assisted him in his last moments <sup>h</sup>. He tells us, that he had such a contempt of death, as surprized this divine, who expostulated with him thereupon. Sir *Walter* told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much less then, for which he blessed god; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet for himself, he had rather die so, than in a burning fever. That this was the effect of christian courage: he convinced the doctor himself, *and I think*, says he, *all the spectators at his death*. He said nothing as to the old plot, but justified himself fully as to what had been

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<sup>h</sup> This account is contained in a letter from dean Tounson, to sir John Ilham of Lamport in Northamptonshire, dated Westminster-college, Nov. 9, 1618, which is still preserved in the family. The dean says, a very particular account of all that passed at sir *Walter's* death, was written by one Mr. Craford, and designed for the press; himself, having read and approved it; but whether this ever was published, I cannot say.

lately objected against him. The doctor having put him in mind of the earl of *Essex*, he said, that lord was taken off by a trick; which he told the doctor privately, but is not set down by him. Sir *Walter* eat his breakfast heartily that morning, smoked his pipe, and made no more of death, says my author, than if he had been to take a journey<sup>1</sup>. On the scaffold he conversed freely with some of the nobility, who were there to see him die; justified himself clearly from all imputations, and like a man of true honour, vindicated his loyalty, even to that pusillanimous prince, who thus sacrificed him to the *Spaniards*<sup>k</sup>. Dean *Tounson* observes, that every body gave credit to what sir *Walter* said at his death, which rendered sir *Lewis Stucley*, and the *Frenchman* who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was caught in *Whitehall*, clipping the gold bestowed upon him for this infamous act, tried and condemned for it, and having stripped himself to his shirt, to raise wherewith to purchase a pardon, he went to hide himself in the island of *Lundy*, where he died, both mad and a beggar, in less than two years after sir *Walter Raleigh*<sup>l</sup>.

THIS end had our illustrious hero, when he had lived sixty-six years<sup>m</sup>. We have insisted too long upon his life, to

<sup>1</sup> See an account of his death at the end of sir Thomas Overbury's arraignment of sir Walter Raleigh, as also joined to his remains; but the particulars above-mentioned, are in dean Tounson's account.

<sup>k</sup> The most accurate copy of this speech, is in Mr. Oldys's life of sir Walter Raleigh, p. 228. <sup>l</sup> Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 94. Frankland's annals of king James and king Charles I. p. 32. Howel's letters, vol. ii. p. 372. Camden's annals of king James, A. D. 1620 <sup>m</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 539, &c. Camden's annals, A. D. 1618.

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to be under any necessity of dwelling upon his character, of which he who would frame a right opinion, must consider attentively his actions and his writings. He raised himself to honour while living, and has secured an endless reputation after death, by a series of noble and generous achievements, he acted in very different capacities, and excelled in all. He distinguished himself as a soldier by his courage, by his conduct as a commander; a bold sailor, a hearty friend to seamen, and yet no admiral maintained better discipline; a wise statesman, a profound scholar, a learned and withal a practical philosopher. In regard to his private life, a beneficent master, a kind husband, an affectionate father, and in respect to the world, a warm friend, a pleasant companion, and a fine gentleman. In a word, he may be truly stiled the *English Xenophon*; for no man of his age, did things more worthy of being recorded, and no man was more able to record them than himself; insomuch, that we may say of him, as *Scaliger* did of *Cæsar*, that he fought, and wrote, with the same inimitable spirit. And thus I take my leave of one, whom it is impossible to praise enough.

As to the other seamen of note in this reign, they are either such as have been already spoken of, or, living also in the next, may more regularly be mentioned there. I shall, therefore, conclude this chapter with observing, that the death of sir *Walter Ralegh* was so distasteful an act to the whole nation, that the court, to wipe off the odium, thought proper to publish a declaration<sup>a</sup>, wherein, as it pretended, the true motives and real causes of his death were

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<sup>a</sup> A declaration of the demeanour of sir *Walter Ralegh*, knt. 4to. 1618.



were contained. But this piece was so far from answering the end for which it was sent abroad, that it really served to justify sir *Walter*, even beyond his own apology °. After this, king *James* granted a new commission for settling *Guiana*, which shews his absolute sense of our having a right to it <sup>P</sup>, and demonstrates also the falshood of that report, that sir *Walter* devised his settlement of *Guiana* only to repair his losses through his imprisonment. In other cases, the king was kind enough to such as projected discoveries and settlements; but taking all things in the lights his several favourites set them, he was sometimes dilatory, and always unsteady. As to *Buckingham's* management, within whose province, as lord high-admiral, these things principally lay, we shall be obliged to treat of it in the next chapter, to which it is time we should proceed.

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° Francis Osborne's traditional memoirs of king *James*. P. About a year after sir *Walter's* death, king *James* granted a commission to captain *Roger North*, to settle a colony in *Guiana*, Mr. *Oldys's* life of sir *Walter Raleigh*, p. 223.

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## C H A P. II.

*The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN, under the reign of Charles I. comprehending an account of our naval expeditions against the French and Spaniards, our differences with the Dutch about the right of fishing, and our dominion over the British sea; the progress of trade and navigation, settling colonies, and other maritime transactions within that compass of time; together with an account of the eminent seamen who flourished therein.*

PON the demise of king *James*, his only son *Charles* prince of *Wales* succeeded him, not only quietly, but with the general approbation of his subjects <sup>a</sup>. He was in the flower of his age, had shewn himself a person of great abilities, and after the breaking of the *Spanish* match, had rendered himself for a time very popular by his conduct <sup>b</sup>. His father left him much incumbered at the time of his decease; for the government was deeply in debt, a war with *Spain* was just begun, and his prime minister, I mean the duke of *Buckingham*, who had been likewise his father's, was generally

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<sup>a</sup> Frankland's annals, p. 107. Clarendon, Whitlock, Warwick, Welwood. <sup>b</sup> Frankland's annals, p. 93.

rally hated <sup>c</sup>. In this situation, every thing was subject to wrong constructions. Eight thousand men, raised for the service of the *Palatinate*, were ordered to rendezvous at *Plymouth*, and in their passage thither, coat and conduct-money, were demanded of the country, to be repaid out of the *Exchequer*. The behaviour of these troops was very licentious, and the long continuance of peace, made it appear still a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high, and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commission for executing martial law, which, instead of being considered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance, more heavy than any of the rest <sup>d</sup>. The truth was, that while *Buckingham* remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him, and the nation so prejudiced against him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him, was held a grievance; and though no man saw this more clearly than the king, yet by an infatuation, not easily to be accounted for, he trusted him too much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

THE king's marriage with the princess *Henrietta-Maria*, daughter to *Henry IV.* of *France*, had been concluded in the life-time of king *James*, and after his decease, the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of *June*, 1625, *Buckingham* went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to *Dover*; from thence she went to *Canterbury*, where the marriage was consummated; and on the 16th of the same month, their majesties entered *London* privately, the plague daily encreasing

<sup>c</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 14.  
Frankland, Clarendon, &c.

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encreasing in the suburbs\*. It was not long before an unfortunate transaction rendered this marriage disagreeable to the nation, and as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we shall handle the more at large, because in most of our general histories, it is treated very confusedly.

THE marquis d'Effiat, ambassador from *France*, to king *James*, had represented to his majesty, that the power of the catholic king in *Italy* was dangerous to all *Europe*; that his master was equally inclined with his *Britannic* majesty, to pull it down; but wanting a sufficient maritime force, was desirous of borrowing from his majesty a few ships, to enable him to execute the design he had formed against *Genoa*. To this the king condescended, and it was agreed, that the great *Neptune*, a man of war, commanded by sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, and six merchant-ships, each of between 3 and 400 tons burden, should be lent to the *French*; but soon after this agreement, the *Rochellers* made an application here, signifying, that they had just grounds to apprehend, that this *English* squadron would be employed for destroying the protestant interest in *France*, instead of pulling down the king of *Spain's* power in *Italy*. The duke of *Buckingham* knowing that this would be little relished by captain *Pennington*, who was to go admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ships, he gave them private instructions, contrary to the public contract with *France*, whereby they were directed not to serve against *Rochelle*; but upon their coming into a *French* port, in the month of *May*, they were told by

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\* Stowe's Annals, continued by Edmond Howes, p. 1041. Frankland's Annals, p. 108. Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 4.

the duke of *Montmorency*, that they were intended to serve, and should serve against *Rochelle*; upon which, the sailors on board the fleet, signed, what is called by them, a *round Robin*, that is, a paper containing their resolution not to engage in that service, with their names subscribed in a circle, that it might not be discerned who signed first. *Pennington* upon this, fairly sailed away with the whole squadron, and returned into the *Downs* in the beginning of *July*, from whence he sent a letter to the duke of *Buckingham*, desiring to be excused from that service. The duke, without acquainting the king, or consulting the council, directed lord *Conway*, then secretary of state, to write a letter to captain *Pennington*, commanding him to put all the ships into the hands of the *French*. This, however, not taking effect, the duke surreptitiously, and without the king's knowing any thing of the design upon *Rochelle*, procured his letter to captain *Pennington*, to the same effect. Upon this, in the month of *August*, he sailed a second time to *Diep*, where according to his instructions, the merchants ships were delivered to the *French*; but sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, who commanded the king's ship, weighed anchor, and put to sea: and so honest were all the seamen on board these ships, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to *England*; but as for the ships, they remained with the *French*, and were actually made use of against *Rochelle*, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high dishonour of the nation. This affair made a great noise, and came at last to form an article in an impeachment against the duke of *Buckingham* <sup>f</sup>.

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<sup>f</sup> Frankland's Annals, p. 156. Kenner's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 6. See also capt. John Pennington's letter to the

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IN the mean time the design went on of invading *Spain*, and a stout fleet was provided for that purpose; but as *Buckingham*, in quality of lord high-admiral, had the supreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not so much displeased at its miscarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and those, who by his procurement, were intrusted with the command of the fleet, and the forces on board it. The whole of this transaction has been very differently related, according to the humours of those who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs remaining, and from these I shall give as concise and impartial a detail of the whole affair as I can, which will shew how dangerous a thing it is, for princes to employ persons generally disagreeable to their subjects, an error by which they transfer the resentment attending their miscarriages upon themselves.

THE war with *Spain* was chiefly of the duke of *Buckingham's* procuring, and seems to have proceeded more from his personal distaste to count *Olivarez*, than any solid or honourable motive; however, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been prosecuted, because, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it visibly served his own particular purposes, yet without question, the nation had been grievously injured

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the duke of *Buckingham*, from on board the *Vanguard* in the Downs, July 27, 1625, in the *Cabala*, p. 350. But the most distinct account is to be gathered out of the seventh and eighth articles of the impeachment exhibited against the duke of *Buckingham* by the house of commons, in 1626, and the speech of Mr. *Glanvill*, on the said articles. <sup>2</sup> *Frankland's Annals*, p. 114. *Rushworth*, Sir *William Monson's Naval Tracts*, Kennet, *Rapin*.

by the *Spaniards*, and there were therefore sufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power, and our alliance with the *Dutch*, gave us, as well as the weakness of the enemy, and their firm persuasion, that whatever we might pretend, we should not actually commit hostilities. But, though it was his own war, though he had engaged the king to prosecute it with much heat, to draw together a great fleet, and a considerable body of forces, which were to embark on board it; yet when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of going to sea, the duke declined the command, and resolved to send another person in his stead, which was of very ill consequence to the whole design <sup>h</sup>.

SIR *Edward Cecil*, grandson to the great lord *Burleigh*, was the person made choice of for this command; an old soldier, it is true, but no seaman, and therefore not at all qualified for the supreme direction of such an undertaking <sup>i</sup>. The earls of *Essex* and *Denbigh* were appointed his vice and rear-admirals; and that he might be the fitter to command men of such quality, he was created baron of *Putney*, and viscount *Wimbleton*, and had likewise the rank given him of lord marshal <sup>k</sup>. It was thought strange, that though there wanted not many able seamen, such as sir *Robert Mansel*, sir *William Monson*, and others, yet none of them were intrusted, but merely such as were in the duke's favour, which was both an unreasonable and an impolitic thing. The force employed was very considerable

<sup>h</sup> Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 196. Kennet's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 12, 13. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 15. Baker, Welwood, Rapin. <sup>i</sup> Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 140. <sup>k</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 12.



derable, viz. eighty ships, *English* and *Dutch*, and ten good regiments; neither was it improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the king and his ministry. The *Spanish* plate-fleet was then returning home with above a million on board; and if they had gone to *Tercera*, they must infallibly have been masters of them, and by the destruction of fifty or sixty galleons, had disabled the maritime power of *Spain*, for at least a century. But the fleet did not sail till *October*, and then they went upon no settled scheme, but all was left to the discretion of men, who in reality were no fit judges of such matters, and besides, were in point of opinion divided among themselves<sup>1</sup>.

THE general sailed from *Plymouth* the seventh of *October*, 1625; but when the fleet was got some leagues to sea, their ships were separated by a storm, so that they were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off cape *Vincent*. On the 19th of *October*, a council was held, wherein it was resolved to attack *Cadiz*, which accordingly they did on the 22d of *October*. My lord *Effex* stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies; these he bravely attacked, but for want of proper orders, and due assistance, the *Spanish* ships were suffered to retire to *Port-Real*, whither the lord marshal did not think fit to follow them. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the fort of *Puntall* was taken;

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<sup>1</sup> See a copious account of the motives to, and miscarriages in this voyage, by sir William Monson in his *Naval Tracts*.

after which, they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town. The soldiers unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to re-imbark their forces, and then it was concluded to cruize off cape *St. Vincent*, for the *Flota*. There the men grew sickly, and by the strangest management that ever was heard of, that is, distributing the sick, under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ship, the whole fleet was infected, and that to such a degree, as scarce left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of *December*, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour themselves<sup>m</sup>; all which was foreseen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left *England*. On their return, a charge was exhibited against the general, by the earl of *Essex*, and nine other officers of distinction; lord *Wimbleton* justified himself in a long answer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate that want of experience and unanimity, proved the ruin of this expedition<sup>n</sup>. These proceedings increased the people's discontents, exposed the duke if possible to still greater odium, and lessened the reputation

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<sup>m</sup> See the several accounts of this voyage in the authors before cited. <sup>n</sup> Both the officers charge, and lord *Wimbleton's* answer are printed in *Lediard's Naval History*. The reader who shall compare these with sir *William Monson's* reflections on this lord's conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir *William* arraigns him for calling councils when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him.

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putation of our naval force, which quickly produced numerous inconveniences.

WHILE the clamour still subsisted on the want of success attending this fleet abroad, the duke of *Buckingham* fell into another error, in the execution of his office as lord high-admiral. He was vexed at the noise that had been made about the merchant-ships put into the hands of the *French*, and employed against *Rochelle* °, and therefore took occasion in the latter end of the year, 1626, to cause a *French* ship, called the *St. Peter* of *Havre de Grace*, to be arrested. The pretence was, that it was laden with *Spanish* effects; which, however, the *French* denied, and asserted, that all the goods in the ship belonged to *French* merchants, or to *English* and *Dutch* ♀. Upon this a commission was granted to hear evidence as to that point, and it appearing plainly, there was no just ground of seizure, the ship was ordered to be; and at last was released, but not before the *French* king made some reprisals, which so irritated the nation, that this also was made an article in the duke's impeachment\*. The matter, however, was comprized between the two kings, and the good correspondence between their subjects for a time restored; but at the bottom, there was no cordial reconciliation: and so this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again with worse symptoms than before †.

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° Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this distaste of the duke towards the *French*. He says, that cardinal Richlieu duped the Dutch and *English*, both, by pretending to execute a very feasible scheme, for preventing the Spaniards sending any supplies into Germany, and under that pretence, procuring their ships, and then using them against the Rochellers. ♀ Kenner's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 28. \* It is the fifth article of the impeachment; and the duke, in his answer drawn by sir Nicholas Hide, justifies himself very plausibly. † Rushworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.

THE war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the restitution of the *Palatinate* to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with *Denmark*, which obliged him to send a squadron of ships to that king's assistance; and this being attended with little success, he was called upon for further supplies. His parliament all this time were little inclined to assist him, because he would not part with *Buckingham*; and this obliged him to have recourse to such methods for supply, as his lawyers told him were justifiable. Amongst the rest, he obliged the sea-ports to furnish him with ships: of the city of *London* he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion. The inhabitants thought this so hard, that many who had no immediate dependance on trade, were for quitting their residence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct of theirs made the burden still more intollerable upon those who staid behind, and the consequence of their remonstrances was a proclamation, requiring such as had quitted the sea-coast, to return immediately to their former dwellings: and this it was gave rise to the first disturbances in this unfortunate reign<sup>r</sup>. They were quickly increased by the rash management of *Buckingham*, who, though he saw his master so deeply embarrassed with the wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with *France*, very precipitately, and against all the rules of true policy.

THE queen's *French* servants, who were all bigotted papists, had not only acted indiscreetly in matters relating to their religion; but had likewise drawn the queen to  
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<sup>r</sup> Kennet's compleat History of England.

take some very wrong, indeed some ridiculous and extravagant steps; upon which *Buckingham* engaged his majesty to dismiss her *French* servants, which he did the first of *July* 1626, and then sent the lord *Carleton* to represent his reasons, for taking so quick a measure to the *French* king. That prince refused him audience, and to shew his sense of the thing, immediately seized one hundred and twenty of our ships which were in his ports, and undertook the siege of *Rochelle*; though our king had acted but a little before, as a mediator between him and his protestant subjects. Upon this, the latter applied themselves to king *Charles*, who ordered a fleet of thirty sail to be equipped for their relief, and sent it under the command of the earl of *Denbigh*: but this being so late in the year as the month of *October*, his lordship found it impracticable to execute his commission, and so after continuing some time at sea in hard weather, returned into port, which not only disappointed the king's intention, but also blemished his reputation; for the *Rochellers* began to suspect the sincerity of this design, and whether he really intended to assist them or not<sup>s</sup>. The duke of *Buckingham*, to put the thing out of dispute, caused a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of seven thousand men to be put on board it, resolving to go himself as admiral and commander in chief. He sailed from *Portsmouth* the twenty-seventh of *June*, and landed on the island of *Rhee*; though at first he intended to have made a descent on *Oleron*, and actually promised so much to the duke of *Soubize*, whom he sent to *Rochelle*, to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their

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<sup>s</sup> Rushworth, Frankland, Rapin.

their relief. They received this message coldly; for the *French* king having corrupted some by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power, the *Rochellers* were now afraid to receive the very succours they had demanded<sup>1</sup>.

THE duke landed his troops on the last of *July*, not without strong opposition from Mr. *de Tournay*, the *French* governor, whom he forced to retire, though with some loss. Upon this occasion the *English* fell into the same errors in conduct, which they had committed in the *Gadix* expedition. The fort of *la pré*, which covered the landing-place, they neglected, though the *French* themselves in their fright had slighted it, so that it might have been taken without any trouble, and was a place of so great consequence, that if it had been in the hands of the *English* it would have prevented the *French* from introducing any supplies. At first, it is certain, the *French* court was exceedingly alarmed, and it is said, the king fell sick upon it; but their terrors quickly wore off, when they were informed that the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and withal, too much pride to take advice. The town of *St. Martin's* was quickly taken by the *English*, and his grace then invested the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in managing the siege. At first, he quartered his troops about the place without entrenching, which at last, however, he was forced to do; then he entered into conferences with the governor, and refusing to communicate the substance of them to his officers, discouraged his own people, and enabled the *French* to deceive him by a sham treaty; during which the fort received a supply. By this time the  
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<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Granville's Journal, p. 5.

*Rochellers* had declared for the *English*, their confidence being as unseasonable for themselves, as their suspicions had been before for the *English*; for this declaration of theirs, and the expectation he had of succours from *England*, which were to be sent him under the command of the earl of *Holland*, engaged *Buckingham* to remain so long in his camp, that his troops were much diminished. At length, on the sixth of *November*, he made a general assault, when it appeared, that the place was inaccessible, at least to forces under such circumstances as his were. Two days after, he resolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made in the sight of an enemy as strong in foot, and more numerous in horse than themselves, over a narrow causeway with salt-pits on each side: yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or so much as throwing up a retrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage; whereby the army was so much exposed, that abundance of brave men were killed, which the best accounts now extant sum up thus: fifty officers, two thousand common soldiers, and thirty-five volunteers of note. With equal shame and loss therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the ninth of the same month, and sending the poor *Rochellers* a promise, that he would come again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To complete his misfortune, as he entered *Plymouth*, he met the earl of *Holland* with the promised succours sailing out, who now returned with him. There never was a more fatal undertaking than this. It was highly prejudicial to the crown, and entirely ruined the duke. The merchants were discouraged from carrying on trade by impressing their ships; and



and the king was so little in a condition to pay the seamen, that they came in crowds, and clamoured at *Whitehall* <sup>u</sup>.

To remedy these evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there passed nothing but disputes between the king and the commons; so that at last it was prorogued without granting supplies. The king, however, exerted himself to the utmost, in preparing a naval force to make good, what the duke of *Buckingham* had promised to the inhabitants of *Rochelle*. With this view a fleet of fifty sail was assembled at *Plymouth* in the spring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of *Denbigh*, who was brother-in-law to *Buckingham*, and who sailed from that port on the seventeenth of *April*, coming to anchor in the road of *Rochelle* on the first of *May*. On his arrival, he found twenty sail of the *French* king's ships rising before the harbour, and being much superior in number and strength, he sent advice into the town, that he would sink the *French* ships as soon as the wind came west, and made a higher flood. About the eighth of *May*, the wind and tide served accordingly, and the *Rochellers* expected and solicited for that season of deliverance. But the earl, without embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor, and sailed away, suffering four of the *French* ships to pursue, as it were, the *English* fleet, which arrived at *Plymouth* on the twenty-sixth of *May*. This second inglorious expedition was still a greater discouragement to the poor *Rochellers*, and encreased the fears and jealousies of a popish interest,

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<sup>u</sup> Sir Richard Granville's Journal, Frankland's Annals, Rushworth's Collections, Whitlock's Memorials, Warwick's Memorials

interest at home. One *Le Brun* a *Frenchman*, captain in the *English* fleet, gave in depolitions before the mayor of *Plymouth* on the sixteenth of *May*, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of *Plymouth*, and the burgessees of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table, from whence a letter was directed to the duke of *Buckingham* as lord high-admiral, dated the thirtieth of *May* 1628, to signify his majesty's pleasure, that the earl of *Denbigh* should return back to relieve the town of *Rochelle*, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ships prepared at *Portsmouth* and *Plymouth*. But, notwithstanding this order of council, no such return was made, nor any enquiry into the obstruction of it<sup>w</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING these repeated defeats, the cries, of the *Rochellers*, and the clamours of the people were so loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now by a close siege, reduced to the last extremity. The duke of *Buckingham* chose to command in person, and to that end came to *Portsmouth*; where, on the twenty-third of *August*, having been at breakfast with *Soubize*, and the general officers, *John Felton* (late lieutenant of a regiment of foot, under sir *John Ramsay*) placed himself in an entry, through which the duke was to pass, who walking with sir *Thomas Frier*, and inclining his ear to him in a posture of attention, *Felton* with a back-blow stabbed him on the left side into the very heart, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke pulled out with his own

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<sup>w</sup> Kennet's History of England, p. 48. Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, Frankland's Annals.

own hand, and then fell down, saying only, *the villain hath killed me!* Felton slipt away, and might have gone off undiscovered; but that either his conscience, or insolence betrayed him. For while the general rumour was, that the murderer must be a *Frenchman*, and some began to suspect *Soubize* as a party in it; *Felton* stepped out and said, *I am the man who did the deed: let no man suffer that is innocent.* Upon which he was apprehended, and sent prisoner to *London*.

THIS accident did not prevent the king's prosecuting his design, the very next day his majesty made the earl of *Lindsey* admiral; *Moreton* and *Mountjoy*, vice and rear-admirals; and, as an illustrious foreign writer assures us, his care and presence had such an effect in preparing for this voyage, that more was dispatched now, in ten or twelve days, than in many weeks before \*; which is a demonstrative proof of two things, of which many of our writers of history have affected to doubt, *viz.* that the king was hearty in his design, and that the *Rochellers* were convinced of it. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet sailed the eighth of *September* 1628, and arriving before *Rochelle*, found the boom raised to block up the entrance of the port, so strong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain, so that the *Rochellers* were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually surrendered the place on the eighteenth of *October*, the *English* fleet looking on, but not being able to help them; and, to complete

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\* Duke of Rohan's memoirs, p. 188. He was the chief of the Huguenots, and here on the spot; therefore least likely to be deceived himself, or to deceive others.

pleat their misfortunes, the very night after the city was given up, the sea made such a breach, as would have opened an entrance for the largest ship in the *English* fleet <sup>y</sup>. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with *France*, though a peace was not made till the succeeding year <sup>z</sup>.

FROM this time, the *French* began to affect a maritime power, and to be extremely uneasy at the growth of the *English* Shipping. This was the effect of cardinal *Richlieu*'s politics, who best understood the different interests of the several *European* powers, and how to manage them, so as to make them subservient to the ends of *France*, of any minister that nation ever had<sup>r</sup> or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of *Christendom*, ever will have. He brought in the *Swedes*, to destroy the power of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*, and had address enough to engage us to assist in that design, upon the plausible pretence of favouring the protestant interest <sup>a</sup>. Then his agents in *Holland* drew that state into a jealousy of our dominion over the narrow seas, our claim to the sole right of fishing, or permitting to fish in them, and expecting the honour of the flag, at a considerable distance from our own shores. After these notions had been a while the subjects of common discourse among the *Dutch*, the famous *Hugo Grotius* was induced to write a treatise under the title of *Mare liberum*, wherein, with great learning and eloquence, he endeavoured to shew the weakness of our title to dominion over the sea; which according to his notion, was a gift from god, common

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<sup>y</sup> Frankland's annals, p. . Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 49. Warwick's memoirs. <sup>z</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 53. <sup>a</sup> This matter is very fairly stated by sir Philip Warwick, in memoirs, p. 57.

mon to all nations <sup>b</sup>. This was answered by *Selden*, in his famous treatise, entitled, *Mare clausum*, wherein he has effectually demonstrated from the principles of the law of nature, and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired, from the most authentic histories, that such a dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by several nations. and submitted to by others for their common benefit; that this in fact was the case of the inhabitants of this island, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a dominion, which had been confessed by their neighbours, frequently, and in the most solemn manner <sup>c</sup>. All this, with learning, industry, and judgment superior to praise, this great man hath fully and unquestionably made out for the satisfaction of foreigners, as it is the design of this work (if I may be allowed to mention it in the same page with Mr. *Selden's*) to impress the same sentiment on the minds of all sensible *Britons*, viz. "that they have an hereditary, uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of their seas, conveyed to them from their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity." This book of Mr. *Selden's* was published in 1634, and by the countenance then, and afterwards, shewn by king *Charles* towards this extraordinary performance, we may fairly conclude, that he had very just and generous notions of his own, and his people's rights in this respect, though he was very unfortunate in taking such methods as he did to support them <sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> The title of this book runs thus, *Mare liberum; seu, de Jure quod Batavis competit ad indica Commercia: Lug. Bat. Elzevir.* 1609. 8vo. reprinted about this time. <sup>c</sup> *Selden's* title is short and plain, *Mare clausum; seu, de Dominio Maris, lib. 2. Londini, 1635. fol.* <sup>d</sup> See Clarendon, Rushworth, Frankland, Whitlock, Warwick.

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THE *French* minister persisted steadily in his scheme of using the power and industry of the *Dutch*, to interrupt the trade, and lessen the maritime force of *Britain*. With this view also, a negotiation was begun between that crown and the states of *Holland*, for dividing the *Spanish Netherlands* between them; and under colour of thus assisting them, in support of their pretensions to an equal right over the sea, and in promoting their trade, to the prejudice of ours: *Richlieu* carried on secretly and securely his darling project of raising a naval force in *France*, to further which, he spared not either for pains or expence, procuring from all parts the ablest persons in all arts and sciences relating to navigation, and fixing them in the *French* service by great encouragements. Our king formed a just idea of his design, and saw thoroughly into its consequences, which he endeavoured to prevent, by publishing proclamations for restraining shipwrights, and other artificers, from entering into foreign service; for asserting his title to the sovereignty of the sea, and for regulating the manner of wearing flags at sea \*. If to these precautions, he had joined a reasonable condescension to the temper of his subjects, in dismissing from his service, such as were obnoxious to them, either through their actions, or behaviour, and had thereby fixed them, and their representatives firmly in his interest, without doubt, he had gained his point, and carried the glory of this nation higher than any of his predecessors. But his want of skill in the art of gaining the affections of the people, and, to speak without reserve, that want of *true public spirit* in some who were now esteemed patriots by the people, prevented the effects of the king's lau-

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\* Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 74.



dable intentions, and turned what he meant for a cordial, into a corrosive poison. I am far from affecting an allegorical stile; but there are some things of so nice a nature, and the tempers of men are in some seasons so strangely turned, that it is not either expedient for them to hear, or for the historian to tell even truth too bluntly. Yet it is equally dangerous, on the other hand, for one who undertakes such a task as this, to be afraid of delivering his sentiments freely, even supposing his fears to flow from an apprehension of injuring, what he thinks it his duty to recommend. Under a strong sense therefore, of what in one respect it becomes me to say, for the service of my country, and what in regard to the opinions of very great men, who have thought in another way, it is unfit for me to shew my self positive; I come now to speak of ship money, a subject equally tender a hundred years ago, and at present <sup>f</sup>.

THE apprehensions which the king had entertained of this new league between the *French* and *Dutch*, were so heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of those two powers, and the intelligence he had, that *France* was shortly to declare war against *Spain*, and from thence to derive that occasion they had been so long seeking to divide the *Netherlands*, between themselves and their new allies, all whose pretensions, in respect to the right of fishing in, and using the seas, they had undertaken to support, that he resolved to be no longer passive <sup>g</sup>. In order to defeat this design, and maintain the sovereignty annexed to the *English* crown, as well as the nation's credit, as a maritime power, the king saw that it was necessary to equip

<sup>f</sup> Compare our modern histories with those written near those times. <sup>g</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 289. Frankland's annals, p. 468.



quip and put to sea a superior naval force. This it seemed hard to do, without the assistance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids had been so great in former parliaments, that his majesty was very doubtful of succeeding, if for this he trusted to a parliamentary supply. His lawyers, knowing both the nature of the case, and his distress, suggested to him, that upon this occasion, he might have recourse to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved of by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be issued, for the levying of ship-money. These writs were, for the present, directed to sea-ports, and such places as were near the coast, requiring them to furnish a certain number of ships, or to grant the king an aid equivalent thereto. The city of *London* was directed to provide seven ships for twenty-six days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation the more easy under this tax, the king directed, that the money raised thereby, should be kept apart in the *Exchequer*, and that a distinct account should be given of the services to which it was applied. But in spite of these precautions, the people murmured grievously; which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution <sup>b</sup>. But as our neighbours were likely to be as much alarmed from the equipping of so strong a fleet, as our people were disturbed at home by the method taken to defray the expence of it: secretary *Coke*, by the king's orders, wrote a letter to sir *William Boswell*, then charged with his majesty's affairs at the *Hague*, in order fully to explain what that fleet was to perform, which

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<sup>b</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. Sir William Monson's naval tract. Whitlock's memorial, &c.

letter, for the honour of those times, shall be inserted here, and is as follows,

SIR,

**B**Y your letters, and otherwise, I perceive many jealousies and discourses are raised upon the preparations of his majesty's fleet, which is now in such forwardness, that we doubt not, but within this month, it will appear at sea. It is therefore expedient, both for your satisfaction and direction, to inform you particularly, what was the occasion, and what is his majesty's intention in this work.

FIRST, we hold it a principle not to be denied, that the king of *Great Britain*, is a monarch at land and sea, to the full extent of his dominions; and that it concerneth him, as much to maintain his sovereignty in all the *British* seas, as within his three kingdoms; because, without that, these cannot be kept safe, nor he preserve his honour, and due respect with other nations. But commanding the seas, he may cause his neighbours, and all countries, to stand upon their guard, whensoever he thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted, that whosoever will encroach upon him by sea, will do it by land also, when they see their time. To such presumption, *Mare liberum* gave the first warning piece, which must be answered with a defence of *Mare clausum*, not so much by discourses, as by the louder language of a powerful navy, to be better understood, when over-strained patience seeth no hope of preserving her right by other means.

THE degrees by which his majesty's dominion at sea hath of later years been first impeached, and then questioned, are as considerable as notorious.

FIRST,

FIRST, to cherish, and as it were, to nurse up our unthankful neighbours, we gave them leave to gather wealth and strength upon our coasts, in our ports, by our trade, and by our people. Then they were glad to invite our merchants residence, with what privileges they could desire. Then they offered to us, even the sovereignty of their estates, and then they sued for licence to fish upon the coasts, and obtained it, under the great seal of *Scotland*, which now they suppress. And when thus by leave, or by connivance, they had possessed themselves of our fishing, not only in *Scotland*, but in *Ireland* and in *England*, and by our staple, had raised a great stock of trade, by these means, they so encreased their shipping and power at sea, that now they endure not to be kept at any distance: nay, they are grown to that confidence, to keep guards upon our seas, and then to project an office and company of assurance, for the advancement of trade, and withal, prohibit us free commerce, even within our seas, and take our ships and goods, if we conform not to their placarts. What insolencies and cruelties they have committed against us heretofore, in *Iceland*, in *Greenland*, and in the *Indies*, is too well known to all the world. In all which, tho' our sufferings, and their wrong, may seem forgotten, yet the great interest of his majesty's honour, is still the same, and will refresh their memories, as there shall be cause. For though charity must remit wrongs done to private men, yet the reflection upon the public, may make it a greater charity to do justice on crying crimes. All this, notwithstanding, you are not to conceive, that the work of this fleet, is either revenge, or execution of justice for these great offences past, but chiefly for the future, to stop the violent current of that presumption, whereby the men of war and

freebooters of all nations, abusing the favour of his majesty's peaceable and gracious government, whereby he hath permitted all his friends and allies, to make use of his seas and ports, in a reasonable and free manner, and according to his treaties, have taken upon them the boldness, not only to come confidently, at all times, into all his ports and rivers, but to convey their merchant ships as high as his chief city, and then to cast anchor, close upon his magazines, and to contemn the commands of his officers, when they required a farther distance. But, which is more intolerable, have assaulted and taken one another within his majesty's channels, and within his rivers, to the scorn and contempt of his dominion and power, and this being of late years an ordinary practice, which we have endeavoured in vain to reform, by the ways of justice and treaties; the world, I think, will now be satisfied, that we have reason to look about us. And no wise man will doubt, that it is high time to put ourselves in this equipage upon the seas, and not to suffer that stage of action to be taken from us, for want of our appearance.

So you see, the general ground upon which our counsels stand. In particular, you may take notice and publish, as cause requires, that his majesty, by this fleet, intendeth not a rupture with any prince or state, nor to infringe any point of his treaties, but resolveth to continue and maintain that happy peace wherewith god hath blessed his kingdom, and to which all his actions and negotiations have hitherto tended, as by your own instructions you may fully understand. But withal, considering that peace must be maintained by the arm of power, which only keeps down war by keeping up dominion; his majesty thus provoked; finds it necessary, for his own defence and safety, to re-assume

sume and keep his antient and undoubted right in the dominion of these seas, and suffer no other prince or state to encroach upon him, thereby assuming to themselves, or their admirals, any sovereign command, but to force them, to perform due homage to his admirals and ships, and to pay them acknowledgments as in former times they did. He will also set open and protect the free trade both of his subjects and allies, and give them such safe conduct and convoy, as they shall reasonably require. He will suffer no other fleets, or men of war, to keep any guard upon these seas, or there to offer violence, or take prizes, or booties, or to give interruption to any lawful intercourse. In a word, his majesty is resolved, as to do no wrong, so to do justice, both to his subjects and friends, within the limits of his seas. And this is the real and royal design of this fleet, whereof you may give part, as you find occasion, to our good neighbours in those parts, that no umbrage may be taken, of any hostile act or purpose to their prejudice in any kind. So wishing you all health and happiness. I rest.

*Whitehall, April 16th, 1635.*

ONE would imagine, that less care had been taken to satisfy the minds of the people at home, about the real intent of this tax, levied for the equipping of a fleet, sufficient for these necessary purposes, since otherwise, the public welfare seemed to be so nearly concerned, that public acquiescence, at least, might have been expected. But the truth of the matter was, that his majesty did, in this respect, all that was in his power, by directing the lord-keeper *Coventry*, to put the judges in mind, before they went the summer circuit, to satisfy the minds of the people, in rela-

tion to the levying of ship money, which most of them did, but as *Whitlocke* assures us, very ineffectually; though the same author acknowledges that the money was assessed and levied with great care and equality, much beyond what was observed in following taxes.

WITH the help of this money, the king in the month of *May* 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty sail under the command of *Robert* earl of *Lindsey*, who was admiral, sir *William Monson*, vice-admiral, sir *John Pennington*, rear-admiral; as also another of 20 sail, under the earl of *Essex*. The first of these fleets sailed from *Tilbury-Hope* on the 26th of *May*. Their instructions were to give no occasion of hostility, and to suffer nothing which might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The *French* and *Dutch* fleets joined off *Portland*, the last of this month, and made no scruple of giving out, that they intended to assert their own independency, and to question that prerogative which the *English* claimed in the narrow seas; but as soon as they were informed that the *English* fleet was at sea, and in search of them, they quitted our coast, and repaired to their own. Our admiral sent a bark upon the coast of *Britany*, to take a view of them, and from the time of the return of this bark, to the 1st of *October*, this fleet protected our own seas and shores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually asserted that sovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effect of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in some measure, quieted the minds of the people, as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring money



money into the *Exchequer*, without respect had to the end for which it was raised <sup>1</sup>.

THE king, perfectly satisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would signify little if another, and that at least as good a fleet was not set out the next, to raise the money necessary, for equipping such a force, had recourse again to his writs for levying of ship-money; but now the aid was made more extensive. What was before rated as a particular provision, to be raised by the respective ports for their own immediate safety, was now converted into a national tax, and so became the more grievous for want of authority of parliament. The burden indeed in itself was far from being pressing; at the utmost it did not amount to above 236,000*l.* *per annum*, which was not quite 20,000*l.* a month throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an universal aid, and the assessing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, gave it an air of oppression, and made it extremely odious; though the necessity was far from being dissembled, and the benefits resulting from the care taken of the narrow seas, which had afforded matter of enquiry, and expostulation to every parliament the king had called, could not be denied <sup>2</sup>.

IN order to prevent all doubts from his own subjects, and also to prevent any false surmises gaining ground in foreign nations, as to the design of this potent armament, the

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<sup>1</sup> We have a clear and full account of this expedition written by sir William Monson himself, who was an eye-witness, and a proper judge of such matters, in his naval tracts, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Phil. Warwick's memoirs, Frankland's annals, Whitlock's memorial, &c.



the king thought fit to express his royal intentions to the world, in the most public, and in the most authentic manner; that, at one and the same time, it might appear what himself demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his ancestors in regard to those things, as to which these demands were made. That instrument ran thus.

*A proclamation for restraint of fishing upon his majesty's seas and coasts without license.*

“ **W**HEREAS our father of blessed memory, king  
 “ *James*, did in the seventh year of his reign of  
 “ *Great Britain*, set forth a proclamation, touching fish-  
 “ ing; whereby, for the many important reasons therein  
 “ expressed, all persons of what nation or quality soever,  
 “ (being not his natural born subjects) were restrained  
 “ from fishing upon any the coasts and seas of *Great*  
 “ *Britain, Ireland*, and the rest of the isles adjacent;  
 “ where most usually heretofore fishing had been, until  
 “ they had orderly demanded and obtained licenses from  
 “ our said father, or his commissioners in that behalf, up-  
 “ on pain of such chastisement, as should be fit to be in-  
 “ flicted upon such wilful offenders: Since which time,  
 “ albeit, neither our said father, nor ourself, have made  
 “ any considerable execution of the said proclamation, but  
 “ have with much patience expected a voluntary confor-  
 “ mitie of our neighbours and allies, to so just and reasona-  
 “ ble propositions and directions as are contained in the  
 “ same.

“ And now finding by experience, that all the incon-  
 “ vencies which occasioned that proclamation, are rather  
 “ increased than abated: We being very sensible of the  
 “ premises,

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“ premises, and well knowing how far we are obliged in  
“ honour to maintain the rights of our crown; especial-  
“ ly, of so great consequence, have thought it necessary,  
“ by the advice of our privy council, to renew the afore-  
“ said restraint of fishing, upon our aforesaid coasts and seas,  
“ without license first obtained from us, and by these  
“ presents to make public declaration, that our resolutions  
“ is at times convenient, to keep such a competent  
“ strength of shipping upon our seas, as may (by gods  
“ blessing) be sufficient both to hinder such farther en-  
“ croachments upon our regalities, and assist and protect  
“ those our good friends and allies, who shall henceforth  
“ by virtue of our licenses (to be first obtained) endeavour  
“ to take the benefit of fishing upon our coasts and seas  
“ in the places accustomed.

Given at our palace of *Westminster* the tenth day  
of *May*, in the twelfth year of our reign of *England*,  
*Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

In 1636, the king sent a fleet of 60 sail to sea, under  
the command of the earl of *Northumberland* admiral, sir  
*John Pennington* vice-admiral, and sir *Henry Marom* rear-  
admiral. They sailed first to the *Downs*, and from thence  
to the north, where the *Dutch Busses* were fishing upon  
our coast. The admiral required them to forbear, which  
they not seeming disposed to do, he fired upon them; this  
put them into great confusion, and obliged them to have  
recourse to other methods. The *Dutch*, therefore, applied  
themselves to the earl of *Northumberland*, desired him to  
mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on  
with their fishing this year, for which they were content to  
pay 30,000 *l.* and expressed also a willingness to obtain a  
grant from the king, for his permission of their vessels to  
fish

fish there, for the time to come, paying an annual tribute<sup>1</sup>.

Such is the best account that can be collected of the causes and consequences of this expedition, from our best historians. But the earl of *Northumberland* delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, signed with his own hand; which is, or at least was preserved in the paper-office. In that journal, there are several memorable particulars. The *Dutch fishing-busses* upon the appearance of his lordship's fleet, did take licenses, to the number of two hundred, though he arrived amongst them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelve pence per tun, as an acknowledgment, and affirms that they went away well satisfied. It was pretended by the *Dutch* in king *Charles* the second's time, that this was an act of violence, and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown, from that transaction; since the *Dutch* did not pay, because, they thought what was insisted upon to be due; but, because they were defenceless. His lordship's journal sets this pretence entirely aside, since it appeared from thence, that they had a squadron of ten men of war for their protection; as also, that *August* the 20th, 1636, the *Dutch* vice-admiral *Dorp*, came with a fleet of twenty men of war; but instead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he saluted him by lowering his topsails, striking his flag and firing his guns, after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the earl of *Northumberland*. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that upon his lordship's return from the *North*, and anchoring in the *Downs*, he had notice of a *Spanish* fleet of twenty-six sail, bound

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<sup>1</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 81.

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for *Dunkirk*; to reconnoitre which he sent one of the ships of his Squadron, called the *Happy Entrance*, to which single ship, that fleet paid the marks of respect, which were due to the *English* flag whenever it appeared.

THE king meant to have continued both this method of raising money, and of fitting out fleets annually, and by giving several young noblemen commands at sea, to have rendered them the more capable of serving their country in times of greater danger<sup>m</sup>; but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew so dissatisfied with this method of raising money; and the great case of *Mr. Hampden*, made it so clear, that a constant and regular levying of this tax, was dangerous to the constitution, and to the freedom of the subject, that the king was obliged to lay aside this scheme, and to content himself with using all the methods that could be thought of, to awaken the people's attention in regard to the sovereignty of the sea<sup>n</sup>. With this view, his majesty made an order in council, that a copy of *Mr. Selden's* book upon that subject, should be kept in the council-chest, that another copy should be deposited in the court of *Exchequer*, and a third in the court of admiralty, there to remain as perpetual evidence of our just claim to the dominion of the seas<sup>o</sup>. Happy had it been, if the king had at this time called a parliament, and after excusing the manner in which the money was levied, had shewn how well it was applied, how effectually our navigation had been protected, and all the designs of the *French* and *Dutch* defeated; for  
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<sup>m</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 299. Warwick's memoirs, p. 53. <sup>n</sup> Rushworth's collections, Frankland's annals, Clarendon's history, Whitlock's memorials. <sup>o</sup> See the order of council, in Frankland's annals, p. 476.

it may be then presumed, that the parliament, would have provided in a legal manner, for the maintenance of these fleets, which must have been of infinite advantage in respect to the trade of this kingdom.

MR. *D'Estrades*, as he tells us in his negotiation, was sent over in the latter end of the year 1637, with a private commission from the cardinal, to prevail on our king to stand neuter, whilst *France* and *Holland* in conjunction attacked the maritime places of the *Spanish* netherlands; and to offer him at the same time very advantageous conditions in return for his inactivity. King *Charles* answered with equal firmness and prudence, that he could never suffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality so prejudicial to his own honour, and the interest of his kingdom, and that he would keep a fleet in the *Downs*, with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported to the relief of the first town, which should be invested by the arms of the *French* king or the states; and as to the assistance which his eminence had offered to him against any domestic disturbance he thanked him for it; but thought it quite unnecessary, since he depended on his own authority, and the laws of the land for the suppressing and punishing of all such rebellious attempts. The vindictive cardinal no sooner received the account of this conference from his agent, than he resolved to take an immediate revenge, and dispatched without delay to *Edinburgh*, *Abbe Chamber* his almoner, whom he instructed to encourage the covenanters in their design, with the hopes of assistance from *France*, and to improve the correspondence which *D'Estrades* had formed amongst them during his short stay in *England*. This *Abbe* played his part so well, that the prince of *Orange* told monsieur *D'Estrades*, that the cardinal had employed a very notable instrument

instrument in *Scotland*, by whose practices the king's interest in that country was entirely ruined.

NOTHING of consequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639, when the *Spaniards* fitted out a powerful fleet, consisting of sixty-seven sail of large ships, manned with 25,000 seamen, and having on board 12000 land forces, designed for the relief of *Flanders*. The *Dutch* had two or three squadrons at sea, the *Spanish* fleet coming up the channel, was met in the *Streights* of *Dover* by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of *Herbert Van Tromp*, who, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority, attacked them; but finding himself too weak, was obliged to sheer off towards *Dunkirk*, where being joined by the other squadrons, he so roughly handled the *Spanish* fleet, under the command of *Don Antonio de Oquendo*, that at last he forced them on the *English* coast near *Dover*. *Tromp*, finding himself in want of powder and ball, stood away for *Calais*, where he was liberally supplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach the *Spaniards* got within the *South-Foreland*, and put themselves under the protection of our castles. Things being in this situation, the *Spanish* resident importuned king *Charles*, that he would oblige the *Dutch* to forbear hostilities for two tides, that the *Spaniards* might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coast; but the king being in amity with both powers, was resolved to stand neuter: and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired some *English* ships to transport their soldiers to *Dunkirk*, upon complaint made thereof by the *Dutch* ambassadors, strict orders were given, that no ships or vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects, should take any *Spaniard* on board, or pass below *Gravesend* without licence.

HOWEVER,



HOWEVER, after much plotting and counterplotting on both sides, the *Spaniard* at length outwitted his enemy, and found means by a stratagem in the night, to convey away through the *Downs*, round by the *North Sand Head*, and the back of the *Godwin*, twelve large ships to *Dunkirk*, and in them 4000 men. In excuse of this gross neglect of the *Dutch* admirals, in leaving that avenue from the *Downs* unguarded, they affirmed they were assured by the *English*, that no ships of any considerable burden could venture by night to sail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their stations near three weeks, when king *Charles* sent the earl of *Arundel* to the admiral of *Spain*, to desire him to retreat upon the first fair wind; but by this time the *Dutch* fleet was by continual reinforcements from *Zealand* and *Holland*, increased to a hundred sail, and seeming disposed to attack their enemies, sir *John Penington* admiral of his majesty's fleet, who lay in the *Downs* with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the *Dutch* admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties, which should be first attacked. The *Spaniards*, however, growing too presumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after fired some shot at *Van Tromp's* barge, when himself was in her, and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a *Dutch* ship, whose dead body was presently sent on board sir *John Penington*, as a proof that the *Spaniards* were the first aggressors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of *England's* harbour. Soon after this the *Dutch* admiral came to a resolution of attacking the *Spaniards*; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral *Penington*, telling him, that the *Spaniards* having infringed the liberties of the king of *England's* harbour, and become the aggressors, he found himself obliged



to retaliate force with force, and attack them, in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his assistance; which, however, if he should not please to grant, he prayed the favour, that he would at least give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwise he should have just cause of complaint to all the world, of so manifest an injury.

THIS letter being delivered to the *English* admiral, *Van Tromp* bore up to the *Spaniards*, in six divisions, and charged them so furiously with his broad-sides, and his fire-ships, as forced them all to cut their cables, and being fifty-three in number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the *Downs*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore; one of which was a great galleon (the vice-admiral of *Galicia*) commanded by don *Antonio de Castro*, and mounted with fifty-two brass guns. The remainder of the twenty-three which were stranded and deserted by the *Spaniards*, were manned by the *English*, to save them from the *Dutch*. The other thirty *Spanish* ships, with don *Antonio de Oquendo*, the commander in chief, and *López*, admiral of *Portugal*, got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog arising, the *Dutch* took advantage thereof, interposed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the *Admiral* of *Portugal* began to flame, being fired by two *Dutch* ships fitted for that purpose: *Oquendo* perceiving this, presently stood away for *Dunkirk*, with the *Admiral* of that place, and some few ships more; for, of these thirty, five were sunk in the fight, eleven taken and sent into *Holland*; three perished upon the coast of *France*, one near *Dover*, and only ten escaped. The first hostility committed by the

*Spaniards*, was a plea the *Dutch* made use of in their justification to us; and, at the same time a sufficient argument to defend the conduct of the *English* government, which otherwise would have appeared repugnant to the laws of nations, in suffering one friend to destroy another within its chambers <sup>d</sup>.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in reality the people in general were not sorry for this misfortune which befel the *Spaniards*, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it; and the reason was, that some furnished this to be a new *Spanish Armada*, fitted out nominally against the *Dutch*; but in truth, intended to act against heretics in general. At first sight this may appear a wild and extravagant suggestion: but perhaps, the reader will change his opinion, when he is told, that in the next parliament, there really appeared some kind of proof of it; a *papist* book being produced, in which, among other superstitious things, were prayers for the holy martyrs, who perished in the fleet sent against the heretics in *England* <sup>e</sup>. However it was, the bare report undoubtedly was more than sufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their resentments against the *Spaniards*. Some of our own writers have affected to represent the conduct of the *Dutch*, as derogatory on this occasion from our sovereignty of the sea, but foreigners, who are the best judges in such cases, intimate nothing of this kind <sup>f</sup>, though it must be allowed, our affairs were then in such confusion, that it is very doubtful whether his majesty could have properly resented any indignity in case they had offered it.

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<sup>d</sup> Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 281. <sup>e</sup> Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. ii. p. 374. Prynne's *Royal Favourite*, p. 59. *Fiery Jesuits*, a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1667, p. 118.

<sup>f</sup> See Nani's *History of Venice*, book xi. p. 472, 473.

I HAD like to have slipped over, as I think all our writers of naval history have done, the expedition of the marquis of *Hamilton* against the *Scots*, which was undertaken this year; and indeed there is very little in it worth mentioning, except to shew how difficult it is to come at truth in relation to these affairs. Bishop *Burnet*, in his memoirs of the *Hamilton* family, has given us a very plausible account of this matter. He says, the duke embarked at *Yarmouth* about the middle of *April* 1639; that he had with him about 5000 men, among whom there were not above 200 that knew how to fire a gun: but he does not say what number of ships he had, or of what burden; only that the troops were transported in coiliers, and arrived in the *Frith of Forth* the first of *May*. There he continued for some time, treating with the *Scots* to little or no purpose, till the season being lost, he returned without effecting any thing \*. Another gentleman who lived in those times, and seems to have known much of them, gives a quite different detail; which, as it is very short, may not be unworthy of the reader's notice. "*Hamilton* was to be a distinct general both by sea and land, and with a good fleet was to block up the *Scots* seas; nay, to my knowledge, he promised so to visit his countrymen on their coasts, as that they should find little ease or security in their habitations. For he had three good *English* regiments on board him: but the very choice of his ships shewed he had more mind to make war upon the king's treasure, than on his own country or countrymen: for he had chosen some of the

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\* Memoirs of James and William dukes of *Hamilton*, p. 121. 139.

“ second and third rate ; whereas the least frigates would  
 “ have done the greatest service : thus by the very bulk  
 “ of his ships obliging himself to an inactivity. One  
 “ might well have expected that he who had so prodigally,  
 “ as a commissioner, lavished his majesty’s honour,  
 “ and unhinged the government, would have vigorously  
 “ employed those forces under his command to have re-  
 “ stored both, and that a man of his importance, would  
 “ have found some party ready to have countenanced and  
 “ assisted him : but instead thereof, when he comes and  
 “ anchors in the *Frith*, his mother (a violent spirited  
 “ lady, and a deep presbyteress) comes on board him ;  
 “ and surely she had no hard task to charm him. After-  
 “ wards the great ships (like the great formidable log let  
 “ down to be a king) lying still, he had several visits from  
 “ many of the great men, who were most active against  
 “ the king : as if he had been rather returned from an  
 “ *East-India* voyage, than come as a powerful enemy.”

THE fleet was hence forward so entirely out of the king’s power, that I think the naval history of this reign ends properly here : and therefore, having already related, as fairly and impartially as I can, the several expeditions undertaken by his authority, I come now to mention the progress of trade, the increase of shipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the same space.

It appears from sir *William Monson*, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of those times, who were competent judges of these matters, that the commerce of this island increased exceedingly during the first fifteen years of this king’s reign ; insomuch, that the port of *London*

† Sir Philip Warwick’s Memoirs, p. 131, 132.

*don* only could have supplied a hundred sail, capable of being easily converted into men of war, and well furnished with ordnance<sup>i</sup>. The trade to the *East-Indies*, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very considerable, and our ships gave law in those parts to almost all foreign nations. The trade to *Guinea* grew likewise to be of very considerable benefit to the *English* subjects, and our intercourse with *Spain*, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewise<sup>k</sup>. It is true, there happened some considerable disputes between the government and the merchants, about customs, which some of the ministers of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas others conceived, as most of the merchants themselves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied but by the consent of parliament: but these very disputes shew that trade was in a flourishing condition; for if the customs had not risen to a considerable height, beyond what they did in former times, no ministry would have run the hazard of such a contest<sup>l</sup>. But the principal source of our naval strength then, (as it has been ever since) was our plantations, to the encouragement and augmentation of which, even those accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwise fatal to the society; such as our civil and ecclesiastical divisions, which inclined numbers of sober, industrious and thinking people to prefer liberty, and whatever they could

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raise

<sup>i</sup> Naval Tracts, p. 293.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>l</sup> Rushworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Clarendon, Whitlock, &c.

raise in distant and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneasy situation in which they found themselves at home <sup>m</sup>.

THE colony of *Virginia* had struggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleased to take it into his own hands; which he did very soon after his coming to the crown, and then directed the constitution of that colony to be a governor, council, and assembly, conformable to that of this kingdom, and under which the colony quickly began to flourish. But this happy situation of affairs did not last long: sir *John Harvey*, whom the king had made governor, did so many illegal and gross actions, that the colony being at length no longer able to endure him, caused him to be seized and sent home as a prisoner in 1639. This behaviour the king exceedingly resented, and therefore, sent him back to his government without so much as hearing the complaints that were alledged against him. But with a view only to support the dignity of the crown; for very soon after sir *William Berkley* was sent over to succeed him, who proved as good a governor as ever this colony had <sup>n</sup>. That of *New-England* had its name bestowed by his majesty when prince, and was better settled in king *James's* time, than any other of our colonies, and throughout the whole reign of king *Charles* the first, was constantly supplied with large draughts of people; so that by degrees it was divided into four governments, under which it is supposed, there might be near 25,000 inhabitants, whence it will appear, the trade carried

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<sup>m</sup> Mr. Neale in his history of the Puritans observes, that archbishop Laud drove thousands of families to New-England, by the severities he exercised here. <sup>n</sup> The British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372.

ried on between this colony and its mother country, must have been very considerable even in this period °.

THE *Papists* in *England*, finding themselves liable to many severities, and being very apprehensive of more and greater falling upon them, were desirous of having an asylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformists; and this gave rise to the planting of *Maryland*, a country hitherto accounted part of *Virginia*, between 37° and 40° of N. L. which was granted by king *Charles*, the twentieth of *June* 1632, to the ancestor of the present lord *Baltimore*, and derived its name of *Maryland*, from his queen *Henrietta-Maria*. It was more easily, and more successfully planted than any former colony had been, and the hon. Mr. *Leonard Calvert*, brother to the lord proprietor, was the first governor, and continued to exercise his authority, till that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him; and then the parliament sent over a governor of their own °.

THE *Summer-Islands* which were planted in the last reign, and settled under a regular government in the year 1619, flourished exceedingly, the country being extremely pleasant and fruitful, and the air much more wholesome than in any other part of *America* °. As for the island of *Barbadoes*, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of *Carlisle*, who gave such encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and most of those who went became so speedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and, even within this period, was esteemed the most po-

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pulous

° Ibid. p. 79.  
at  
by  
in

° Ibid. p. 323.

° British Empire in Ame-

rica, vol. ii. p. 446.



pulous of all our plantations <sup>r</sup>. The islands of *St. Christopher* and *Nevis* were also settled about this time.

I am now to take notice of such seamen as flourished within the compass of this reign, and have not hitherto been particularly mentioned.

### MEMOIRS of Sir ROBERT MANSEL.

SIR ROBERT MANSEL claims the first place, amongst these, though the memoirs we have of him, are far from being so full as might be wished. He was descended from a very ancient, and now noble family in *Glamorganshire*, being the third son of sir *Edward Mansel*, knt. by his wife the lady *Jane*, daughter to *Henry* earl of *Worcester* <sup>s</sup>. He addicted himself early to the sea, and under the patronage of the famous lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, lord high-admiral of *England*, came to be a considerable officer in the fleet, and in the *Cadiz* expedition, recieved the honour of knighthood from the earl of *Essex* <sup>t</sup>, who thence forward recieved him into his special favour; and in the *Island-voyage* he was captain of the admiral's own ship <sup>u</sup>. Upon his return he adhered to his old patron the earl of *Nottingham*, and so remained in queen *Elizabeth*'s favour during all her reign, in which he was often employed at sea, especially in the defence of the coast, and in this service was remarkably successful <sup>w</sup>. On the accession of king *James* he was continued in his post of vice-admiral, to which he had been raised by the interest of

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>s</sup> Collin's *Peerage of England*, vol. iv. p. 269.

<sup>t</sup> Camden's *Annals*, p. 726.

<sup>u</sup> Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 186.

<sup>w</sup> See Stowe's *Annals*, sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, &c.

of the earl of *Nottingham*, and remained in favour for several years. When the lord high-admiral's enemies had so far alienated his majesty's affections as to procure a commission for reforming abuses in the navy; (which was equally detrimental to his reputation and authority) sir *Robert Mansel* chose rather to adhere to his friend, than to make court at his expence, and with this view advised his lordship not to submit to this commission, for which sir *Robert* was committed prisoner to the *Marshalsea*, and continued there some months, in the year 1613\*. In consequence of this enquiry, many abuses were really discovered and corrected; so that 25,000 *l.* a year were soon after saved to the crown†; from a just sense of which, sir *Robert* advised his patron to resign his high office, perceiving that he began to out-live his abilities, and that his longer continuance therein might be prejudicial both to the public and himself.

To prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the earl of *Nottingham's* resignation, sir *Robert Mansel* applied himself to the duke of *Buckingham*, whom he advised to obtain that office; and when he excused himself on account of his youth and want of experience, told him plainly, why he thought him fittest for the place. He observed, that in time of peace the best service that could be done was to repair the navy, and to rebuild such ships as wanted it; and that by applying himself assiduously to the duty of his office, he might acquire all the knowledge that was necessary, before any war should call him into action. Thus the duke was brought into the office of high

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\* Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 460. † This is affirmed by king James in his speech to his parliament, A. D. 1620, in Frankland's Annals, p. 49.

high-admiral by the persuasion of sir *Robert Mansel*, and upon very just motives: neither was it at all to the prejudice of his old master; for the earl of *Nottingham* had a pension of 1000 *l.* a year, and the duke made a present to the countess of *Nottingham* of 3000 *l.* This transaction happened in 1616, and in consequence thereof, sir *Robert Mansel* was made vice-admiral for life. The duke by advice did another thing, which was very commendable. He procured a commission to be granted to several able and experienced persons for the management of the navy, which had very good effects: nay, there is strong reason to believe, considering the great confusion into which things afterwards fell, that the fleet, if it had not been for this commission, would have been absolutely ruined; whereas, by the help of it, it was so well preserved, that *Buckingham* upon his impeachment acquitted himself better in what related thereto, than in regard to any other article <sup>2</sup>.

In 1620, sir *Robert Mansel* commanded the fleet fitted out against the pyrates of *Algiers*, of which we have given an impartial account in its proper place <sup>3</sup>. However unfortunate he was in the management of that expedition, yet there seems to be no reason to apprehend he was in any great fault. It is admitted, that he advised it from a generous and public-spirited motive, the desire of raising the *English* reputation at sea, and freeing our trade from the insults of these rovers; but it seems he was sent abroad with so limited a commission, and had so many raw and unexperienced officers employed in the fleet through

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<sup>2</sup> See all these facts related, in the duke of Buckingham's answer, to the first article of his impeachment, in Frankland's Annals, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i. p. 29.

## Sir WILLIAM MONSON. 139

through the favour of eminent courtiers, that from these and other cross accidents, he was disabled from performing what he intended, though he did all that was in his power, and is on that account commended by the most knowing writers of those times <sup>b</sup>. This unlucky affair, however, and perhaps his declining in the favour of the duke of *Buckingham*, hindered him from being employed in the reign of king *Charles*; and the very neglect of him is mentioned as one of the errors therein <sup>c</sup>. He continued, notwithstanding, in possession of his office of vice-admiral, and lived till after the breaking out of the civil wars, when he died with the reputation of being a great seaman, and a person of unblemished integrity; leaving, so far as I have been able to learn, no issue <sup>d</sup>.

IN the course of this work, sir *William Monson* has frequently been mentioned as an admiral, and full as often cited as an author; we shall now take occasion to throw together such particulars as relate to him, and which are scattered in a variety of books, in order to preserve, as entire as may be, the memory of so worthy a person, and of the principal actions by him atchieved; some of which he has also left us recorded by his own pen.

## MEMOIRS of Sir WILLIAM MONSON.

THE family of *Monson* has been long settled in *Lincolnshire*, of which this gentleman was a native <sup>e</sup>.  
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<sup>b</sup> See an account of this expedition, printed by authority in 1621, 4to. *Rushworth's Collections*, vol. i. p. 34. *Frankland's Annals*, p. 55. <sup>c</sup> *Burchet's Naval History*, p. 370. <sup>d</sup> *The English Baronetage*, vol. i. p. 489. <sup>e</sup> *Collin's Peerage of England*, vol. iv. p. 342.

He was the fourth son of *John Monson*, Esq; by *Mary* daughter of sir *Robert Hussey*, and was born about the year 1569<sup>f</sup>. He went very early to sea, as himself informs us, about the beginning of the *Spanish* wars, and in the condition only of a private man; his wages, according to the frugality of that time, being no more than 10 s. a month; from whence he was gradually advanced to the great commands he afterwards bore. His first voyage was in the year 1585, in which he engaged without the knowledge either of his father or mother, and wherein he saw the sharpest service he met with throughout his life. He was on board a privateer, which was but a small vessel, and in consort with another still smaller. They sailed from the *Isle of Wight* in the month of *September*, and soon after came up with a stout *Spanish* ship of 300 tons, well manned. The crew, however, of the two privateers resolved to board her, which they did towards evening; but the wind growing high, and the night dark, their vessels fell off, and they were left on board the *Spaniards*. The fight continued all night, with variety of success; but at last, about seven in the morning, the *Spaniards* yielded. In 1587, he had the command of a ship, and was employed afterwards throughout the whole reign of the queen.

In the year 1589, he served as vice-admiral in the earl of *Cumberland's* fleet, and did excellent service; but withal endured such hardships as brought upon him a fit of sickness, which detained him in *England* a whole year<sup>h</sup>. In 1591, he served again under the command of the earl  
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<sup>f</sup> Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 505.  
246.      <sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 505.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p.

## Sir WILLIAM MONSON. 141

of *Cumberland*, when he had the misfortune to be taken by the *Spaniards*, and remained a prisoner near two years <sup>l</sup>. This did not discourage him from acting under the earl again, as soon almost as he had recovered his liberty, in the year 1593 <sup>k</sup>. In the famous expedition to *Cadiz*, in the year 1596, he was captain of the *Repulse*, the earl of *Essex*'s own ship, to whom he did great service, by his wise and moderate counsel, and was, therefore very deservedly knighted <sup>l</sup>. In the *Island-voyage* he commanded the *Rainbow*; and if the earl of *Essex* had then followed the informations he gave him, he had certainly taken most of the *Spanish* galleons <sup>m</sup>. In 1599, he had the command of the *Defiance* in the *Downs*, and in 1602, being vice-admiral, he had the good luck to take a great carrack of 1600 tons, which with its cargo was worth a million of pieces of eight <sup>n</sup>. In 1602 he was at sea again, and had the command of a squadron, in which, though he performed no great service, yet he brought it home safely through many perils <sup>o</sup>. I have not gone into the particulars of these services, because they have been all of them treated at large in the former volume, and with due respect to the accounts given of them by this gentleman in his writings; so that to have entered into the circumstances of them here, would have involved us in needless repetitions.

At the accession of king *James*, no seaman appeared to have a fairer title to his favour than sir *William Monson*, whose attachment to his interest had engaged the  
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<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 179, & 504.  
<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 189.  
 Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 424.  
 Tracts, p. 189.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 181.      <sup>l</sup> Ibid. p.  
<sup>n</sup> See the naval history of queen  
<sup>o</sup> Sir William Monson's Naval

lords of the privy-council to place an extraordinary confidence in his management of the fleet, of which we have before taken notice <sup>p</sup>. It does not, however appear, that sir *William* throughout the course of that reign, received any extraordinary gratifications, but rather the contrary. He had the charge of the narrow seas for twelve years, that is, from the beginning of the year 1604, to the year 1616, in which time he did remarkable service <sup>q</sup>, in supporting the honour of the *English* flag against the encroachments of the *Dutch* and *French*, and in his remarkable voyage round *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, to scour the seas of pirates, of which likewise we have given an account in its proper place <sup>r</sup>.

AFTER so many and so great services rendered to the crown, and so many years spent in duty to his country, sir *William* had the misfortune to fall into disgrace, and to find all that he had done, and all that he had advised, which perhaps was of no less consequence, misunderstood, and turned to his disadvantage. As this is the most remarkable part of his personal history, so it seems to deserve our and the reader's attention on another account, I mean the relation it has to the state of maritime affairs in those days; and, therefore, I shall give as clear and concise an account thereof as I can. It is a very dangerous thing either to offend the great, or incur the dislike of the many. Sir *William Monson* was so unlucky to run into both these misfortunes; the former he incurred through a desire of serving his country, and the latter by his zeal in discharging his duty on a ticklish occasion. His great knowledge

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<sup>p</sup> Naval History of king James in this vol. p. 3, 4.  
<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 15.



## Sir WILLIAM MONSON. 143

knowledge in maritime affairs, and the confidence which the seamen had in him, brought to his view most of the grievances in the navy, which he honestly laboured to redress. This gave rise to a commission for that purpose, that has been often mentioned, and that commission gave great distaste to the earl of *Nottingham*, then lord high-admiral, and to those who under him had the chief management of the fleet. It went on notwithstanding, a great reformation was made, and the king saved abundance of money in this article; which, however, did not lessen the spleen conceived against sir *William Monson*, for having set this design on foot\*. The other accident which hurt him with the people was this: the lady *Arabella* having made her escape, orders were sent to sir *William Monson* to prevent, if possible, her getting either into *France* or *Flanders*; and though he did not receive these orders till twenty-four hours after her departure, yet he executed them most effectually, and re-took her in a bark bound for *Calais*, within four miles of that place†. This was the same lady concerning whom so much noise had been made in the business of sir *Walter Raleigh's* plot; and as she was a great object of popular pity, so upon this occasion many strange stories were circulated, which served to raise the odium for retaking her; though it was his duty, and what the court ought to have looked upon as an important service‡. The *Dutch* too, who were  
angry

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\* Rushworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Lediard's Naval History.

† Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 280. This lady is in most of our historians called the lady *Arabella*, but in the proclamation published upon her flight, and which is extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 710, she is styled the lady *Arbella*, and so she wrote her name. ‡ See the introduction to the 2d book of his Naval Tracts.

angry with him for his conduct in the narrow seas, found means to do him ill offices; so that upon some very slight pretences he was committed close prisoner to the *Tower* in 1616<sup>w</sup>: but after he had been examined by the chief justice *Coke* and secretary *Winwood*, he was discharged; and he afterwards wrote a large vindication of his conduct, while admiral in the narrow seas.

He very soon recovered his credit; for in 1617, we find him called to council, in order to give his opinion, how the *Algerines* might be best reduced<sup>x</sup>. In the succeeding reign, of which we are now speaking, he had likewise a great interest, and his advice was asked in all maritime affairs; but, as he differed in opinion from those who were then in possession of power and favour, and as he censured the expedition to *Rhee*, and that against *Cadiz*, we need not wonder that he was not employed<sup>y</sup>. Yet in 1635, when the king came to have better notions of things, and to be truly concerned for his sovereignty of the seas, sir *William Monson* was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, commanded by the earl of *Lindsey*; which effectually vindicated the king's honour, and the rights of the nation<sup>z</sup>. After this he spent his days in privacy and peace, and about the year 1640<sup>a</sup>, composed that work of his, of which we have made so great use, and of which, considering its subject, I think it cannot be amiss to give a short account.

It is divided into six books, all on different subjects, and yet all equally curious and instructive. The first book is,  
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<sup>w</sup> Camden's Annals of king James, in Kennet's Compleat History of England, vol. ii. p. 646.    <sup>x</sup> Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 250.    <sup>y</sup> Ibid. p. 258,—277.    <sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 290.  
<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 295.

for the most part, a collection of every year's actions in the wars against *Spain*, on our own, upon the *Spanish* coasts, and in the *West-Indies*. A brief narrative; for no more is said, but the force they were undertaken with, and the success of the enterprize: yet the design is to shew the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others; and; what perhaps may be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them. His second book continues somewhat of the method of the first, beginning with fartherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with *Spain*, which puts an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being afterwards employed against pyrates. He inveighs against the *Dutch*, shews the ill management of a design against *Algier*, and makes very curious remarks on the attempt upon *Cadiz*, by king *Charles* the first; proposing methods how *Spain* might have been much more endangered; with other particulars about the shipping of *England*, and sovereignty of the seas. The third book only treats of the admiralty; that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high-admiral, to the meanest person employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a compleat fleet to the smallest vessel; and the part of it; with instructions for all officers, the size of all sorts of guns, all kinds of allowances on board the king's ships, and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many other, and those important matters, for those times, accurately handled. The fourth book is of different nature from any of the rest, being a brief collection of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* discoveries, and conquests in *Africa*, *Asia*, and *America*; with some

voyages round the world, and somewhat of *English* and *French* plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and schemes for managing affairs at sea, to the best advantage for the nation. The sixth, and last, treats of fishing, to shew the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to *England*; with such instructions as are necessary for putting such a design in execution <sup>b</sup>.

THE writing and collecting these pieces, were the last efforts of his genius; for he died in the month of *February* 1642, being in the 73d year of his age, at *Kynnersley* in *Surry*, the place he had chosen <sup>c</sup> for his retirement, and where he left a numerous posterity <sup>c</sup>.

As for sir *John Pennington*, sir *Henry Marom*, and some other seamen who rose in this reign to be admirals, we meet with nothing relating to them of importance enough to deserve the attention of the reader, or which can any way tend to the enlightning this part of our history; and therefore, we shall conclude our account of this reign, with a list of the ships added to the royal navy by king *Charles I.* <sup>d</sup>.

Ships.	Men in harbour.	Men at sea.
<i>Ten Whelps</i>	3	60, some 70
<i>The Henrietta Pinnace</i>	3	25
<i>The Mary Pinnace</i>	3	25
<i>The Charles</i>	9	250
<i>The Henrietta-Maria</i>	9	250
<i>The James</i>	9	260
<i>The Victory</i>	9	250
<i>The Leopard</i>	7	170
<i>The Swallow</i>	6	150
<i>The Sovereign</i>		

## C H A P.

<sup>b</sup> These tracts are printed in the 3d volume of Churchill's collection of voyages. It is very plain from the prefaces and dedications, that the author intended them for the press, though he did not live to publish them. <sup>c</sup> Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 342. <sup>d</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 277.



## C H A P. III.

*The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the breaking out of the civil war to the restoration of king Charles II. comprehending an account of all the struggles between king and parliament for the command of the fleet, the revolt of part of it to the prince of Wales, the Dutch war, the disputes with France, the war with Spain; and the memoirs of such famous seamen as flourished within this space of time.*



WHEN the disputes between king *Charles I.* and his parliament, were grown to such a height, that both parties thought the shortest and most effectual method of deciding them was to have recourse to the sword, it was natural for them to be extremely solicitous about the fleet, for many reasons; and for this particularly, that whoever was master of that, would be considered as the supreme power by foreign princes<sup>a</sup>. The earl of *Northumberland* was at this time lord high-admiral: the king had given him that commission, to satisfy the house of commons, who

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<sup>a</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p 217. Whitlock's memoirs, Echard, Rapin, &c.

had a confidence in him; and had granted it during pleasure only, because his intention was to confer that office on his son the duke of York, as soon as he became of age <sup>b</sup>. Sir Robert Mansel was vice-admiral of England; a gentleman very loyal, but withal, far in years. Sir John Pennington was vice-admiral of the fleet then in the Downs, and sir John Mennes was rear-admiral; both well affected to his majesty. The parliament, however, having formed a project of dispossessing the king of his fleet, executed it successfully; notwithstanding these circumstances so favourable for his majesty, and though he had the affections of the seamen, whose wages he had raised, and for whom he had always shewn a very particular esteem <sup>c</sup>. This was one of the most extraordinary things they did, was of the utmost consequence to their affairs, and therefore we shall give a short and impartial account of the steps they took to accomplish it.

In the spring of the year, 1641, the parliament desired, that is, in effect directed, the earl of Northumberland, to provide a strong fleet for the nation's security by sea, and appropriated a proper fund for this service. They next desired, that he would appoint the earl of Warwick admiral of that fleet, on account of his own indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to command in person <sup>d</sup>. The king took this ill, and insisted on sir John Pennington's keeping his command; but the earl had so much respect to the parliament's recommendation, that he ordered the

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, p. 157, the Oxford edition in folio 1732. <sup>c</sup> Clarendon, ubi supra. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, Heath's chronicle, Whitlock, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon, ubi supra. Hist. of the revolutions in England by Father d'Orleans, Warwick's memoirs, Echard.

the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of *Warwick*, and granted him a commission to command it, as by his own he had power to do. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made captain *Cartwright*, comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of sir *John Pennington*; but he refusing to undertake this service, without the king's permission, his majesty was pleased to signify his pleasure, that he should decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed one *Batten*, vice-admiral, who was remarkably disaffected towards the king; and their orders being complied with, the fleet in the spring of 1642, fell into their hands, though the king was persuaded in his mind, that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reason of his not removing the earl of *Northumberland* from his high office<sup>e</sup>. It was not long before he had good reason to change his opinion; for the queen, sending his majesty a small supply from *Holland*, in *The Providence*, the only ship the king had left, the ships from the *Downs* chased it into the *Humber*, and forced the captain to run it ashore. Upon this, the king resolved to attempt seizing the fleet; and the design, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the mismanagement of sir *John Pennington* it miscarried, and served only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of *Warwick* an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted, and now made the utmost use of it possible<sup>f</sup>.

THE parliament, as they had discovered great care and industry in securing, so they shewed no less wisdom in the

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<sup>e</sup> Clarendon's hist. p. 158. Kennet, Rapin.  
hist. p. 220. Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon's



conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643, vice-admiral *Batten*, having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by sea from *Holland*, into the north of *England*, he did his utmost to intercept her, though on board a *Dutch* man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chased the ship into *Burlington-Bay*; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that she was lodged in a house upon the key, he fired upon it, so that many of the shot went through her chamber, and she was obliged, though very much indisposed, to retire for shelter, or rather for safety, into the open fields<sup>c</sup>. This service, which was performed in the month of *February*, was very grateful to the parliament, because it shewed how much the officers of the fleet at least, were in their interest. In the month of *September*, in the same year, they sent their orders to the earl of *Warwick*, to attempt the relief of *Exeter*, which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent success; for sailing up the river, which runs by the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying succour that way into the place, he found some works thrown up on the shore, which hindered him from disturbing the besiegers so much as he expected: and yet lying there too long with this view, the tide falling, he was forced to leave three of his ships behind him; two of which were taken, and the third burnt in his presence<sup>d</sup>. He did, however, great service on the coast of *Devonshire*, secured *Plymouth* and other places, and, all the time he commanded, kept the fleet firm to the parliament<sup>e</sup>.

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<sup>c</sup> Clarendon's hist. p. 283. Warwick's memoirs, 237. Father d'Orleans's hist. of the revolutions in England, p. 66. <sup>d</sup> Clarendon's hist. p. 345. <sup>e</sup> Whitlock, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

So long as the presbyterian party were uppermost, all affairs relating to the navy went on smoothly. The earl of *Warwick* was entirely devoted to them, and so were all the officers by him appointed. Every summer a stout squadron was fitted out to serve as occasion required, and by this means the trade of the nation was tolerably protected<sup>k</sup>. But in the year 1648, when the independants came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn, and it was resolved to remove the earl of *Warwick* from his command, notwithstanding the services he had performed, and to make colonel *Rainborough* admiral. This gentleman had been bred a seaman, and was the son of a commander of distinction; but had for some time served as an officer in the parliament-army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the *Downs*, it put the seamen into great confusion, and their officers, the earl of *Warwick* and vice-admiral *Batten*, were so little pleased with the usage they had met with, that instead of softening, they augmented their discontents; insomuch, that they seized upon *Rainborough*, and such officers as adhered to him, set them on shore, and resolved to sail over to *Holland*, in order to take on board the duke of *York*, whom they called their admiral; because the king's intention of making him so, was a thing generally known<sup>l</sup>. Though the king was then a prisoner, and his affairs reduced to a very low ebb, yet, if this revolt of the fleet had been properly managed, it might have had very happy effects: but as it was conducted, it

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<sup>k</sup> Heath's Chronicle, Whitlock, Echard, Rapin. <sup>l</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 528. Heath's Chronicle, p. 175. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316. Father d'Orleans History of the Revolutions in England, p. 116.

is scarce possible to conceive how little advantage was drawn from an accident which promised so much. It is true, the parliament, upon the first intimation of the growing disaffection among the seamen, had directed but half the usual provisions to be put on board the fleet. This might have been easily remedied, considering that *Kent* was in arms for the king, and many of its inhabitants went on board the fleet, in order to do him all the service they could. The great misfortune was, that this strange turn was entirely concerted by the seamen; so that when they declared for the king, they had very few officers among them; and as they were little inclined to use the advice of any who were not of their own profession, there was a good deal of time lost before they positively resolved what to do, which gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering themselves from the consternation into which this unexpected event had thrown them; and the first resolution they took was a very wise one, *viz.* the restoring the earl of *Warwick* to his title and command, sending him orders to draw together a fleet as soon as possible <sup>m</sup>.

THIS revolted fleet (if we can properly call it so) which at last sailed for *Calais*, consisted of seventeen good ships; and for the present the parliament had nothing near the same force to oppose them <sup>n</sup>. They left a ship riding before the place last mentioned, to receive the prince of *Wales*, and then proceeded for *Holland*. Soon after, both the prince and the duke came on board, with many persons of quality, who were now abroad with them in exile.

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<sup>m</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 531. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 102. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. <sup>n</sup> Bates's history of the Troubles in England, p. 100.

Instead of considering what service the fleet might best be employed in, those who were about the princes fell into intrigues for obtaining the command, and the contending parties filling the seamen's heads with very different stories, that spirit of loyalty was quickly extinguished, which had induced them to take this extraordinary step<sup>o</sup>. In the midst of these disputes, admiral *Batten* came in with the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best ships in the parliament navy, and several seamen of note. The prince of *Wales* upon this occasion took a very wise resolution: he knighted *Batten*, and made him rear-admiral, his brother the duke of *York* having before made the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who was also a new convert from the parliament-party, vice-admiral<sup>p</sup>. As the fleet consisted now of about twenty sail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two schemes were proposed: the first was, to sail to the *Isle of Wight*, to rescue the king, which might certainly have been effected; the other, to enter the river of *Thames*, in order to awe the city of *London*, by interrupting their trade; and to infeeble the parliament, by hindring their supplies of seamen from the outward-bound ships: which scheme was thought the most practicable, or perhaps the most profitable, and was therefore immediately carried into execution<sup>q</sup>.

THE success of this enterprize was in the beginning very favourable; and on their coming into the mouth of the river, the prince's fleet took abundance of rich prizes, particularly a ship laden with cloth bound for *Rotterdam*, worth 40,000 *l*. Soon after he entered into a treaty with the

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<sup>p</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 530 Whitlock, Echard, Rapin.  
<sup>q</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Clarendon's Hist. p. 531.  
*Warwick's Memoirs*, Whitlock, Echard, Rapin.

the city, which ended at last in a composition for his prizes<sup>r</sup>. The earl of *Warwick* in the mean while had fitted out a strong fleet at *Portsmouth*, with which he came into the *Downs*, and anchored within sight of the prince. Great endeavours were used on both sides to draw over each other's seamen, but to no great purpose; at last, the prince resolved to engage the enemy, which he attempted, but was prevented by the shifting of the wind, and then provisions falling short, it was judged expedient to sail for the coast of *Holland*, where the fleet arrived safely; but those who should have commanded them were divided in opinion, and in such confusion among themselves, that no new course could be resolved on<sup>s</sup>. The earl of *Warwick*, who suspected what would happen, and knew they could meet with no supplies of money to enable them to pay the fleet, followed them in their retreat, and sent to the states of *Holland*, requiring them to oblige certain ships, which had revolted from the parliament of *England*, to put to sea.

THE states were very much embarrassed in forming a resolution what to do in this critical juncture: they were unwilling to break with the parliament's admiral; but on the other hand, it would have been a reproach to them, to have suffered the prince of *Wales* to be insulted on their coasts, and in their harbours. In the mean time, both parties being excited by hatred as well as necessity to fight, it was difficult to prevent it: both sides at first flattered themselves with the hopes of a victory, because both sides were persuaded the ships of their antagonist would desert

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<sup>r</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 536. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Columna Rosstrata, p. 86. Whistock, Rapin.  
<sup>s</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 537.

desert and come over to them. The first step the states took, was to give orders to the admiralty of *Rotterdam*, to fit out every ship they had, with all possible expedition, and to fall down the river to prevent the two fleets coming to an engagement. In the mean time, they sent four deputies on board the two admirals, to beg of them in the name of the states, not to undertake any thing on their coasts, and in the very sight of their harbours, which might affect the sovereignty of their republic.

THE prince of *Wales* was the most tractable, because his sailors, being badly paid, deserted; and even some of his ships and officers, which had so lately left the parliament to go over to him, had now left him, and took part with their old masters again. He had only fourteen ships left, very poorly equipped, with which he retired under the cannon of *Helvoet*, to avoid an engagement or insult instead of offering any.

THE earl of *Warwick* upon this began to talk in a higher strain, insisting that such as were on board this fleet were deserters, and ought to be delivered up to him; but at last, finding that there was little good to be done he put to sea, and returned home; after which the fleet was put absolutely under the command of prince *Rupert*, who determined as soon as he had the command to carry on a pyratrical war: and thus this extraordinary accident, which properly managed, might have been a means of preserving the king and kingdom, turned to no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided the naval force, and rendered precarious the trade of the nation. These transactions happened between  
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\* *Annales des Provinces Unies*, par M. Basnage, vol. i. p. 139.

the latter end of *July* 1648, and the close of the same year, about which time prince *Rupert* left the *Dutch* coast, in order to repair to *Ireland*. In this scheme he succeeded happily, taking many prizes in his passage, and arriving safely at last in the port of *Kinsale* <sup>u</sup>.

THE parliament, however, had now recovered their sovereignty at sea, where they kept such strong squadrons continually cruising, that it was not thought advisable for king *Charles II.* to venture his person on that element, in order to go to *Ireland*, where his presence was necessary <sup>w</sup>. Yet the earl of *Warwick*, who had served them so faithfully, and with such success, was removed from the command of the fleet, which was put into the hands of land officers, such as *Blake* and *Popham*, who, notwithstanding, behaved well, quickly gained the love of the sailors, and grew in a short time knowing seamen themselves <sup>x</sup>. As for prince *Rupert*, he continued cruising and making prizes, throughout the greatest part of the year 1649 <sup>y</sup>, while the war continued hot in *Ireland*; but things taking a new turn there, entirely in the parliament's favour, orders were given by the parliament to their admirals *Blake* and *Popham*, to block up the prince's squadron in the port of *Kinsale*, which they accordingly did, and reduced them to such extremities, that his men began to desert in great numbers; so that finding his case desperate, the whole kingdom of *Ireland* in a manner conquered, all hopes of succour lost, and very indifferent terms to be hoped for from the conquerors; he at last took a desperate resolution of forcing a passage through the enemy's

<sup>u</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 550. Bates's history, part ii. p. 32.

<sup>w</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 590.

<sup>x</sup> Whitlock, Echard, Rapin.

<sup>y</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. Columna Rotunda, p. 87.



my's fleet, which he effected on the twenty-fourth of *October*, with the loss, however, of three ships, and so sailed away to the coast of *France*<sup>2</sup>, where he continued to obstruct the *English* trade, and to make prize of such ships as fell in his way, acting entirely on his own head, and without asking or receiving any directions from the king.

PRINCE *Rupert*, after he had made his escape, in the manner we have before related, out of the harbour of *Kinsale*, resolved to sail into the *Mediterranean*; but with what other view than that of carrying on his old trade of privateering, does not appear<sup>3</sup>. When he came upon the coast of *Spain*, his fleet suffered exceedingly by a storm, which drove five of his ships into the port of *Carthage*<sup>a</sup>, where they were very ill treated by the *Spaniards*, who plundered two of the ships, and compelled many of the men to enter against their will into their service<sup>b</sup>. A fleet belonging to the parliament, under the command of *Blake* and *Popham*, arrived soon after at *St. Andero*, and the former of those admirals wrote from thence a letter in strong terms to the king of *Spain*, demanding that both ships and men, in case any of prince *Rupert's* were in his power, should be delivered up; with threats in case they were refused. To this a very civil answer was given; and a ring, worth 1500*l.* was sent to the admiral, as a token of the king of *Spain's* respect<sup>c</sup>. After this, *Blake* followed prince *Rupert* into the river of *Lisbon*, where in the months of *September* and *October* 1650,

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<sup>2</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 595, Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. Bates's history, part ii. p. 32. Columna Rostrata, p. 87. <sup>a</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 595. Columna Rostrata, p. 87. <sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 595. <sup>c</sup> Id. ibid.

1650, he ruined the *Brasil* fleet; which induced the *Portuguese* to force prince *Rupert* out of their port, whence he sailed to *Carthagera*. *Blake* pursued him thither; but being obliged for want of provisions to put to sea, his highness escaped to *Malaga*, where he took several *English* ships, 'till *Blake* came thither and fell upon his small squadron, which consisted now but of five ships. One of these he drove ashore, burnt two more, and forced prince *Rupert* himself to make his escape through *Spain*<sup>d</sup>. His highness soon after went to sea again, cruized now on the *Spaniards* and *Genoese*, as well as the *English*<sup>e</sup>, and having taken several rich prizes, sailed to the *West-Indies*, whither his brother prince *Maurice*, with a small squadron, was gone before. In those seas they did likewise a great deal of mischief, till prince *Maurice* in the *Constant Reformation* was cast away<sup>f</sup>; and prince *Rupert*, finding the few ships he had left, so leaky and rotten, that they were scarce able to keep the sea, was glad to return to *France*; and arriving in the port of *Nantes* in the year 1652, with a man of war, and three or four other ships, he was forced to sell them to pay the people's wages<sup>g</sup>. Such was the end of about twenty-five good ships well manned, which had deserted the parliament service! and the reader will easily judge, how great a loss this was to the nation, more especially as it was soon after engaged in the *Dutch* war.

## ADMIRAL

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<sup>d</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 275, 276. Columna Rostrata, p. 88. Life of Blake, Bates's History of the Troubles, &c. Life of prince Rupert. <sup>e</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 556. <sup>f</sup> Columna Rostrata, p. 88. Bates's History of the Troubles, p. 74. British empire in America. <sup>g</sup> Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 652. Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.

ADMIRAL *Blake* on his return to *England*, was received with great favour by the parliament, had the thanks of the house given him, and in conjunction with *Dean* and *Popham*, had the supreme power at sea vested in him for the year 1651<sup>a</sup>. The first exploit that his masters thought of, was the reduction of the islands of *Scilly*, which were still held for the king by sir *John Greenville*. The privateers fitted out from thence, did a great deal of mischief to trade, and, therefore, might well have deserved the parliament's notice; but there was another incident which made them particularly uneasy at that juncture; and this was the arrival of a *Dutch* squadron there, of twelve men of war, commanded by admiral *Van Tromp*<sup>1</sup>. The pretence of sending him, was to demand satisfaction of the governor for about twenty prizes, which in a short space had been carried into his ports by his privateers: but the true design was to drive a bargain with him, if possible, for those islands; which might have had very bad consequences, had it been carried into execution. Admiral *Blake* in the *Phoenix* frigate, in conjunction with sir *George Ayscue*, with a small fleet sailed thither in the month of *May*, and very quickly performed what they were sent for, the governor being glad to deliver up his charge upon honourable terms, and the admiral as willing to grant all he could reasonably expect<sup>k</sup>. Thence *Blake* sailed with the fleet to *Jersey*, where he arrived in the month of *October*, and reduced it by the end of the year;

<sup>a</sup> Rushworth's Collections, Heath's Chronicle, Life of Blake  
<sup>1</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 288, 289. Bates's history of the Troubles, Life of Blake.  
<sup>k</sup> The original articles, a MS. in folio of two sheets, are still preserved in the library of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts.

as he did likewise *Cornet-Castle*, which was the only place held out for the king in *Guernsey*, and thus secured the sovereignty of the sea in this part of the world for the parliament<sup>1</sup>.

SIR *George Ayscue*, after the reduction of *Scilly*, having strengthened his fleet with some ships, sailed into the *West-Indies*, in order to reduce such of the plantations as had declared for the king. On board his fleet sailed colonel *Allen*, a gentleman of *Barbadoes*, who had been sent by such, in that colony and the *Leeward-Islands*, as were well affected to the parliament to demand relief. This fleet arrived in *Carlisle-Bay* in *Barbadoes*, on the sixteenth of *October* 1651, and took fourteen sail of *Dutch* ships that were trading there. *Francis* lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, whom we before-mentioned, was governor of the island for the king, and shewed so good an inclination to defend himself, that it was the seventeenth of *December* before admiral *Ayscue* thought fit to attempt landing; which at last he effected with some loss, colonel *Allen* with between thirty and forty men, being killed in the attempt. After his forces were on shore, the governor thought fit to capitulate, and had very fair conditions given him; for which it is thought admiral *Ayscue* was never forgiven by his masters at home<sup>m</sup>. While he lay at *Barbadoes*, he sent a few ships under captain *Dennis* to reduce *Virginia*, which with some trouble he effected. Sir *George* likewise subdued the *Leeward* islands; and having thus thoroughly fulfilled his commission he returned into *Europe*, where,

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<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 636. Heath's Chronicle, p. 306. Bates's History of the Troubles, &c. <sup>m</sup> British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 18. Heath's Chronicle, p. 323, Columna Rostrata, p. 98.

as we shall see, he found the *Dutch* war already broke out <sup>a</sup>.

THE causes of this war are very differently related according to the humours and opinions of different writers; the truth, however, seems to be; that the old commonwealth was jealous of the new one, and began to apprehend, that, whatever the rest of the world might be, *Holland* was like to be no gainer by the change of government in *England*. The parliament, on the other side, was very jealous of its new-acquired sovereignty, and expected, therefore, extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which it corresponded <sup>o</sup>. The murder of dr. *Dorilaus*; whom they had sent with a public character to the states, incensed them exceedingly; nor were they better satisfied with the reception that St. *John* and the rest of their ambassadors met with; and, therefore, had little regard to the expostulation of the *Dutch*, about their act of navigation, which was certainly a well-contrived measure, both for preserving, and for extending the trade of this nation. The *Dutch*, on the other hand, were extremely alarmed; when they found the *English* commonwealth insist on the sovereignty of the sea, the right of fishing, and licensing to fish; disposed to carry the point of the flag to the utmost height, and behaving so in all respects; that the states were convinced they would act upon king *Charles's* plan, with this great advantage of raising money in much larger sums, and yet with far less trouble than he did <sup>p</sup>; It was in the spring of the year

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1652;

<sup>a</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.  
p. 634, Columna Rostrata, p. 89—95.

<sup>o</sup> Clarendon's History,

<sup>p</sup> The reader, if he inclines to enter deep into the reasons on which the Dutch war was grounded

1652, that things came to extremities, but it was warmly disputed then, and is not fully settled at this day who were the aggressors. From the best comparison I have been able to make of facts stated in all the authentic accounts on both sides, it seems to me most probable, that the *Dutch* were the aggressors: and this for many reasons; but particularly, because they made secretly great preparations for war, and had actually one hundred and fifty ships of force at sea; whereas the *English* parliament equipped no more than the usual squadron for guarding the narrow seas, which was under the command of admiral *Blake*, and consisted of twenty-five ships only <sup>9</sup>.

THE first blood that was drawn in this quarrel, was occasioned by commodore *Young*'s firing upon a *Dutch* man of war, for refusing him the honour of the flag. This was on the 14th of *May* 1652, and proved very honourable for our nation. Com. *Young* acted with great caution, and gave the *Dutch* all the opportunity of avoiding a dispute that they could desire. He sent his boat on the *Dutchman* to persuade him to strike; but the captain answered plainly and honestly, that the states had threatened to take off his head, if he struck: and upon this the fight began, in which the enemy was so roughly handled, as to be obliged to strike. There were two other ships of war, and about twelve merchant-men, none of which interfered; and on the other side, after the *Dutch* ships had taken in their flags, commodore *Young* retired without making any prizes. This affair would have been more talked

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grounded, may consult Whitlock, Clarendon, Holles, Rushworth, &c. on one side; and Basnage, Le Clerc, Wicquefort, and the lives of Dutch admirals on the other.

314. Clarendon's Columna Rollrata.

<sup>9</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p.



talked of, if an engagement of greater consequence had not happened quickly after<sup>r</sup>;

ADMIRAL *Van Tromp* was at sea with a fleet of upwards of forty sail, to protect (as was given out) the *Dutch* trade: This fleet coming into the *Downs* on the 18th of *May*, they met there with a small squadron, under the command of major *Bourne*, to whom the admiral sent word, that he was forced in, by stress of weather; *Bourne* answered roundly, this would best appear by the shortness of his stay, and sent advice of it to his admiral. The next day *Van Tromp* with his fleet bore down upon *Blake* in *Dover* road; and on his coming near him, *Blake* fired thrice at his flag; upon which the *Dutch* admiral returned a broadside. For near four hours *Blake* was engaged almost alone, but by degrees the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the close of the engagement, which lasted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, *Bourne* came in with his eight ships; upon which the enemy bore away. In this battle the victory was clearly on the side of the *English*, as the *Dutch* writers themselves confess, there being two *Dutch* ships taken, and one disabled; whereas, the *English* lost none: and yet the inequality was very great; for the *Dutch* fleet consisted at first of forty-two ships, and *Blake's* only of fifteen, and at the end of the fight, he had no more than twenty-three. The admirals wrote each of them an account of this affair to their respective masters; wherein they plainly contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no disproving any fact mentioned in *Blake's* letter; whereas there are several falsehoods or

M 2

mistakes

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<sup>r</sup> This account I take from Young's letter to the parliament.



mistakes at least in *Tromps*; such as, that *Bourne's* squadron consisted of twelve large ships, which could not be true. Besides, though he insists on *Blake's* being the aggressor, yet he owns, that his flag was out all the time. The states themselves were so sensible of their being in the wrong, and at the same time that their fleet notwithstanding its superiority, had been beat, that they apologized for it, and sent over another ambassador the *Heer Adrian Paauw* to proceed on the treaty. But the demands of the parliament were too high, and so all thoughts of peace were laid by on both sides, and the war was proclaimed in *Holland* on the 8th of *July*.

THE *English* in the mean time, by virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of reprisal and requital for the late damages, affronts and hostilities, received from the states-general and their subjects, took many *Dutch* ships. *June 11*, *Blake* brought in eleven merchant-ships with their convoy coming from *Nantes*. *June 12*, the captains *Taylor* and *Peacock*, in two *English* frigates, engaged two *Dutch* men of war, on the coast of *Flanders*, for refusing to strike; of which one was taken, and the other stranded: and on the 13th of the same month, *Blake* took twenty-six merchant-ships, with three convoys homeward bound from *France*. *July 4*, vice-admiral *Ayscue* (who, in his late return from the reduction of *Barbadoes* had taken ten merchant-ships, and four men of war) attacked the *St. Ubes* fleet of about forty sail, of which near thirty were taken, burnt, or stranded, and plundered, on the *French* coast. After this, while the states with the utmost

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This account is copied from that printed by order of the parliament, with both Admirals letters and other papers annexed, 4to, 1652.

utmost diligence were getting ready a fleet of seventy men of war, under the command of *Tromp*; *Blake* with about sixty, received orders to sail to the north to disturb the *Dutch* fishery. Sir *George Ayscue* (who, since the destruction of the *St. Ubes* fleet, had taken five *Dutch* merchant-ships) was left with the remainder of the *English* fleet, consisting of seven men of war in the *Downs*. While *Blake* triumphed in the north, as we shall shew in another place, *Tromp* with his great fleet came into the mouth of the *Thames*, in hopes of surprizing *Ayscue*, or insulting the coast. Failing of this, he sailed northward to intercept *Blake*; but his ships being dispersed by a storm, he was disappointed in that scheme also, and lost five or six frigates, which fell into the hands of *Blake*, on his return towards the south<sup>t</sup>.

THE people in *Holland* were very much dissatisfied with the conduct of *Tromp*, which is the case in all free countries, where a commander in chief is unsuccessful. He acted upon this occasion like a wise man, and one who had a nice sense of honour, first justifying himself to the states, and then laying down his commission to gratify the people. The main objection against him was his being no great seaman; and this engaged the states to cast their eyes upon *de Ruyter*, the ablest man amongst them in his profession. He accepted the command unwillingly; for he saw that as things then stood, the *English* were superior<sup>u</sup>. The parliament in the mean time took care to strengthen Sir *George Ayscue's* fleet, so that it amounted to thirty-eight

M 3

sail;

<sup>t</sup> Rushworth, Heath's Chronicle, Clarendon, Basnage, &c.  
<sup>u</sup> Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 258, 259.

fail; of which only two were large ships, and the rest frigates and fire-ships. With these he put to sea in search of the *Dutch*, took many rich prizes, and at last met with *de Ruyter*, who, with a fleet equal to his own, was conveying home between fifty and sixty merchant-men. This was on the 16<sup>th</sup> of *August* 1652, and as our admiral was cruising off *Plymouth*. It was about one in the afternoon when the fleets came in sight, *De Ruyter* took twenty of the merchant-ships into his line of battle, and was then very ready to engage. The fight began about four, when the *English* admiral with nine others charged through the *Dutch* fleet, and having thus got the weather-gage, attacked them again very bravely, and so they continued fighting till night, which parted them; the rest of *Sir George's* fleet having very little to do in the action. The rear-admiral captain *Peck* lost his leg, of which he soon after died, and most of the captains who did their duty were wounded, and a fire-ship was lost. On the other side, the *Dutch* were miserably torn, so that many of their best ships were scarce able to keep the sea. *Sir George Ascue* followed them for some time the next day, and then returned into *Plymouth-Sound* to refresh his men, and repair his ships<sup>w</sup>. The *Dutch* give a very partial account of this business, in which without question the *English* had some, and might have had much greater advantage, if all their captains had behaved as they ought. This the parliament very well knew; but by a refined stroke of policy, chose rather to lay the fault on a single man, than in danger the obedience of the fleet, by punishing many: upon

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<sup>w</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 323. Columna Rostrata, p. 101. Bates's history of the troubles in England, part ii. p. 175. Balfage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 260.

on which principle they laid aside fir *George Ayfkue*; but softly, and with a reward of three hundred pounds in money, and three hundred pounds a year. The true reason of this was, his granting io good terms to the lord *Willoughby*, which they, however, performed very punctually\*.

THE war was not long confined to the coasts of *Britain*, but spread itself into almost every sea; and every wind brought the news of fresh destruction and slaughter. About the latter end of the same month, the *Dutch* admiral *Van Galen*, with a eleven men of war, met and attacked the *English* commodore *Bodley*, with three men of war, a fire-ship, and three or four merchant-ships, homeward-bound from *Scanderoon* and *Smyrna*. The first day's fight began in the afternoon off the island of *Elba*, near the coast of *Tuscany* and lasted till night, with little advantage to either party. The *Dutch* historians agree, that three of their men of war being separated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up so as to have a share in the second engagement. On the other side, the *English* parted from their merchant ships, which being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the best of their way to the nearest harbour. The next morning, the four remaining *English* being attacked by the eight *Hollanders*. the fight was renewed with great fury, *Van Galen* began a close engagement with the *English* commodore, but being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced (as the *Dutch* historians confess) to leave him. Another of the enemy's largest ships renewing the

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attack,

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\* Heath's chronicle, p. 323.

attack, was likewise so well received, that she lost her main-mast. Whereupon the *English* frigate, the *Phoenix* taking the opportunity, boarded the disabled *Hollander*; but being too weak was taken, after a sharp fight of an hour, wherein most of her men, were either killed or wounded. In the mean time the *English* commodore *Bodley*, being again boarded by two of the enemies ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that (by the confession of the *Dutch* historians) they were both beaten off with a dreadful slaughter of their men, and the loss of both their captains. Whereupon *Bodley*, seeing himself left by the enemy (after having lost about a hundred men, killed and wounded) with his three remaining ships followed the merchant-men to *Porto Longone*; leaving the *Hollanders* to cast up the account of the honour and profit they had gained by this encounter. The enemy lost three of their captains in the fight, whom they afterwards buried at *Porto Longone*, where the *English* and they, being in a neutral harbour continued very friendly together for some time<sup>1</sup>.

ADMIRAL *Blake*, who was now in the channel, did infinite damage to the enemy, and some hostilities having been committed on the coast of *Newfoundland* by the *French*, our gallant admiral attacked a strong squadron of their ships going to the relief of *Dunkirk*, took or destroyed them all, by which means this important place fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*<sup>2</sup>. The *Dutch* seeing their trade thus ruined, and apprehensive of still worse consequences, fitted out another fleet under the command of *de Wit*,

<sup>1</sup> *Columna Rostrata*, p. 103. *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> *Clarendon's history*, p. 636. *Heath's chronicle*, p. 325. *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 264.

*Wit*, and sent it to join *de Ruyter*, who was appointed to bring home a large number of merchant-men. After the junction of these fleets, and the sending the ships they were to convoy, into *Holland*; the admirals shewed a design of attacking the *English* navy, and *Blake* gave them a fair opportunity of executing their intention. But when it came to the point, the *Dutch* fleet covered themselves behind a sand-bank; which, however, did not hinder *Blake* from engaging them on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *September*. He divided his fleet into three squadrons: the first commanded by himself, the second by vice-admiral *Pen*, and the third by rear-admiral *Bourne*. It was about three when the engagement began, and the *English* quickly discovered their rashness, in attacking an enemy under such disadvantages; for the *Sovereign*, a new ship, stuck immediately on the sands, and so did several others; but getting off again, the *English* fleet stood aloof, till *de Wit* came freely from his advantages to a fair engagement, which was boldly begun by *Bourne*, and gallantly seconded by the rest of the fleet. A *Dutch* man of war attempting to board the *Sovereign* was sunk by her side, and this by the first discharge she made. Soon after a *Dutch* rear-admiral was taken by captain *Mildmay*, and two other men of war sunk; a third blowing up before the end of the fight. *De Wit* was then glad to retire, and was pursued by the *English* fleet as long as it was light. The next day they continued the chase till they were within twelve leagues of the *Dutch* shore, and then seeing the *Dutch* fleet entering into the *Goree*, *Blake* returned in triumph to the *Downs*, and thence into port, having lost about 300 men, and having as many wounded. For the reception of the latter, the parliament took care to provide hospitals near *Dover* and *Deal*, and sent



sent also their thanks to the admiral and his officers<sup>a</sup>. The *Dutch* writers pretend they lost no ships. They admit, however, that one was taken; but being afterwards deserted, was brought safe into port. *De Wit* fairly confessed the loss, and charged it, first, on the bad behaviour of no less than twenty of his captains, who withdrew out of the line of battle; and next, on the states having bad intelligence; the *English* fleet being more numerous, and the ships of greater bulk than he expected. These excuses were certainly true, and yet the people used their admirals so ill, that *de Ruyter* was desirous of throwing up his commission, and *de Wit* fell sick upon it. The states, however, behaved with great prudence and courage, repaired and augmented their fleet to eighty sail in six weeks time, and then engaged *Tromp* to take the command of them; though some say, that the king of *Denmark* drew them to this resolution, by promising them a powerful squadron of his ships, provided *Tromp* had the command<sup>b</sup>.

THIS prince had very unadvisedly engaged himself in a quarrel with the parliament, by detaining (at the request of the *Dutch*) a fleet of twenty *English* ships in the harbour of *Copenhagen*. At first he pretended that he did it for their safety, and therefore, commodore *Ball* was sent with a squadron of eighteen sail to convoy them home; when his *Danish* majesty declared his resolution to keep them, and the fear he was under for the consequences of this strange step, induced him to offer the *Dutch* his assistance. This fell out happily for them; for the *English* now filled their ports with *Dutch* prizes, while the people  
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<sup>a</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 636. Heath's chronicle, p. 326, 327. Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. <sup>b</sup> Bafnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 260, 261.



of *Holland* suffering 'n so tender a point began to lose all patience ; which forced the states to hurry out *Tromp* with his fleet, to convoy a fleet of about three hundred merchant-men through the channel<sup>c</sup>.

It being now the beginning of *November*, *Blake*, who thought the season of action over, had detached twenty of his ships for the security of the *Newcastle* colliers; twelve more were sent to *Phymouth*, and fifteen were retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had received in a storm. *Tromp* having intelligence of this, and that *Blake* had with him no more than thirty-seven ships, and many of these but thinly manned, resolved to attack him in the *Downs*, not far from the place where they had fought before<sup>d</sup>. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of *November* he presented himself before the *English* fleet, and *Blake* after holding a council of war, resolved to engage, notwithstanding this great inequality: but the wind rising, they were obliged to defer fighting till next day; and that night our fleet rode a little above *Dover-road*. In the morning both fleets plied westward, *Blake*, having the weather-gage. About eleven the battle began with great fury; but very unluckily for the *English*, half of their small fleet could not engage. The *Triumph*, in which *Blake* was in person, the *Victory*, and the *Van Guard*, bore almost the whole stress of the fight, having twenty *Dutch* men of war to deal with at once; and yet they fought it out till it was dark. Late in the evening, the *Garland* commanded by captain *Batten*, and the *Bonaventure* captain *Hookston*, clapped *Van Tromp* aboard, killed

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<sup>c</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 327. Columna Rostrata, p. 108. B. f. nage annales des provinces unies, p. 289. <sup>d</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 229, 230. Columna Rostrata, p. 109.

his secretary and purser by his side, and had certainly taken his ship, if they had not been boarded by two *Dutch* flags, by whom after their captains were killed, both these ships were taken. *Blake*, who saw this with indignation, pushed so far to their relief, that he was very near sharing the same fate, if the *Van Guard* and *Saphire* had not stood by him with the utmost resolution, and at last brought him off<sup>c</sup>. The *Hercules* was run ashore in the retreat, and if the night had not sheltered them, most of the ships that were engaged must have been lost; but they took the advantage of its obscurity, and retired first to *Dover*, and then into the *River*. Admiral *Tromp* continued a day or two in the *Downs*, sailed from thence towards *Calais*, took part of the *Barbadoes* fleet, and some other prizes, and then sailed to the isle of *Rhe*, with a broom at his top-mast head, intimating, that he would sweep the narrow seas of *English* ships<sup>f</sup>. There appears however, no such reason for boasting as the *Dutch* writers suggest; their fleet had indeed many advantages; yet they bought their success very dear, one of their best ships being blown up, and two of their admirals in a manner disabled<sup>g</sup>.

THE parliament shewed their steadiness, by caressing *Blake* after his defeat, and naming him, in conjunction with *Deane* and *Monk*, general at sea for another year. In order to the more speedy manning the navy, they issued a proclamation, offering considerable rewards to such as entered themselves within the space of forty days; they also raised the sailors pay from nineteen to twenty-four shillings a month: and this had so good an effect, that  
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<sup>c</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 330. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 331. Columna Rotarata, p. 112, 113. <sup>g</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Rushworth.

in six weeks time they had a fleet ready to put to sea of sixty men of war; forty under *Blake* in the river, and twenty more at *Portsmouth*. On the 11th of *February* both fleets joined near *Beachey-Head*; and thence admiral *Blake* sailed over-against *Portland*, where he lay cross the channel, in order to welcome *Tromp* on his return. This was a kind of surprize on the *Dutch* admiral, who did not think it possible, after the late defeat, for the parliament to fit out, in so short a space, a fleet capable of fighting again. He had between two and three hundred merchant-ships under convoy, and was therefore much amazed, when sailing up the channel he found *Blake* so stationed, that it was impossible to avoid fighting. *English* and *Dutch* authors vary pretty much as to the strength of their respective fleets; but by comparing both the admiral's letters, I apprehend they were nearly equal, each having about seventy sail<sup>b</sup>. *Blake* and *Deane* were both on board the *Triumph*, and with twelve stout ships headed their fleet, and fell in first with the *Dutch* on the 18th of *February*, 1653, about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the rest of the fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by *Lawson* in the *Fairfax*, and captain *Mildmay* in the *Vanguard*. In the *Triumph*, *Blake* was wounded in the thigh with a piece of iron a shot had driven, and the same piece of iron tore general *Deane's* coat and breeches. Captain *Ball*, who commanded the ship, was shot dead, and fell at *Blake's* feet; his secretary *Mr. Sparrow* was likewise killed receiving his orders: he lost besides a hundred seamen, and the rest were most of them wounded, and his ship so miserably shattered, that

<sup>b</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p 298, 299. Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Clarendon's history, Whitlock's memoirs, Rapin.

that it had little share in the two next days fights<sup>1</sup>. In the *Fairfax* there were an hundred men killed, and the ship wretchedly torn; the *Vanguard* lost her captain and abundance of men. The *Prosperous*, a ship of 44 Guns, was boarded by *de Ruyter* and taken; but *de Ruyter's* ship being in that instant boarded by an *English* man of war, captain *Vesey* in the *Merlin*-frigate entered the *Prosperous*, and retook her. The *Assistance*, vice-admiral of the blue squadron, was disabled in the beginning of the fight, and brought off to *Portsmouth*, whither the *Advice* quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the sea. *Tromp*, who was long engaged with *Blake*, lost most of his officers and had his ship disabled; *de Ruyter* lost his main and fore-top-mast, and very narrowly escaped being taken. One *Dutch* man of war was blown up; six more were either sunk or taken: the latter had their rigging so clotted with blood and brains, that it was impossible to look upon them but with horror<sup>2</sup>.

*FRIDAY* night was spent in repairing the damage, and making the necessary dispositions for a second engagement. On *Saturday* morning the enemy was seen again seven leagues off *Weymouth*, whither the *English* plyed, and came up with them in the afternoon about three leagues to the north-west of the *Isle of Wight*. *Tromp* had rallied his fleet, and ranged it in the form of an half-moon, in-  
closing

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<sup>1</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 335. The accounts in this book are, generally speaking, from the relations printed by order of the state, and are therefore more to be depended on than the accounts in Whitlock, which were set down according to the news he received; and therefore, what is one day reported as a fact, is perhaps a week afterwards retracted as a falsehood. <sup>2</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Columna Rostrata, 113, 114. Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 300.

closing the merchant-ships within a semi-circle, and in that posture he maintained a retreating fight. The *English* made several desperate attacks, striving to break through to the merchant-ships: on which occasion *de Ruyter's* ship was again so roughly treated, that she was towed out of the fleet. At last, the merchant-men, finding they could be no longer protected, began to shift for themselves, throwing part of their goods over board, for the greater expedition. According to *Blake's* own letter, eight men of war, and fourteen or sixteen merchant-ships, were taken; and the fight continued all night<sup>1</sup>.

On Sunday morning the *Dutch* were near *Bulloign*, where the fight was renewed, but with little effect. *Tromp* had slipped away in the dark with his merchant-men to *Calais-Sands*, where he anchored that day with forty sail; the wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our fleet pursuing but slowly; for *Blake*, though he feared not *Dutchmen*, yet dreaded their shallow coasts: however, the captains, *Lawson*, *Marton*, and *Graver*, took each a *Dutch* man of war, and *Penn* picked up many of their merchant-men. On the whole, the *Dutch* had the better the first day, lost ground the second, and were clearly beaten the third. They lost eleven men of war, (their own account say but nine) thirty merchant-men, 1500 men killed, and as many wounded. As for the *English*, they lost only the *Sampson*, which captain *Button* finding disabled, sunk of his own accord, as to their men, it is certain their loss was little inferior to the *Dutch*<sup>m</sup>. It is remarkable, that  
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<sup>1</sup> Columna Rostrata, p. 115.    <sup>m</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 636.  
Heath's chronicle, p. 335.    Bate's history of the troubles of Eng-  
land

in this fight *Blake*, who had been long a land-officer, made use of a good body of soldiers, and with all the success he could wish: yet this is no precedent in any but such a war as this was; since these troops had no time to languish or grow sick, but were engaged almost as soon as they were put on board. The people contributed readily and plentifully to the relief of our wounded seamen; and the *Dutch* on their side complimented *Tromp* on his conduct, which was certainly no more than he deserved<sup>a</sup>.

IN the mean time things went but ill in the *Streights*, where an *English* and *Dutch* squadron lay together in the road of *Leghorn*. An action happened there which deserves to be related, because there appears as much true bravery and maritime skill in the *English* officers who had the misfortune to be beat, as ever rendered a victory conspicuous; and it ought to be the business of an historian to celebrate merit rather than success:

THE *English* squadron consisted of six ships commanded by commodore *Appleton*, of the burden and force expressed in the following list.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
<i>The Leopard</i> , —————	52 —————	180
<i>Bonaventure</i> , —————	44 —————	150
<i>Sampson</i> , —————	36 —————	90
<i>Levant-Merchant</i> , ———	28 —————	60
<i>Pilgrim</i> , —————	30 —————	70
<i>Mary</i> , —————	30 —————	70

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land, p. 175. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. Bafnage  
annees des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 301.

<sup>a</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Columna Rostrata, p. 115, 116.



COMMODORE *Appleton* took this opportunity of lying so near the *Dutch* Squadron, to send three boats manned with resolute seamen, and commanded by one captain *Cox*, to execute a design upon the ship *Phœnix*, which had been taken from the *English* in the rencounter near *Elba*, and which at this time made a part of the enemies Squadron. This design was undertaken on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *November* 1652, and it succeeded so well, that the ship being boarded by the *English*, the *Dutch* were so surprized, that they made but little resistance; and young *Tromp* who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water to avoid being taken. The action was performed with such expedition, that before the *Dutch*, who lay next her, were well apprized of what had happened, she was carried off. But the great duke of *Tuscany* being informed of this adventure, and judging it to be a violation of the neutrality of that port, he ordered the *English* either to restore the *Phœnix*, or to depart from thence. To depart was not without danger: for *Van Galen* with the whole strength of the enemy in those seas, consisting of sixteen men of war, a fire-ship, and several stout merchant-ships, (which were offered a share of the booty, if they would engage) lay ready before the harbour to intercept them.

YET they rather chose to run all hazards, than to deliver up the ship. With this resolution they dispatched away advice to commodore *Bodley*, who lay at the island *Elba* with two men of war, a fire-ship, and the four merchant-ships which were present at the former engagement with *Van Galen*; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that *Bodley* with his small Squadron (though unfit to engage, partly on account of the loss of men in the late fight, partly on account of the merchant-ships un-



der their convoy, which were laden with 1500 Bales of silk, and other valueable goods) should appear about the time fixed, within sight of *Leghorn*, to make a bravado, in order to amuse the *Dutch*, and thereby, if possible, to draw them off from before the harbour, and so to open a passage for *Appleton* to escape. According to agreement, *Bodley* on the 2<sup>d</sup> of *March* 1653, came within sight of the place. On the 3<sup>d</sup>, he cause three or four of his best sailers to approach the enemy, who were stationed before the port: whereupon, their whole squadron (as was expected) stood to sea, and gave them chace. This *Appleton* perceiving, took the opportunity to come out; but too soon: for the *Dutch* being aware of their design, immediately gave over the chace, and tacking about, fell upon *Appleton's* squadron with nine of their men of war, while the rest observed *Bodley*.

AT the first encounter, an unfortunate shot from *Van Galen's* ship set fire to the *Bonaventure*, which blew up, though not unrevenged; for at the same time a shot from that ship broke *Van Galen's* leg, of which hurt he soon after died. In the mean while, *Appleton* was attacked by two of the *Hollanders* at once, against whom he maintained a close fight of four or five hours, with such resolution, that both the *Dutch* ships were so disabled, that they scarce fired a shot; *Van Galen* seeing the resolution, of the *English* commodore, and going (though desperately wounded) to the assistance of his friends, was in great danger by a fire-ship sent off from *Bodley's* squadron. But another ship coming to the assistance of the *Hollanders* who were engaged with *Appleton*, they renewed the attack with greater vigour. Some *Dutch* writers report, that *Appleton* finding himself oppressed by such unequal numbers, after having made all possible resistance, ran down, and

would

would have blown up his ship; but that, being hindered by his seamen, he was obliged to yield. The *young Tromp* attacking the *Sampson*, was beaten off after a desperate fight; but *The Sampson* was soon after burnt by a fire-ship. *The Levant-Merchant* being encountered by one of the enemies ships, beat her off, and stranded her. But being at last taken, together with *The Pilgrim*, (which had lost her main and mizzen-masts in the fight); *The Mary*, thus left alone, made her escape, and joined the nearest ships of *Bodley's* squadron, which put an end to the engagement °.

BEFORE we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer hothie, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of the great change made in our civil government by *Cromwell*, who on the 20th of *April* 1653, entered the house of commons, and dissolved the parliament by force <sup>P</sup>. An action stupendous in itself, and which seems to have struck too many of our own and of foreign historians with want of discernment. They attribute to *Cromwell*, whatever was done after the murder of the king; and the *Dutch* historians particularly, impute this war to him, and amongst other reasons for his dissolving the parliament, make this to have been one; that he suspected they were inclined to peace <sup>Q</sup>: whereas, in truth, never two governments were less alike, than those of the parliament and the protector; the former acted upon national principles, the latter from

N 2

private

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° Heath's chronicle, p. 337. *Columna rostrata*, p. 119. Bafnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 306; where this writer tells us, that the body of admiral Vaa Galen was transported into Holland, buried at Amsterdam, and a magnificent monument erected to his memory, at the expence of the States. <sup>P</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Bates, Warwick, Ludlow, &c. <sup>Q</sup> Bafnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 303. and the same error runs through all the Dutch historians;

private views. The *Dutch* war was the parliament's war, begun upon the old quarrel, which king *Charles* would have prosecuted, had he been able. It is true, that *Cromwell* carried on the war; but it was only till he could make such a peace as served his turn, and our noble historian rightly observes, that it was the parliament's persisting in carrying on this war, that compelled *Cromwell* to act sooner than he would have done from his foresight, that if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not easily be overturned at home by their own creatures \*.

It must be confessed, that the *Dutch* did not instantly receive any great benefit from this sudden revolution, but then it must be considered, that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in this measure. The government of the parliament, was a government of order and laws, (however they came by their authority); the government of the general, afterwards protector, was entirely military: no wonder, therefore, that both the navy and the army were pleased with him \*. Some advantage, however, the enemy certainly reaped from this change in *English* affairs; for *Van Tromp* conveyed a great fleet of merchant-men to the north, (for they were now forced to try that road rather than the channel) and though our navy followed him to the height of *Aberdeen*, yet it was to no purpose: he escaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an opportunity of coming into the *Downs*, making some prizes, and battering *Dover*-castle. This scene of triumph lasted

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\* Clarendon's history, p. 636. where he proves, that *Cromwell* was never heartily inclined to the *Dutch* war, and p. 641. where he shews what the causes were which hastened *Cromwell* in the execution of his project.      \* Heath's chronicle, p. 339, 340. Holles's and Warwick's memoirs compared with Whitlock.

lasted but a bare week; for *Tromp* came thither on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *May*, and on the last of that month, he had intelligence, that *Monk* and *Deane*, who commanded the *English* fleet, were approaching<sup>1</sup>, and that their whole fleet consisted of ninety-five sail of men of war, and five fire-ships. The *Dutch* had ninety-eight men of war, and six fire-ships, and both fleets were commanded by men the most remarkable for courage and conduct in either nation; so that it was generally conceived, this battle would prove decisive.

ON the 2<sup>d</sup> of *June* in the morning, the *English* fleet discovered the enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great vigour. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the first broad-side from the enemy, carried off the brave admiral *Deane*, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. *Monk* with much presence of mind, covered his body with his cloak: and here appeared the wisdom of both admirals being on board the same ship; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the same warmth as if it had not happened. The blue squadron charged through the enemy, and rear-admiral *Lawson* bid fair for taking *de Ruyter*, and after he was obliged to leave his ship, sunk another of 42 guns, commanded by captain *Buller*. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the *Dutch* fell into great confusion, and *Tromp* saw himself obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a stout ship commanded by *Cornelius van Velsen* blew up. This increased the confusion in which they were before; and though *Tromp* did all that was in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon

<sup>1</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 344.

such ships as drew out of the line ; yet it was to no purpose, but rather served to increase their misfortune. In the night, *Blake* arrived in the *English* fleet, with a squadron of eighteen ships, and so had his share in the second day's engagement <sup>u</sup>.

*TROMP* did all that was consistent with his honour, to avoid fighting the next day ; but he would not do more, so that the *English* fleet came up with them again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmost fury, the battle continued very hot for about four hours, and vice-admiral *Penn* boarded *Tromp* twice, and had taken him, if he had not been seasonably relieved by *de Wit* and *de Ruyter*. At last the *Dutch* fell again into confusion, which was so great, that a plain flight quickly followed, and instead of trusting to their arms, they sought shelter on the flat coast of *Newport*, from whence, with difficulty enough, they escaped to *Zeland*. Our writers agree, that the *Dutch* had six of their best ships sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken ; six of their principal captains were taken prisoners, and upwards of 1500 men. Among the ships before-mentioned, one was a vice, and two were rear-admirals <sup>w</sup>. The *Dutch* historians, indeed, confess the loss but of eight men of war. On our side, admiral *Deane* and one captain, were all the persons of note killed : of private men there were but few, and not a ship was missing ; so that a more signal victory could scarce be obtained, or indeed desired. Besides, the enemies ships were now blocked

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<sup>u</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 644. Heath's chronicle, p. 344. I have likewise consulted Monk's letter, printed in the proceedings of the parliament called by authority of general Cromwell in 1653, p. 27.

<sup>w</sup> *Columna rostrata*, p. 126. Heath's chronicle, p. 345.

blocked up in their ports, and the sight of a foreign fleet at their doors, had this farther bad consequence, that it excited domestic tumults. We need not wonder then, that the *Dutch* sent ambassadors into *England*, to negotiate a peace almost on any terms. These *Cromwell* received with haughtiness enough, talked high, and assumed to himself the credit of former victories, in which he could have little share <sup>2</sup>.

THE states, however, were far from trusting entirely to negotiations, but laboured with the utmost diligence to repair their past losses, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult task; and in order to effect it, they were forced to raise the seamen's wages, though their trade was at a full stop: they came down in person to their ports, and saw their men embarked, advanced them wages beforehand, and promised them if they would fight once again, they would never ask them more <sup>3</sup>. Yet all this would hardly have done, if the industry of *de Wit*, in equipping their new-built ships, and the care and skill of *Van Tromp* in refitting their old ones, and encouraging the seamen, had not contributed more than all the other methods that were taken to the setting out a fresh fleet, of upwards of ninety ships, in the latter end of *July*, a thing admired then, and scarce credible now. These were victualled for five months; and the scheme laid down by the states, was this, that to force the *English* fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs should come and block up ours. But first it was resolved, than *Van Tromp* should sail to the mouth of the *Texel*, where *de Ruyter*, with twenty-five sail of

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stout

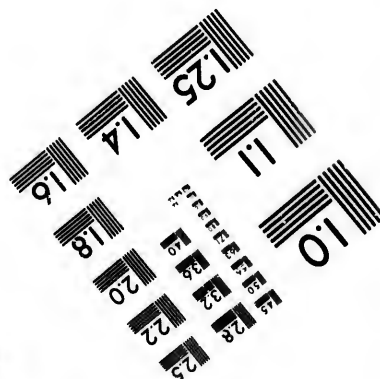
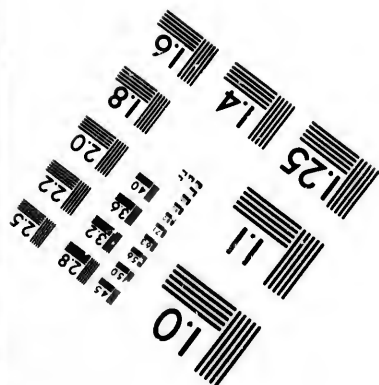
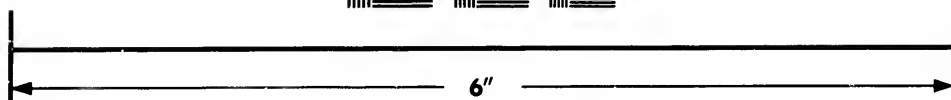
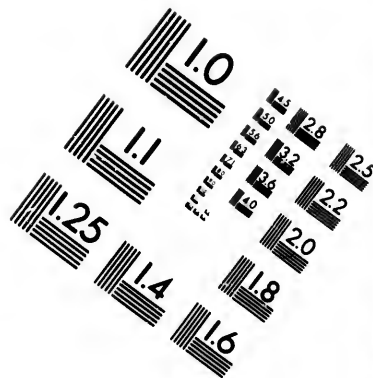
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<sup>2</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 311 <sup>3</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 346.



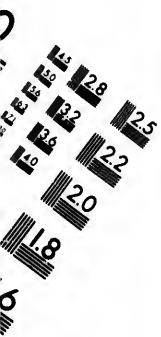






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stout ships, was kept in by the *English* fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their station, and thereby give the *Dutch* squadron an opportunity of coming out <sup>z</sup>.

ON the 29<sup>th</sup> of *July* 1653, the *Dutch* fleet appeared in the sight of the *English*, upon which the latter did their utmost to engage them: but *Tromp*, having in view the release of *de Wit*, rather than fighting, kept off, so that it was seven at night before general *Monk* in *The Resolution*, with about thirty ships, great and small, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark soon after, there passed nothing more that night, *Monk* sailing to the south, and *Van Tromp* to the northward, and this not being suspected by the *English*, he both joined *de Wit*'s squadron, and gained the weather-gage <sup>a</sup>. The next day proving very foul and windy, the sea ran so high, that it was impossible for the fleets to engage, the *English* particularly, finding it hard enough to keep off the enemy's coasts <sup>b</sup>.

ON *Sunday July* 31, the weather being favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle lasted at least eight hours, and was the most hard-fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The *Dutch* fire-ships were managed with great dexterity, and many of the large vessels in the *English* fleet were in the utmost danger, and *The Triumph* was so effectually fired, that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, and yet those who staid behind, were so lucky as to put it out <sup>c</sup>. *Lawson* engaged

<sup>z</sup> Basnage, de Neuville, le Clerc, Rapin.

chronicle, p. 346, 347. Proceedings of the parliament, A. D. 1653, p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Columna rostrata, p. 130.

<sup>a</sup> Heath's

<sup>c</sup> Heath's

chronicle, p. 347.

gaged *de Ruyter* briskly, killed and wounded above half his men, and so disabled his ship, that it was towed out of the fleet: yet the admiral did not leave the battle so, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ship. About noon, *Van Tromp* was shot through the body with a musket-ball, as he was giving orders<sup>d</sup>. This miserably discouraged his countrymen, so that by two, they began to fly in great confusion, having but one flag standing amongst them. The lightest frigates in the *English* fleet pursued them closely, till the *Dutch* admiral, perceiving they were but small, and of no great strength, turned his helm, and resolved to engage them; but some bigger ships coming into their assistance, the *Dutchman* was taken<sup>e</sup>. It was night by that time their scattered fleet recovered the *Texel*. The *English* fearing their flats, rode about six leagues off. This was a terrible blow to the *Dutch*, of whom, according to *Monk's* letter, no less than thirty ships were lost; but from better intelligence, it appeared, that four of these had escaped, two into *Zeland*, and two into *Hamburg*<sup>f</sup>. Their loss, however, was very great: five captains were taken prisoners, and between four and five thousand men killed, twenty-six ships of war either burnt or sunk. On the side of the *English*, there were two ships only, viz. *The Oak* and *The Hunter-Frigate* burnt, six captains killed, and about five hundred seamen. There were also six captains wounded, and about eight hundred private men<sup>g</sup>. The *Dutch* writers dispute many of

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<sup>d</sup> Leven Van Tromp, p. 111.      <sup>e</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 348.  
<sup>f</sup> Monk's letter, which is printed in the proceedings of the parliament I have cited, was written the very evening of the fight, viz. July 31, 1653.      <sup>g</sup> Proceedings of the parliament, p. 34. Heath's chronicle, p. 348. Columna rostrata, p. 132. Bates's history, p. 175.

of these points, and some of them will not allow, that they lost above nine ships. The contrary of this, however, appears from *de Wit's* letter to the states, wherein he owns many more, confesses that he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he assigns two reasons; first, that the best of their ships were miserably shattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like Poltrons<sup>b</sup>.

SOME very singular circumstances attended this extraordinary victory, and deserve therefore to be mentioned. There were several merchant-men in the fleet, and *Monk*, finding occasion to employ them, thought proper to send their captains to each others ships, in order to take off their concern for their owners vessels and cargoes; a scheme which answered his purpose perfectly well, no ships in the fleet behaving better<sup>i</sup>. He had likewise observed, that in most engagements, much time, and many opportunities were lost, by taking ships, and sending them into harbour; and considering that still greater inconveniencies must arise from their nearness to the enemy's coast, and distance from their own, he issued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they should not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not so strictly observed, but that twelve hundred *Dutchmen* were taken out of the sea, while their ships were sinking<sup>k</sup>. *Monk* himself was so active, that in his letter to *Cromwell*, dated the 2<sup>d</sup> of *August* 1653, he takes notice, that of five *Dutch* flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three, viz. those of *Tromp*, *Everson* and *de Ruyter*;

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<sup>b</sup> *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 240. <sup>i</sup> *Leven Van Tromp*, p. 142. <sup>k</sup> *Heath's chronicle*, p. 348. <sup>k</sup> *Columna solitaria*, p. 130—131.

*Ruyter*<sup>1</sup>; and so long he continued in the heat of the dispute, that his ship, *The Resolution*, was at last towed out of the line: and, indeed, most of the great vessels had been so roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coast any longer.

THE parliament then sitting, who were of *Cromwell's* appointment, upon the 8th of *August* 1653, ordered gold chains to be sent to the generals *Blake* and *Monk*, and likewise to vice-admiral *Penn* and rear-admiral *Lawson*; they sent also chains to the rest of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of *August* was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving<sup>m</sup>, and *Monk* being then in town, *Cromwell* at a great feast in the city put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time<sup>n</sup>. As for the states, they supported their loss with great courage and constancy; they buried *Tromp* very magnificently at the public expence, and as soon as the return of the *English* fleet permitted, sent *de Wit* with a fleet of fifty men of war, and five fire-ships to the *Sound*, in order to convoy home a fleet of three hundred merchant-men, there assembled from different quarters<sup>o</sup>. This he performed very happily, though the *English* fleet lay in wait for him: but the joy which the *Dutch* conceived upon this occasion, was soon qualified by accidents of another sort; for an *English* squadron falling in with a large fleet of merchant-men in the mouth of the *Ulie*, and admiral *Lawson* sailing to the north, destroyed

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<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the parliament, p. 33, where there is an extract only; but I have seen a copy of the entire letter. <sup>m</sup> Parliamentary proceedings, p. 39, 45. <sup>n</sup> Columna Rostrata, p.

134. <sup>o</sup> Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, p. 315, 316, 317.

ed their herring-fishing for that year, and either took or sunk most of the frigates sent to protect them: besides, a great storm drove twelve or thirteen of their best men of war from their anchors, so that running on shore they were lost <sup>p</sup>.

THE negotiation carried on by the *Dutch* ministers at *London*, met at first with many difficulties. The terms prescribed were in number many, and in their nature hard, insomuch that it is scarce to be conceived, that the *Dutch* could ever have submitted to them; but an accident (if indeed the effect of *Cromwell's* intrigues ought to be called so) delivered them out of their distress. The parliament on the 12th of *December* 1653, took a sudden resolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, viz. the lord general *Cromwell*, who soon after took upon him the supreme magistracy, under the title of protector <sup>q</sup>. He quickly admitted the *Dutch* to a treaty upon softer conditions, though he affected to make use of high terms, and to behave towards their ambassadors with a great deal of haughtiness, which, for the sake of their country's interest, they knew well enough how to bear. This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the fourth of *April* 1654. In this negotiation the coalition, upon which the parliament had insisted, was entirely dropped. No mention at all was made of our sole right to fishing on our own coast, or any annual tribute secured to us for the *Dutch* fishing in our seas, which had been actually paid to king *Charles*, and was offered to the parliament; though *Cromwell*, because his administration stood in need  
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<sup>p</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Bafnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 317. Rapin.

<sup>q</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 353.



of a peace, thought fit to part with it. He likewise gave up all claim to the searching *Dutch* ships, which the parliament had rigorously insisted on. The right of limiting the number of their ships of war, was another of their articles that he dropt; neither did he oblige them to grant the *English* a free navigation on the river *Scheldt* \*. But it is now time to see the terms to which he held them.

It was in the first place stipulated, that such as could be found of the persons concerned in the massacre at *Amboyna*, should be delivered up to justice. This was very specious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotism, who thus compelled the *Dutch* to make satisfaction, for an offence which the two former kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But as this article was never executed, so we may reasonably conclude, that the *Dutch* knew the protector's mind before they made this concession. They acknowledged the dominion of the *English* at sea, by consenting to strike the flag, submitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the *East-India* company satisfaction for the losses they had sustained, and by a private article, bound themselves never to elect any of the house of *Orange* to the dignity of *Stadtholder* \*. Thus taking all things together, this ought rather to be considered as a close conjunction between the new protector of *England*, and the *Louvestein* faction in *Holland*, than an alliance between the two nations. For though it be true, that some regard was had in this treaty to the honour and interest of *England*, yet

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\* Columna Rostrata, p. 137. Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Flagellum; or, the life and death of Ol. Cromwell, p. 147. \* See this treaty at large in the collection of treaties in four volumes.

considering our success in that war, and the situation things were in at the conclusion of it, there can be no reason to doubt, that, if the parliament which begun the war had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms, in respect both to profit and glory.

HOSTILITIES between the two states had not continued quite two years; and yet in that time the *English* took no less than one thousand seven hundred prizes, valued by the *Dutch* themselves at sixty-two millions of guilders, or near six millions sterling. On the contrary, those taken by the *Dutch* could not amount to the fourth part, either in number or value. Within that time the *English* were victorious in no less than five general battles, some of which were of several days; whereas the *Hollanders* cannot justly boast of having gained one. For the action between *de Ruyter* and *Ayscue*, in which they pretended some advantage, was no general fight; and the advantage gained by *Tromp* in the *Downs*, is owned to have been gained but over a part of the *English* fleet. As short as this quarrel was, it brought the *Dutch* to greater extremities, than their fourscore years war with *Spain*. The states shewed great wisdom in one point, *viz.* including their ally the king of *Denmark* in this treaty, by undertaking that either he or they should make satisfaction for the *English* ships, which been seized at the beginning of the war in his port<sup>t</sup>.

THE rupture between *France* and *England* still continued, our ships of war taking, sinking, or burning theirs wherever they met them, and the *French* privateers disturbing

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<sup>t</sup> Verwerd Europa, p. 122. Interest Van Holland, p. 34. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 335.

sturbirg our commerce as much as they were able <sup>u</sup>. An attempt was made by the *French* ministry to have got *France* as well as *Denmark* included in the peace made with the states: but *Cromwell* would not hear of this, because he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the *French* then laboured under another way; in which he succeeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655, to submit to his own terms, and to give up the interests of the royal family, notwithstanding their near relation to the house of *Bourbon*. He likewise obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce, and without question his conduct with regard to *France*, would have deserved commendation, if, for the sake of securing his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal *Mazarine*, and contributed thereby to the aggrandizing of a power which has been terrible to *Europe* ever since <sup>w</sup>; and which he might have reduced within just bounds, if he had so pleased.

He did not discover his intentions in this respect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became necessary. He affected to have his friendship earnestly solicited both by *France* and *Spain*, and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the court which deserved best, or, in plain terms, bid highest for it <sup>x</sup>. The first sign of his reconciliation to the *French*, was, the restoring the ships taken by *Blake*, with provisions and ammunition for the garrison of *Dunkirk*; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally supposed, that the first instigation to the *Spanish*

war

<sup>u</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 356, 357.

<sup>w</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 649.

<sup>x</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 356.

war came from him; who gave the protector to understand, that the *English* maritime force could not be better employed, than in conquering part of the *Spanish West-Indies*, while *France* attacked the same crown in *Europe*; and to purchase his assistance, would readily relinquish the royal family, and so rid him from all fears of an invasion<sup>y</sup>. Besides these hints from abroad, the protector had some notices of a like nature at home; especially from one *Gage* a priest, who had been long in *America*, and who furnished him with a copious account of the wealth and weakness of the *Spaniards* there<sup>z</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after the conclusion of the *Dutch* war, the protector ordered all the ships of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewise directed many new ones to be built; store-houses, magazines, &c. to be filled with ammunition and provision: whence it was evident enough that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew against whom this mighty force was to be exerted<sup>a</sup>. In the summer of the year 1654, he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by admiral *Blake*, and the other by vice-admiral *Penn*. Neither of these had any knowledge of what the other was to attempt; so far from it, they knew not perfectly what themselves were to perform<sup>b</sup>. Their orders were to be opened at sea, and they had no further lights given them, than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary preparations. *Blake*,

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<sup>y</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Bafnage, Rapin, &c. <sup>z</sup> He wrote a book entitled, *A Survey of the West-Indies*, of which the first edition was in folio, and there have been several in octavo; but these latter want a chapter which is the most curious in the whole book. <sup>a</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 673. Bafnage *Annales des provinces Unies*, vol i. p. 400.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 673. Whitlock, Rapin.

as soon as all things were ready, put to sea, and sailed into the *Streights*, where his orders were to procure satisfaction from such princes and states, as had either insulted the government, or injured the commerce of *England*. But, before his departure, it had been industriously given out, that he was to intercept the duke of *Guise*, and to protect the kingdom of *Naples* from the *French*. This had the desired effect; it lulled the *Spaniards* asleep, and even disposed them to shew the admiral all possible civilities, who very probably had as yet no suspicion of *Cromwell's* design to break with that nation: The first place he went to was *Leghorn*, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke: the first was for his subjects purchasing the prizes made by prince *Rupert*; the other for the damage done by *Van Galen*, when *Appleton* was forced out of *Leghorn* road. These demands surprized the prince on whom they were made; especially, when he understood how large a sum was expected from him, not less in the whole than 150,000 *l.* which, however, was moderated to 60,000 *l.* and this sum there is reason to believe was actually paid. Thence he proceeded to *Algiers*, where he arrived the 10th of *March* 1655, and anchored without the mole, sending an officer to the *Dey* to demand satisfaction for the piracies committed on the *English*, and the release of all captives belonging to his nation. The *Dey* answered very modestly, that as for the ships and slaves, they were now the property of private persons, from whom he could not take them with

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<sup>c</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell. vol. ii. p. 345. Life of Blake, Bates's History.

safety to himself; but that he would make it his care they should be redeemed upon easy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hostilities being committed for the future. The admiral left the port upon this, and sailed to *Tunis*, where he sent the like message on shore; but received a very short answer, *viz.* *Here are our castles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: you may do your worst; we do not fear you.* Blake entered the bay of *Porto Ferino*, and came within musket-shot of the castle and line, which he played upon so warmly, that they were soon in a defenceless condition. There were then nine ships in the road, which the admiral resolved to burn; and with this view ordered every captain of his own ships to man his long-boat with choice men, and directed these to enter the harbour and fire the ships of *Tunis*, while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ships, with the loss of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name through *Africa* and *Asia*, which had long been formidable in *Europe*. From *Tunis* he went to *Tripoli*, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to *Tunis*, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms glorious for him, and profitable for his country<sup>d</sup>.

THE other fleet being also in readiness, and composed of about thirty ships of war, and a convenient number of transports;

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<sup>d</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 374, 375. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 348, 349.



transports; the protector resolved they should sail in the month of *December 1654*. Admiral *Penn* had the chief command of this fleet, and under him were vice-admiral *Goodson*, and rear-admiral *Blagge*. The commander of the land-forces was colonel *Venables*, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was secretly in the king's interest, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to restore him. The troops consisted of about five thousand men, amongst whom many were royalists, and the rest so little satisfied with the protector's administration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them<sup>e</sup>. *Venables* had desired of *Cromwell*, that great care might be taken in furnishing, arms, and ammunition; that his forces might be properly chosen, and that himself might not be fettered by his instructions. In all these he soon found himself disappointed: his provision was not only short in quantity, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very sparingly supplied, and in a manner fitter for show than service; his troops were either raw or invalids, and by his instructions, he was tied up from doing any thing without the consent of others<sup>f</sup>. Before he could acquire any certain knowledge of these particulars, he was hurried on board at *Portsmouth*, whence he immediately sailed for *Barbadoes*<sup>g</sup>.

THE fleet arrived in *Carlisle* bay on the 29th of *January 1655*, and were very joyfully received by all the in-

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habitants

<sup>e</sup> Clarendon's History, p. 673: Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

<sup>f</sup> The only just and genuine account of this expedition is to be found in Barchet's Naval History, which was drawn up at the time, from the examination of Penn, Venables, and their superiour officers. <sup>g</sup> Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.



habitants of the island of *Barbadoes*, where they staid some time, in order to recruit and make the necessary preparations for their intended descent on the island of *Hispaniola*. We have been long taught blindly to admire the wisdom and conduct of *Cromwell* in his enterprizes; but certainly this was the worst managed that ever our nation undertook. General *Venables* found himself deficient in all sorts of necessaries, and which was worse, found admiral *Penn* very little inclined to afford him even the assistance that was in his power. He expostulated with him to no purpose, which made the wretchedness of his and their condition so apparent, that one of their fellow-commissioners said plainly, *he doubted they were betrayed*. It was, however, too late to look back, and besides, abundance of volunteers resorted to *Barbadoes* from all our plantations, in order to share the riches that were to be taken from the *Spaniards*; so that *Venables* saw himself under a necessity of proceeding, notwithstanding he was thoroughly satisfied, they were in no condition to proceed <sup>b</sup>.

FROM *Barbadoes* the fleet sailed on the last of *March* to *St. Christopher's*, where they met with another supply of volunteers; so that when they embarked for *Hispaniola*, *Venables* had under his command the greatest body of *European* troops that had ever been seen in that part of the world, his army consisting of very near 10,000 men. It must, however, be observed, that they were in the worst temper in the world for making conquests. Most of them, when they left *England*, did it with a view to make their fortunes; but now the commissioners (of whom *Venables* indeed was one, but of a different opinion from all

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<sup>b</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 349.

all the rest) told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had like to have thrown them into a general mutiny, and it was with much ado, that the officers pacified them with a promise of six weeks pay, which the commissioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this situation things were, when they embarked for *Hispaniola* <sup>1</sup>.

THEY arrived before the city of *St. Domingo*, and general *Venables* proposed that they should sail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the sea-officers, who proposed landing at the river *Hins*; for which purpose, part of the squadron was detached under the command of vice-admiral *Goodson*, who when at sea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ships into the mouth of the river, and therefore, the troops were compelled (notwithstanding general *Venables* protested against it) to land at the west-point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody country without any guide; infomuch, that numbers of men and horses, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water were destroyed. After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been first put on shore; but by that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the island, and had recovered from their first surprize. Colonel *Buller*, who had landed with his regiment near *Hins*-river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of *Cox* the guide, to march away; and for want of this

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<sup>1</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 369.

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guide, the general and his forces marched ten or twelve miles out of their road. Exasperated with these disappointments, and the hardships they had undergone, the regiment of seamen, under the command of admiral *Goodson* mutinied first, and then the land-troops; so that the general had much ado to prevail on them to ford the river. At length, colonel *Buller*, and *Cox* the guide, joined them, and promised to conduct them to a place where they might be supplied with water; but this colonel taking the liberty of straggling for the sake of pillage, the *Spaniards* attacked him, and in one of these skirmishes *Cox*, their only guide, was killed; yet the *Spaniards* were at last repulsed, and pursued within cannon-shot of the town.

In this distressed condition, a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to march to the harbour, in the best manner they could, which, with much difficulty they effected. There they staid three or four days to furnish themselves with provisions, and other necessaries, and then with a single mortar-piece, marched into the island again, to reduce the fort. The vanguard was commanded by adjutant-general *Jackson*, who, as soon as he was attacked by the *Spaniards*, ran away, and his troops after him. The passage through the woods being very narrow, they pressed on the general's regiment, who in vain endeavoured to stop them with their pikes. They likewise disordered major-general *Haines's* regiment, which gave the enemy, who followed very eagerly, and afforded no quarter, great advantage; so that the major-general, and the bravest of the officers, who, like *Englishmen*, preferred death before flight, ended their days here.

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\* Burchet's naval history, p. 392.

At last, general *Venables* and vice-admiral *Goodson*, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-a-ways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithstanding, the fire from the fort was very warm.

By this time the forces were so much fatigued and discouraged, that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, caused himself to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at last, he was forced to leave the care to major-general *Fortescue*, who did what he could to revive their spirits, but to very little purpose.

Soon after, it was resolved in a council of war, that since the enemy had fortified all the passes, and the whole army was in the utmost distress for want of water, they should march to a place where they were informed a supply of that, and other necessaries, had been put ashore from the ships. In this march, the soldiers followed their officers, till they found themselves in danger, and then left them; infomuch, that the commissioners owned, by a letter they wrote to the governor of *Barbadoes*, that, had not the enemy been as fearful as their own men, they might in a very few days destroyed the whole army; and withal, they let him know, that those who had occasioned the greatest disorder, were those of *Barbadoes* and *St. Christopher's*; infomuch, that they, the said commissioners, who were *Penn*, *Winslow* and *Buller*, had resolved to leave the place, and try what could be done against the island of *Jamaica*. Such was the end of this expedition, after having been on shore from the fourteenth of *April* to the first

of *May*, when this resolution of sailing to *Jamaica* was taken <sup>a</sup>.

THE army was accordingly in a little time embarked; but the sick and wounded men were left on the bare decks for eight and forty hours, without either meat, drink, or dressing, insomuch, that worms bred in their sores: and even while they were on shore, the provisions sent to them were not watered, but candied with salt, notwithstanding they had not water sufficient to quench their thirst. Nay, after their misfortunes on shore, *Venables* averred, that *Penn* gave rear-admiral *Blagge* orders not to furnish them with any more provisions of what kind soever; so that they eat up all the dogs, asses, and horses in the camp, and some of them such things as were in themselves poisonous, of which about forty died. Before the forces were embarked, adjutant-general *Jackson*, was tried at a court-martial, and not only sentenced to be cashiered, and his sword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a swabber, in keeping clean the hospital-ship; a punishment suitable to his notorious cowardice <sup>b</sup>.

THE descent on *Jamaica*, was better managed than that on *Hispaniola*; for immediately on their landing, which was on the third of *May*, general *Venables* issued his orders, that if any man should be found attempting to run away, the next man to him should put him to death; which if he failed to do, he should be liable to a court-martial <sup>c</sup>. The next day they attacked a fort which they carried, and were then preparing to storm the town of *St. Jago*, but this the *Spanish* inhabitants prevented, by a timely

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<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ubi supra.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 394.    <sup>c</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 314. Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's chronicle.



ly treaty; yet before the general would listen to any propositions of peace, he insisted, that a certain quantity of provisions should be sent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his soldiers strength and spirits; and in a short time, their negotiations ended in a compleat surrender of the island to the *English*, as appears by the articles, which the reader may find at large in several of our historians<sup>2</sup>. General *Venables* finding himself in a very weak condition, desired the consent of the commissioners to open their ultimate instructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In these, he found he had power, in case of necessity, to resign his command, which he did accordingly to general *Fortescue*; upon this, admiral *Penn* followed his example, and delivered up his charge to vice-admiral *Goodson*, with whom he left a stout squadron of ships, and with the rest of the fleet returned to *England*. In their passage home, they fell in with the *Spanish* plate fleet, in the gulph of *Florida*, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of instructions, at this distance, it is hard to determine<sup>3</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of *Penn* and *Venables*, which was in the month of *September* 1655, they were both committed close prisoners to the *Tower*, to satisfy the clamours of the people, who then (as it often happens) laid the greatest blame on him who least deserved it<sup>4</sup>. All that the protector insisted on, was, that they should confess their faults, in leaving their respective charges; and he promised

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<sup>2</sup> Burchet abridges them to four, in the page last cited. See also Whitlock, Kennet, Rapin, &c. <sup>3</sup> Heath's chronicle p. 376. <sup>4</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 674. Heath's chronicle, p. 376. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 186. Whitlock, Ludlow, Bates's history of the troubles in England, &c.

promised to release them upon their submission. This *Perre* quickly did, and was accordingly discharged; but *Venables* absolutely refused it, always insisting that he had committed no fault, since in case of inability to execute his duty, his instructions permitted him to resign his command<sup>a</sup>. His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reason; for as to what is said of his suffering the *Spaniards* to carry off their effects from the city of *St. Jago* to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the soldiers of their plunder; it appears to be a gross calumny, for several reasons<sup>b</sup>. For first, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loss to the soldiers, but quite the contrary; since if they had now fallen into their hands, the commissioners would have seized them for the protector's use, in pursuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this respect, without the consent of the other commissioners; and lastly, it appears by the most authentic account we have of this affair, that the soldiers were so far from being dissatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to represent their grievances at home, and to procure redress; which he did as far as was in his power<sup>c</sup>. The reason of his being first aspersed, was, a persuasion that he was a confident and creature of *Cromwell's*; which is so far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command, merely to get him out of his way<sup>d</sup>. The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's scheme,

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<sup>a</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 395. <sup>b</sup> British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 306. <sup>c</sup> All these facts the reader will find in the copious account of this voyage, published in Burchet. <sup>d</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 673. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 184. 185. Heath's chronicle, p. 369.



scheme, which was, to have raised a large supply for his own empty coffers from this expedition. This induced him to tie the commissioners down, to hinder the soldiers from keeping their plunder, upon pain of death; and their insisting upon this, had like to have been the ruin of the whole undertaking \*. The reader must discern the justice of these remarks, from the facts before laid down, which are indisputable; and, as to speak truth freely, and give mens characters, impartially, ought to be the study of an historian, I hope, this will justify me for insisting so long on this head.

ADMIRAL Blake's fleet continued all this time in the *Mediterranean*, and was now in the road to *Cadiz*, where he received the greatest civilities from the *Spaniards*; and lived on the best terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was struck at *Jamaica*, *Cromwell*, to the best of his power, carefully concealed his design to make war. When this was known, the *Spaniards* declared immediately against him, and seized the effects of all the *English* merchants in their dominions, to an immense value; an incident which seems not to have been sufficiently considered, by those who cry up the protector's conduct so highly †. This war, as we have before observed, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own advantage, from a prospect of supplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the necessity of calling parliaments ‡. It is true, that in public declarations, he talked much of his regard to trade, and his concern for the freedom of navigation: and no doubt, he was sincere in this, so far as it was consistent with his own power

\* Burchet's naval history, p. 390, 391. † Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's chronicle, Kennet, Echard, Ludlow, Rapin. ‡ Bate's history of the troubles in England, part ii. p. 200.

power, and not a jot beyond it; otherwise he would have considered the profits of our national trade with *Spain*, which were at that time very great, the *French* having never interfered, and the *Dutch* being utterly disliked by the *Spaniards*. At least he should have taken care by some timely hint, to enable so great a body as the merchants trading to *Spain* then were to have withdrawn their effects; and the neglect of this was not the effect of any inattention, a thing impossible while *Thurloe* had the management of his affairs, but the pure consequence of public interest clashing with his private views; and, therefore, throughout the whole transaction, he appears to have been a great politician, but no patriot. I say nothing as to his breach of the law of nations, in attacking the *Spaniards* without any previous declaration; because in the first place, this was not very inconsistent with the principles on which his government was founded; and next, the *Spaniards* had broke through all rules of true policy, as well as decorum, in acknowledging and courting him as they did; and therefore, felt no more than the just effects of their own refinements.

WHEN nothing more was to be got by concealing his intentions, the protector sent Mr. *Montague* with a small squadron of men of war into the *Mediterranean* to join *Blake*, and to carry him fresh instructions; the principal of which was to block up the port of *Cadiz*, in which there was a fleet of forty sail, intended to secure the *Flota*: and at the same time the sailing of this fleet was prevented, the *English* were to use their utmost diligence to hinder the *Flota* from coming in without sharing in the riches on board<sup>a</sup>. *Blake* and *Montague* executed their orders with equal

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<sup>a</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 675. Heath's chronicle, p. 381.

equal skill and industry, taking care to obtain a supply of fresh provisions and water, as often as they had occasion, from the *Portugal* coast. Thither for that purpose they had sailed with the greatest part of the fleet, when the squadron from the *Indies* approached *Cadiz*. Rear-admiral *Stayner* with seven frigates plied to and fro, till these eight large ships were in view, which he presently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his vessels, because they lay very low in the water, for fishermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the *Speaker*, the *Bridgwater*, and the *Plymouth*, he did his business, and after an obstinate engagement sunk two, ran two more a-ground, and took two of the *Spanish* vessels, so that two only escaped. In one of those was the marquiss of *Badajoz*, of the family of *Lopez*, who had been governor of *Peru* for the king of *Spain*, who was killed in the fight, with his wife, and a daughter; the eldest son and his brother were saved, and brought safe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them that was sunk. The admiral who carried the flag (for concealing the richest ship) with the *Portugal* prize recovered the shore. Soon after general *Montague* with the young marquiss of *Badajoz*, and part of the fleet to escort the silver, returned into *England*, delivered the bullion into the *Mint*; and at his interposition the young marquiss was set at liberty. For this a thanksgiving, with a narrative to be read thereon, was appointed by the parliament, who issued their declaration of war against *Spain*.

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<sup>b</sup> Clarendon, ubi supra. Heath, Bate, Whitlock, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Kennet, Rapin.

THE protector took a great deal of care of his new conquest, *Jamaica*, and within a very short time after the return of *Penn* and *Venables*, sent a considerable supply thither, and a squadron of men of war. These troops were commanded by colonel *Humfreys*, but major *Sedgwick* went with him, and had a commission to be governor of the island<sup>c</sup>. When they came thither, they found things in a much better posture than they expected. Colonel *D'oyly*, to whom *Fortescue* on account of sickness had resigned his command, was a person so indefatigable, that he had subdued all the opposition he met with, and driven the *Spaniards* out of the island, notwithstanding, they had fortified themselves in two or three places very strongly, and had been abundantly supplied with artillery and ammunition from *Cuba*<sup>d</sup>. It is easy to account for the different behaviour of these men here, and at *Hispaniola*. They fought there for the profit of others; but at this time for their own. They were then utterly unacquainted with the climate, and so less able to bear it; whereas they were now in some measure seasoned to it: yet this colonel *D'oyly* who did so much for the colony, was to be removed at all events from the government, because he had been formerly a cavalier. *Sedgwick*, however, who was to have been his successor, quickly died, and so did *Fortescue*; and *Humfreys*, according to his orders, returned home with a small fleet<sup>e</sup>. Upon this, the protector dispatched another 1000 men from *Scotland* with one colonel *Brayne*, who was to take the government out of colonel *D'oyly's* hands: but he likewise dying almost as soon as

<sup>c</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 377.  
vol. ii. p. 308.

<sup>d</sup> English empire in America,  
<sup>e</sup> Idem, *ibid.* Heath's chronicle, p. 383.

as he set his foot on the island, *D'ely* still continued in the exercise of his authority, and with great skill and integrity managed all things there to the time of the restoration; and then *Jamaica* was become through his care and vigilance a very considerable, and, for the time it had been settled, a very populous plantation<sup>f</sup>.

WE are now to return to the proceedings of the fleet in the *Mediterranean*. Admiral *Blake* continued to cruize before the haven of *Cadiz*, and in the *Streights*, till the month of *April* 1657; and having then information of another plate-fleet which had put into the haven of *Santa Cruz*, in the island of *Teneriff*; he immediately sailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20<sup>th</sup> of *April*. Here he found the *Flota*, consisting of six galleons very richly laden, and ten other vessels. The latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, because they drew too much water to lie within it. The port itself was strongly fortified, having on the north a large castle well supplied with artillery, and seven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with musketeers. The *Spanish* governor thought the place so secure, and his own dispositions so well made, that when the master of a *Dutch* ship desired leave to sail, because he apprehended *Blake* would presently attack the ships in the harbour; the *Spaniard* answered tartly, *Get you gone, if you will; and let Blake come, if he dares*<sup>h</sup>. The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attempt destroying

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<sup>f</sup> See the whole of these transactions in a treatise entitled, *Jamaica viewed, with all the ports, harbours, &c.* by E. H. i. e. Edmund Hiceringhill, London 1661, 8°. & Heath's chronicle, p. 391, Clarendon, Burchet. <sup>h</sup> Heath's chronicle, as before-cited.



stroying the enemy's ships; for it was impossible to bring them off: and to this end he sent captain *Stayner* with a squadron to attack them, who soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ships much disturbance. *Stayner's* squadron was quickly supported by *Blake* with the whole fleet, who boarded the *Spanish* galleons, and in a few hours made himself master of them all, and then set them on fire; so that the whole *Spanish* fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ships which sunk outright; and then the wind veering to the S. W. he passed with his fleet safe out of the port again, losing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about one hundred and twenty wounded<sup>1</sup>. It was, without question, the boldest undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed; and the *Spaniards* who are romantic enough in their own conduct, were so much astonished at his, that they quite lost their spirits, and thence forward never thought themselves safe, either from numbers or fortifications<sup>2</sup>.

WHEN the protector had the news of this glorious success, he immediately sent it by his secretary *Thurloe* to the parliament then sitting, and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be set apart for a thanksgiving, a ring of the value of five hundred pounds to the general, as a testimony of his country's gratitude; a present of one hundred to the captain who brought the news, and their thanks to all the officers and soldiers concerned in the action<sup>1</sup>. Captain *Richard Stayner* returning soon after  
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<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Bate, Burchet, Rapin. <sup>2</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 681. <sup>1</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 392. Ludlow's memoirs, p. 603.

was knighted by the protector : now was it long before *Blake* and the fleet returned, which put an end to the *Spanish* war by sea ; for the protector had lately entered into a closer conjunction with *France*, and in consequence thereof, sent over a body of land-forces into *Flanders*, where they assisted in taking the fortress and port of *Dunkirk*, which was delivered into the hands of the *English*, who kept it till after the restauration<sup>m</sup>.

THERE had been for some years a very sharp war carried on in the north, between the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which in its consequences was like to affect the rest of *Europe*, especially the maritime powers<sup>n</sup>. The *Dutch* saw that their trade to the *Baltick* would be ruined if the king of *Sweden* prevailed, who was now become the superior both by land and sea ; they therefore resolved to send a fleet to the assistance of the *Danes*, which they did, and thereby saved *Copenhagen*<sup>o</sup>. In *England* it was judged to be of no less consequence to succour the *Swedes*, yet it was not thought proper to avow the design as the *Dutch* had done ; and, therefore, sir *George Ayscue*, who was drawn out of his retirement to command a stout squadron sent upon this occasion, had orders to accept a commission as admiral from the king of *Sweden*, which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his service, than the *Dutch* did in favour of their allies. This was in the year 1657 ; but it was so late in the season, that he was not able to reach *Copenhagen* for the ice<sup>p</sup>. The next

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<sup>m</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Burchet, Rapin. <sup>n</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 383. Histoire de Holland, par M. de la Neuville, tom. iii. p. 112. <sup>o</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 521. <sup>p</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Basnage, De la Neuville.



year *Cromwell* died; and it was generally conceived, that the *English* would have meddled no farther in the affair<sup>9</sup>. It proved otherwise, however; for a stout fleet was fitted out, and sent to the *Baltick*, under the command of admiral *Montague*, who had acquired a great reputation by serving in conjunction with *Blake*. He had, besides his commission of admiral, another, whereby he was joined with the ambassadors *Sidney* and *Honeywood*<sup>r</sup>. He arrived at *Copenhagen*, and managed his affairs with great dexterity: for he avoided coming to blows, that he might not begin a new *Dutch* war; compelled the king of *Sweden*, by talking to him in a proper stile, to think of peace, to which he was otherwise very little inclined; and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of those high offices with which he was entrusted, he entertained a secret correspondence with the king, and disposed all things on board the fleet for his service<sup>s</sup>. When measures were concerted for sir *George Booth*'s rising, which was the last attempt made in favour of the king before his restoration, notice of it was given to admiral *Montague* at *Copenhagen*, who instantly resolved to return to *England*. His fellow-ambassadors, who were hearty republicans, had by this time gained some intelligence of his intercourse with the king, and therefore intended to have seized him in case he came ashore<sup>t</sup>. He was wise enough to put it out of their power, and took care also to run no risk in returning without orders; for having called a council of war, he complained to them that provisions grew short, and that it would be a very difficult thing to supply themselves in  
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<sup>9</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 553.    <sup>r</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 416.    <sup>s</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 723.    <sup>t</sup> Idem, *ibid*.

that part of the world, there being a *Dutch* fleet there at the same time. Upon this, it was unanimously resolved to sail home immediately, and this resolution was no sooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor and returned to *England*<sup>u</sup>, very opportunely and very unexpectedly.

On his arrival he found things in quite another situation than he expected, sir *George Booth* had been defeated and taken prisoner, and the old parliament was again restored; so that admiral *Montague*, though he had forty sail of stout ships under his command, and the seamen much at his devotion, yet thought it safest to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in *September* 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his house in the country<sup>w</sup>. The command of the fleet was then entrusted with admiral *Lawson*, who continued in the channel with a larger squadron of ships than ordinary, till general *Monk* came out of *Scotland*. As soon as the designs of that great man began to ripen, he proposed that *Montague* should be recalled, and restored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the supreme power in maritime affairs vested in him and *Monk*<sup>x</sup>. Admiral *Montague* went instantly to his command, and was surprized to find that *Lawson* and the rest of the officers were much better inclined to the intended change than he expected; and therefore he did not much dissemble either his inclinations or intentions. On the fourth of *April* 1660, he received his majesty's letter, and caused it to be read pub-

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<sup>u</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 426.      <sup>w</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Burchet. Rapin, &c.      <sup>x</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 439. Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow's memoirs, &c.

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lickly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders, he sailed for *Holland*, and sent an officer to the *Hague*, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him<sup>y</sup>.

WE have thus without entering deep into politics, run through the naval transactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the most eminent seamen who flourished therein to employ our care. But, previous to this, it may not be improper to observe, that it was wholly owing to the unanimity of our sailors, and their generous disregard to domestic broils, that we obtained so many glorious victories at sea, and spread the terror of the *English* name abroad, when the *English* nation at home was on the brink of destruction; that the parliament followed the king's steps exactly, in claiming the honour of the flag, asserting the sovereignty of the seas, and looking with a jealous eye on the encroachments of the *Dutch* and *French*; that in all our naval expeditions we came off with honour, and mostly with victory; whereas in conjunct expeditions, wherein land were joined with sea-forces, we were less fortunate; that our readiness in protecting trade, and resolution to revenge any insults on our honour, contributed not a little to the extending our commerce, and raising our reputation; lastly, that these advantages were all the nation had to ballance a multitude of misfortunes, our country being harassed and destroyed by contending parties, our industry discouraged by so long a war, and most of our manufactures ruined. On the other hand, the iniquitous oppressions, the hypocritical dissimulation, the scandalous outrages on our most excellent constitution,

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<sup>y</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 735.

stitution, were so notorious, that we must have become very despicable in the eyes of our neighbours, but for the courage and conduct of our seamen<sup>a</sup>. Amongst whom all parties have agreed to give the first rank to one who brought no other qualities than good sense, and a bold spirit, when he assumed the command of the *English* fleet, and yet soon became the ablest sailor in it, and as such claims our regard.

MEMOIRS of Admiral BLAKE

**H**IS descent was very honourable, the family from which he sprung having been long settled at *Plansfeld*, in the parish of *Spaxton* in *Somersetshire*<sup>a</sup>. Mr. *Humphry Blake*, his father was a *Spanish* merchant, and having acquired a considerable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a small estate in the neighbourhood of *Bridgwater*, where his family had been long settled. He had several children, of whom the eldest, *Robert*, is he whose life we are now to write. He was born in the month of *August* 1598, and during his father's life-time, was educated at a free-school in *Bridgwater*<sup>b</sup>. He afterwards removed to *Oxford*, where he was first a member of *St. Alban's-Hall*, and next of *Wadham-College*. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one disappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the university, when he had staid there seven years<sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> See the conclusion of lord Clarendon's history, and of sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. <sup>a</sup> Lives british and foreign, vol. ii. p. 75. Wood's fast. Oxon. vol. i. col. 203. <sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 681. Wood, ubi supra. <sup>c</sup> Lives English and foreign, as before, Wood, Bate.

DURING his residence in that seat of the muses, he sufficiently displayed his temper, which in reality was that of a humourist, usually grave, and in appearance morose; but inclined in an evening, and with particular friends to be very chearful, though still with a tincture of severity, which inclined him to bear hard on the pride of courtiers, and the power of church-men; which, as the noble historian well observes, rendered him very agreeable to the good-fellows in those days; though whether there was any ground from this disposition of his to conclude him a republican, is, I think, not easy to be determined<sup>d</sup>. This is certain, that his reputation for probity, and his known aversion to persecution, engaged the puritans to promote his election as a burgeois for *Bridgwater*, in the parliament which sat in *April* 1640<sup>e</sup>.

THAT assembly was dissolved too early for Mr. *Blake* to make any discovery therein of his talents as a senator; and in the long parliament, which sat soon after, he lost his election. When the war broke out between the king and parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their service; but where, and in what quality, is not very clear. However, he was very soon made a captain of dragoons, in which station he shewed himself as able and active an officer as any in the service, and as such, was made use of upon all occasions, where either boldness or dexterity were particularly requisite<sup>f</sup>.

IN 1643, we find him at *Bristol*, under the command of colonel *Fiennes*, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, in which he first gave the world a proof of his

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<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 681.      <sup>e</sup> Lives english and foreign, vol. ii. p. 76. Wood's Fast. Oxoniens. vol. i. col. 204.  
<sup>f</sup> Whitlock, Rushworth, Bate, Heath, Warwick.

his military virtues ; for on the 26th of *July*, when prince *Rupert* attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr. *Blake* still held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces. This exasperated prince *Rupert* to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war, and at their request, though not without much difficulty, he was at last prevailed on to give up the fort <sup>2</sup>.

AFTER this he served in *Somersetshire*, under the command of *Popham*, who was governor of *Lyme*, to whose regiment *Blake* was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greatest part of the regiment were *Somersetshire* men, he had so good an intelligence in those parts, that he, in conjunction with sir *Robert Pye*, surprized *Taunton* for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was constituted governor of that place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the parliament had in the west. The works about it were far from being strong. He had no very numerous garrison ; yet by keeping a strict discipline, and treating the townsmen well, he made a shift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furnish him with supplies, and notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces. At length *Goring* came before the place with near 10,000 men, and pressed *Blake* so close, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took from him a part of the town. However, he held out the rest of it and the castle with wonderful obstinacy

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<sup>2</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 681.



till relief came; for which extraordinary service, the parliament gave the garrison a bounty of 2000 *l.* and colonel *Blake* a present of 500 *l.* All who have preserved the memory of the signal events in that unhappy war, allow this to have been a singularly gallant, and soldier-like action <sup>b</sup>.

COLONEL *Blake*, in April 1646, marched with a detachment from his garrison and reduced *Dunster-Castle*, a seat belonging to the ancient family of *Lutterel*, the troops posted therein having given great disturbance to the country; which was the last military achievement he performed during this war. When the parliament voted, that no further addresses should be made to the king. *Blake*, as governor of *Taunton*, was prevailed upon to join in an address of thanks to the house of commons, for having taking this step <sup>i</sup>. I say prevailed upon; because this could never have been agreeable to his own sentiments, if what the writer of his life tells us be true, that, when the king came to be tried, *Blake* disapproved that measure as unjust in itself, and illegal in its nature; insomuch, that he was frequently heard to say, *He would as freely venture his life to save the king, as ever he did to serve the parliament* <sup>k</sup>. This expression, however, we must attribute rather to the generosity of his temper, than to his political principles; since, after the king was murdered, he fell in roundly with the republican party, and next to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, he was the ablest and most successful officer they had. One would wonder how so honest and disinterested a person, could take a share in such measures as were

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<sup>b</sup> Rushworth's historical collections, vol. vi. p. 28. Lives english and foreign, vol. ii. p. 85. Wood's Fast. Oxon. vol. i. col. 204.  
<sup>i</sup> Lives english and foreign, vol. ii. p. 87. <sup>k</sup> Ibid.



were certainly contrived by men of quite another stamp : but it seems, he satisfied himself, in all these changes, with the integrity of his own purpose, of adhering as far as he was able to his country's interest, and exerting his utmost capacity to exalt her glory. These, though noble qualifications of themselves, gave men of less honour and more cunning, an opportunity of using his great abilities and undaunted courage, for the furtherance of their own private views, with which he grew afterwards very uneasy, and some say his discontent, became at length a mortal disease.

It is not easy to guess, what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always served as a horse-officer, to have the supreme command of the fleet. All our historians and memoir-writers, are silent as to their motive, and therefore, I hope the reader will excuse me, if I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themselves the rank, though not the title, of states-general, and, therefore, might be inclined to make use of deputies for the direction both of fleets and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by such as were skilful in their profession, either as seamen or soldiers ; for in their judgment to command was one thing, and to act another. His first service was in driving prince *Rupert's* fleet from the *Irish* coast, and then following him into the *Mediterranean*. This gave his masters high satisfaction, both in respect to his capacity, and his fidelity in their service, which they likewise acknowledged very obligingly <sup>1</sup>. His conduct indeed was equal, prudent, and successful ; for it not only  
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<sup>1</sup> Whitlock, Heath, Bate, &c.

put an end to that kind of piratical war, which did so much damage to trade; but also struck such a terror into the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, as to prevent all those disputes which would have otherwise naturally happened, on the appearance of so new a power in *Europe*, as the common-wealth of *England*.

IN the month of *February* 1651, *Blake* in his return homewards took a *French* man of war of forty guns; in respect to which action there happened some circumstances that certainly deserve to be particularly mentioned. The admiral commanded the captain on board him, and asked him if he was willing to lay down his sword? he answered, he was not: upon which *Blake* generously bid him return to his ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then submitting, went again on board *Blake's* ship, first kissed, and then presented his sword to the admiral upon his knees. This ship, with four more, the admiral sent into *England*; and not long after, arriving at *Plymouth* with his squadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament, for his vigilance and valour in his station, and was constituted one of the lord wardens of the *Cinque-Ports*, as an additional mark of their confidence and favour <sup>m</sup>.

IN *March* following, colonel *Blake*, colonel *Popham*, and colonel *Deane*, or any two of them, were appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year ensuing, in which he reduced the islands of *Scilly*, *Guernsey*, and *Jersey*, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was on the

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<sup>m</sup> Lives english and foreign, vol. ii. p. 92, 93.

the 25th of *November* elected one of the council of state. When the necessity of a *Dutch* war became apparent, the parliament gave the highest testimony of their sense of his merit, and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by constituting him, in *March* 1652, sole general of the fleet for nine months. But though I mention this as a proof that they were apprehensive of the war, yet, as I have said elsewhere, there is no appearance of their judging a rupture to be so near as it really was; otherwise they would certainly have sent *Blake* to sea with a better fleet<sup>n</sup>. We have already given a distinct account of the first battle in the *Downs*, on the 19th of *May* 1652, excepting some circumstances which personally relate to *Blake*, and which were therefore reserved for this place. When he observed *Van Tromp* bore nearer his fleet than he had any occasion to do, he saluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of striking sail; upon which, the *Dutchman* in contempt fired on the contrary side. *Blake* fired a second and a third gun, which *Van Tromp* answered with a broad-side; the *English* admiral perceiving his intention to fight, singled out himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with *Van Tromp* about that point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, and a national quarrel: when *Blake* approached nearer to *Van Tromp*, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations (the *English* admiral coming with a design to treat) fired on *Blake* with whole broad-sides. The admiral was in his cabin drinking with some of his officers, little expecting to be saluted, when the shot broke the windows

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<sup>n</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 634. Heath's chronicle, p. 314.  
 Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 254.

windows of the ship, and shattered the stern, which put him into a vehement passion, so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the *Dutch* in their kind, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, *He took it very ill of Van Tromp, that he should take his ship for a bawdy-house and break his windows.* Blake singly sustained the shock of the *Dutch* fleet for some time, till his own ships, and the squadron under major *Bourne* could join them; and then the engagement grew hot and bloody on the enemy's side, till night put an end to it \*.

AFTER this battle, *Blake* lay in the *Downs* for a considerable time, which he spent in repairing and augmenting his fleet, and in detaching small squadrons to cruize upon the enemy. About the beginning of *June*, finding he had force enough to undertake any service, he caused a solemn fast to be held on board his ships, to implore the blessing of God on their arms; and encouraged his seamen by the example of his zeal on this occasion, as much as he had ever done, by his personal bravery in a time of action <sup>P</sup>. In the space of this month, he sent forty rich prizes into the river, and so effectually ruined the *Dutch* trade, and broke the spirits of such as were appointed to support it, that most of their vessels declined coming through the channel, even under convoy; but chose rather to put into *french* ports, land their cargoes there, and afterwards transport them to *Holland*, by land or water, as they could <sup>Q</sup>. In the beginning of *July*, finding sir *George Ayscue* returned from *Barbadoes*, and a force sufficient

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\* *Lives english and foreign*, vol. ii. p. 99. <sup>P</sup> *Heath's Chronicle*, Whitlock, Ludlow. <sup>Q</sup> *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 322. *Vie de Cromwell*, *Blake's life*, &c.

cient to guard the *Downs*, he resolved to sail northwards, to execute a design he had long meditated of destroying the herring-fishing, which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the *Dutch* of the folly of disputing our sovereignty in our own seas. This appears to have been the most judicious scheme laid down through the whole war; because it tended to clear the ground of the quarrel, and to shew the *Dutch* their error in quarrelling with a nation, who had it in their power to distress them at any time in the tenderest part; that which afforded a subsistence to many, and was the main source of wealth to all.

ON the 2<sup>d</sup> of *July*, *Blake* bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the *Dutch* fishing-vessels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men of war. *Blake* attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great supply of fresh men from the vessels under their care, fought bravely, and sold their freedom dearly; but at last were every one taken, which left the fishery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who upon this occasion shewed the rectitude of his heart, and the solidity of his understanding; for having first threatened those buffes with utter destruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their ladings, on their paying the TENTH herring, which was what king *Charles* demanded; and where this was refused, he sunk or drove away their ships\*. This service is far from being properly treated

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\* Whitlock's Memorial, p. 540. Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Histoire de Holland par M. de la Neuville, tom. iii. p. 66. \* Clarendon's history, p. 635. Heath's chronicle, p. 322. Whitlock, Kennet, Rapin.

ed by our own writers; but the *Dutch*, who felt the weight of the blow, have set it in a true light. They acknowledge the fact, as I have stated it, in every circumstance, except the taking the whole convoy, of which they tell us one ship escaped, and assign so good a reason for it, that I am apt to think the fact is true. The captain fled, say they, as soon as he heard *Blake* was coming; but an ingenious author observes, that *Tromp's* not following *Blake* time enough, was the ruin of their fishery. And though, continues he, the herring-fishing may appear contemptible to strangers, or to such as do not reflect that commerce, is as it were, the soul of some states; yet it is of infinite consequence in *Holland*, on account especially of the vast number of ships employed therein, which amount to more than 3000 every year<sup>t</sup>. Besides, there are an incredible multitude of people employed in several sorts of works relating to this fishing; insomuch, that *Mr. de Wit*, who computed the inhabitants of *Holland* at two millions and a half, thought that near half a million acquired a subsistence from their fishery.<sup>u</sup> If therefore, the parliament had pursued *Blake's* scheme, and had stationed a stout squadron on the coast of *Scotland*, they must have quickly ended this war on any terms they had thought fit to prescribe.

I MUST upon this occasion take notice of the only censure I have met with on our admiral's conduct, as I find it reported by lieutenant-general *Ludlow*, who says, that some thought the releasing the herring-busses, and suffering

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<sup>t</sup> *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 258.    <sup>u</sup> *Memoires de Jean de Wit*, p. 30.



ing the seamen to return safely into *Holland*, was not to be justified; because, by the help of these vessels, we might have been enabled to erect a fishery, and thereby have obtained some reparation for the damages sustained from the *Dutch*, and by detaining their mariners, they must have been exceedingly weakened and distressed \*. There is, I must own, something very plausible in this objection; and, yet when it is thoroughly considered, I believe it will appear, that the admiral took the better course. He found most of these buffes near harbours, into which they would have undoubtedly run, had he proceeded to extremities. The men on board these vessels were between 6 and 7000. To have destroyed so many, would have been an act of great cruelty, and to have taken them, considering he had already above 1000 prisoners, would upon the whole have proved but an imprudent step; so that, considering him as a brave man, an *Englishman*, and a christian, one cannot well avoid commending him for so generous a behaviour towards his enemies. The *Dutch* writers readily acknowledge his courtesy and magnanimity †, which I doubt not was approved by the parliament, who, however they came by their authority, used it with honour and moderation, and thereby set a proper example to the officers they employed.

His subsequent conduct during the *Dutch* war, has been already thoroughly accounted for; and, therefore, I shall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the seamen easy, notwithstanding all the changes

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\* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 420. This charge is transcribed in the *Columna Rostrata*, p. 99. † Particularly Basnage, and the writer of Tromp's life.



changes that happened in the government. He told them it was his, and their business to act faithfully in their respective stations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home; and would often say amongst his officers, that state-affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us &c.. These principles rendered him agreeable to all parties, and gained him so generally the reputation of a patriot, that when *Cromwell*, in his new model of a parliament, left the populous town of *Bridgewater* the choice of one representative only, they very prudently fixed on their countryman Mr. *Blake* <sup>2</sup>. He was also very acceptable to the protector, though he was far enough from being his creature; for *Cromwell* knew that he was by principle for a commonwealth, and, therefore, chose to employ him abroad as much as possible, knowing that was for the safety of his government, and that *Blake's* concern for the glory of *England*, would influence him to do all, and even more than any other man could be excited to, by views of interest and ambition <sup>1</sup>.

WHEN he sailed in 1654, into the *Mediterranean*, he came in the month of *December* into the road of *Cadix*, where he was received with great respect and civility by the *Spaniards*, and indeed by all nations as well as the *English*, who were then in port. A *Dutch* admiral would not wear his flag while the *English* admiral was in the harbour; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being separated

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<sup>1</sup> Lives british and foreign, vol. ii. p. 109, and Wood says nearly the same thing, though in other words. <sup>2</sup> Heath's Chronicle, p. 363. <sup>3</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 681.

separated from the rest, fell in with the *French* admiral and seven men of war, near the *Streights* mouth. The captain of the victualling-sloop was ordered on board the admiral, who enquired of him where *Blake* was, drank his health with five guns, and so wished the captain a good voyage. The *Algerines* stood in such awe of him, that they were wont to stop the *Sally*-rovers, and in case they had any *English* prisoners on board, took them out, and sent them to *Blake*, in hopes of obtaining his favour<sup>b</sup>. From *Cadiz* he sailed to *Malaga*, and while he lay in that road, gave such a testimony of zeal for his country's honour, as was scarce ever equalled. Some of his seamen going ashore, met the host as it was carrying to some sick person, and not only paid no respect thereto, but laughed at those who did. The priest highly resented this, and put the people upon revenging the indignity; upon which, they fell upon the sailors; and beat them severely. When they returned on board, they complained of this usage, and the admiral instantly sent a trumpet to the vice-roy to demand the priest who was the author of this insult. The vice-roy answered, that he had no authority over priests; and, therefore, could not send him. Upon this, *Blake* sent a second message, that he would not enter into the question, who had power to send him; but that, if he was not sent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to save themselves, obliged the vice-roy to send the priest, who, when he came on board, excused himself to the admiral on account of the bad behaviour of the sailors.

VOL. II.

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*Blake*

<sup>b</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 347. Lives english and foreign, vol. ii. p. 113, 114.

*Blake* told him, that if he had complained to him, he would have punished them severely; for he would not suffer any of his men to affront the established religion of a place where he touched: but he blamed him for setting the *Spaniards* to beat them; adding, *that he would have him and the world know, that none but an ENGLISHMAN should chastise an ENGLISHMAN* <sup>c</sup>.

WE have already mentioned the taking part of the plate-fleet by captain *Stayner*, an incident of such consequence to *Cromwell*, that the ingenious Mr. *Waller* wrote a poem to persuade him to lay hold of this opportunity, and while the people were pleased with the sight of so much *Spanish* bullion, to set the crown upon his head <sup>d</sup>. We have likewise entered into a detail of the celebrated action at *Santa Cruz*, and have shewn how glorious it was for his country, and his profession, no seaman having ever attempted any thing of that kind before. But there is a circumstance yet behind, which will perhaps redound more to his own glory, than even the burning of the *Spanish* ships in so well-fortified a port. His brother capt. *Benjamin Blake*, for whom he had a very tender affection, was guilty of some misdemeanor in the action, for which he was, by sentence from *Blake*, removed from his ship, and the command of it given to another <sup>e</sup>. This was such an instance of discipline, and must have had so strong an effect on the minds of all who served under him, that we need not wonder such extraordinary things were performed by men so strictly tied to their duty. To say  
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<sup>c</sup> Bishop Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 80, 81.

<sup>d</sup> Waller's poems, p. 274.

<sup>e</sup> Lives english and foreign, vol.

ii. p. 121.

the truth, discipline is the soul of service. Men are apt to measure the consequences of things by the rewards and punishments which attend them; and if resolution purchases nothing, or neglect is easily excused, an army or a fleet may, by the help of the taylor and carpenter, make a fine shew, but will prove a terror to none but those who pay them. An officer like *Blake*, who will do justice upon his brother, will be feared, admired, and beloved; his sailors will be ready to undertake any thing at his command, and his acts of courage will so transcend what happens amongst debauched posterity, that they will be glad to stile that temerity, which in its day passed only for a bold attempt.

IN a short time after the destruction of the enemy's fleet at *Teneriff*, we find *Blake* cruising again off the harbour of *Cadiz*; where, perceiving his ships were become foul, and that his own health and spirits wore away, he resolved to sail for *England*<sup>f</sup>. His distemper was a complication of dropsy and scurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at sea, and wanting all that time, the conveniencies requisite for the cure of his disease<sup>g</sup>. In his passage home, it encreased upon him, and he became so sensible of his approaching end, that he frequently enquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native soil, which, however, he did not live to see, dying, as his ship, *The St. George*, entered *Plymouth Sound*, on the 17th of *August*, 1657, about 59 years of age. His body was the next day embalmed, and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at *Plymouth*, and his corps, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to *Greenwich-*

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<sup>f</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 401.    <sup>g</sup> Mercurius politicus, No. 375.  
Heath's chronicle, as before, Whitlock's memorials.

house, whence he resolved to have it carried to *Westminster-Abbey*, and there interred with the utmost solemnity, as the last mark of respect, that could be paid to the noble spirit which once animated this tenement of clay <sup>h</sup>.

ON the fourth of *September*, after the corps had lain several days in state, it was carried from *Greenwich* in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with escutcheons, and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, relations, and servants in mourning, by *Oliver's* privy-council, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, the lord-mayor, and aldermen of *London*, the field-officers of the army, and many other persons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marshalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the solemnity. Thus they passed to *Westminster-bridge*, and, at their landing, proceeded in the same manner, through a guard of several regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, general *Lambert*, though then in disgrace with the protector, attending on his horse. The procession over, the body was interred in a vault built on purpose in the chapel of *Henry VII* <sup>i</sup>.

THIS was an honour paid to his predecessors *Deane* and *Popdam*, by the parliament; and the protector would not be behind in civility or magnificence, where it cost so little, and had a visible tendency to raise the credit of his administration so much. But great offence has been taken at the removing this body after the restoration. The writer of his life, is particularly angry at this disturbing of his bones <sup>k</sup>.

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<sup>h</sup> Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 247. Heath's chronicle, p. 402. Lives English and Foreign, p. 122, 123. <sup>i</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 402. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 603. Lives English and foreign, p. 123.

bones<sup>k</sup>. A late reverend author, to make the injury still greater, tells us, that, at the restoration, his body was taken out of the grave, and flung, with others, into a common pit<sup>l</sup>. This had been a great indignity indeed; but it so happens, that the fact is not true. An order was sent, some time after the restoration, directing the dean and chapter of *Westminster*, to cause such bodies as had been interred in that church, during the troubles, to be removed; which we may the less wonder at, if we consider, that *Cromwell's*, *Ireton's*, *Bradshaw's*, and sir *William Consta-ble's* bodies were all interred there. The order, therefore, was general, and had no sort of distinct reference to this great admiral. So far from it, that it appears from a very authentic memorandum, that on the 12th of *September*, 1661, his corps was removed from the abbey, and buried in the church-yard: neither could this be called taking out of the grave, since the coffin stood in a vault<sup>m</sup>. Nay, to shew the respect the cavaliers, or royalists had for him, we need only mention the characters that have been given him; since they come all, or at least the far greatest part of them, from persons of that party.

THE earl of *Clarendon* says, “ He was the first man  
“ that declined the old track, and made it manifest, that  
“ the science might be attained in less time than was ima-  
“ gined; and despised those rules which had been long  
“ in practice, to keep his ship and men out of danger,  
“ which had been held in former times a point of great a-  
“ bility and circumspection; as if the principal art requi-  
“ site in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come

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“ home

<sup>k</sup> See the last cited book, p. 123, 124.  
of the puritans, vol. iv. p. 174.

<sup>l</sup> Neale's history  
“ Bishop Kennet's register  
and chronicle, p. 536.

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ath's chronicle,  
i Heath's  
p. 603. Lives



“ home safe again. He was the first man, who brought  
 “ the ships to contempt castles on shore, which had been  
 “ thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by  
 “ him to make a noise only, and to fright those who  
 “ could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that in-  
 “ fused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by  
 “ making them see by experience, what mighty things  
 “ they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them  
 “ to fight in fire, as well as upon water: and though he  
 “ hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the  
 “ first that gave the example of that kind of naval cou-  
 “ rage, and bold and resolute achievements.”

DOCTOR *Bate*, in drawing his character, says, “ He  
 “ was a man deserving praise even from an enemy.—  
 “ Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the  
 “ *Scilly-Islands* near home, and having attained the office  
 “ and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of im-  
 “ mortal memory abroad. For he humbled the pride of  
 “ *France*, reduced *Portugal* to reason, broke the naval  
 “ force of *Holland*, and drove them to the shelter of their  
 “ ports, suppressed the rovers of *Barbary*, and twice tri-  
 “ umphed over *Spain*. Alone blameable in this, that he  
 “ complied with the parricides.” Honest *Anthony Wood*,  
 who observes, that he was admired and applauded by the  
 royalists, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praises thus.  
 “ He was a man wholly devoted to his country’s service,  
 “ resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in the per-  
 “ formance of them. With him, valour seldom missed  
 “ its reward, nor cowardice its punishment.” We have

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<sup>n</sup> History of the Rebellion, p.p. 681.      <sup>o</sup> Elenchus motuum,  
 p. 323.      <sup>p</sup> Fatti oxonienses, vol. i. col. 204.



a fine picture of him, by *Kennet*, in his compleat history of *England*, and a very fair one by *Echard*: to these, because the lines were never printed before, I will add a short encomium in verse.

*While Portugal shall of her Indies boast,  
While Naples glories in her beauteous coast,  
While pirates unto Africk's shore resort,  
While Tuscany's enrich'd by her fair port,  
While the Dutch fish, the Spaniard vaunts his mines,  
To stealing conquests while proud France inclines,  
While seas still roar, while ships divide their waves,  
While death, for fame, each gallant sailor braves,  
Thy praise shall live: and future heroes take,  
As Cæsar's once—the nobler name of BLAKE.*

In reference to the admirals *Deane*, *Popham*, and *Rainborough*, we have very few, scarce any, memorials left of them. As to the first, he is mentioned by lord *Clarendon*, as a person raised by his own merit; and though this entitled him, when slain in the *Dutch* war, to a pompous funeral in *Westminster-Abbey*, yet no care was taken to preserve to posterity, either by tomb or inscription, the memory of those military achievements by which his reputation was acquired<sup>a</sup>. Col. *Popham* was raised to the command of the fleet, rather out of regard to his fidelity to the parliament, and his being known for a gallant and well accomplished gentleman, than for any skill in sea-affairs; and as to *Rainborough*, we have already shewn how he

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came

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<sup>a</sup> *Clarendon's* history, p. 689. I have seen a letter written in those times, wherein it is said, that the parliament settled a large allowance on this admiral's wife and children.

came in, and went out of the fleet, through the prejudice of the sailors against him, particularly on account of his promoting a very severe discipline. After this, he returned to his command in the army, where he made a considerable figure, chiefly by the favour of *Cromwell*, who is thought to have had a greater regard for him, than for any other person; and that exposed him to the fury of the royalists, who surprized him in his quarters at *Doncaster*, to which place he came, in order to form the siege of *Pomfret-castle*, and, on his making some resistance, killed him<sup>r</sup>.

IN respect to other famous seamen within this period, such as *Monk*, *Montague*, *Lawson*, *Ayscue*, *Penn*, and many more, to whose memory a just tribute of praise is due, they fall properly under the next chapter: for though their merit was first made known in these times of distraction (as civil wars generally manifest great spirits), yet their noblest exploits were afterwards performed, by which also they acquired those titles, whereby they are now known to posterity. Let us then conclude this part of our subject, with a few remarks on the state of trade and plantations.

THE commerce of *England*, had been increasing for many years, when the civil war broke out, and there seems to be a good reason to believe, that it continued in a flourishing condition during the parliament's administration: but then it certainly declined, in some measure from foreign and unavoidable causes; and in some measure too, from the errors of the succeeding government. In regard to the former, we must consider, that the peace of *Munster*, in 1648, changed the face of affairs in *Europe* as to trade, and this altogether to our disadvantage. Before that time, the *French* had few or no ships; and though it be true,

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<sup>r</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Kennet, Rapin.

true, that our trade with *France*, even then created a balance against us, yet we were no losers by it, but rather gainers on the whole, because we exported to *Italy*, and elsewhere, a great part of the goods we took from *France*. Before the treaty of *Munster*, we had the whole *Spanish* trade in our hands; whereas, after the *Dutch* came into a large share of it, at the same time that they managed the whole trade of the *French*, till by degrees, rather through the wisdom of the *French* ministry, than of the nation, it was taken out of their hands also. As to the errors of the protector's government, in respect to trade, they were great and fatal, though (not to load his memory unjustly) perhaps they were not intended. In the first place, taxes were much higher than in former times. He imposed 60,000 pounds *per* month by his own authority, and afterwards he procured from parliament, a grant of 200,000 pounds for his civil list; 400,000 pounds for the expence of the navy; and 700,000 pound for the army; so that the whole revenue came to one million three hundred thousand pounds *per. ann.* a sum almost incredible, compared with the modest grants of former times\*. In the next place, these taxes were very unequally laid; and most of those burthensome methods of raising money were then introduced, which have lain heavy upon us ever since†. I say nothing of the violent methods taken to raise vast sums upon particular

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\* Happy future state of England, p. 187. This book has no author's name in the title, but the dedication of it to the earl of Sunderland is subscribed P. P. i. e. Peter Pett. and abundance of curious observations are to be found therein.

† For a comprehensive view of these exactions, the reader may have recourse to a calculation prefixed to Heath's chronicle, wherein it is shewn, that, in five year's time, little less than 20,000,000*l.* were levied upon the people.

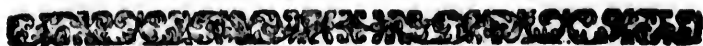
particular occasions, which rendered property very precarious, and all together brought such a discouragement upon industry, as shewed itself in the declension of the coinage; in the lessening the number of the inhabitants of the city of *London*; in decreasing our shipping, and in many other ways. But the greatest of all his mistakes, as to the true interest of *England*, was in the affair of the *Spanish* war; for, though the state might be a gainer by the vast quantity of plate taken by *Blake* and *Montague*, yet the nation lost thereby; since, if the peace had continued, we must have drawn larger sums from *Spain*, in payment for our manufactures; and consequently, that mighty mass of wealth which was destroyed at *Santa Cruz*, was a very considerable detriment to us as well as to the *Spaniards*: for if it had come into their hands, we must have had a large share of it; whereas it was buried in the sea, and so the whole amount lost to the trading interest in *Europe* for ever. Add to this, that in the end, the *Spaniards* were so reduced, that they were forced to hire *Dutch* ships to go to the *Indies*, and this opened a new scene of trade to that wise and industrious people, which otherwise had never fallen into their hands. Part indeed of these losses were concealed from the sight of the nation, by the increase of our plantation-trade, of which I shall give a very succinct account.

As the severities exercised by the prelates in the reign of king *Charles I.* drove multitudes to *New-England*, so the distractions of succeeding times, contributed greatly to the increase of all our colonies, particularly *Barbadoes* and *Virginia*, which *Cromwell* for his own ease encouraged, and the plantation of *Jamaica*, gave a new face to things in that part of the world, by opening several branches of commerce

merce unknown to us before; this, together with the navigation-act, preserved us, as I have said, from feeling all the effects which otherwise must have followed from the mistakes in policy before mentioned, and which in reality have been severely felt since. Besides, our plantation-trade was then new, and no other state interfered in the commerce carried on in *Europe*, with the commodities brought from those parts; insomuch, that immense estates were made in a short space of time, especially in *Barbadoes*, where some, who carried over only a few hundred pounds, came to be possessed of several thousand pounds a year, which, without question, encouraged numbers of adventurers, and enabled the *English* to extend their trade and colonies in that part of the world, as will hereafter be more largely shewn <sup>u</sup>.

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<sup>u</sup> The reader may receive satisfaction, as to the facts above-mentioned, by consulting the *British empire in America*, or the particular histories of our plantations.



## C H A P. IV.

*The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of king Charles II. from the time of his restoration: containing a distinct account of the several expeditions against the Algerines; the two Dutch wars, and other naval transactions; the state of our foreign trade and plantations: with memoirs of all the eminent seamen who flourished in his reign.*



WHEN the miseries flowing from the ruin of our old constitution, had taught the nation, that the shortest, as well as only way to peace and happiness, was to build up again what they had destroyed; the seamen shewed a greater readiness than any other sort of men to execute this salutary design, and without waiting for any further orders than those which came from their officers, chearfully carried the fleet over to the *Dutch* coast; where, after giving new names to the ships, they received his majesty, the duke of *York*, and other persons of principal quality, who had attended him on board the 23<sup>d</sup> of *May* 1660, and safely landed them in *Kent* \*. For this service, Mr. *Montague* was created

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\* See the close of the earl of Clarendon's history. Heath's chronicle, p. 450. But the best account is in the earl of Sandwich's journal, a M. S. in the hands of the hon. Edward Wortley Montague, Esq. See also Sir William Lower's account of this short voyage.



created earl of *Sandwich*, had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of *England*, under his royal highness the duke of *York*. Sir *John Lawson*, Sir *Richard Stayner*, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood, and the king was pleased to promise the seamen in general, a particular share in his favour and esteem <sup>b</sup>.

IN the beginning of this prince's administration, he certainly shewed a great attention to the public interest, and as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs, so for some time he kept a strict eye on whatever related to the fleet, of which many instances occur in the memoirs of several of its principal officers. In *September* 1660, the earl of *Sandwich* went with a squadron of nine men of war to *Helvoetsluys*, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of *Orange*, who not long after died in *England*. Upon this occasion, he received great honours in *Holland*; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people shewed for the young prince of *Orange* (afterwards king *William*) and for the *English* on his account, gave some jealousy to the states, or at least to such as had the principal direction of affairs, which was increased by a memorial presented by the princess at her departure; recommending her son to their care, and desiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his ancestors had enjoyed. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of the same month the fleet returned, and his majesty and the duke of *York*, going on board the admiral's ship, named *The Resolution*, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the squadron next morning <sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> Kennett's compleat history, vol. iii. p. 241. Heath's chronicle, p. 451. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. <sup>c</sup> Earl of Sandwich's journal, Heath's chronicle, p. 470. Kennet's chronicle.



A TREATY of marriage having been concluded between his majesty and the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, with whom he was to receive a portion of 300,000*l.* the island of *Bombay* in the *East-Indies*, and the city of *Tangier* in *Africa*; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last mentioned city against any attempt from the *Moors*. For this purpose, the earl of *Sandwich* was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1661 from the *Downs*, after having been first visited by the duke of *York*<sup>a</sup>. His lordship sailed first to *Lisbon*, and from thence to *Tangier*, which place was put into the hands of the *English* on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *January* 1662, when the earl of *Peterborough* marched into it with an *English* garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the *Portuguese* governor<sup>e</sup>. The admiral then returned to *Lisbon*, where he received the queen's portion, consisting in money, in jewels, sugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then sailed with her majesty for *England*, and arrived at *Spithead* the 14<sup>th</sup> of *May* 1662<sup>f</sup>.

T H E R E was certainly no occasion for so large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for sending such a force into the *Mediterranean*, this opportunity was taken to execute things of greater moment. The *Algerines*, and other pyratrical states of *Barbary*, taking advantage of our confusions, had broke the peace they made with admiral *Blake*, and began to take *English* ships, with as little ceremony as they did the *Dutch* and *French*. To remedy this, the earl of *Sandwich*, with his

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<sup>a</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 500. Lord Sandwich's journal. <sup>e</sup> Kennet's chronicle, p. 617. <sup>f</sup> Lord Sandwich's journal, Heath's chronicle, Kennet's compleat history.

his fleet, came before *Algiers* the 29<sup>th</sup> of *July* 1661, and sent captain *Spragge* with the king's letter to the principal person in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders also to bring off Mr. *Brown* the Consul; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was held, and the next morning certain propositions were made to the regency by captain *Spragge* and consul *Brown*. About eleven o'clock these gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an answer, that the government of *Algiers* would consent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of their right of searching our ships, (it seems, the same humour is now blown over to the other coast). In the mean time, to shew they were in earnest, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head, to the opposite corner of their port; that by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raised, they might be able to defend themselves from any attempts that could be made by sea. The earl of *Sandwich*, however, resolved to make a bold trial to burn the ships in the harbour; but the wind prevented him: so that after a good deal of firing on both sides, where'a more hurt was done to the city than the ships, the admiral thought fit to sail for *Lisbon* \* on the first of *August*, leaving Sir *John Lawson*, with a strong squadron to protect the *English* trade, and harra's the enemy; which he performed with such success, that after taking many of their ships, he, by degrees, forced all these pyratrical states to conclude a peace with *Great Britain*, without any reservation as to their favourite article of searching our ships; though

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\* Heath's chronicle, p. 500. But most of the facts above-mentioned are taken from the earl of *Sandwich*'s journal.

though it must be confessed, that the *Algerines*, retaining still a strong opinion of the strength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices; which obliged the government here, to send fresh orders to Sir *John Lawson*, to employ force in bringing them to reason <sup>b</sup>.

WE are now to enter upon a more serious affair than any that had claimed the care the *English* court. On his first return to the throne of his ancestors, king *Charles* and his ministers had certainly shewn a great concern for the true interest of the nation, as will appear to any attentive reader of our history; who observes the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with *Spain* and *Holland*. By the former he secured the possession of *Jamaica*, though it had been acquired by *Cromwell*, and thereby obtained some sort of satisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his restoration, when it is certain that the *Spaniards* would have secured his person, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to *Breda*. He also restored to the nation the advantages they drew from the *Spanish* trade; and the affection of this people to the *English*, preferable to any other nation appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the *Dutch*, and even forbade their ships of war to enter their ports, as the *Dutch* writers themselves tell us<sup>1</sup>. The treaty with *Holland* carried things also to a great height; for it not only secured the respect due to the flag, but likewise procured some other concessions very honourable for the nation, and the island

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<sup>b</sup> Kenner's compleat history, Burchet, Lediard, &c. <sup>1</sup> See Kenner's compleat history of England, vol. iii. Echard, Welwood; but especially, the treaty itself in the collection before mentioned.

island of *Poleton* for the *East-India* company. His majesty had also an intention to have secured the fishery on the *British* coast to his own subjects: but before that could be effectually done the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not easy to account, and yet without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value<sup>k</sup>.

THE *Dutch* began early to conceive prejudices against the king's government, and in reality to apprehend our becoming their superiors in trade, in which we were every day increasing. These sentiments engaged them, and especially their *East* and *West-India* companies, which then carried on the greatest part of their commerce, to take various steps in those parts of the world where their power prevailed, to the prejudice of the *English* trade. The *East-India* company particularly delayed the liquidation of the damages the *English* were to receive; refused to deliver up the island before-mentioned, and pretended to prescribe the places where, and the terms on which the *English* should trade in the *India*. The other company trod exactly in their steps, and proceeded so far as to get *Cape Corse*-castle into their hands, which belonged to the *English* company<sup>l</sup> trading to *Africa*.

THE duke of *York*, who was governor of the *African* company, being informed of this, sent sir *Robert Holmes* with four frigates, to the coast of *Guinea*, in order to make reprisals. This was in 1661; and sir *Robert*, in consequence

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sequence

<sup>k</sup> See Kennet, Welwood, Echard, Rapin; but especially the treaty. See sir George Downing's memorial, and lord Arlington's letters. <sup>l</sup> Columna Rostrata, p. 152. See king Charles II. letter to the states general, on the causes of this war, and Basnage annales de provinces unies, vol. i. p. 682, 683.

sequence of this commission, summoned the *Dutch* to surrender cape *Verd*, to the company, within a limited time; yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a small fort, possessed by the *Dutch*, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the *English*, were obliged to surrender, and the fort received the name of *James-Fort*, in honour of the duke. From thence, proceeding to the river *Gambia*, he dislodged the *Hollanders*, and built a new fort.

THE *Hollanders* still refusing to deliver cape *Corse*, sir *Robert* was sent a second time, Anno 1663, with a small squadron to take it by force. But searching a *Dutch* ship by the way, he found orders (as king *Charles* informs the states in his letter, October 4, 1666) from the *Dutch West-India* company to their governor, general *Valkenburg*, to seize the *English* fort at *Cormantin*; which discovery disposed him to go beyond his commission.

In the latter end of the month of *January*, 1664, sir *Robert Holmes* arrived with his squadron at cape *Verde*. This cape is part of the main land of *Africa*, and lies on the west side of the kingdom of *Jaloff*, and to the *N. W.* of the river *Gambia*, in the 15<sup>th</sup> degree of *N. L.* about a cannon-shot from thence, lies the island *Goeree*, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furnished with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: The former was called fort-*Nassau*, the later fort-*Orange*. Sir *Robert* first summoned these two forts of the island *Goeree*; which, because the governor refused to surrender, he attacked, and took the next day, together with a ship called, the *Crocodile*, lying under their protection; after having, the evening before, taken two other *Dutch* ships, called, the *Vish-korf*, and the *Viseber*. In the forts, he found a great quantity of goods ready to be shipped off for *Holland*, and among



among the rest, twenty thousand hides. These he loaded on his own and the *Dutch* ships; and transported them to *Sierra Lione*<sup>m</sup>.

HE next proceeded to attack *St. George del Mina*, the chief of all the *Dutch* forts; but though himself and his seamen acted with great bravery, yet the design miscarried; and he was obliged to sheer off with some loss. To repair this misfortune; he resolved to attack cape *Corse* castle; which; though, it was so strong by situation; that one hundred men might have kept it against a thousand; yet he soon took it, and some other places; after which, he sailed from the coast of *Guinea* to north *America*, where he reduced a *Dutch* settlement, called the *New-Netherlands* in the month of *August*, 1664, changing the name into that of *New-York*, in honour of the duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of reprisal, but partly by virtue of a claim of right. For the *New-Netherlands* being first discovered by the *English*, under the conduct of *Sebastian Cabot* (who took possession of all that northern coast in the name of king *Henry VII.* of *England*) had been always deemed a part of the *English* American dominions, till the year 1637, when it was first seized and planted by the *Dutch*<sup>n</sup>.

THESE proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the *English* were done by the *Dutch West-India* company; the reprisals made by the *English*, were under the charter of the *African* company; the crown had neither fitted out sir *Robert*

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Holmes

<sup>m</sup> Columna Rostrata, p. 153. Account of captain Holmes's proceedings on the coast of Africa. Heath's chronicle continued by Phillips, p. 525.

<sup>n</sup> British empire in America; vol. i. p. 237.

*Holmes*, or given any commission°. But when the news of what he had done reached *Holland*, the *de Wit* faction, who then carried all before them, resolved instantly to fall upon the *English* in those parts, with a great fleet, and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their design to repair themselves in damages for what *Holmes* had taken from them. The difficulty lay, in getting a fleet safely into those seas, before the design could be known in *England*, and the project formed by them, as it was very subtle and fraudulent, so it was executed with equal cunning and success. Admiral *de Ruyter*, was at that time in the *Mediterranean*, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or to defend their merchants from the insults of, the pyritical states; to which end, as we before observed, sir *John Lawson* was also there with a squadron of *English* ships, and the states requested of king *Charles*, that these admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove *de Ruyter* from thence, and to send him to commit hostilities on the coast of *Guinea*, and in the *West-Indies*. To this, he was well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and sir *John Lawson*, about the salute at sea, which the *Dutch* admiral paid, and sir *John* refused to return, alledging that his orders did not allow him to strike to the subjects of any king or state whatever. In  
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° So far from it, that the king confined *Holmes* when he returned, and did not discharge him, till he made it evidently appear, that he had not infringed the law of nations. *Philips's* continuation of *Heath's* chronicle, p. 533. *Nay de Nenville*, says expressly, that the king made this war that he might accommodate himself to the disposition of his parliament and people. *Histoire de Holland*, vol. iii. p. 242.



other respects, he assisted the *Dutch* as friends and allies as much as was in his power.

THE majority of the states were not for a war with *England*, and consequently such orders as the ministers wanted, to authorize *de Ruyter*, were not to be had in a fair and open way; yet, rather than not have them, the *Louvessein* faction resolved to sacrifice their constitution. *De Ruyter* had sent home an account of his proceedings against the pyrates: they got this report referred to a committee of seven; and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to sail to the coast of *Guinea*, there to make reprisals upon the *English*. But, as this order must be read to and approved by the states, the ministers took care to draw it up in loose and equivocal terms, procuring also the secretary to read it in such a hurry, as rendered it altogether unintelligible: then they thrust it among some orders of course, and engaging such as they thought would be against it, in private conversation, it was read without being attended to. Lastly, it was brought with a bundle of papers chiefly of form, to be signed by the president for the week, who, as usual, set his hand without reading. This is a true state of the fact, as reported by the *Dutch* historians <sup>p</sup>.

WHEN *de Ruyter* received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers; but having first got such a supply of provisions as he thought might be necessary, pretended then to have information of certain pyrates cruising near the *Canaries*, and under colour of giving chase to these, he so far executed his commission, as to oblige the governor for the *African* company, either to surrender,

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or demolish several of their forts. He likewise seized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company. After which he made himself master of fort *Cormantin*, a place which was built by and had always been in the possession of the *English*. But cape *Corse*, and *Chama* (two of the places taken by sir *Robert Holmes*) remained unreduced. From the coast of *Guinea*, *de Ruyter* sailed to *Barbadoes*, where he attacked a considerable fleet of merchant-ships, lying under protection of the forts, but was repulsed with great loss. Then passing over to *Montserrat*, *Nevis*, and *Newfoundland*, he took above twenty sail of *English* ships, and so returned to *Holland*†.

THESE actions on both sides served to exasperate the two nations, and to hasten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the *Dutch* in *January*, and by the *English* in *February*, 1665. But before it came to that, the *Heer Van Goch* was sent by the states to importune the king with memorials and complaints. To which the king's answer was, that he had received no particular information of the affair of *Guinea*; and that the two companies must decide the dispute. These complaints of the ambassadors being likewise retaliated by the *English* merchants, whose incessant representations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of satisfaction, as the constant refusal of the satisfaction demanded, was the cause of the open rupture.

SEVERAL writers who have censured king *Charles's* government, would have us believe, that this war was of his majesty's procuring: whereas nothing can be more certain than that he was engaged in it by advice of parliament,

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† Kennet's compleat history of England, Bafnage, de Neuville.  
Columna Rostrata, p. 156, 157.

ment, and the clamours of the people. The house of commons told him in one of their representations, that the *Dutch* had injured his subjects to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds. The king promised to take care of the merchants, and of the nation; and when he found a war necessary, and desired the city of *London* to lend him one hundred thousand pounds, they did it very readily, and even repeated the favour as readily, when the king condescended to shew them that the first loan was not sufficient to fit out the fleet. These are demonstrative proofs, that this was not a court-war, but a popular one. Yet it must be allowed, that it was chiefly brought about by the artifices of *France*, the emissaries of that crown instigating the *Dutch* to do all they did, and at the same time, omitting no opportunity of inflaming us against them. Their design was plainly to engage the maritime powers in a cruel war, that they might weaken and waste each others strength, and so be less able to oppose the designs of the *French* ministry; one of which was, to render *France* a maritime power<sup>\*</sup>.

THE first action of consequence that happened after the war broke out, was the attacking a *Dutch* fleet richly laden from *Smyrna* near *Cadiz*. It consisted of forty merchant-ships, some of them very large, and well-provided with ordnance, and their convoy was four third-rate men of war. Sir *Thomas Allen*, who commanded the *English* squadron, had with him about nine ships (his own narrative says but eight). With these he attacked the enemy so successfully, that having killed their commodore *Brackel*, and taken or sunk four of their richest ships, he drove

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<sup>\*</sup> Journals of the house of commons, Basnage, de Nouville, Philips, Kennet, Echard.

the rest into the bay of *Cadiz*, where for some time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the same kind befel the *Dutch Bourdeaux* fleet, of which about one hundred and thirty ships were taken. Some of these, however, appearing to be *French* bottoms, were discharged; but the far greater part were declared good prize<sup>1</sup>. These misfortunes obliged the *Dutch*, contrary to their inclinations and indeed to their usual practice, to lay an immediate embargo on all vessels in their port, whereby the fisheries, and all the annual commerce, were stopped for that season. They likewise settled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the support of the war; and in order to shew that there ought to be some difference between wars made by trading nations, and those entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirst of dominion; they ordered about fifty *English* and *Scotch* vessels, which had been seized in their harbours, to be set at liberty; and on their arrival in *England*, the civility was returned by a like release of all the *Dutch* ships stopped here<sup>2</sup>.

THE *English* Fleet was first ready, though the *Dutch* began first to arm. It consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire ships and ketches, and had about twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of *York*, as lord high-admiral, prince *Rupert* was admiral of 'c white, and the earl of *Sandwich* of the blue. April 21, 1665. the *English* sailed for the *Dutch* coast, and on the 28<sup>th</sup>, sent in a squadron so near the shore and harbour of the *Texel*, that the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month,

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<sup>1</sup> Kennet's compleat history, Echard, Rapin. <sup>2</sup> Basne & de Neuville, Leven van de Wit, p. 252.

the fleet was so ruffled by a storm, that it was found necessary to retire towards our own shore. This opportunity the *Dutch* took of sending out their fleet, which by the latter end of *May*, appeared about the *Dogger Sands*. They were divided into seven squadrons, the first under *Opdam*, consisting of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ships; the second under *John Everts*, of the like force; the third commanded by admiral *Cortenaer*, consisting of fourteen men of war and one fire-ship; the fourth was under *Stillingwert*, composed likewise of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the fifth conducted by *Tromp*, the son of the famous old admiral, made up of sixteen men of war and two fire-ships; the sixth under *Cornelius Everts*, consisting of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the last commanded by *Schram*, in which were sixteen men of war, and two fire-ships, in all a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ships, and seven Yachts. A mighty fleet! far superior to what the *French* conceived it possible for the *States* to fit out, and well furnished with men; but by the help of their *India*-ships, whence they were mostly taken, partly by persuasion, and partly by force. The duke of *York* being retired from the *Dutch* coast, when they came out, afforded an opportunity for them to fall on our *Hamburgh* fleet, which they did not neglect, and they were so fortunate therein as to take the greatest part, whereby we suffered near two hundred thousand pounds. Some attributed this to ill management, others with more reason, to accidents; for they had a convoy, and the duke of *York* sent the *Roe-Ketch* to inform them of his departure, which not meeting this fleet proved

<sup>2</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 740 Histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 248. Levan van de Wit, p. 252.



proved their ruin <sup>a</sup>. This exasperated the *English*, and at the same time raised the spirits of the *Dutch*.

ADMIRAL *Opdam*, who commanded the latter, was a very prudent as well as gallant commander. The great *John de Wit* raised him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of *Orange*, he became his enemy, and as soon as he was out at sea wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with a peculiar quickness of stile, which proved the letter his, though it was written in the name of the *states*. *Opdam* resolved to obey, though contrary to the advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his sending ashore his plate before the engagement. *I am*, said he, on hearing the judgment of a council of war, *entirely in your sentiments; but here are my orders. To-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel or with cypress*: and in this disposition he failed to find out the *English* navy <sup>b</sup>. That did not require much time; for the duke of *York* was now eager to revenge the loss of the *Hamburgh* fleet. On the third of *June* the *English* and *Dutch* navies engaged about three in the morning off *Leostoff*, when by an oversight of the *Dutch* (as their writers say) the *English* had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to use as well as keep <sup>c</sup>.

THINGS went at first very equally on both sides, charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of *Sandwich* with the blue squadron, fell into the center of the *Dutch* fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confusion which ended

<sup>a</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's Chronicle, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

<sup>b</sup> Basnage Annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 741.

<sup>c</sup> Columna Rostrata, p. 160. Basnage, de Neuville.



ended in a total defeat <sup>d</sup>. The duke of York in the *Royal Charles*, a ship of eighty guns, and admiral *Opdam* in the *Eendracht*, of eighty-four, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, and his royal highness was in the utmost danger. Several persons of distinction were killed on board his ship, particularly the earl of *Falmouth*, the king's favourite, lord *Muskerrey*, and Mr. *Boyle*, son to the earl of *Cork*, with one ball; and so near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains: nay, a splinter from the last-mentioned gentleman's skull razed his hand <sup>e</sup>. About one, the *Dutch* admiral blew up with a prodigious noise; but how the accident happened is uncertain. Some say, a shot fell in the powder-room; others, that *Opdam's* black blew up the ship to be revenged of his master for beating him. The most probable account is, that it was occasioned by some in distributing the powder <sup>f</sup>. In this vessel, together with the *Admiral*, perished five hundred men, only five of the whole crew escaping; many of them volunteers, of the best families of *Holland*, and not a few *Frenchmen*, who took this opportunity of being present in a sea-fight <sup>g</sup>.

A little after this unlucky blow, the *Dutch* received a still greater. Four fine ships, the biggest of sixty, the least of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire-ship: soon after, three larger vessels by the same accident shared the same fate. The *Orange*, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence was also burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon, all fell into

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<sup>d</sup> Earl of Sandwich's journal. MS.    <sup>e</sup> Basnage Annales des provinces Unies, vol i. p. 742. Kennet, Echard, Rapin.    <sup>f</sup> Basnage, de Neuville, Leven Van Tromp.    <sup>g</sup> History of the three Dutch wars, p. 390.

into confusion. Vice-admiral *Stillingwert* was shot through the middle by a cannon-ball; vice-admiral *Cortenaar* received a shot in his thigh, of which he instantly died. These ships bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without striking their flags, drew many after them; so that, by eight at night, *Tromp*, who held out bravely to the last, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ships left with him. This was the most signal victory the *English* ever gained, and the severest blow the *Dutch* ever felt at sea<sup>b</sup>. According to our accounts, which upon a strict examination I have always found moderate, the *Dutch* had eighteen ships taken (several of which we quitted) and fourteen sunk in this action, besides such as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ships taken, one (their Admiral) blown up, and eight burnt<sup>c</sup>. As to our loss, which was far more unaccountable, there is no dispute about it. We lost the *Charity*, a ship of forty-six guns, with most of her men, in the beginning of the fight; had in the whole but two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty wounded: on the other side, they lost at least six thousand men, including two thousand three hundred taken prisoners<sup>d</sup>. Yet some great men of ours bought this advantage to their country at the expence of their blood, such as the earls of *Portland* and *Marlborough*, vice-admiral *Sampson*, and sir *John Lawson*, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he survived the battle.

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<sup>b</sup> Kennet, Echard, *Columna Rostrata*, *Basnage*, *Le Clerc*, *De Neuville*, &c. <sup>c</sup> Philip's Chronicle, lord chancellor's speech to the parliament, Kennet, *Le Clerc*, *Leven Van Tromp*. <sup>d</sup> Burchet, *Columna Rostrata*.

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## Of King CHARLES II. 253

THE *Dutch* ascribe this defeat in a great measure to the ill conduct of their own officers, and seamen, many of whom were severely punished. Thus much is allowed on all sides, that, except sixteen or seventeen of their captains who had served in the former war, they had none of tolerable knowledge, or true courage, most of them being the sons of rich burgo-masters, brought in, to secure their father's interests by *de Wit*; who, though he thus incapacitated them for fighting, yet compelled them against reason, and their own opinion to fight; because at all events, a battle was for his interest; since, gained, it raised his authority at home; or, lost, it must bring in his allies the *French* from abroad. This refined policy had well nigh ruined himself and his friends; for the mob rose, and threatened nothing less than a total revolution. At the *Brill*, admiral *Evertz* was thrown into the river, and with much difficulty rescued by the magistrates from the populace: and such like tumults happened at *Rotterdam*, and elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. On the side of the *English* too, there was some mismanagement, otherwise this had been the last battle with the *Dutch*: but so it was, that, content with the victory, we neglected the pursuit. The friends of the duke of *York* say, this was owing to high winds on shore, and our fire-ships being all spent. Others alledge, that his royal highness falling asleep after the fatigue of the day, one captain *Broucker*, who was about his person, gave orders that the admiral should slack sail; an act equally dangerous to the nation's interest, and the duke's glory<sup>m</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 743. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Philips's Chronicle. <sup>m</sup> Echard, Rapin, Coke's Detection, Denham's Satyrs, Secret history of Charles II. and James II.

His royal highness left the fleet soon after, and returned to *London*, to make a report of all things to the king. His majesty having attended his mother to the coasts, went on board the *Royal Charles* in the river, where he made a strict inquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the state of their ships; and receiving satisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour in time to come, knighted the most considerable commanders, viz. admiral *Tyddiman*, captain *Cuttings*, captain *Jordan*, captain *Spragge*; &c. after which, he directed that all the ships should be repaired with the utmost diligence; and the fleet as soon as possible, be put into a condition to go out again to sea<sup>a</sup>. The king's command; their sense of their late victory, and the news of two rich *Dutch* squadrons being at sea; quickly brought out the *English* navy; to the number of sixty sail; and on the fifth of *July*, they steered from *Southwold* bay, into which they put immediately after the last engagement; for the coast of *Holland*. The standard was borne by the gallant earl of *Sandwich*, to whom was vice-admiral sir *George Ayscue* and sir *Thomas Tyddiman*, rear-admiral. Sir *William Penn* was admiral of the white; sir *William Berkley* vice-admiral, and sir *Joseph Jordan* rear-admiral. The blue flag was carried by sir *Thomas Allen*, whose vice and rear were sir *Christopher Mims* and sir *John Harman*. The design they went on, was to intercept *de Ruyter* in his return, or at least, to take and burn the *Turkey* and *East-India* fleets; of which they had certain intelligence<sup>o</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> Phillip's Chronicle, Kennet, Earl of Sandwich's Journal.  
<sup>o</sup> Bafnage, le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp.

THEY succeeded in neither of these schemes. *De Ruyter* returned unexpectedly by the north of *Scotland*, and arrived safely in *Holland*, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet <sup>p</sup>. The *Turkey* and *India* fleet, consisting of twenty sail, under the command of commodore *Bitter*, chose to take the same northern route, in hopes of avoiding the *English* navy; but having intelligence at sea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impossible, they took shelter in the port of *Bergben* in *Norway* <sup>q</sup>. The port was pretty easy of access, and covered only by an old castle; the *Danish* governor indeed, promised the *Dutch* to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were disposed on a line before the fort: then the *Dutch* drew another line cross the bay, consisting of their largest ships; and in this posture they waited for the *English*. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of *Sandwich*, having advice of their being put into *Bergben*, had detached sir *Thomas Tyddiman* with fourteen sail of men of war, and three fire-ships to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was against them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire upon the castle, the line, and the ships; so that at last he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loss of a ship, though he had five or six very ill treated <sup>r</sup>.

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<sup>p</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 744, 745. Le Clerc, de Neuville.

<sup>q</sup> Kennet, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

<sup>r</sup> In order to come as near the truth as possible, I have compared the *Dutch* Commodore's letter with one wrote by the earl of *Arington*, Secretary of State.

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THE states by this time, partly by threats, partly by punishment, but more by promises and rewards, had again manned out a stout fleet. Admiral *de Ruyter* had the command of it, which gave no small displeasure to *Tromp*; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in shew\*. The great statesman *de Wit*, not satisfied with directing all things in the *Dutch* council, resolved also to direct their fleets; to which end he got himself, and two other deputies, appointed to attend the admiral. A step opposed by all his friends, and contrary to the sentiments of the *French* king, who was afraid, if by any accident he lost *M. de Wit*, he should not find the states so tractable as they had been for some years past†. The pensionary, however, persisted in his design, and gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before the fleet put to sea; and, though I cannot say that this relates to *English* history, yet, as it has a near relation to naval affairs, I hope the reader will not be displeased at my telling him, how *de Wit* acquired this reputation. When he came on board the fleet in the *Texel*, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimously of opinion, that they must wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two passages. As to the larger, they said, that two and twenty winds might absolutely hinder a fleet from sailing thorough it; and that in respect to the latter, it was too shallow for large ships to pass. *M. de Wit*, who was no seaman, enquired into the reason why so many winds should keep them in, and the next morning demonstrated

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\* De Neuville, Le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp.  
*Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 745.

† Basnage



monstrated to the pilots upon their own principles, that winds blowing, but from four of these points, could produce this effect; which experience has since justified. Yet the wind being at that time in one of these four points, *de Wit* went the same day and examined the *Spanish* passage with a lead, and having done this, he and Mr. *Van Haaren*, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out the two largest ships in the fleet, which they performed very safely, and the rest followed the next day; and ever since this has been called *de Wit's Passage* <sup>u</sup>.

THE point he had principally in view was, to bring off the *East-India* fleet from *Bergben*, which was a very difficult thing, considering the *English* fleet was then at sea. He found means, however, to pass by them, and arrived safely before *Bergben*, where the *Dutch* had found a new enemy in their old defender. The *Danish* governor modestly desired a hundred thousand crowns for the assistance he had given them in the late affair, and threatened to sink them if they offered to stir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they should sail then without paying the money; but he kept the cannon they had put ashore <sup>w</sup>. Thus far *de Wit* was successful; but in his return home, the fleet was scattered by a storm, which sunk two fire-ships, and some of the merchant-men. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the *East-India* fleet, ships of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five *English* frigates,

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<sup>u</sup> Wiquefort *Histoire des provinces unies*, M. S. B. xv. The Dutch term in the maps was *Spanjards Gar*, now they call it, *Heer de Wits diep*.  
<sup>w</sup> Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 747.

which the same storm had separated from our fleet ; and soon after, four men of war, two fire-ships, and thirty merchant-men, joined our fleet instead of their own, and so were all taken ; which ended the operations of this year <sup>x</sup>.

THE *French* perceiving that the scales were no longer even, but that the *Dutch* would certainly be destroyed if left to themselves ; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make such a peace as we should prescribe, resolved to declare in their favour. It may not be amiss, in order to shew what sort of an enemy this court has always been, to observe, that immediately upon this declaration, she began to cabal with our republicans, and actually endeavoured to draw general *Ludlow* from his retreat, that she might send him over to head their friends, as they now called them, on this side the water. By the persuasion of *France*, the king of *Denmark*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, declared also for the *Dutch* ; but the former was well paid for it, since the states forgave him a debt of six millions of guilders, and undertook to pay him an annual subsidy of one million and a half more so long as the war should last <sup>y</sup>. It quickly appeared, that *France*, by taking this measure, meant to make herself at once a maritime power ; for having promised to assist the *Dutch* with a fleet of six and thirty men of war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by *Dutch* carpenters, in the *Dutch* docks ; twelve more were made out of large *India* men, bought in the same country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of

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<sup>x</sup> Philips, Kennet, Burchet.  
Heath's Chronicle, p. 549.

<sup>y</sup> Philip's Continuation of

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## Of King CHARLES II. 259

of *Denmark*. When all this was done, the *French* were for setting on foot a negotiation ; but king *Charles* being then in the true interest of his subjects, was very deaf on that ear. He said, the *Dutch* had injured *England* to the amount of two millions ; and if they thought fit to pay so much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all. Nay, the king carried it still farther ; for in case he made a peace with the *Dutch*, he declared their allies should be left out of it ; which, considering the strength of the confederacy, and that the plague then raged in *England*, seems to prove, that this prince did not want spirit enough, when his good sense told him he was engaged in a right cause ; for at that time, we had no ally, but the bishop of *Munster*, who, thought he gave the *Dutch* a great deal of trouble, yet did it entirely at our expence <sup>z</sup>.

THE next year opened with a new scene ; the king recalled lord *Holles* from the *French* court, and sent the earl of *Sandwich* to *Spain*, as his ambassador : two of the wisest steps in his whole reign ; for, by the first, he broke entirely with that perfidious court, and in consequence of the second, he concluded the most beneficial treaty of commerce, that was ever made for this nation <sup>a</sup>. As to naval affairs, it was resolved, that the fleet should be commanded by prince *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle* ; the former to look after the *French*, who began now to talk very high ; and the latter to act against the *Dutch* <sup>b</sup>.

BEFORE we speak of the consequences of these great undertakings, it may not be amiss to take notice of an ac-

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<sup>z</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 279. <sup>a</sup> Columna rostrata, p. 167. Bishop Parker's history of his own times, Rapin, Echard, &c. <sup>b</sup> Kennet, Burchet, Rapin.

cident which happened at *Lisbon*, because it shews the spirit of that age. There were in that port, a considerable number of *English* merchant-men, which were to come home under the convoy of *The Guinea*-frigate. A large *French* man of war was also there, and the captain daily boasted to the *Portuguese*, what he would do when the *English* frigate put to sea. This coming to the ears of captain *Coite*, who commanded her, he sent the *Frenchman* word, he would sail the next morning, which he performed accordingly: but having hovered on the coasts three days, in expectation of being chased, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchant-men, and brought them safe into the river *Thames*, the *Frenchman* continuing quiet in the harbour of *Lisbon* <sup>c</sup>.

PRINCE *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle*, went on board the fleet on the 23d of *April*, 1666, and sailed in the beginning of *May*. Towards the latter end of that month, the court was informed, that the *French* fleet, under the command of the duke of *Beaufort*, were coming out to the assistance of the *Dutch*. This rumour, of their joining the *Dutch*, was spread by *France*, in order to deceive us, and distress the *Dutch*, themselves in reality having no such intention. Upon the receiving this news, the court sent orders to prince *Rupert* to sail with the *white* squadron to look out and fight the *French*; which command that brave prince obeyed, but found it, what many wise people before thought it, a meer groundless bravado, intended to raise the courage of their new allies, and thereby bring them into the greater danger <sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>c</sup> Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550.    <sup>d</sup> Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Rapin.

AT the same time, prince *Rupert* sailed from the *Downs*, the *Dutch* put out to sea, the wind at north-east, and a fresh gale. This brought the *Dutch* fleet on the coasts of *Dunkirk*, and carried his highness towards the *Isle of Wight*; but the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, and blowing hard, brought both the *Dutch* and the duke of *Albemarle* to an anchor. Captain *Bacon* in the *Bristol*, first discovered the enemy, and by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the *English* fleet. Upon this, a council of war was called, wherein it was resolved to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great superiority.

AFTER the departure of prince *Rupert*, the duke of *Albemarle* had with him only the red and blue squadrons, making about sixty sail: whereas the *Dutch* fleet consisted of ninety-one men of war, carrying four-thousand seven-hundred and sixteen guns, and twenty-two thousand four-hundred and sixty-two men. It was the first of *June* when they were discerned, and the duke was so warlike for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor: and, as *de Ruyter* himself says in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the same letter he owns, that, to the last, the *English* were the aggressors, notwithstanding their inferiority and other disadvantages. The *English* fleet had the weather-gage, but the wind bowed their ships so much, that they could not use their lowest tire. Sir *William Berkley's* Squadron led the van. The duke of *Albemarle*, when he came on the coast of *Dunkirk*, to avoid running on a sand, made a sudden tack, and this brought his top-mast by the board, which compelled him to lie by four or five hours, till another could be

\* *Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel, p. 207.* Sir John Harman's account of this engagement.



set up. The blue squadron knowing nothing of this, sailed on, fighting through the *Dutch* fleet, though they were five to one<sup>f</sup>. In this engagement, fell the brave Sir *William Berkley*, and his ship, *The Swiftsure*, a second rate, was taken; so was *The Essex*, a third rate; and Sir *John Harman*, in *The Henry*, had the whole *Zealand* squadron to deal with. His ship being disabled, the *Dutch* admiral *Evertz*, called to Sir *John*, and offered him quarter, who answered, *no, Sir! it is not come to that yet*; and immediately discharged a broad-side, by which *Evertz* was killed, and several of his ships damaged; which so discouraged their captains, that they quitted *The Henry*, and sent three fire-ships to burn her. The first grappled on her star-board quarters, and there began to raise so thick a smoke, that it was impossible to perceive where the irons were fixed. At last, when the ship began to blaze, the boatswain of *The Henry* threw himself on board it, and by its own light, discovered and removed the grappling-irons, and in the same instant jumped on board his own ship. He had scarce done this, before another fire-ship was fixed on the lar-board, this did its business so effectually, that the sails were quickly on fire; which frightened the chaplain and fifty men over-board. Upon this, Sir *John* drew his sword, and threatened to kill any man who should attempt to provide for his own safety, by leaving the ship. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a short time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the cross-beam fell and broke Sir *John's* leg, at which instant, the third fire-ship bore down; but four pieces of cannon laden with chain-

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<sup>f</sup> Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Kennet, Burchet, Basnage, de Neuville.



chain-shot disabled her: so that, after all, Sir *John* brought his ship into *Harwich*, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, put to sea again to seek the *Dutch*. The battle ended on the first day about ten in the evening <sup>s</sup>.

THE following night was spent in repairing the damage suffered on both sides, and next morning the fight was renewed by the *English* with fresh vigour. Admiral *Van Tromp*, with vice-admiral *Vander Hulst*, being on board one ship, rashly engaged among the *English*, and their vessel was in the utmost danger of being either taken or burnt. The *Dutch* affairs, according to their own account, were now in a desperate condition: but admiral *de Ruyter*, at last disengaged them, though not till his ship was disabled, and vice-admiral *Vander Hulst* killed. This only changed the scene; for *de Ruyter* was now as hard pushed as *Tromp* had been before. However, a reinforcement arriving, preserved him also; and so the second day's fight ended earlier than the first <sup>h</sup>.

THE third day, the duke of *Albemarle* found it necessary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He first burnt three ships that were absolutely disabled: he next caused such as were very much torn, to sail before, and with twenty-eight men of war, that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear <sup>i</sup>. Sir *John Harman*, indeed, says he had but sixteen ships

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<sup>s</sup> These circumstances are taken from Sir *John Harman's* relation, who blames the duke's eagerness for fighting; and mentions his own affairs, only to shew how hard the *English* were put to it. As to the matters of fact in this account, they are confirmed by all the *Dutch* authors. <sup>h</sup> *Kenner's* compleat history of *England*, vol. iii. p. 281. *Burchet*, *Columna rostrata*, *Basnage*, *de Neuville*, *Leven Van Tromp*. <sup>i</sup> *Burchet*, *Echard*, *Lediard*.

that were able to fight <sup>k</sup>. Yet, in the evening, his grace, discovering the white squadron coming to his assistance, resolved to engage the enemy again. In joining prince *Rupert*, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir *George Ayscue*, who was on board *The Royal Prince*, the largest and heaviest ship in the whole fleet, ran upon *The Galloper*; and being there in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to surrender: and night then falling, ended this day's engagement <sup>l</sup>.

On the 4th of *June*, the *Dutch*, who were still considerably stronger than the *English*, were almost out of fight; but the duke of *Albemarle*, having prevailed on the prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the *English* fleet charged five times through the *Dutch*; till prince *Rupert's* ship being disabled, and that of the duke of *Albemarle* very roughly handled, about seven in the evening the fleets separated, each side being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement, fell the brave admiral *Minnes*, who having a shot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another shot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain <sup>m</sup>. This was the most terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the *Dutch* admirals themselves say; and the Pensioner *de Wit*, who was no Flatterer of our nation, yet too nice a man not to discern, and of too great a spirit to conceal the truth, said roundly upon this occasion, *if the English were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; their own fleet could never have been*

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<sup>k</sup> In his narration, an extract of which may be found in Kennet.

<sup>l</sup> Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.  
chronicle, p. 551. Columna rostrata, Basnage.

<sup>m</sup> Philips's

been brought on after the first day's fight, and he believed, none but theirs could; and all the Dutch had discovered, was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt; but that the English courage was invincible<sup>a</sup>. Of this panegyric, it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him, or to the English nation.

AFTER all, it is pretty difficult to say, who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loss of the vanquished. Some Dutch writers talk of thirty-five ships, and between five and six-thousand men lost by the English; which is more than half their fleet, and very little less than all their seamen. Their best historians, however, compute our loss at sixteen men of war, of which ten were sunk, and six taken. Our writers say, the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five-thousand men: themselves own the loss of nine ships, and that there was a prodigious slaughter of their seamen<sup>o</sup>. The duke of Albemarle, was much blamed for his rashness, and great contempt of the Dutch. It seems he was of the same humour with Blake, and thought that fighting was always preferable to running away, in a nation who pretend to the dominion of the sea; and whoever shall consider the reputation we shall retain from the glorious spirits of these men, will scarce think it reasonable to hazard his own character by attacking theirs. It is enough that we live in cooler times, when men may be heroes upon more moderate terms: let us, therefore, content ourselves with justifying our own conduct, without censuring that of others, while, in the same breath, we confess, that it is no easy thing to imitate it.

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<sup>a</sup> Wicquefort, histoire des provinces unies, lib. xv. MS. <sup>o</sup> Bafnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, Brandt vie de Ruyter.

THE *Dutch* had the credit of appearing at sea again before the *English*, their ships having in these engagements suffered less. They affected then to brave us on our own coasts, and next, to go in search of their *French* allies, who never meant to afford them any real assistance. It was not long before the *English* appeared. The fleet consisted of eighty men of war, great and small, and nineteen fire-ships, divided into three squadrons; the *Red* under prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albermarle*, who were on board the same ship, Sir *Joseph Jordan* vice, and Sir *Robert Holmes* rear-admiral. Sir *Thomas Allen* was admiral of the *White*, and had under him Sir *Thomas Tyddiman*, and rear-admiral *Uthurt*. Sir *Jeremiah Smith* carried the *Blue* flag, and his officers were Sir *Edward Spragge* and rear-admiral *Xemphorne*. The *Dutch*; according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and twenty fire-ships, divided also into three squadrons, under *de Ruyter*, *Evertz* (brother to the admiral who was killed in the former engagement) and *Tromp* <sup>r</sup>.

ON the twenty-fifth of *July*, about noon, the *English* came up with the enemy off the north-foreland. Sir *Thomas Allen* with the *white* squadron began the battle, by attacking *Evertz*. Prince *Rupert* and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a desperate attack upon *de Ruyter*, and after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ship. In this space the *white* squadron had entirely defeated their enemies, admiral *Evertz*, his vice-admiral *de Vries*, and his rear-admiral *Koenders*, being all killed, the vice-admiral of *Zeland* taken, and another ship

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<sup>r</sup> Philips's chronicle, Kennet, Barchet, Basnage, Le Clerc, De Neuville.

ship of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke fought *de Ruyter* ship to ship, disabled the *Guelderland* of sixty-six guns, which was one of his seconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more, upon which the *Dutch* squadron began to fly <sup>9</sup>. However, vice-admiral *Van Nes* stood bravely by *de Ruyter*, and received great damage: yet being at last deserted by all but seven ships, they yielded to necessity, and followed the rest of their fleet as fast as they could. *De Ruyter's* ship was so miserably torn, and his crew so dispirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little resistance, and nothing but the want of wind hindered the *English* from boarding him. As for admiral *Van Tromp*, he was engaged with sir *Fere-miah Smith* at a distance, and so could not assist his friends. As his was the strongest squadron of the *Dutch* fleet, and *Smith's* the weakest of the *English*, we had no great advantage on that side; yet some we had, his vice-admiral's ship being disabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery, as long as there was light <sup>r</sup>.

ADMIRAL *de Ruyter* continued his retreat that night, and the next day prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle* pursued him with part of the *red* squadron, as fast as the wind would permit. A fire-ship bore down upon the *Dutch* admiral, and missed very little of setting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when *de Ruyter* found himself so hard pressed, and his fleet in such eminent danger, that in a fit of despair he cryed out, *My god, what a wretch am I! amongst so many thousand bullets, is*  
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<sup>9</sup> Philips's Chronicle, Columna Rostrata, History of the Dutch wars.  
Bafnage Le Clerc, De Neuville, &c.



not there one to put me out of my pain? By degrees, however, he drew near their own shallow coast, where the *English* could not follow him. Upon this occasion, prince *Rupert* insulted the *Dutch* admiral, by sending a little shallop called the *Fanfan*, with two small guns on board, which being rowed near *de Ruyter's* vessel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at last a ball from the *Dutch* admiral so damaged his contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briskly, to save their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the wylings, the *English* went to lie at *Schonevelt*, the usual rendezvous of the *Dutch* fleets<sup>a</sup>.

THIS was the clearest victory gained in the whole war: the *Dutch* were miserably beaten, and their two great admirals *de Ruyter* and *Tromp*, had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating circumstances they could devise. In this battle the *Dutch* lost twenty ships; four admirals killed, and a great many captains: as to private men, there might be about four thousand slain, and three thousand wounded. The *English* had only the *Resolution* burnt, three captains killed, and about three hundred private men. Upon this occasion it appeared, of how little service it is to spread false rumours amongst the populace. The *Dutch* people had been assured, that the last battle had entirely ruined the naval strength of *England*, and that their fleet when it sailed out, was gone to destroy the coasting trade, and to insult the sea-ports of our island. When therefore in the space of six weeks they saw the reverse of this,

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<sup>a</sup> Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 783. Le Clerc, De Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, Leven Van Tromp.



this, their own countrymen flying, the *English* navy stationed on their shore, and their whole commerce at a stand, their fury is not to be expressed. They reproached their governors, not only with want of courage and fortune, but also with being deficient in point of probity, and with endeavouring to impose on a nation they could not protect. Their rage, great as it was, received no small increase from a new misfortune, heavier in itself, and more shameful in its nature, than any they had yet sustained; yet whether so honourable to the *English* as some have represented it, I will not take upon me to determine, but leave it to the decision of the reader, when he shall have read the best account of the matter I am able to give<sup>t</sup>.

ON the twenty-ninth of *July*, the *English* fleet weighed anchor, and steered their course for the *Ulster*; but the wind being contrary, they did not make the island till the seventh of *August*. Being then come to anchor, prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle* received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich storehouses on the islands, and a large fleet of merchant-men lying between them, yet *Ulster* and *Schelling* were very indifferently

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<sup>t</sup> The Dutch ministers, who in those times preached as if they had the rolls of destiny lying open before them, affirmed the fire of London, which happened the September following, to be a judgment from heaven for this action. Some of our own writers are very angry with it, and with sir Robert Holmes for performing it: but this is quite absurd, since he acted in consequence of the resolution of a council of war, and is, therefore, commendable in this respect, whatever may be thought of his orders, or his conduct in other things. See Kenner, Coke's Detection, Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

ly guarded; upon which it was resolved to attack them forthwith <sup>a</sup>.

UPON this, a council of flag-officers were called, in order to make the necessary dispositions for this great attempt. There it was resolved, that three hundred men should be drawn out of each squadron, two thirds land, and one third seamen, under nine captains; and the whole to be executed under the direction of sir *Robert Holmes*, rear-admiral of the *red*, with whom went sir *William Jennings*, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both islands at once, was to command one division. The ships appointed for this enterprize were five fourths, three fifth rates, five fire-ships, and seven ketches, as sir *Robert Holmes* tells us in his relation of the affair <sup>w</sup>.

ON the eighth of *July*, about seven in the morning, this squadron weighed, divided from the rest of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the *Buoys*, where they met the prince's pleasure-boat called the *Fanfan*, who had discovered in the harbour a considerable fleet of ships near the *Ulie*, which proved to be one hundred and seventy merchant-ships, the least of which was not less than two hundred tons burthen, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed near a hundred of the aforesaid ships from the northward, homeward bound, some from the *Streights*, some from *Guinea*, some from *Russia*, some from

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<sup>a</sup> The *Ulie* is an island from which the Dutch fleets usually sail to the Baltick, it has the *Texel* on the south, and *Schelling* on the north. <sup>w</sup> I take this from the account by authority, entitled, *A true and perfect narrative of the great success of a part of his majesty's fleet by their burning one hundred and sixty Dutch ships within the Ulie*. Of this there is an extract in *Kennet*.

from the east countries: the rest were outward-bound ships, all of which likewise were very richly laden \*.

SIR Robert Holmes considering, that if he should proceed, as his design was, first to attempt a descent on the land, that numerous fleet might possibly pour in such numbers of men, as might render the success hazardous, resolved to begin with the ships; and accordingly, having ordered the *Advice* and the *Hampshire*, to lie without the *Buoys*, he weighed with the rest of his fleet; and the wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into *Schelling* road, where the *Tyger* came to anchor, and immediately sir Robert went on board the *Fanfan*, and hoisted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him; and there it was ordered, that the *Pembroke*, which drew the least water, with the five fire-ships, should fall in amongst the enemy's fleet with what speed they could. Captain *Browne* with his fire-ship chose very bravely to lay the biggest man of war on board, and burnt him downright. Another fire-ship running up at the same time to the other man of war, he, backing his sails, escaped the present execution of the fire-ship; but so as to run himself by it on ground, where he was presently taken by some of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ships clapped the three great merchant-men on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion, which sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on board again; and presently gave orders, that sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the

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\* If the reader considers the number, the burthen, and the trade in which these ships were employed, he will easily discern the credit due to the subsequent account of damages.

the advantage, and sail in, sink, burn and destroy all they could ; but with a strict command, that they should not plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share, some twelve, some fifteen merchant-men, that of the whole fleet, there escaped not above eight or nine ships, one of which was a *Guinea* man of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers, these ships being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, served to protect four or five merchant-men that were a-head of them, where it was not possible for our boats to come at them ; though even these few were much damag'd <sup>y</sup>.

THE next day, being the 10th of *August*, it was found expedient to land on the island of *Schelling*, than that upon *Ulit*, which was performed by sir *Robert Holmes*, with eleven companies in his long-boats, and he landed with little or no opposition. When he came on shore, he left one company to secure his boat, and with the other ten, marched three miles up into the country, to the capital town called *Brandaris*, in which there were upwards of a thousand fine houses ; where keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town, to prevent any surprize of the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to the place : but finding them somewhat slow to execute that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in the pillage, he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten his men away, which burnt with such violence, that in half an hour's time, most part of the town was in a bright flame. This place was reported the

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<sup>y</sup> This account agrees very well with what is said on the same subject by the Dutch writers.

by those that were found in it, to have been very rich, and so it appeared by some of the soldiers pockets; but very few people were to be seen there, having had time to escape from the danger, except some old men and women, who were used by the *English* after they fell into their hands, with all possible gentleness and humanity <sup>z</sup>.

THIS blow greatly affected the *Dutch*, who, according to their own accounts, suffered the loss of near six millions of guilders; and if we take the ships into this computation, they confess that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions, or, one million, one hundred thousand pounds sterling. We need not wonder that this wounded deep, and engaged the *States* to use their utmost diligence in fitting out a new fleet <sup>a</sup>.

As soon as it was ready, the command was bestowed on *de Ruyter*, *Tromp* being at that time out of commission. This navy consisted of seventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-seven fire-ships <sup>b</sup>. The first design they had, was to join the *French* squadron, which *Louis XIV.* had promised to fit out for their assistance; in this they were disappointed, and after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once chased by a superior *English* fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at such usage, which, it is said, wrought so powerfully on the mind of *de Ruyter*, as to throw him into a fit of sickness <sup>c</sup>.

VOL. II.

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<sup>z</sup> This burning of the town of *Bandaris*, is somewhat lessened in the detail given by M. de Neuville in his *histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. p. 287. <sup>a</sup> Some writers make the loss sustained by the Dutch still more, viz. 12,000,000 guilders, or, 1,200,000 l. sterling, Lediard's *Naval History*, p. 387. Rapin diminishes the loss and the number of ships. <sup>b</sup> Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 785. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Kennet, *Columna Rostrata*. <sup>c</sup> The Dutch writers differ much from the English, in respect to these particulars; but their accounts are inconsistent with each other. Besides, if they were superior at sea, how came they not to join the French?



WHEN the *French* thought the coast pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but sir *Thomas Allen* attacking them with his squadron, boarded the *Ruby*, a fine ship of a thousand tons, and fifty-four guns, and carrying her in a short time, it so discouraged the *French* ministry, that they scarce ventured their navy out of sight of its own shore. But, in the mean time, to convince the *English* that they were determined enemies, though they did not like fighting, they had recourse to a stratagem, or, to call the thing by its proper name, they set on foot a dirty conspiracy for seizing the island of *Guernsey*. In pursuit of this fine scheme, they sent a gentleman who was governor of the principal fortresses upon their own coasts, to negotiate with major-general *Lambert*, an old republican, who was prisoner in the island. But the general, it seems, preferred any government to a *French* one, and therefore, having made a free discovery of these politicians, they were taken and hanged for spies<sup>d</sup>. This, methinks, is sufficient to shew that both courts were in earnest; which, however, is a fact some people then, and not a few historians now, pretend to doubt.

By the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of war, which was certainly directly opposite to the interest of both *Britain* and *Holland*, and may therefore be justly referred to the arts of *France*, and the situation of *M. de Wit*, a man equally fortunate in his abilities, and unhappy in the application of them. A man who understood the interests of his country thoroughly, and in his own nature was certainly inclined to promote them; but

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<sup>d</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 554. Kennet, Echard, Burchet.



but having been engaged from his birth in the designs of a faction bent to ruin the authority, interest, and credit of the house of *Orange*, he came to have an inveteracy against the *English* court, which grew so much the more vehement, the less cause there was for it. He had plunged his country into this war to gratify his own humour, and to pin himself effectually on *France*; and now, when his countrymen were almost unanimously desirous of peace, which motions were well received, and readily complied with in *England*, he contrived in his own mind such a method of making war, as he thought would effectually raise the reputation of his family, and at the same time cut off the head of a very honest gentleman, who, at the request, and by the consent of the states, had carried on a correspondence in *England* for facilitating a peace.

THE king of *Sweden* having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both sides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of *London*, and other national misfortunes, particularly the restlessness of factions, (a mischief from which we are seldom free) engaged king *Charles* to be sincere in his desires of a peace. The *Dutch*, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to serve the purposes of their ministry, and many arts had been practised to keep them in it, though it was equally against their interest and inclinations. Now, therefore, when *France* found pacific measures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on, would serve only to raise the reputation of *England*, and to obscure their

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\* The matter is very fairly stated in *Basnage's Annals*, but Mr. de Neuville treats M. Baat, who suffered, on this occasion as a downright traitor; though he owns he had formerly served his country with equal integrity and courage.

their own, as well as ruin the *Dutch*: a treaty was set on foot at *Breda*, not only at the desire of the *States*, but by their express appointment of time and place, in which they were indulged by king *Charles*, purely to shew the sincerity of his resolutions. Whilst this treaty was thus negotiating, *de Wit* was resolved to put in practice his base project; which, though executed with success, and esteemed glorious for a moment, yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country; and more so to himself and his brother, who had the immediate conduct and execution of it <sup>f</sup>.

WHEN the pensionary *John de Wit* was last on board the *Dutch* fleet, and, in the absence of the *English* navy, had cruised upon our coast; he took an opportunity of sending persons to sound the mouth of the river *Thames*, in order to discover, how far it might be practicable to make any attempt therein with large ships; and having by this means found, with what facility the project he had formed, might be executed, he resolved to proceed in it, notwithstanding the negotiations for peace were then far advanced. He at first opened himself to the count *d'Esstrades*, the *French* ambassador, who communicated the design to his court, where it met with the utmost approbation, and where measures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution <sup>g</sup>. To this end it was necessary king *Charles* should be persuaded, that there was no necessity of fitting out a fleet for this year, since this  
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<sup>f</sup> Basnage *Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 804. de Neuville, *Wicquefort*, *Columna Rostrata*, Kennet, &c. <sup>g</sup> For these particulars we are indebted to the letters count *d'Esstrades* the french minister, to the *States*, which shew very clearly the whole course of this intrigue.

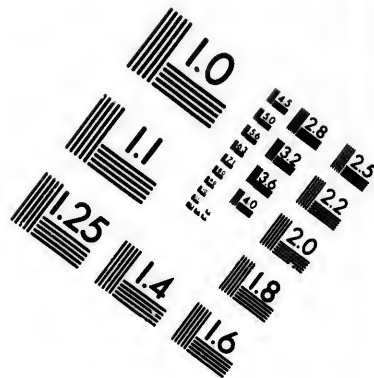
would have rendered the design of the *Dutch* statesman, not only difficult and dangerous, but absolutely impracticable. With a view to this, the queen mother (whose advices were always fatal to this nation) was persuaded to write her son a letter, wherein she informed him, that his most christian majesty, and the *States-General*, had turned their thoughts entirely towards peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his majesty, by fitting out a great fleet, should alarm them on their coasts, as in the preceeding year. This advice agreeing with the king's temper, and circumstances, whose courtiers plundered him, and against whose measures a party was formed, many of whom, notwithstanding their professions of patriotism, in reality meant little more than places and preferments, we need not wonder he fell so readily into it; for covetous and needy princes, are alike liable to the greatest foible in governing; the preferring of present gain to any future prospect whatever. Notwithstanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, king *Charles* ordered only two small squadrons for the summer service, in 1667<sup>b</sup>.

THINGS being thus in a readiness, the last resolution was taken in *Holland*, for the immediate execution of *de Wit*'s project; and this resolution was signed by the *French* minister as well as by the deputies of the states. His most christian majesty had promised that a squadron of his ships, under the command of the duke of *Beaufort*, should assist therein. However, that the issue of the thing might irritate the *English* against the *Dutch* only, the *French* waved the performance of their promise; when the matter, however,

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<sup>b</sup> Kennet, Columna Rostrata, Burchet.





A resolution test chart featuring various patterns of horizontal and vertical lines of increasing frequency. Each pattern is accompanied by a numerical value indicating its resolution. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.6, 6.3, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10, 11.2, 12.5, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22.5, 25, 28, 32, 36, 40, 45, 50, 56, 63, 71, 80, 90, 100, 112, 125, 140, 160, 180, 200, 225, 250, 280, 320, 360, 400, 450, 500, 560, 630, 710, 800, 900, 1000, 1120, 1250, 1400, 1600, 1800, 2000, 2250, 2500, 2800, 3200, 3600, 4000, 4500, 5000, 5600, 6300, 7100, 8000, 9000, 10000.

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ever, was so far advanced that the *Dutch* found it impossible to go back. Yet the *English* ministers were treating all this time at *Breda*, where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance for concluding a peace<sup>1</sup>.

THE pretence made use of by *de Wit*, for fitting out a fleet in the spring, was, the mischief which had been done to their navigation, by the privateers from *Scotland*. In order to check these, admiral *Van Ghendt* was sent with a considerable fleet into the *Frith*, with orders to burn the coasts, and recover such ships as were in those ports. He appeared before *Leith* on the 1st of *May*, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of mischief; but he contented himself with cannonading *Burnt-Island*, to very little purpose. When the *English* court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year, and that this expedition, was purely to quiet the minds of the people, enough disturbed by their late losses. But *de Wit*, in the mean time, had hastily manned out a large fleet, under the command of *de Ruyter*, on board which he intended to have gone in person; but the *French* protested against this step, and therefore he was, at last, content to send *Cornelius de Wit*, his brother. Care had been taken to provide some of the old republican officers, to command the troops which were to make a descent; and these also easily

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<sup>1</sup> In this, the historians of both nations agree. One would wonder how, after duly considering this fact, any writer can assert (as Dutch historians do) that *de Wit*'s expedition was necessary to the making of the peace. King Charles had yielded to a treaty, at the request of the Dutch; he had left the manner of negotiating it to them; he had disarmed his victorious fleet. What signs, beyond these, could he shew of inclining to peace?

easily procured pilots to conduct the *Dutch* into our rivers and ports. So wild a thing is faction, which, though always covered with fair pretences of love for the public, will yet lead such as are deluded thereby to the most flagitious actions, and such as visibly tend to destroy what by their own principles they should most vigorously defend \*!

THE fleet being ready, sailed over to the *English* coast, where it was joined by *Van Ghendt*, and consisted then of seventy men of war, besides fire-ships. On the 7th of *June*, a squadron was sent into the river *Thames*, to perform what they had been so long plotting. On the 10th they attacked *Sheerness*, which was at that time unfinished, and in no state of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a considerable quantity of naval stores. Though the court had scarce any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of *Albemarle*, Sir *Edward Spragge*, and other great officers, had made all imaginable provision for the defence of the river *Medway*, by sinking ships in the passage, throwing a chain a-cross it, and placing three large vessels, which had been taken from the *Dutch* in this war, behind the chain. The *Dutch* had the advantage of a strong easterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ships at *Chatham*, in spite of these precautions taken to preserve them. It was on the 12th of *June*, they executed this design; which, however, had miscarried, if one captain *Brakell*, who was a prisoner on board their fleet for some misdemeanor, had not offered (to wipe out

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\* Philip's chronicle, Ludlow's memoirs, Kennet, Echard, Columna rostrata, Burchet, Rapin.

the memory of his former mistake, to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed <sup>1</sup>.

He also with great bravery boarded and took one of the *English* frigates which guarded the passage, soon after *The Matthias*, *The Unity*, and *The Charles the fifth*, being the ships which, as before observed, had been taken by the *Dutch*, were set on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with six men of war and five fire-ships, as high as *Upnore*-castle, but were so warmly received by major *Scot*, who commanded therein, and Sir *Edward Spragge* from the opposite shore, gave them so much disturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return. However, as they came back, they burnt *The Royal Oak*, a very fine ship, and in her captain *Douglass*, whose behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory. He had received orders to defend his ship, which he did with the utmost resolution; but, having none to retire, he chose to burn with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deserted his command. On the 14th, they carried off the hull of *The Royal Charles*, notwithstanding all the *English* could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two *Dutch* men of war ran ashore in the *Medway*, and were burnt, which, with eight fire-ships consumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loss acknowledged by the *Dutch* writers; though it is not improbable that they really suffered much more <sup>m</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I take these facts from the several accounts in their historians and our own; but particularly from the relations laid before the house of commons of this whole affair, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

<sup>m</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 804. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Columna rostrata.

*DE Ruyter*, highly pleased with what he had performed, left admiral *Van Nes* with part of his fleet in the mouth of the *Thames*, and sailed with the rest to *Portsmouth*, in hopes of burning the ships there. Failing in this design, he sailed westward to *Torbay*, where he was likewise repulsed. Then he returned to the mouth of the *Thames*, and with twenty-five sail came as high as the *Hope*, where our squadron lay, under the command of Sir *Edward Spragge*. This consisted of eighteen sail; yet, the admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we suffered at first from their fire-ships; but Sir *Edward* repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir *Joseph Jordan*, with a few small ships, quickly forced the *Dutch* to retire. The like success attended their attack on *Land-Guard* fort, which was performed by sixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel *Doleman*, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but governor *Darrel*, an old cavalier, beat them off with great loss. On the 23, *Van Nes* sailed again up the river as far as the *Hope*, where he engaged Sir *Edward Spragge*, who had with him five frigates, and seventeen fire-ships. This proved a very sharp action, at least between the fire-ships, of which the *Dutch* writers themselves confess they spent eleven to our eight. The next day the *English* attacked the *Dutch* in their turn, and, notwithstanding their superiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire-ship they had left, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th, they bore out of the river, with all the sail they could make, followed at a distance by Sir *Edward Spragge*, and his remaining fire-ships. On the 26th, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another *English* squadron from *Harwich*, consisting of five men of war, and fourteen fire-ships. They boldly

ly attacked the *Dutch*, and grappled the vice-admiral of *Zeland*, and another large ship; but were not able to fire them, though they frighted a hundred of their men into the sea. The rear-admiral of *Zeland* was forced on shore, and so much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home<sup>n</sup>.

THE *Dutch* fleets, notwithstanding these disappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impression could be made, as had been expected, on the *English* coasts, continued still hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was signed at *Breda*. Our writers are pretty much at a loss to account for this conduct; but a *Dutch* historian has told us very plainly, that *Cornelius de Wit* ordered our ports to be sounded, and took pains to observe the strength of our maritime forts, and the provision made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which shewed plainly, though this was the first, it was not designed to be the last visit. These were certainly very provoking circumstances, and he added to them at his return a strange act of indignity towards the king, and the *English* nation, by representing himself in triumph, and them at his feet in a pompous picture, which he caused to be hung up in a public edifice, to heighten the insult to the last degree. But before we speak of the peace, and of what followed thereupon in *Holland*, it will

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<sup>n</sup> Besides the authors before-mentioned, the reader may consult Ludlow's memoirs, in order to be convinced, that the *Dutch*, and particularly the *de Wits*, had our destruction more at heart than their own safety; and, that this Chatham expedition was chiefly contrived, directed and executed by our own fugitives.

will be requisite to give some account of such actions in the war as have not yet been mentioned °.

WHILE the whole *Dutch* fleet was employed in alarming our coasts, sir *Jeremiah Smith* was sent with a small squadron northwards; with which, and the assistance of a numerous fleet of privateers already abroad for their own profit, the *Dutch* commerce to the *Baltick* was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into *English* ports. Thus it may be truly said, that the nations at this time changed characters. The *Dutch* preferred the insult at *Chatham*, which, all things considered, was of little or no consequence to them, to the preservation of their trade; and the *English* endeavoured to make themselves amends for this unexpected loss of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchant-men. Such are the effects which private passions produce in public affairs! The indolence and credulity of king *Charles* exposed his subjects and himself to this stain on their reputation, and the fury and self-interest of the *de Wit* faction exposed, for the sake of furthering their own purposes, the trade of their country at present, and its future welfare, to extreme hazard. But let us return from men to things<sup>p</sup>.

THE *English* in the *West-Indies*, took the island of *St. Eustacie*, *Salia*, *St. Martin*, *Bonaira*, the island of *Tabago*, and other places from the *Dutch*. On the contrary, the *Dutch*, under the conduct of commodore *Krynsen*, made them-

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° These acts of indignity and contempt were not only galling to the king, and such of his subjects as were truly loyal, but they were also such marks of rivetted hate, and implacable prejudice, as disposed that prince more than any thing to receive ill impressions from France; and, therefore, how wrong soever his subsequent conduct might be (politically considered) yet the *Dutch* had apparently themselves to blame. <sup>p</sup> Philip's chronicle, p. 564. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.



themselves masters of *Surinam*; and the *French*, assisted by the *Dutch*, almost deprived the *English* of their half of the island of *St. Christopher's*, after several obstinate disputes, and the death of their commander *Les Salles*. Six frigates, and some other small vessels from *Barbadoes*, sailing to repair this loss, were so ill treated by a violent storm that they were put out of a condition to execute their design, and two or three of the most disabled ships fell into the hands of the enemy; though before their misfortune, they had burnt two *Dutch* ships richly laden, in the harbour of *Los Santos*. Some authors say, this little fleet was commanded by the lord *Willoughby*, and that himself was lost in the hurricane. The *English* were more successful in the neighbourhood of *Surinam*, where they destroyed the *Dutch* colony, took a fort belonging to the *French*, and afterwards made themselves masters of many rich prizes, at the expence of that nation<sup>a</sup>.

THE *Dutch* admiral *Evertz*, in conjunction with commodore *Krynsen*, recovered the island of *Tobago* and did a great deal of mischief upon the coast of *Virginia*. In *March* 1667, sir *John Harman* was sent with a squadron of twelve men of war to redress these mischiefs. He performed all that he was sent for, and effectually cleared the seas both of *French* and *Dutch* rovers; yet he had not been long there, before he found himself pushed by a superior force. The *Dutch* commodore *Krynsen*, having embarked on board his squadron thirteen hundred land troops, sailed to *Martinico*, where he joined monsieur *de la Barra*, who commanded all the forces of the *French* king in those parts. Their fleet after this conjunction consisted

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<sup>a</sup> Burchet, british empire in America.

consisted of two and twenty sail of stout ships, with which they went to seek the *English* squadron upon the coast of St. *Christopher's*. On the 10th of *May* 1667, an engagement ensued, which lasted with great vigour for above three hours, in which the *English*, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, obtained a compleat victory. The *Dutch* historians say, that had it not been for the courage and conduct of the officers of their fleet, the *French* admiral had been taken; and, on the other hand, it is certain that those officers were so ill satisfied with the behaviour of the *French*, that they quitted them upon their return to St. *Christopher's*. The *English* admiral with his fleet came soon after thither, burnt the *French* admiral, and six or seven ships in the harbour, and either sunk himself, or obliged the *French* to sink, all the rest of the ships that were there except two, and this with the loss only of eighty men.

In the first of these engagements, our writers have observed, that the admiral sir *John Harman* was exceedingly ill of the gout, so as not to be able to stir. On the first firing, however, he started up and went upon deck, gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable, and when it was over, became as lame as he was before. By these victories he became master in those seas, and took from the *Dutch* their plantation at *Surinam*; but, however, it was restored by the treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that treaty for the conclusion of hostilities.

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<sup>1</sup> Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 561. Kennet, Echard, Bafnage, Le Clerc. <sup>2</sup> Columna Rostrata, p. 201. Kennet, Burchet.

THERE were three distinct treaties of peace, signed at *Breda*, with the *Dutch*, the *French*, and the *Danes*, by the *English* ministers, who were lord *Holles* and Mr. *Coventry*; which were ratified on the 24th of *August* 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were safe and honourable, at least, though not so glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after such a war. By it the honour of the flag was secured, and the island of *Poleton*, to prevent further disputes was yielded to the *Dutch*. In the *West-Indies* we kept all that we had taken, except *Surinam*, and the *French* were obliged to restore what they had taken in those parts from us. Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the loss of *Poleton*, and the spice-trade, was not so much owing to this treaty, as to the conduct of *Cromwell*, to whom it was yielded, when after turning out his masters, he made peace with the *Dutch*. In obtaining it, he consulted his honour, and seemed to have the interest of the nation at heart. But, knowing of how great consequence it was to the *Dutch*, he consented that, paying him an annual pension they should keep it, sacrificing manifestly thereby the public interest to his own. The island being thus out of our possession, and being of greater consequence than ever to the *Dutch*, they would not, at the time of this treaty depart from their pretensions.

It is certain that the king made this peace against his will, and without obtaining what he sought and expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto were chiefly these. First, disorders in his domestic affairs, which disquieted him with great reason. He found  
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\* *Basnage annales de provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 806.

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there was a strong spirit of disaffection amongst his subjects, which produced the late misfortune at *Chatham*; and in case the war had continued, would have probably had worse effects. And secondly, the *French* king's design was become apparent, and his claim to the greatest part of the *Spanish Netherlands* openly avowed. If, therefore, the quarrel between *Great-Britain* and *Holland* had subsisted any longer, the balance of power on the continent must have been lost. Such were the true grounds of the peace at *Breda*; and whoever considers the situation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

WE succeeded better in our negotiations this year in other parts. The worthy and wise earl of *Sandwich* concluded, on the 13th of *March*, a treaty with *Spain*, whereby all old differences were settled, the friendship between the two crowns renewed and strengthened, and our commerce much extended. Soon after this, his lordship went to *Lisbon*, and there, by his mediation, a peace was made between the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, whereby the latter came to be owned an independent kingdom, and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might if longer pursued have been fatal to both. Towards the close of this year, his majesty

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What I assert above, the reader will find confirmed by two unexceptionable and irrefragable witnesses, whose knowledge cannot be doubted, or credit questioned. As to the disposition of the people to set up a republic again here, and the offers of *Holland* and *France* on that head, *Ludlow* is full in his memoirs, vol. iii. p. 184, &c. As to the king's judgment on the state of affairs, sir *William Temple* gives a candid and copious account in his letters, in which also he concurs with the king in his opinion.

majesty sent sir *William Temple* into *Holland*, in order to enter into a stricter correspondence with the *States*, and to concert with them the means of preserving *Flanders* from falling into the hands of the *French*. This shews that his majesty for the present laid aside his resentments for what had been done against him personally by the *Dutch*; and this, for the sake of giving a check to the too great power of *France*. In consequence of sir *William's* negotiation, was concluded the famous triple-alliance between *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; the most glorious step taken in this reign, and which, steadily pursued, would have crushed at the beginning, that ambitious prince, whose projects never ceased disturbing his neighbours, 'till after being humbled by the arms of *Britain*, he came to know himself, and deplore them on his death-bed<sup>w</sup>. But to return to our more immediate business.

THE *Dutch* war being over, his majesty sent sir *Thomas Allen* with a stout Squadron into the *Mediterranean*, to repress the insults of the *Algerines*, who taking advantage of our differences, had disturbed both the *English* commerce and the *Dutch*. The latter sent admiral *Van Ghendt* with a Squadron, to secure their trade; and he, having engaged six *Corfairs*, forced them to fly to their own coasts, where probably they would have escaped, if commodore *Beach*, with four *English* frigates had not fallen upon them, and after a close chase, obliged them to run a-ground. In this situation, they were attacked by the *English* and the *Dutch* in their boats, and being abandoned by their respective crews, were all taken, and a great number of christian slaves

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<sup>w</sup> Philip's chronicle, Kennet, Parker's history of his own times, earl of Sandwich's Journal.

<sup>x</sup> This  
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slaves of different nations released. The *English* commodore presented sixteen *Dutch* slaves to admiral *Van Ghendt*; and received from him twenty *English* by way of exchange; but the *Algerine* ships being leaky, were burnt. The same year some of our frigates attacked seven of the enemies best ships near cape *Gaeta*. The admiral and vice-admiral of the *Algerines* carried fifty-six guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggest ship in the squadron, carried sixty, and the least forty. Yet, after a sharp engagement the vice-admiral was sunk, and the rest forced to retire, most of them miserably disabled. At the close of the year 1669, captain *Kempton*, (afterward sir *John*) in the *Mary Rose*, a small frigate, engaged seven *Algerine* men of war, and after a very warm action, forced them to sheer off, being in no condition to fight any longer; of which we have a particular account\*.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that, considering the *Dutch*, as well as we, were concerned in attacking these pirates; we have no better account of the war that was carried on against them, or of the force they then had, but what we are left to collect as we can, from the scattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only list I have seen, is, of the state of their navy in 1668; and then it consisted of twenty-four ships great and small, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewise six new ships of force, upon the stocks. Yet, this pitiful enemy continued to disturb, and even to distress the commerce of both the maritime powers for several years. At last, sir *Edward Spragge* was sent in 1670,

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\* This account, together with a print representing the whole action, engraved by *Hollar*, is inserted by *Ogleby*, in his description of *Africa*, p. 213.



with a strong squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruised for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this, he sailed from thence, with six frigates, and three fire-ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those *Corfairs* which lay in the haven of *Bugia*. By the way, he lost the company of two of his fire-ships; yet not discouraged by this accident, he persisted in his resolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the *Algerines* a-ground, and (notwithstanding the fire of the castle) burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which, he destroyed another of their ships of war near *Tadellis*. These and other misfortunes caused such a tumult among the *Algerines*, that they murdered their dey, and chose another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the *English*, on the ninth of *December* in the same year; and as they were now sufficiently humbled, and saw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with *England* must end in their destruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times<sup>v</sup>.

WE are now come to the third *Dutch* war (frequently called the second, because it was so in respect to this reign) and to account for the beginning of it, will be no easy matter. It has been before shewn, that the last treaty of peace was made by king *Charles*, against his will, and on terms, to which, force only made him consent. We need

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<sup>v</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, Kennet, Burchet, Basnage, de Neuville, de ciere, du Mont.

need not wonder, therefore, that he still retained a dislike to the *Dutch*. Besides, there had been many other things done, sufficient to distaste any crowned head. For instance, their factory at *Gambron* in *Persia*, after the peace, burnt the king in effigie, having first dressed up the image in an old second-hand suit, to express the distress in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, so the *States-General* looked upon themselves as above giving him, any satisfaction<sup>2</sup>. They likewise suffered some medals to be struck; in which their vanity was very apparent. For instance, because the triple-alliance had given a check to the power of *France*, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, they were pleased to boast of giving peace to *Europe*, and of being arbiters among contending princes. Here, however, it must be owned that, in making war at this juncture, king *Charles* acted under the direction of *French* counsels. He had about him, the worst set of ministers that ever cursed this, or perhaps any other nation. Men of different faiths, (if bad states-men have any) and who agreed only in promoting those arbitrary acts, which, while they seemed to make their master great, in reality ruined his and exalted their power. This infamous crew, for (however decked with titles by their master, no *Englishman* will transmit their names to posterity with

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<sup>2</sup> This was very much insisted on in those days, and the rather, because things of a like nature were practised by the *Dutch* in *Russia*, and other places. As to the fact before us, we have a long detail of it in *voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, vol. i. p. 775. It is mentioned by *Basnage*, and *de Neuville*, who both own, that it was a base and unjustifiable outrage. Instead, however, of attributing this to the *Dutch* nation, we ought in justice to refer it to the spirit of the *de Wit* ministry, which was its true source.

honour) were then called, the *CABAL*: and these engaged the king to listen to the propositions of his most christian majesty, who, as he had before deceived him to serve the *Dutch*, so he now offered to deceive the *Dutch*, to gratify king *Charles*: and that the king might not hesitate at this step, *Louis le grand*, betrayed his creature *de Wit*, and discovered a project he had sent him, for entering into an offensive alliance against *England*; which, with other articles for his private advantage, determined our prince to take a step prejudicial to the protestant interest, repugnant to that of the nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in *Europe*<sup>a</sup>.

By virtue of a secret treaty with *France*, this war was to end in the total destruction of the republic of *Holland*. Part of its dominions was to be added to those of *France*, and the rest to fall to the share of *England*. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the *Merlin* Yatch, with sir *William Temple's* lady on board, had directions to pass through the *Dutch* fleet, and on their not striking to his flag, was commanded to fire; which he did, and was rewarded for it. The pretence thus secured, the *French* next undertook to lull the *Dutch* asleep, as they had done us, when our ships were burnt at *Chatham*; and this too they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their schemes depended. Yet *de Wit* trusted to this; till, as the  
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<sup>a</sup> The *CABAL* was a word very luckily chosen, since it was composed of the initial letters of their titles, which were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale. As to the justice of my account of them, the Reader may consult Kennet, Echard, Rapin, Temple, Parker, Burnet, and Carte's life of the duke of Ormond.

dupe of *France*, and the scourge of his own nation, he fell a sacrifice to the fury of a free people. The war once resolved on, sir *Robert Holmes*, who began the former by his reprisals in *Guinea*, had orders to open this too, though without any previous declaration, by attacking the *Smyrna* fleet <sup>b</sup>.

THIS Squadron of his majesty's ships was commanded by sir *Robert Holmes*, in the *St. Michael*, as admiral; the earl of *Offory*, in the *Resolution*, as vice-admiral, and sir *Fretcheville Holles*, as rear-admiral, in the *Cambridge*. They cruised in the channel on purpose to execute this scheme; of which, however, the *Dutch* had some notice, and sent advice-boats to direct their fleet to steer northwards. But these instructions came too late; for they were already so far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a council of war it was resolved to hold on their course. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of *March*, five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which consisted of about fifty sail of merchant-ships, and six men of war. When the *English* vessels came near them, they fired, in order to make them strike, and lower their top-sails; which they refused to do. Upon this, the fight began, which lasted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the *Dutch* fleet was in a manner ruined, five of their richest merchant-men were made prizes, their rear-admiral was boarded by captain *John Holmes*, brother to the admiral, and taken; but soon after sunk, and the rest of the men of war, were very rudely handled. The *Dutch* historians, however, set a good face upon the

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matter,

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<sup>b</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii p. 310. Phillips, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

matter, and say, that their seamen behaved very bravely. This is true, but they suffered deeply for all that: and besides, this was the beginning of hostilities, and a necessary prelude to the war. So the *States* understood it, and immediately dispatched deputies hither, and to the *French* king, to sue for peace<sup>c</sup>.

In this, as in the former dispute with the *Dutch*, such ships as had been detained in port, were dismissed on both sides, and in the midst of a cruel war, the *Dutch* professed all imaginable esteem for the *English* nation: and, on the other hand, king *Charles* offered his royal protection to such as thought fit to quit their country in its present calamitous situation, and take shelter in his dominions. The war was solemnly proclaimed, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *March* 1672, in the cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and great pains were taken to impose upon the world, a gross and groundless notion, that it was undertaken at the instance, or at least with the concurrence, of the people in general: whereas they knew their interest too well, not to discern how little this measure agreed with it; and therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain supplies: while the *Dutch* in the midst of all their miseries, went on receiving sixty millions of their money (which is between five and six millions of ours) annually from their subjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money chearfully paid to preserve the common-wealth<sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>c</sup> Basnage, annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 193. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

<sup>d</sup> Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Rapin, Basnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville.

THE *French* king, that he might seem to perform his treaty with the *English* better than in the former war he had done that with the *Dutch*, sent the count *d'Estrees*, vice-admiral of *France*, with a large squadron to join the *English* fleet. He arrived at *St. Helens* on the 3d of *May*; and immediately afterwards, the king went down to *Portsmouth*, and, to shew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the *French* admiral, where he remained some hours. Our fleet in a short time sailed to the *Downs*, the duke of *York* as admiral wearing the *Red*, and the earl of *Sandwich* the *Blue*: soon after, the *French* squadron joined them, their admiral having the *White* flag; and then the fleet consisted of one hundred and one sail of men of war, besides fire-ships and tenders. Of these the *English* had sixty-five ships of war, and on board them four thousand ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty men. The *French* squadron consisted of thirty-six sail, on board of which were one thousand nine hundred twenty-six pieces of cannon, and about eleven thousand men. The *Dutch* in the mean time were at sea with a very considerable fleet, consisting of ninety-one stout men of war, fifty-four fire-ships, and twenty-three yachts. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of *May*, they were seen off *Dover*, and the 13<sup>th</sup> of the same month a *Dutch* squadron chased the *Gloucester* and some other ships, under the cannon of *Sheerness*<sup>e</sup>.

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<sup>e</sup> It is generally believed, and indeed with good reason that count *d'Estrees* had orders to look on rather than fight; a conduct agreeable to that which had been pursued by the same court in the former war, when they pretended to assist the *Dutch*: as the reader may perceive, by comparing what is here said, with the account before given, p. 260, &c.



THE *English* fleet were at anchor in *Solebay*, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *May* when the *Dutch* fell in with them, and, if they had not spent too much time in council, had certainly surprized them. As it was, many of the *English* captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement began between seven and eight in the morning, when *de Ruyter* attacked the *Red* squadron in the center, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highness the duke of *York*, for two hours, forcing his highness at last to remove to another ship. The *Dutch* captain *Van Brakel* attacked the earl of *Sandwich* in the *Royal James*; and, while they were engaged, almost all the squadron of *Van Ghent* fell upon the earl's ships. His lordship behaved with amazing intrepidity, killed admiral *Van Ghent* himself, sunk three fire-ships and a man of war, that would have laid him on board; but then, having lost all his officers and two thirds of his men, his battered ship was grappled, and set on fire by a fourth fire-ship. Some of his men escaped, yet the earl continued on board till the flames surrounded him, and jumped through them into the sea where he perished; but left behind him a name immortal, and which will ever be revered by such as esteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a statesman, or the integrity of a patriot<sup>f</sup>.

THE death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the *Blue* squadron, coming in though too late, to the earl of *Sandwich*'s assistance threw this part of the *Dutch* fleet, which had been commanded by *Van Ghent* into very great confusion, and forced them to stand off.

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<sup>f</sup> Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Bafnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville.

This gave an opportunity for the *Blue* Squadron to join the *Red*, and to assist the duke of *York*, who deserted by the *French*, was in the utmost danger of being oppressed by the squadrons of *de Ruyter* and *Bankert*. About this time *Cornelius Evertz* vice-admiral of *Zeland*, was killed, and *de Ruyter* and *Allemond* narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships: but when the *English* thought themselves secure of victory, the scattered Squadron of *Van Ghent* came in to the assistance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day<sup>a</sup>.

ALL this time the *French* who composed the *White* Squadron, instead of seconding the efforts of the *English*, kept as far out of danger as they could, and left our fleet to sustain the whole force of the enemy, at a disadvantage of three to two. But, notwithstanding this vast inequality of numbers, the fight continued with inexpressible obstinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared itself for the *English*. Five or six of the enemies fire-ships were sunk by an *English* man of war, and sir *Joseph Jordan* of the *Blue* Squadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced through the *Dutch* fleet, and spread through it the utmost confusion; while a fire-ship clapped their admiral *de Ruyter* on board, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, *de Ruyter* collecting his fleet in the best order he could, fought retreating, and, as the most authentic of the *Dutch* historians say, quitted the place of fight, and steered northwards<sup>b</sup>.

As the *French* king had by this time over-run a great part of their country, the *States* by the advice of *de Wit*  
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<sup>a</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 207, 208.  
<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 209. Leven van de Ruyter, p. 675. de Neuville.

(whose brother had been present in this fight, seated under a canopy, as if he had been a sovereign prince) assumed to themselves the honour of beating the *English*. However they were so modest as to make no rejoicings for this supposed victory; and the distress their affairs were in, might well excuse their departure on this occasion from truth. Their people were already disposed to destroy their governors, through madness at the sight of the cruelties exercised by the *French*; and if to these there had been joined the news of a defeat at sea, one can scarce conceive how the republic could have been preserved. As it was, the populace insulted *Cornelius de Wit* on his return, and framing to themselves an imaginary quarrel between him and *de Ruyter*, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed <sup>1</sup>.

THE *English*, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be desired of a dear-bought victory. They carried off the *Staveren*, a large *Dutch* man of war; whereas the enemy took none of ours. They kept their post while *de Ruyter* made the best of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great consequence; while *de Ruyter* himself, in his letter to the *States*, did not so much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. *Cornelius de Wit*, indeed, was of another opinion; but therein his interest dictated, rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, not following the *Dutch* to their own coasts; and, if we consider the strange unbecoming behaviour of the *French* in the battle, this will appear no objection at all. As to the loss, it was pretty equal  
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<sup>1</sup> Bafnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, du Mont.

on both sides. We had four men of war sunk or disabled, but they were small ships; whereas the *Dutch* lost three of the best in their fleet; one sunk, another burnt, and the third taken: a fourth called the *Great Holland*, commanded by the brave captain *Brakell*, was entirely disabled. As for the *French*, notwithstanding all their caution, they lost two men of war, and their rear-admiral Mr. *de la Rabiniere*. Of persons of note, besides the earl of *Sandwich*, there were slain captain *Digby* of the *Henry*, captain *Pearce* of the *St. George*, captain *Waterworth* of the *Ann*, sir *Fretcheville Holles* who commanded the *Cambridge*, sir *John Fox* of the *Prince*, and captain *Hannam* of the *Triumph*. Of our volunteers, there fell the lord *Maidstone*, Mr. *Montague*, sir *Philip Carteret*, sir *Charles Harbord*, two of the duke of *York*'s gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Mr. *Trevanian*, and many others. Of private men, about two thousand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The *Dutch* did not think fit to publish any list, though their loss without question was as great; since *de Ruyter* says in his letter, it was the hardest fought battle that he ever saw<sup>k</sup>.

MOST of our writers, even of naval history, pass over in silence the remaining service performed in this year; because it did not answer the mighty expectations of the ministry, by whom the most sanguine schemes were contrived. But, as truth ought on all occasions to be preferred to every thing, so I think myself obliged to report fairly the extravagant designs in which we embarked, and the means by which we were disappointed, not more perhaps

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<sup>k</sup> Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin, History of the Dutch war.

haps to our neighbours advantage than our own; for when wars made by princes are against the interest of their people, it often happens, that a disappointment of the former, proves a kind of victory to the latter <sup>1</sup>.

ON the return of the *Dutch* fleet to their own coasts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain so for want of gunpowder, all that was on board being sent to the army. The *States* perceiving their authority almost lost, and their country on the very brink of ruin, resolved once more to try the force of entreaties, with which view they sent four deputies to *England*, and as many to the *French* king. The business of the former was to shew the danger of the protestant religion, the approaching ruin of the balance of *Europe*, and the dismal consequences which must follow, even to *England*, from the further prosecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any satisfaction to his most christian majesty, that he should be pleased to require. The arrival of the deputies in *England* had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the *CABAL*, treated them with a haughtiness as little agreeable to his temper, as it suited ill with his dignity. Instead of hearing and giving them an answer in person, as he was wont on such applications, he was pleased to send four of the *CABAL* to confer with them, in order to know what proposals

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Philips, in his continuation of Heath's chronicle, mentions our fleet missing the Dutch East-India ships, p. 587. but speaks not a word of this invasion. Bishop Kennet is also entirely silent; and Burchet, because there was nothing done, seems unwilling to let his readers know there was any thing intended. Mr. Collier, in his Columna Rostrata, relates the matter fairly, but in very few words, p. 227.

posals they had to make, and afterwards sent over with them the duke of *Buckingham*, the earl of *Arlington*, and the viscount *Hallifax* into *Holland*, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true design was to be rid of the deputies, the sight of whom drew the compassion of the nation, who considered the *Dutch* no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a protestant people, sacrificed to a *French* and *Papist* interest<sup>m</sup>. On the arrival of these lords in *Holland*, they made most extravagant demands. Such as ten millions of guilders for the expence of the war, an annual tribute of one hundred thousand, for the liberty of fishing, the perpetual stadholdership for the prince of *Orange*, and his issue male. All these were moderate articles to the rest; for they insisted on a share in their *East-India* trade, the possession of the city of *Sluys* in *Flanders*, and the islands of *Cadzant*, *Walcheren*, *Goeree* and *Voorn*. After the proposal of these intolerable conditions, the duke of *Buckingham* and the earl of *Arlington*, deserting their colleague, went away to the *French* camp, and there concluded an agreement, in the name of their own prince, without his instructions, with the *French* king; the principal point of which was, that neither should upon any terms

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<sup>m</sup> I have entered farther into this matter than I should otherwise have done, for two reasons. First, this was the grand expedition, and had it taken effect, would have put an end to the war, and to the republic of *Holland*. Lewis XIV. was in *Utrecht*, the bishop of *Munster* before *Groningen*, and had the English landed, the *Zelanders* were inclined to submit. Secondly, this was apparently the favourite scheme of the cabal. *Shaftesbury* at home preached up the destruction of *Holland*. *Buckingham* and *Arlington* were abroad, intent on putting his doctrine in practice. This attempt therefore was critical, and its miscarriage saved *Holland* certainly, *Britain* consequentially, and very probably all *Europe*.



terms make a separate peace with the *Dutch* ". As for the deputies sent to his most christian majesty, they were talked to in the stile of a conqueror, and so sent back to spread despair through their country; which they did so effectually, that the inhabitants drew from thence their safety: for, seeing no hopes of living better than in slavery, they generously resolved to lay aside all treaties, and to die free °.

IN the mean time the *French* and *English* fleets, being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land-forces, sailed again for the *Dutch* coasts, with a design to make a descent on *Zeland*, the only province into which the *French* had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the *Dutch* fleet; but not thinking proper to attack them among the sands, they deferred the execution of their design, and blocked up the *Maese* and *Texel*; which *de Ruyter* (having strict orders from the *States* not to hazard a battle) saw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of *York* was resolved to debark on the *Texel* <sup>p</sup> the body of troops on board his fleet. The occasion was favourable in all respects; the *French*, and the bishop of *Munster*, were in the heart of the *Dutch* territories, so that no great force could be drawn together to resist them on shore; and the coast was so low and

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° This whole affair is very fairly stated in the compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 315—318. where from secretary Coventry's remarks, it looks as if these lords acted in their negotiation with the french king, rather as deputies from the cabal, than as ambassadors from Charles II. and from what followed, one would imagine the king too saw their conduct in this light. ° *Bafnage*, *Le Clerc*, *de Neuville*, *Vie de Tromp*, *du Mont*, &c. <sup>d</sup> The *Texel*, though a small island, is yet the most considerable of those which, lying in a straight line in the German ocean, cover the mouth of the *Zuyder-zee*.

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and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a superior force could have secured the *Dutch* from this invasion. It was upon the third of *July* this resolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces should have landed the next flood. But providence interposed in favour of a free people, and saved them from a yoke, which seemed already to press upon their necks. The ebb, instead of six, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended descent for that time; and the storm that rose the night following, forced the fleet out to sea, where they struggled for some time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite lost, returned without performing any thing of consequence to the *English* shore. The *Dutch* clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and though some of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of superstition, yet I must own, that I think their excess of piety in this respect, very pardonable; especially if we consider, there could not be a higher stroke of policy, at that time, than to persuade a nation, struggling against superior enemies, that they were particularly favoured by heaven <sup>a</sup>.

AFTER this disappointment, there was no other action thought of at sea for this year, except the sending fir *Edward Spragge*, with a squadron, to disturb the *Dutch* herring-fishery; which he performed with a moderation that became so great a man, contenting himself with taking one  
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<sup>a</sup> Bafnage *Annales des provinces unies*, vol. ii. p. 264. Where this extraordinary accident is justly stated, and fairly accounted for. The wonder did not consist so much in an ebb of twelve hours, as in the time in which it happened; for though the like has fallen out, before and since, about the equinoxes, yet in *July* it never happened but at this juncture, when the swelling of the waters in the *Y*, and the *Zuyder-zee* repelled the flood.

of their vessels, when he saw that was sufficient to disperse the rest<sup>r</sup>. But while the war seemed to slumber in *Europe*, it raged sufficiently in the *West* and *East-Indies*.

SIR *Tobias Bridges*, with five or six ships, and a regiment of foot from *Barbadoes*, made himself master of the island of *Tabago*, taking about four hundred prisoners, and five hundred slaves. On the other side, the *Dutch*, with five or six hundred men, possessed themselves of the island of *St. Helena*, lying off the coast of *Africa*: for the fort not being defensible on the land-side, the *English* governor and his people, after having several times repulsed the enemy, retired with all their valuable effects on board some *English* and *French* ships, as finding it impossible to preserve the island after their landing. But commodore *Monday*, being sent with four men of war, to convoy the *English East-India* fleet, and perceiving on his arrival at *St. Helena*, what had happened, resolved to attempt retaking it: he was the rather induced to this resolution, from his want of fresh water. Accordingly, landing some men on that side of the island which is most accessible, and at the same time attacking the fort with his ships, he easily succeeded in his design. The island being thus recovered, it served the *English* as a net to inclose and take the enemy's ships, for a *Dutch East-India* ship, called the *Europe*, coming to *St. Helena*, with a new governor on board, was seized. And soon after, six others appearing in the sight of the island, the *English* commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were still in possession, caused the *Dutch* flag to be displayed from the fort; which stratagem had

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<sup>r</sup> Philip's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 588.

had so good an effect, that the *East-India* ships approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken; with an immense quantity of silver on board; as the others would likewise have been, had not the *English* discovered themselves somewhat too soon. On the other side, the *Hollanders*, who attempted the island of *Bombay*, were beaten off with great loss: but near *Masalatnam*, thirteen *Dutch* men of war, and some other vessels, being somewhat rashly engaged by ten *English* ships of war and merchant-men, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the *Dutch* vice-admiral *John Frederickson*, and the taking of three *English* merchant-ships. So that the loss of the two nations was pretty equal, though possibly the *Dutch* esteemed themselves gainers. All this time commerce suffered exceedingly on both sides. Plantations were ruined; and the *French*, who, before this war, had not either skill in navigation, or understood at all the art of fighting at sea, as their own writers confess, improved in both, at the expence of *Britain* and *Holland*. Thus their end was plainly answered, while the maritime powers were fighting as much against their inclinations, as their interest, as it is necessary for us to shew \*.

As the rancour which the *Dutch* had shewn against the *English*, and their most unjustifiable behaviour in respect to the insults offered to the king's person, were not so much owing to their own prejudices, as to the arts of the *de Wits*; and as they plainly saw, that this war, and all its miseries, came upon them through the vanity of their governors, and from the resentment king *Charles* still

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\* Columna Rostrata, p. 230; 231. Bafnage, le Clerc:

had for the action at *Chatham*, contrived by *John*, and executed by *Cornelius de Wit*; so they turned their rage upon these two brothers, and the rest of their faction; obliged the *States* to repeal the perpetual edict, which followed the conclusion of the last war, and took away the office of *Stadtholder* for ever; advanced the prince of *Orange* to that high dignity, and soon after, in a fit of popular fury, barbarously murdered the *de Wits*, as if the blood of these men could have restored that peace, which in truth, but for their schemes had never been lost. Nay, to shew how thoroughly they were cured of those fatal prepossessions which had brought upon them the naval force of so potent a neighbour, the people on the first arrival of the *English* ambassadors, thronged about them, and cried out, *God bless the king of England! God bless the prince of Orange! and the Devil take the States.* They hoped, and with great reason, that these testimonies of their sincere desire of peace, the ruin of the *Louvestein* faction, and the advancement of his nephew the prince of *Orange*, would have pacified our king; and they were infinitely concerned when they found themselves mistaken. They did not, however, as before, vent their spleen in violent acts of personal malice, or disrespect towards the king; but contented themselves with carrying on the war with courage and resolution, and at the same time, omitted no opportunity of signifying their earnest desire of peace<sup>t</sup>.

IN *England*, the credit of the *CABAL*, which had been long lost with the people, began to decline with the king; and

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<sup>t</sup> Basnage, Wicquefort, le Clerc, Histoire de Corn. et Jean de Wit, de Neuville, du Mont.

and the parliament, though very loyal, yet in granting a large supply to the king, would not own the *Dutch* war; but borrowed an expression from the king's speech, and declared what they gave to be for the king's extraordinary occasions. They likewise fell warmly upon matters of religion, and passed an act, since sufficiently famous, under the title of the *Test* act, which putting it out of the power of the papists to continue in any public employments, lord *Clifford* was soon after obliged to quit the treasury, and the duke of *York* immediately declined the command of the fleet. These were changes which had a natural tendency to bring things about again to their proper places: yet the *Dutch* war was carried on for another year, through the influences of their councils who began it; and, which must appear extremely odd to any man who is a stranger to the arts practised in courts, the very people who promoted the war, secretly practised the defeat of those measures by which alone it could be pursued with honour. For this I know of no reasons that have been assigned; and therefore I venture to speak my own opinion, that it proceeded from a desire in the ministry to gain a pretence for making a peace, from some want of success in the war, when it was to be carried on under the command of prince *Rupert*, who, though he was too wise to be fond of this service, was yet too honest, and too brave a man to neglect his duty<sup>u</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING it was resolved early in the year 1673, that prince *Rupert* should command the fleet, yet no care was taken to fit it out in time, and much less

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<sup>u</sup> Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, from 1672, to 1679, by sir William Temple, Welwood's memoirs, bishop Parker's history of his own times, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.



to furnish him with such officers as were agreeable to him. Sir *Robert Holmes* was laid aside, though formerly so much caressed, merely because he was in his highness's favour, and sir *Edward Spragge* sent in his stead; who not long after went into *France* on a secret commission, without prince *Rupert's* knowing any thing of his business. With the like view, sir *John Harman* was appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have survived the great abilities he once had; and besides, was so ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or so much as to stir out of his cabin. The prince expostulated in vain against these and many other hardships, of which he could obtain no redress; and therefore in the beginning of the month of *April*, hearing the *Dutch* fleet was at sea, and intended to come and sink many hulks filled with lead and stones in the mouth of the river, he with much industry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ships as he could, and with some fire-ships, sailed out and prevented them. About the middle of *May*, the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the sea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the *French*, who were at *Brest*, and who freely declared, that they were resolved not to stir till our fleet was in the channel. As the *Dutch* laboured day and night to strengthen their navy, his highness saw the necessity of joining the *French* early, and as a proof of his high courage, as well as great skill in maritime affairs, he passed in spite of the enemy, then riding at the *Gun-fleet*, through the passage called the *Narrow*, and this too against the wind; which so surprized the *Dutch*, that, seeing the end of  
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their lying there lost, they sailed back again to their own ports<sup>w</sup>.

THE design of our court was the same this year that it had been the last, that is to say, to make a descent on the *Dutch* coast; and with this view, there were a considerable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His majesty and his royal highness the duke of *York*, visited the fleet on the 19th of *May*, and in a council of war held in their presence, it was resolved to attack the enemy, even upon their own coast, in case they could not be provoked to quit it. In pursuance of this resolution, prince *Rupert* stood over towards the coast of *Holland*, and found *de Ruyter* with the *Dutch* fleet, riding within the sands at *Schonevelt*, in a line between the *Rand* and the *Stony Bank*, which was a very advantageous situation; but his highness persisted in his resolution of obeying the positive orders he had received for attacking them. On the 28th in the morning, about nine o'clock, a detached squadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ships, were sent to draw the enemy out, which was very easily done; for *de Ruyter* presently advanced in good order, and the *English* light ships retreating, put their own fleet in some disorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms: the confederate fleet consisted of eighty-four men of war, besides fire-ships, divided into three squadrons, under the command of prince *Rupert*, count *d'Essees*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*. The

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<sup>w</sup> An exact relation of all the engagements, and actions of his majesty's fleet, under the command of his highness prince *Rupert*, and of all circumstances concerning this summer's expedition, 1673, written by a person in command of the fleet. London, 1673, 4to. Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

*Dutch* were scarce seventy men of war and frigates, under *de Ruyter*, *Tromp* and *Bankert* \*.

MOST of our own, and the *Dutch* historians agree, that the *English*, to prevent the *French* from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ships in this battle with their own: but in the account published under the direction of prince *Rupert*, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is said, that the *French* made little or no sail, but kept in the rear, though they saw the *Dutch* fleet stretch to the north. By twelve in the morning, the detached squadron before-mentioned, engaged *Van Tromp*, and soon after the prince engaged *de Ruyter* almost two hours before the *French* began to fight at all. Then, says the same relation, count *d'Estrees* engaged *de Ruyter*, but quickly left him: neither did *de Ruyter* follow †, but went to the assistance of *Tromp*, whom he very seasonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds long subsisting between them. The battle was very hard-fought on both sides, in-somuch, that *Tromp* shifted his flag four times, from *The Golden-Lion* to *The Prince on Horseback*, from *The Prince on Horseback* to *The Amsterdam*, and from *The Amsterdam* to *The Comet*; from on board which he dated his letter to *The States* in the evening. Sir *Edward Spragge*, and the earl of *Offory*, distinguished themselves on our side, by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince *Rupert* also performed wonders, considering that his ship was in a very bad condition, and took in so much water at her ports, that she could not fire the guns of her lower tire. The battle

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\* Kennet, Burchet, Columna rostrata, Basnage, de Neuville, vie de *Ruyter*, P. Daniel. † An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince *Rupert*, p. 8, 9. Philip's chronicle, p. 592.

battle lasted till night, and then the *Dutch* are said to have retired behind their sands.

BOTH sides, however, claimed the victory, *de Ruyter*, in his letter to the prince of *Orange*, says, *we judge absolutely, that the victory is on the side of this state, and of your highness*. *Tromp* carried the matter farther, and reported the *English* to have lost ten or twelve ships. Prince *Rupert*, in his letter to the earl of *Arlington*, says, *I thought it best to cease the pursuit, and anchor where I now am*. As to the loss on both sides in this battle, it is reported, the *Dutch* lost vice-admiral *Schram*, rear-admiral *Vlugh*, and six of their captains, and had one ship disabled, which was lost in her retreat. On our side fell the captains *Fowls*, *Finch*, *Tempest*, and *Worden*: colonel *Hamilton* had his legs shot off, and we had only two ships disabled, none either sunk or taken. The great doubt, is, as to the conduct of the *French*. Our writers are positive, that they behaved as ill as they did before; but the *Dutch* authors say, they fought very bravely. The truth seems to be, that the briskest of the *French* officers made it their choice to fight among the *English*, where they behaved very gallantly, while those remaining with count *d'Estrees*, took a great deal of care to keep themselves and their ships safe: and yet they suffered more than either the *English* or *Dutch*; for they lost two men of war, and five or six fire-ships, which they knew not how to manage. The *French* writers are pretty even with us; for they report, that matters were but indifferently managed on both sides, and that prince *Rupert* did not push things as far as he might, because he was averse to the war. In one respect, the *Dutch* certainly had the ad-

vantage, since they prevented the descent intended upon their country, for which service, in case of a clear victory, count *Schomberg*, with six thousand men, lay ready at *Yarmouth* <sup>a</sup>.

THE *Dutch*, as they were upon their own coast, had the advantage of receiving quick and great supplies; whereas, the wind prevented the *English* from obtaining the like advantages. Prince *Rupert*, however, did all that in his power lay, to put the fleet into a good condition, and believing, that the *Dutch* would not be long before they endeavoured to make use of their advantages, he went on board *The Royal Sovereign* in the evening of the 3<sup>d</sup> of *June*, where he went not to bed all night <sup>b</sup>. His foresight was very requisite; for on the 4<sup>th</sup> in the morning, the *Dutch* fleet, by this time, at least as strong as the confederates, bore down upon them as fast as the wind would permit. Sir *Edward Spragge* had so little notion of their fighting, that taking the brave earl of *Ossory*, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which lost a great deal of time. As for prince *Rupert*, he was so much in earnest, that finding his ship's crew, which was but indifferent, raised his anchors very slowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haste to meet the *Dutch*. Count *d'Estrees*, with the *White* squadron, betrayed no such great willingness to fight, as both our own and the *Dutch* writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At last, about five in the evening, *Spragge* and *Tromp* engaged with great fury. As for *de Ruyter*,

<sup>a</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 415. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 441. De Neuville, Kennet, Columna rostrata, Rapin.

<sup>b</sup> An exact relation of the actions of the fleet, &c. p. 9, 10.

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*Ruyter*, he shewed at first a design of coming to a close engagement with the prince: but before he came within musket-shot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had suffered some considerable damage. *Spragge*, in the mean time, had forced *Tromp* to sheer off. He then fell into vice-admiral *Sweer's* division, which he soon put into confusion; and had a third engagement with *Tromp*, wherein he shot down his flag. The battle lasted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the *Dutch* stood to the south-east, and so it ended <sup>c</sup>.

BOTH sides claimed the victory as before. Prince *Rupert*, in his letter to the earl of *Arlington*, says expressly, that he pursued the Dutch from two till six the next morning, and seeing no likelihood of reaching them, before they got within their sands, thought a farther pursuit needless. He likewise adds, that they went away in great disorder, though he could not tell certainly what loss they had received. This is not altogether irreconcilable to *de Ruyter's* letter, wherein he also claims the victory. The next day (says he) we saw the enemies were gone, and doubt not but they made to the Thames; we satisfied ourselves with pursuing them half way, and then returned to our former station <sup>d</sup>. In the same letter, however, he owns, that they began their retreat as soon as it was dark. The loss on both sides was pretty equal, but was very far from being considerable on either. Admiral *Van Tromp*, however, was so ill satisfied with the conduct of vice-admiral *Sweers*, that he accused him to the states: <sup>e</sup>. Some of the *Dutch* and *French* writers

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<sup>c</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 417. Vie de *Ruyter*, p. 593. De Neuville, Kennet, Echard, Rapin. <sup>d</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 323. <sup>e</sup> Basnage, le Clerc, vie de *Tromp*.



ters pretend, that prince *Rupert* did not distinguish himself on that occasion, as he used to do; for which they suggest reasons void of all foundation <sup>f</sup>. The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war, to sail for the *English* coast, in order to obtain supplies, as well of ammunition as provision; through want of which, a great many captains complained loudly. Besides, the fleet was so poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land-forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and these being for the most part new-raised men, we need not wonder they did not behave so well as our old seasoned sailors were wont to do. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of *June*, the fleet arrived at the *Bury* in the *Nore*, and on the 14<sup>th</sup>, prince *Rupert* went to *Londo.*, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to press for such necessary supplies as might enable him to put to sea again without delay <sup>g</sup>.

THE *Dutch*, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences they made after the two last battles to victory, and (which was of much greater consequence) to raise the spirits of the people, at such a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at stake, gave out, that their fleet should speedily put to sea again, and attempt some great thing. Insulting the *English* coast was sometimes talked of, and then again, the losses they had lately sustained from the *French*, induced them to think of revenge on that side, and taking some maritime town in *France*, which might oblige king *Lewis* to abandon the siege of *Maestricht*, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange.

<sup>f</sup> Basnage; histoire de France par P. Daniel.    <sup>g</sup> An exact relation, &c. p. 10, 11.

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change. But while they were amusing themselves and *de Ruyter* with these proposals, they were informed that *Maeftricht* was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewise ready to put to sea; so that all these grand schemes vanished at once, and they were forced to attend to their old business of defending their own coasts, and protecting their commerce <sup>b</sup>.

ABOUT the middle of the month of *July*, prince *Rupert* was at sea, having on board the troops intended for a descent, which was still pressed by the authors of the war <sup>c</sup>. His highness arrived on the *Dutch* coasts on the 21<sup>st</sup> of the last mentioned month, and declining an engagement, stood along the shore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of *August*, he took a *Dutch East-India* ship richly laden. This induced *de Ruyter* to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the *English* fleet. As soon as his highness perceived it, he commanded the *French* a particular course, and had thereby an opportunity of discerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay by twice that night; first about eleven o'clock, when the prince sent to count *d'Estrees* to order him to make sail, which he did till about one o'clock, and then laid his sail to the mast again, which gave a second stop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to send him another message. These delays gave the *Dutch* admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but early on the 11<sup>th</sup> of *August*, bore down upon the confederates, as if he meant to force them to a battle, upon which his highness thought  
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<sup>b</sup> *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, vol. ii. p. 418. <sup>c</sup> *Le Clerc*, de Neuville, du Mont, vie de *Ruyter*. <sup>d</sup> *Philip's chronicle*, p. 592. *Kennet*, *Burchet*, *Columna rostrata*, *Rapin*.

fit to tack, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the *French* in the van, himself in the centre, and Sir *Edward Spragge* in the rear; and in this disposition the *French* lay fair to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected<sup>k</sup>. The *English* fleet consisted of about sixty men of war and frigates, the *French* of thirty, and the *Dutch* of seventy or thereabouts; so that the royal fleets were indisputably superior to that of the republic<sup>l</sup>.

*DE Ruyter*, bearing down with his fleet in three squadrons, prepared to attack the prince himself, while *Tromp* engaged *Spragge* and the *Blue* squadron, in which the *English* admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-sail to his mast, in order to stay for him, contrary to the express order of the prince. This fondness for a point of honour, proved fatal to himself, as well as disadvantageous to the fleet. *Bankert*, with his *Zeland* squadron, should have engaged the *White*, commanded by *d'Estrees*; but, it seems, the *Dutch* understood their temper better than to give themselves much trouble about them, for *Bankert* contented himself with sending eight men of war and three fire-ships to attack the rear-admiral *de Martel*, who seemed to be the only man that had any real design to fight; and then the rest of the *Zeland* squadron united themselves to *de Ruyter*, and fell together upon prince *Rupert*.

REAR-admiral *de Martel*, being left not only by the body of the *French* fleet, but even by the captains of his own division, was attacked by five *Dutch* ships at once.

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<sup>k</sup> An exact relation of the actions of the English fleet under the command of prince Rupert, p. 13. Philips. Kennet, Burchet, Columna rostrata. <sup>l</sup> Basnage, le Clerc, Leven van Tromp. <sup>m</sup> An exact relation, &c. p. 14. Basnage, vie de Ruyter.

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He fought them for two hours, and that with such courage and success, that having disabled one, the rest were glad to sheer off, and he rejoined the *White* Squadron; where expostulating with the captains of his own division, for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral, not to observe his motions: and, indeed, after he was in the fleet, though some opportunities offered, he thought of fighting no more, and on his return to *France*, was sent to the *Bastile* for what he had done <sup>a</sup>.

THE battle between *de Ruyter* and the *Red* Squadron, began about eight o'clock in the morning, and a multitude of circumstances concurred to threaten the *English* admiral with inevitable ruin. The *French*, not satisfied with being meer spectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, suffered the ships which had attacked *de Martel*, to pass quietly to their own fleet; so that now, *de Ruyter's* and *Bankert's* squadrons were both upon the *Red*. Sir *Edward Spragge*, intent on his personal quarrel with *Van Tromp*, had fallen to the *Leeward* several leagues with the *Blue* Squadron, and to compleat prince *Rupert's* misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, Sir *John Chichele*, with his division; so that by noon, his highness was wholly surrounded by the *Dutch*, being pressed by *de Ruyter* and his division on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the *Zeland* Squadron on his broad-side to windward. Thus the *Dutch* wisely employed their force against the enemy

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<sup>a</sup> The relation before-mentioned, p. 15. Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna rostrata, &c. We shall examine this more fully, when we come to speak of the consequences of this battle.

enemy that would fight, and took no more notice of the *French* fleet, than the *French* did of them, or of prince Rupert \*.

His highness, in the midst of these disappointments, behaved with such intrepidity; and encouraged all his officers so effectually, by his own example, that, by degrees, he cleared himself of his enemies, rejoined Sir *John Chichele*, and by two o'clock, had time to think of the *Blue* squadron, which was now at three leagues distance; and not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the sail he could towards them, in order to unite and relieve them. *De Ruyter* perceiving his highness's design, left firing, and bore away also with his whole fleet, to the relief of *Tromp*; so that both fleets ran down side by side, within range of cannon-shot, and yet without firing on either part. About four, the prince joined the *Blue* squadron, which he found in a very tattered condition †.

At the beginning of the fight, *Tromp*, in *The Golden Lion*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*, in *The Royal Prince*, fought ship to ship. The *Dutch* admiral, however, would not come to a close fight, which gave him a great advantage; for *Spragge*, who had more than his compliment on board, suffered much by the enemies cannon; and having the wind and smoke in his face, could not make so good use

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\* The exact relation, &c. In this piece we have not only the most authentic, but, I believe, the only authentic account of this engagement, now extant. Prince Rupert's letters were usually published, but what he wrote on this occasion, was not judged convenient for the people's perusal. The *Dutch* narrations were calculated to serve a turn, and that penned by M. de Martel, for the information of the *French* king, was, for many good reasons, suppressed. † Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna rostrata, history of the *Dutch* war.

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use of his own, as he would otherwise have done. After three hours warm fight, *The Royal Prince* was so disabled, that Sir *Edward* was forced to go on board *The St. George*, and *Tromp* quitted his *Golden Lyon*, to hoist his flag on board *The Comet*, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. The great aim of the *Dutch* admiral, was to take, or sink *The Royal Prince*; but the earl of *Offory*, and Sir *John Kempsborne*, together with *Spragge* himself, so effectually protected the disabled vessel, that none of the enemy's fire-ships could come near her, though this was often attempted. At last, *The St. George*, being terribly torn, and in a manner disabled, Sir *Edward Spragge* designed to go on board a third ship; but before he was got six boats length, a shot, which passed through *The St. George*, took his boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from *The St. George*, the boat sunk, and Sir *Edward* was drowned <sup>a</sup>.

WHEN prince *Rupert* drew near the *Blue Squadron*, he found the admiral disabled, the vice-admiral lying to the windward, mending his sails and rigging; the rear-admiral a-stern of *The Royal Prince*, between her and the enemy, bending his new sails, and mending his rigging. The first thing his highness did, was to send two frigates, to take *The Royal Prince* in tow. He then steered in between the enemy and the lame ships, and perceiving that *Tromp* had tacked, and was coming down again upon the *Blue Squadron*, he made a signal for all the ships of that Squadron to join him: but it was in vain; for except the two flags,  
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<sup>a</sup> Basnage, annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc. tom. iii. p. 343. De Neuville, tom. iv. p. 204.



Sir *John Kemphorne*, and the earl of *Offory*, there was not one in a condition to move. Still the *French* looked on with all the coolness imaginable, and notwithstanding the prince put out the *Blue* flag upon the mizen-peek, which was the signal to attack, set down in the general instructions for fighting, and known, not only to all the *English* captains, but also to those of the *White* Squadron; yet they still remain'd inactive. But to give some kind of colour to his conduct, the count *d'Estrees*, after the battle was in a manner over, sent to know what this signal meant<sup>r</sup>.

ABOUT five in the evening, *de Ruyter*, with all his flags and fleet, came close up with the prince, and then began a very sharp engagement; his highness had none to second him, but the vice and rear of the *Blue*; Sir *John Harman*, captain *Davis*, and captain *Stout*, of his own division; Sir *John Holmes* in *The Rupert*, captain *Legge* in *The Royal Katherine*, Sir *John Berry* in *The Resolution*; Sir *John Ernle* in *The Henry*, Sir *Roger Strickland* in *The Mary*, and captain *Carter* in *The Crown*; in all, about thirteen ships. The engagement was very close and bloody; 'till about seven o'clock, when his highness forced the *Dutch* fleet into great disorder, and sent in two fire-ships amongst them, to encrease it; at the same time, making a signal

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<sup>r</sup> An exact relation, &c. p. 18, 9. where it is affirmed, that count *d'Estrees* sent this message after night had parted the fleets. The officer, who wrote that account, says very judiciously, that the sending to enquire the meaning of the signal, was cunningly done: but one of *de Ruyter's* sailors seems to have had as much penetration as the French ministry had artifice; for upon one of his companions asking him, what the French meant by keeping at such a distance, *why, you fool*, said he, *they have hired the English to fight for them, and all their business here, is, to see that they earn their wages*. So transparent to honest men, are the boasted politics of this court!

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signal for the *French* to bear down; which, if they had done, a total defeat must have followed. But, as they took no notice of it, and the prince saw that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, he wisely provided for their safety, by making easy sail towards our own coasts \*. This battle ended as doubtful as the rest; for the *Dutch* claimed the victory now, as they did before, and with as much reason. The truth is, it seems, to have been a drawn battle; since the *Dutch*, notwithstanding all their advantages, did not take or sink one *English* man of war, and killed but two captains, Sir *William Reeves* and captain *Havard*, besides the gallant Sir *Edward Spragge*, and no great number of private men. On their side they lost two vice-admirals, *Sweers* and *Liefde*; three captains, and about one thousand private men. The benefit, indeed, they drew from this battle, was great; for they opened their ports, which before the battle, were entirely blocked up, and put an end to all thoughts of an invasion. †.

It would be unjust to conclude this account of the last battle fought in this last *Dutch* war, without taking particular notice of the grounds upon which I have represented the conduct of the *French* in so bad a light. I must, in the first place, declare, that I have no intent to asperse this nation in general, much less to injure the particular character of the noble person who commanded, and who afterwards gave signal proofs of his true courage and able conduct as a sea-officer, as in this engagement, he gave the

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\* Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 593. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin. † Basnage annales de provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 345. Quincy, tom. i. p. 359.



“ highness and d’Estrées, and so the enemy would have  
“ been entirely defeated.”

Soon after this battle, the *English* returned into the *Thames*, and the *French* squadron, about the middle of *September*, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that it was the middle of *November* before they reached *Brest*. When prince *Rupert* returned to court, he joined his representations to those of other worthy patriots, who were desirous that peace should be restored, to which the king was now no longer averse. There had, through the mediation of *Sweden*, been some conferences held at *Cologne*; but they had not proved so effectual as was expected. The *States-General* also had written to his majesty, but in terms that, instead of making things better, had rather widened the breach. After this battle, however, they condescended to write another letter, wherein they shewed their earnest desire of peace, and their true sense of the obstacles which had hitherto retarded it. In this letter they spoke very freely to the king of his ministers, and of his ally; they shewed him how glorious, as well as how advantageous a step, a separate peace must prove, which would give umbrage only to the *French*, and content all *Europe* besides: and further to incline his majesty to this, they suggested the base behaviour of his allies in the late sea-fights, and the offer made them by *France*, of a separate peace, without any respect had to his majesty. These, with the propounding of fair conditions, had such weight

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Exact relation, &c. p. 17. P. Daniel slurs over all these battles in his *histoire de la Milice Francoise*, tom. ii. p. 489. and again in his *histoire de France*, tom. x. p. cxi, he crowds all three battles into a paragraph of so many lines, and says, they were fought with little order, and small regard to reputation by all parties.

with the king, that he proposed the terms offered, to his parliament, and on their passing a vote, *humbly desiring him to proceed in a treaty with the States, in order to a speedy peace*, he directed sir *William Temple* to negotiate it with the marquiss *del Fresno*, the *Spanish* ambassador, who was provided with full powers from the *States-General* for that purpose, and at three-meetings the treaty was concluded and signed to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

WHILE this treaty was negotiating at home, there happened an accident in the *Mediterranean*, which, though of little consequence in itself, yet from certain circumstances that attended it, deserves to be recorded. The *Dutch* admiral *Evertz*, being in those seas with his squadron, it happened that captain *de Wit* in a man of war, called the *Schaerlaes*, which carried thirty-six pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with captain *Harman*, in the *Tygér*, a small *English* frigate, which had been careening at *Tangier*, and came with him into the harbour of *Cadiz*, where the *Dutchman* also careened. The *Spaniards* jesting with captain *de Wit*, and telling him that he durst not fight the *English* captain, and that this made them so good friends; admiral *Evertz* heard it, and thereupon told *de Wit*, that he must, for the honour of his nation, challenge captain *Harman*. He did so, and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, sixty mariners, and seventy soldiers. Captain *Harman* had but one hundred eighty-four men in all; however, at a days notice he stood to sea, and fairly engaged the *Dutch* frigate in sight of the town. Their ships were within pistol shot

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<sup>r</sup> Buisnaye, de Clerc, vie de Ruyter, Temple's memoirs, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

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shot before either of them fired; and then captain *Herman's* broadside brought the *Dutchman's* main-mast by the board, and killed and wounded him fourscore men. The *English* captain followed his advantage, entered the enemy with his resolute crew, and became master of the ship in an hour's time; but she was quite disabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The *English* had only nine killed and fifteen wounded; amongst whom was, their brave captain, by a musket-shot, which went in at his left eye, and out between the ear and the jawbone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived several years after<sup>2</sup>. Thus the maritime powers, though their interest was, and must ever be, the same, did their utmost, from false notions of honour, to destroy each other, and answer the ends of their common enemy, 'till the voice of the people both in *England* and *Holland*, roused their governors to a just sense of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which has lasted ever since.

THIS treaty of peace was signed at *London*, *February* the 9th, 1674, and thereby those differences were all adjusted, which had so often, and so long, disturbed both states<sup>2</sup>. In the first place, the business of the flag was regulated according to the king's sense of his rights, which the *States* till now would never admit. In their treaty with *Cromwell*, they did indeed stipulate, that their ships should salute the *English*; but then this was expressed in such loose terms, as afforded the *Dutch* room to suggest, that the do-

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<sup>2</sup> Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 595. <sup>2</sup> Life of sir William Temple, p. 200. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 326. See also the proposals from the States-General to the king of Great-Britain, printed by authority 1673-4.



ing it was no more than a point of civility. As the treaties of 1662, 1667, and 1668, were all in a manner built on this foundation, the case had been hitherto the same, and asserted so to be by the *States*: but now the thing was put out of dispute, and what was before stiled courtesy, was here confessed to be a right; the extent of the *British* seas were particularly mentioned, and the *States* undertook, that not only separate ships, but whole fleets should strike their sails to any fleet or single ship carrying the king's flag, as the custom was in the days of his ancestors<sup>b</sup>. The *East-India* trade was likewise settled, so as to prevent subsequent disputes, and leave neither party at liberty to encroach on the other. As to lesser matters, commissioners were to meet on both sides at *London* to decide them; and in case they did not agree in the space of three months, then the queen of *Spain* was to arbitrate. Such of the planters as had been restrained by the *Dutch* at *Surinam*, were to be left at their full liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their effects. Places taken on both sides were by this treaty to be restored, and the *States-General* were to pay his majesty, eight hundred thousand patacoons at four payments; the first immediately after the ratification of this treaty, and the other three by annual payments. By a particular treaty it was agreed, that the *English* regiments in the *French* service should be suffered to wear out for want of recruits; and by a secret article it was settled, that neither side should assist the enemies

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<sup>b</sup> The whole of this matter is very judiciously explained by bishop Parker, in his history of his own times, p. 158. and the entire article is to be found in the proposals made by the states themselves; which shews how great a point was carried in the concluding this treaty.

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enemies of the other by land or sea<sup>c</sup>. We may guess how acceptable this treaty was to the *States*, by the present made to the *Spanish* ambassador for negotiating it, which was sixteen thousand crowns, and the gratification of six thousand which were given to don *Bernardo de Salinas*<sup>d</sup>. Thus ended the last of our *Dutch* wars, which, though made against the interest and will of the people, terminated highly to their advantage; whereas the former war, though it was begun at the instance of the nation, ended but indifferently: so little correspondence is there between the grounds and issues of things.

THE *Corjairs* of *Tripoli* having for some time committed great outrages on the *English* trade, sir *John Narborough* was sent in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reason. The 14th of *January* following, sir *John* came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, so that no ship could go in or come out, he manned all his boats, and sent them under the command of lieutenant *Shovel* (afterwards sir *Cloudefly*, the famous admiral) into the harbour, where he seized the guard-ship, and afterwards burnt the following vessels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour, viz: the *White Eagle* crowned, a fifty-gun ship; the *Looking-Glass*, which carried six and thirty; the *Santa Clara*,

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<sup>c</sup> I take what I have here given the reader from a very accurate and authentic writer, who has left us the best political memoirs of Europe that are extant: I mean the *Sieur du Mont* in his memoirs pour Servir a la histoire de la Paix de Ryswick, tom. ii. p. 272, &c.

<sup>d</sup> *Basnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville*. It is proper to observe, that though the treaty was negotiated by sir *William Temple*, it was not signed by him, but by the following committee of council, viz. the lord-keeper *Finch*, the lord treasurer *Latimer*, (afterwards earl of *Danby*, and duke of *Leeds*) the duke of *monmouth*, the duke of *Ormonde*, the earl of *Arlington*, and secretary *Coventry*.

of twenty-four; and a *French* vessel of twenty: after which he safely returned to the fleet without the loss of so much as one man. This extraordinary action struck the *Tripolians* with amazement, and made them instantly sue for peace; which, however, did not immediately take place, because they absolutely refused to make good the losses sustained by the *English*. Sir *John* thereupon cannonaded the town, and finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vast magazine of timber, which was to have served for the building of ships. When all this failed of reducing these people, sir *John* sailed to *Malta*, and after remaining there for some time, returned suddenly upon the enemy, and distressed them so much, that they were glad to submit to a peace on the terms prescribed<sup>e</sup>. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, some of their *Corfairs* returning into port, not only expressed a great dislike thereto, but actually expelled the *Dey* for making it, and began to take all *English* ships as before. Sir *John* being still in the *Mediterranean*, and having notice of what passed, suddenly appeared with eight frigates before *Tripoli*, and began with such violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and to deliver up the authors of the late disturbance to condign punishment<sup>f</sup>.

In 1679, we had some differences with the *Algerines* on account of their making prize of *English* ships, under pretence that they were not furnished with proper passes. Upon this, sir *John Narborough* was sent with a squadron to demand satisfaction; which he procured as it must al-

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<sup>e</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 336. Burchet, Columna Rostrata.      <sup>f</sup> Columna Rostrata, p. 252.

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ways be procured by dint of force. This peace, however, did not last long, for in a year or two they committed the like outrages: upon which commodore *Herbert*, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of *Torrington*, went thither with a few ships, and compelled them to make satisfaction for what was passed, and to give the strongest assurances of their acting in another manner for the future. This expedition which was performed in 1682, proved the last in this reign.

THERE is yet one transaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the strong fortress of *Tangier*. We have already shewed how that place came into the hands of the *English*, and what pains were taken to preserve it. In the space of twenty years it cost the nation an immense sum of money; and yet many doubted, all things considered, whether it was of any real use to us or not. When we first had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which there was a fine mole run out at a vast expence. Several societies or copartnerships, which undertook to perfect this work, raised great sums for that purpose, and miscarried. At last, however, all difficulties were in a manner overcome, and this work finished to such a height, that it might be said to vie with those of the *Romans*. But the house of commons in 1680 having expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison kept there, which they suspected to be no better than a nursery for a popish army; and discovering withal no desire of providing for it any longer, the king began to entertain thoughts of quitting it, and bringing home his forces from thence. He endeavoured to

keep

keep this as secret as possible ; however, the lord *Arlington* is said to have given some hint of his majesty's intention to the *Portuguese* ambassador, who expressed great discontent thereat, and was very desirous that it should be again delivered into the hands of his master. But king *Charles*, doubting whether the crown of *Portugal* would be able to maintain the possession of it against the *Moors*, and foreseeing the terrible consequences of such a port falling into their hands, notwithstanding the offer of large sums, persisted steadily in his first resolution. In 1683, the then lord *Dartmouth*, was constituted captain-general of his majesty's forces in *Africa*, and governor of *Tangier*, and sent as admiral of an *English* fleet to demolish the works, blow up the mole, and bring home the garrison from thence ; all which he very effectually performed, so that the harbour is still entirely spoiled, and though now in the hands of the *Moors*, it is a very inconsiderable place. One circumstance attending its demolition deserves to be remarked, because it shews the temper and spirit of the king. He directed a considerable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if (through the vicissitudes of fortune, to which all sublunary things are liable) this city should ever be restored, there might remain some memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of *Britain*. Thus, through disputes between the king and parliament, the *British* nation lost a place and port of great importance <sup>h</sup>.

As it is on all hands confessed, that never any *English*, perhaps I might say any prince, without distinction of countries

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<sup>h</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 376, 408. Burchet, Burnet, Echard, Rapin.

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countries, understood maritime affairs so well as *Charles* the second did ; so it cannot surprize any intelligent reader when we assert, that the *English* navy received very great advantages from his skill and care in matters of this nature. It must indeed be allowed, that he found the fleet at his restauration in an excellent situation, and abundance of very able men employed therein ; and it must likewise be confessed, to the honour of his government, that he preserved them in their several posts without any respect to party ; which, without question, contributed not a little to the increase of our naval power <sup>1</sup>. How intent he was for the first ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency this way, appears from all the candid histories of those times, from the collections of orders, and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy, while the duke of *York* was admiral, published of late years, and in every body's hands <sup>2</sup> ; and in a short and narrow compass from the speech made by the lord keeper *Bridgman*, who affirmed, that from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to less than 500, 000 *l.* a year <sup>1</sup>. But after the second *Dutch* war, the  
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<sup>1</sup> Such as sir George Ayscue, sir William Batten, sir John Lawson, sir Richard Stayner, sir William Penn, and many others.

<sup>2</sup> The title of this book is, *Memoirs of the English affairs, chiefly naval, from the year 1660 to 1673*, by his royal highness James duke of York, London, 1729, 8vo.

<sup>1</sup> Happy future state of England, by sir Peter Pett, p. 185. The design of this speech was to induce the house of commons to grant a supply for this particular service of increasing the royal navy, and after having shewn the great importance of such a proceeding, his lordship goes on thus. " My lords and gentlemen, his majesty " is confident that you will not be contented to see him deprived " of all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his " kingdoms, nay even to all Christendom, in the repose and quiet " of it. That you will not be content alone to see your neigh-  
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king grew more saving in this article; and yet in 1678, when the nation in general expected a war with *France*, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. *Pepys*, secretary to the admiralty, has left us a particular account of its state in the month of *August* that year; which as it is very short, I think it may not be amiss to insert <sup>m</sup>.

## ABSTRACT of the FLEET.

Rates.	N <sup>o</sup> .	Men.
1	5	3135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1400
6	7	423
Fire-ships.	6	340
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Total	83	18323
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Of these, seventy-six were in sea-pay, the store-houses and magazines in compleat order; and, which is still more to the purpose, thirty capital ships were then actually in building, (eleven newly launched, and nineteen upon the stocks)

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"bours strengthening themselves in shipping, so much more than they were before, and at home to see the government struggling every year with difficulties, and not able to keep up our navies equal with theirs. He finds that by his accounts from the year 1660 to the late war, the ordinary charge of the fleet, *communibus annis*, came to about 500,000 l a year, and it cannot be supported with less." <sup>m</sup> *Memoirs relating to the state of the royal navy for ten years*, by Samuel Pepys, Esq; p. 6.

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rocks) and that the reader may frame a just notion of the increase of the navy during this part of the king's reign, I must observe, that at *Midsummer* 1660, the whole fleet consisted but of sixty-five vessels of all sizes, as appears by an original letter under the hand of Mr. Secretary *Coven-try* \*. But after this period of time, I mean the date of the list, the king finding himself extremely uneasy at home, and consequently in a situation perplexed enough abroad, was persuaded to alter the management of his navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himself easy in his civil government, sir *Anthony Deane*, Mr. *Pepys*, and several other old officers of the navy having been so unfortunate to incur the displeasure of the house of commons, by whom they were committed †.

THIS new administration, with respect to naval affairs, subsisted for about five years, and if it had continued five years longer, would in all probability have remedied the evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole royal navy, and so leaving no room for future mistakes; and a just sense of this, induced the king in 1684, to resume the management of the fleet into his own hands, to restore again most of the old officers, and to undertake the bringing things once more into order: but before any considerable progress could be made in so great a work, his majesty died, and left the care of it to his successor ‡.

THE trade of the nation I have heretofore shewed to have been in a very declining situation at the time of the restoration; I have also observed, that it was much helped

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\* *Memoirs of English affairs, chiefly naval*, p. 12.

† The history and proceedings of the house of commons, printed for Richard Chandler, vol. i. p. 260.

‡ *Memoirs of the royal navy*, by Mr. *Pepys*, p. 10.

helped by several treaties of peace made soon after<sup>4</sup>; and though I am far from denying, that through the king's too strict intercourse with *France*, his running counter, in many respects, to the interests as well as inclinations of his best subjects, and that dissolute spirit of luxury and corruption, which, if not introduced, was at least countenanced and encouraged by the king's temper and practice, might hinder our trade from reaching that height which otherwise it would have done. Yet, upon the whole, I am fully persuaded, that during his whole reign we were very great gainers there, and this I think, I can clearly make appear. In the first place, the *first Dutch war* was most certainly undertaken for the sake of trade; nor can it be conceived, that in the second the *Dutch* would have pushed as they did, from any other motive, than an apprehension that from rivals, we should become their superiors in commerce, which from the genius of their state, they could not patiently permit. In the next place, let us consider the mighty losses sustained in the space of fifteen years by the plague, the fire of *London*, and the two *Dutch wars*. They have been computed, by men much better skilled in political arithmetic than I pretend to be, at little less than twenty-seven millions<sup>5</sup>. But supposing them to have amounted only to twenty millions, the nation must have been reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty and distress, if she had not been relieved by the vast profits of her foreign trade. This it was that repaired the  
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<sup>4</sup> See p. 224, and 232. <sup>5</sup> By sir William Petty, in his political arithmetick, who, without question understood the grounds of that art, as well as ever any man did; Dr. d'Avenant also was of the same mind, and says expressly, that these losses might be computed at between twenty-four and twenty-seven millions. Discourses on the public revenue and trade of England, vol. ii. p. 44.

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loss of our people in a surprizing manner, raised the city of *London* like a *Phoenix*, brighter and more beautiful for having been in flames, and increased our shipping to double what it was at the time of the king's coming in. These are facts agreed on by the greatest men that ever handled subjects of this nature, grounded on such evidence as could not deceive them, and justified by effects which even posterity may contemplate, and from thence discern the wisdom and truth of their computations \*.

THE *East-India* company were favoured and protected, especially in the beginning of this reign; the *African* company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vast profits to the proprietors, and the nation †. Many of our plantations were settled by his majesty's favour, such as *Pennsylvania*, *Carolina*, &c. †. Others were restored to this nation by his arms, such as *New-York*, and the *Ferseys* ‡, and all *Asia* had such encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may guess from what a modern writer (no way partial to this prince) says of *Barbadoes*; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred sail of ships, produced two hundred thousand pounds a year in clear profit to this nation, and maintained one hundred thousand people there and here \*. These are high calculations; but I believe the person who made them, is able to justify them, and therefore I make no question

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\* See Pett's happy future state of England, sir William Petty's political arithmetic, and his essays, Dr. d'Avenant's book before-cited, and his essay upon the probable methods of making people gainers in the balance of trade.

† See a general treatise of naval trade and commerce, vol. ii. chap. 5.

‡ Curson's compendium of the laws and government of England, p. 512.

§ See the British empire in America, under those titles. ¶ Ibid. p. 166, 167.

question that sir *William Petty* was in the right, when he calculated our exports at ten millions *per Annum* <sup>1</sup>. This agrees very well with the state of our customs, which fell then little short of a million, though in 1660, they were farmed for four hundred thousand pounds, as they were once let by queen *Elizabeth* at thirty-six thousand. Dr. *d'Avenant*, an excellent judge in these matters, having duly weighed all the calculations I have mentioned, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience, pronounces the ballance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a year; and less I think could not well be <sup>2</sup>. The bounds prescribed to this work, will not allow me to say more on this subject; and I must have violated the duty I owe to truth and my country, if I had said less.

We are now to speak particularly of the most remarkable among those illustrious persons, whose gallant actions at sea have been already occasionally mentioned in this history; men, who, in point of military and civil virtues, have deserved as well of their country as men could do, and whose fame therefore ought to be transmitted to posterity with due respect. Amongst these, in the first place, let us take notice of him to whose loyalty we owe the virtues and services of all the rest.

*General GEORGE MONK, duke of  
Albermarle, and knight of the garter.*

**I**F the intrinsic worth of a man's actions were sufficient to secure the applause of succeeding times, there would be

<sup>1</sup> Political Arithmetic, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Discourses on the public revenues and trade of England, vol. ii. p. 47.

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be little occasion to enter minutely into the memoirs of this great soldier and seaman. And on the other hand, if there be any thing laudable in removing those shades which the envious are always labouring to throw over the reputation of the worthy; then certainly no man's life would claim greater attention, than his of whom I am speaking, the merit of whose services scarce raised him more friends, than the glory of them excited detractors. He was by birth a gentleman, descended on the father's side from an ancient and honourable family, settled from the time of *Henry III.* at *Potheridge* in *Devonshire*, and by the female line, sprung from the victorious *Edward IV.*<sup>a</sup> He was the second son of sir *Thomas Monk*, a man whose qualities and virtues deserved a better fortune; for time in doing honour to his family, had almost worn out his estate. His son *George* was born on the 6th of *December* 1608, and his father having not much wealth to give, intended him from his childhood for the sword, and therefore bestowed on him such an education as was requisite to quali-

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<sup>a</sup> The first notice that I believe the world ever had of this matter, was from a pamphlet, printed in 1659, entitled, "The pedigree and descent of his excellency general Monk, setting forth, how he is descended from king Edward III. by a branch and slip of the white rose, the house of York; and likewise his extraction from Richard king of the Romans." This was published with a view, I suppose, to countenance a design some people had entertained of inclining the general to assume the crown himself, instead of restoring the king. The fact, however, is true, as to his descent, which may be seen in Dugdale, and other authors. But this descent, could not possibly give him any title to the crown, since the lady Frances Plantagenet was first married into the family of Bassett, and had issue of that marriage; and, which is still more to the purpose, her father Arthur, viscount Lisle, was only natural son to Edward IV. We cannot wonder, therefore, that so thinking a man as general Monk, despised such a pittiful strain of flattery, on a circumstance otherwise very honourable to his family,



ty him for the profession of arms, for which he gave a proof of his capacity, when he was scarce able to wield them<sup>b</sup>.

IN the first year of the reign of king *Charles I.* his majesty, who had then in view a war with *Spain*, came down to *Plymouth*, in order to inspect the naval preparations that were making there. Sir *Thomas Monk* had a mind to pay his duty to his prince, though his debts (derived rather from his ancestors extravagance than his own) made him somewhat afraid of the law. To remedy this evil, he sent his son *George* to the under-sheriff of *Devonshire*, with a considerable present, desiring, that on so extraordinary an occasion, he might be safe from any insult while he attended the king. The sheriff took the present, and granted his request; but soon after, receiving a larger from one of his creditors, took him in execution, in the face of the county. *George Monk*, whose youth led him to think this a strange action, went to *Exeter*, and after expostulating with the petti-fogger, who was altogether insensible as to reproaches, took his leave of him in a more intelligible language, and caned him so heartily, that he left him in no condition of following him. This adventure sent him on board the fleet, which under the command of lord *Wimbleton*, shortly after, sailed for *Cádiz*, when he was in the 17th year of his age: and thus he began, as he ended his service to his country, at sea<sup>c</sup>.

IN this voyage he served as a volunteer, under his near relation, sir *Richard Greenville*. The next year we find him

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<sup>b</sup> These particulars are taken from the life of general Monk, written by Dr. Gumble; his life by doctor Skinner, and what is said of him in Prince's worthies of Devon. <sup>c</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 11.

him with a pair of colours, under the brave sir *John Burroughs*, in the unfortunate expedition to the *Isle of R<sup>u</sup>s*. Such unlucky beginnings would certainly have daunted a less resolute mind than that of Mr. *Monk*, who was distinguished in his youth by a steadiness of temper, which he maintained to his dying hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by passion, or chilled by fear.

In 1628, being then compleatly of age, he went over into *Holland*, and served in the regiment of the earl of *Oxford*, and afterwards in that of the lord *Goring*, who gave him the command of his own company, before he was thirty years of age. In this service, Mr. *Monk* was present in several sieges and battles, and pursuing steadily the study of his profession, became a compleat master therein. In the last year of his stay in *Holland*, his winter-quarters were assigned him in *Dort*, where the magistrates punishing some of his soldiers, for matters rather proper for the inspection of a court-martial; captain *Monk* expostulated the matter so warmly, that the point came to be decided by the prince of *Orange*, who, though he in a like case had given judgment in favour of sir *Richard Cave*, (and thereby missed the captain) now, to gratify the people, gave it for the burghers; which so disgusted *Monk*, who, under a calm behaviour, concealed a very high spirit, that he soon after threw up his commission, and never saw the *Dutch* after, as a friend <sup>d</sup>.

On his return home, he found his country in great confusion, a war newly broke out with the rebellious *Scots*, and an army raising to chastise them, in which he served as lieutenant-colonel, under the earl of *Newport*; and if

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<sup>d</sup> Gumble, Skinner, Prince, &c.

his advice had been taken, things had not ended as they did. When the war blazed out in *Ireland*, in 1641, he, through the favour of his cousin, the earl of *Leicester*, then lord lieutenant, was appointed to command his own regiment; in which post he did great service, and might have been governor of *Dublin*, but for the jealousy of the earl of *Ormonde*. In 1643, he returned into *England* to serve his majesty, to whom he was introduced at *Oxford*, and honoured with a conference which lasted some time, and which satisfied the king how ill he had been used by his ministers, who, upon some dirty intelligence from *Dublin*, prevailed upon his majesty to take away his regiment, and give it to major *Warren*, a man of so much honour, that they found no small difficulty in prevailing on him to accept it. To make colonel *Monk* some amends, the king constituted him major-general of the *Irish* brigade, and then sent him to his command, which he had not enjoyed long, before he with many other officers, were surprized by sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and sent prisoners to *Hull*, from whence, by special direction of the parliament, he was transferred to the *Tower of London*, where

Skinner's life of Monk, p. 18. Where he asserts, that lieutenant Monk was one of the few officers who seconded the earl of Strafford in his desire of fighting the Scots, instead of treating with them; which at all events must have served the king's purpose: but his tenderness for his countrymen ruined him, and by bearing too much from rebels in one kingdom, he invited a rebellion in another.

Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 21. Ludlow tells us in his memoirs, p. 77. that when Ormonde sent him over, he ordered him to be confined in the ship, because he had made a scruple of serving against the parliament with forces raised by their authority. This shews, that general Monk was not such a soldier of fortune, as Burnet, and some other writers, would make him, but that he had always a great respect to principle.

Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 21. Ludlow tells us in his memoirs, p. 77. that when Ormonde sent him over, he ordered him to be confined in the ship, because he had made a scruple of serving against the parliament with forces raised by their authority. This shews, that general Monk was not such a soldier of fortune, as Burnet, and some other writers, would make him, but that he had always a great respect to principle.

where he remained several years a prisoner, in circumstances narrow enough; though his brother, who was a royalist, and consequently the less able, did what he could for him, and his generous master sent him from *Oxford* one hundred pounds in gold; which was a large sum out of so low an *Exchequer* <sup>s</sup>.

In 1646-7, when the fury of the civil war was over, by the total ruin of the king's affairs, colonel *Monk* accepted a commission under his relation the lord *L'isle*, of whom the parliament had appointed to have the government of *Ireland*. When, in consequence of this, he obtained his liberty, he went before he left the *Tower* to pay his respects to the venerable doctor *Matthew Wren*, lord bishop of *Ely*, and having received his blessing, the colonel took his leave in these words, *My lord, I am now going to serve the king, the best I may, against his bloody rebels in Ireland; and I hope I shall one day live to do further service to the royal cause in England* <sup>b</sup>. At this time, however, he was not very fortunate; for after a short stay in that kingdom he returned with lord *L'isle*, whose difference with the marquis of *Ormonde* hindered either of them from serving their country effectually. But colonel *Monk* did not long remain idle in *England*; for the parliament knew his abilities too well, and had too quick a sense of the state of *Irish* affairs, not to employ him in the only service to which he was inclined: and thus he returned a third time into *Ireland*, with the title of commander in chief of the

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<sup>s</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 25. See also the preface by dr. Webster, where there is a letter from Mr. Monk to his elder brother, dated from the tower, Nov. 6, 1644, acknowledging the receipt of 50 l. and desiring the like sum. <sup>b</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 28. This fact is taken notice of in bishop Wren's diary, once in the possession of dr. More, bishop of *Ely*.

*English* forces in the north, where he associated with *Monroe*, who commanded a body of *Scots*; and though it was a very difficult thing to manage such a conjunct authority, yet the prudence of *Monk* enabled him to surmount this difficulty, and many others, some of which were yet greater. He was forced to make war without money, which he did so effectually as to reduce *Owen Roe O Neile*, to the utmost distress, by carrying off provisions where that was practicable, and burning them where it was not. Yet in the spring of the year 1649, colonel *Monk* found himself in so weak a condition by the desertion brought on his army through the detestation the soldiers had of the king's murder, that he was constrained to enter into a treaty with this *Owen Roe O Neile*, which certainly saved the few troops he had under his command, and thereby preserved the parliament's interest in that country<sup>i</sup>. However, it gave such offence, that on his return he was subjected to a strict enquiry by the house of commons, who after a very full hearing of the matter, came to a resolution against the treaty, but in justification of *Monk's* intention therein, which tho' but a partial censure, some think the general never forgot<sup>k</sup>. I must own, this appears to me one of the darkest parts of his history; but what I find most probable is, that the parliament's resolution was intended purely to wipe off the odium of having treated with an *Irish* papist, and that colonel *Monk* did nothing therein but under direction; and this I think sufficiently appears from

<sup>i</sup> Ludlow's Memoirs, Gumble's life of *Monk*, Skinner's life of *Monk*.

<sup>k</sup> Moderate intelligencer from June 7 to 14, 1649, N<sup>o</sup> 221. History of independancy, part ii. p. 226. Whitlock's Memorials, History of the war in Ireland, and the several lives of *Monk* before-cited.

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from the parliament's having carried on a private treaty with an agent of *O Neile's* at *London*<sup>1</sup>, and from the stile of their resolution, in which, though they declare the fact to be criminal, yet they admit the man to be innocent; which I conceive he could not well be, unless he had known their intentions<sup>m</sup>.

*OLIVER CROMWELL* was now entrusted with the sole direction of the *Irish* war, and *Monk* was out of all employment; which might have straitned him in his private fortune, if his elder brother had not died without issue male, by which he inherited the estate of the family. About this time also he declared his marriage, or perhaps somewhat later; for, it seems, he did not care the world should know he had a wife, till he was sure of a fortune to maintain her<sup>n</sup>. His repose was of no long continuance; for in the year 1650, *Cromwell*, when he was about to march into *Scotland* against the king, engaged him to accept of a new commission. *Skinner* and some other writers talk of a secret fate which over-ruled him in this action<sup>o</sup>; nay, some of them would insinuate, that it was purely to revenge the treason of the *Scots* against

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<sup>1</sup> Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 294, 295. <sup>m</sup> The resolution is in these words. "That this house doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of colonel Monk in the treaty and cessation made between him and Owen Roe O Neile; and that this house doth detest the thoughts of closing with any party of popish rebels there, who have had their hands in shedding English blood. Nevertheless the house being satisfied, that what the said colonel Monk did therein, was, in his apprehension, necessary for the preservation of the parliament of England's interest; that the house is content the further consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in question." <sup>n</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 33. Lives English and Foreign, Thurloe's papers, vol. i. p. 470. <sup>o</sup> Life of general Monk, p. 36.



king *Charles I.* that he took arms against them now, when they were fighting to restore king *Charles II.* But I must freely own, that it appears to me the highest impiety to charge upon the providence of God; what would be thought weakness in man; as, on the other hand, I see no reason why we should sacrifice truth to our zeal for any person, or any cause. I revere *Monk* as much as any man, and yet I must speak it as my opinion, that he deserted his principles upon this occasion; that he might gratify his ambition. *Cromwell* was so sensible of his merit, that he took a very unusual way to provide him with a regiment; by drawing six companies out of sir *Arthur Haslerig's*, and six out of colonel *Fenwick's*; and to secure him still farther, he made him lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and thus he was again embarked with the parliament through the interest of their general<sup>1</sup>.

In this expedition *Cromwell*, though he was a very knowing and great officer, certainly run into a dangerous error; which he discovered somewhat of the latest; and then began to retreat towards *Dunbar*, the *Scots* pressing hard upon his rear. Finding himself distressed, he called a council of war, in which opinions were divided, till general *Monk* delivered his in these words, *Sir, the Scots have numbers and the hills; those are their advantages: we have discipline and despair, two things that will make soldiers fight; and these are ours. My advice, therefore is to attack them immediately; which if you follow, I am ready to command the van.* His proposal being accepted, he began the attack, and, as *Ludlow* acknowledges, was the

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<sup>1</sup> See Gumble's life of *Monk*, and Prince's worthies of Devon.  
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the instrument of that victory, which gained *Cromwell* so great reputation. The following summer he spent in reducing the best part of *Scotland*, and particularly the town of *Dundee*, which made a good defence : he took it notwithstanding by storm, put six hundred of the garrison to the sword, and committed other acts of severity, which, however necessary they might be to his private interest, were certainly detrimental enough to his public character, the thing itself rendering him terrible to the royalists, and the manner of it gave distaste to general *Ludlow*, and all the sober men of that party. The fatigue of so much business, and perhaps some extraordinary agitations of mind, threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness, upon this, he applied for leave to return into *England*; which having obtained, he went to *Bath*, recovered his health, and coming to *London*, found himself named a commissioner, for bringing about an union between *Scotland* and *England*, in which without doubt, he was properly employed, since few people at that time knew the interest of both nations better than he did.

THE *Dutch* war gave occasion for removing general *Monk* from his command in *Scotland*, to employ him on  
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\* Skinner's life of Monk, p. 38. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 328. \* Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 40. where he slips over the matter without any particular notice. Lives English and Foreign, p. 137. where it is expressly said, that he put the governor Robert Lumfdate, and 800 of his garrison to the sword. Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, p. 361, says, the governor was barbarously shot, after quarter given, by a fanatic officer. General Ludlow in his Memoirs, vol. i. p. 366, affirms quite the contrary, viz. that he stormed Dundee, and being entered, put five or six hundred to the sword, and commanded the governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood. Unjustifiable severity to men engaged upon principle! \* Gumble's and Skinner's life of Monk.

board the fleet. The death of colonel *Popham* made way for this. It was necessary to supply his loss, by sending an experienced officer in his stead, and this induced the parliament to cast their eyes upon *Monk*. He was now near forty-five years of age, which seemed a little of the latest to bring a man into a new scene of life. Yet it must be remembered, that he was bred in a maritime country, and had served at sea in his youth; so that the preferment was not absolutely out of his way; or, if it was, he soon made it appear, that he could easily accommodate himself to any service that might be beneficial to his country. We find him with the fleet in *May* 1653, and on the second of *June* he engaged the *Dutch* fleet, being on board the *Resolution*, with admiral *Deane*, who, in the beginning of the action was killed by a chain-shot, a new invention generally ascribed to *de Wit* \*. *Monk* with great presence of mind, threw his cloak over the body, and having fetched two or three turns, and encouraged the men to do their duty, ordered it to be removed into his cabin. The dispute continued two days, and ended at last in a compleat victory gained by the *English*. The *Dutch*, it is true, denied this, and the *States* went so far, as to send a letter to their foreign ministers, directing them to assert, that it was but a drawn battle †; yet *Van Tromp* in his letter acknowledges the contrary, and lays the blame on the want of ammunition, and the base behaviour of many of his captains ‡. This is certain, that *Monk*

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\* Skinner's life of *Monk*, p. 45. Lives English and Foreign. p. 139. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366. Whitlock, Ludlow, Rapin, &c. † The reader may find this letter in Thurloe's papers, vol. i. p. 273. ‡ This letter is also printed in the same collection, vol. i. p. 270.

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discovered upon this occasion such a spirit of pushing things to the utmost, as gave him great reputation. He soon encreased this, by engaging the *Dutch* again on the 29th of *July*, where he likewise fought two days, and gained a second compleat victory, as we have elsewhere shewn <sup>1</sup>, and shall therefore insist only on a few particulars relating to his personal conduct in this place. The *Dutch* fleet was far superior to his, and yet he not only attacked them, but engaged with thirty sail of light frigates, while the rest of the fleet were a-stern, and could not get up. The 30th proved a foul day, and so prevented any further fighting. On the 31st the *Dutch* had a supply of twenty-five large ships, which did not hinder *Monk*, (who now commanded in chief) from attacking them, though he knew they had another great advantage, viz. a number of fire-ships, whereas he had none: nay, as if he had been secure of victory, he gave orders, that no ship should be taken, or quarter given; for he saw that sending off ships to convoy them, weakened his own fleet, and thereby lessened the effects of their victories <sup>2</sup>. His judgment appeared to be right, from the consequence of this battle, in which the loss of the *Dutch*, especially that of their gallant admiral *Van Tromp* was so great, that it would not admit of any disguise; but the *States* were forced to send their ministers hither, to conclude a peace upon any terms that could be got <sup>3</sup>. After this, he was sent upon the coast of *Holland*, to destroy all the pretences of

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<sup>1</sup> p. 173.      <sup>2</sup> Basnage, annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 240. Heath's chronicle, p. 348. Burchet. Columna Rostrata, Echard, Rapin.      <sup>3</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, and Skinner's life of Monk.

of the *Dutch*, in case they had set up any, and to make their people sensible that they were thoroughly beaten. On his return to *London*, he found the little parliament sitting by the authority of general *Cromwell*, which assembly treated *Monk* however so kindly, that the general began to be jealous of him, till upon repeated conversations, he was thoroughly persuaded that *Monk* thought them, what he was willing every body should think them, a crew of ignorant enthusiasts; and then he became perfectly easy, and took *Monk* into his favour, who, notwithstanding all this kindness, declared himself against the peace intended with the *Dutch*; which *Cromwell* nevertheless made, having taken upon him the title of *Protector*. And to this the *States* contributed not a little by their ambassadors, who represented to general *Cromwell*, that the parliament he had been pleased to call, were a set of men fitter for *Bedlam*, than the government of a state, with whom it was impossible to treat or conclude any thing; but that, if he would assume the government, they would submit to any terms he should think reasonable<sup>b</sup>. When he was once fixed in his protectorate, and felt the weight of governing three kingdoms, he began to think of easing himself, by sending proper officers into two of them; and in this partition, *Scotland* fell to the share of general *Monk*. It was in the spring of the year 1654, that *Cromwell* took this resolution, and *Monk* readily accepting the commission, went down thither in the month of *April* the same year<sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> Skinner's life of *Monk*, p. 51.  
of *Cromwell*, Skinner's life of *Monk*, p. 55. Whitlock's Memorials.

<sup>c</sup> Carrington's life of *Monk*, p. 55. Whitlock's Memorials.

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HE found the kingdom in the utmost confusion, the *English* army very small, and very ill governed, being under the command of Colonel *Deane*, a timorous man, and one that knew not how to direct any thing in such a critical conjuncture. A great part of the nobility were in arms for the king; and as to the rest of the people, they were split into innumerable parties, by quarrels amongst their ministers <sup>d</sup>. The general shewed himself a true servant of *Cromwell's*; he not only pursued the business of the war indefatigably, but by setting a price on the heads of the principal cavaliers, filled their minds with such distrusts, that they ever after acted in confusion <sup>e</sup>. He settled garrisons and magazines in the most distant parts of the nation, using such severity towards all who resisted, and such lenity to all who submitted, that in a very short time he subdued the whole kingdom. When the war was over, he fixed himself at the house of the countess of *Buccleugh*, at *Dalkeith*, within four miles of *Edinburgh*; where, while he governed the kingdom more absolutely than most of its monarchs had done, he lived with all the moderation of a private man, and made husbandry and gardening his sole diversions <sup>f</sup>. *Cromwell* sent down a commission to direct civil affairs, under the title of a council of state, consisting of the lord *Broghill* who was president, colonel *Howard*, afterwards

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Gumble and Skinner's like of Monk.

<sup>e</sup> See this proclamation, signed G. Monk, and dated at Dalkeith, May 4th, 1654. In it he mentions major-general Middleton, the earl of Athol, the earl of Seaforth, the lord viscount Kenmure, and major-general Daziel; for the killing of whom, or bringing them prisoners to an English garrison, he offers 200 pounds a head. This proclamation is in the late collection of Thurloe's state-papers, vol. ii. p. 261. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 70. Gumble, Prince, &c.



afterwards earl of *Carlisle*, colonel *William Lockhart*, colonel *Adrian Scroop*, colonel *John Walsbam*, and major-general *Disbrow* &c. The majority of this council, concurred with *Monk* in every thing, so that in the main, the civil, as well as military power, was in his hands; and he managed it in such a manner, that the people had not either reason or inclination to complain; but, on the contrary, were very thankful and contented. He seems, however, by his letters, to have been strongly attached to *Cromwell*, since we find, that he not only communicated to him all that he could discover of the king's intelligence there with others, but sent him also the copy of a letter, written by king *Charles II.* to himself; which hitherto has been always mentioned as a proof of *Monk's* early affection for the king's service, on a supposition, that though he did not answer, he concealed it; which supposition is now overturned. Yet all this precaution did not secure him from the jealousy of the protector, who was actually contriving how to remove him, when death put an end to his projects. A little before his end, however, he wrote the general a long letter, concluding with the following postscript, which, I conceive, affords us a better picture of *Oliver*, than is any where to be met with, and which is no less singular, drawn by his own hand.

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Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Skinner, Prince. This letter of king *Charles II.* to *Monk*, is dated Colen, August 12, 1655, and was communicated to Dr. Peter Barwick, by *Monk's* son, as a proof of his father's early loyalty: but it appears from *Thurloe's* papers, that *Monk* gave an account of every thing that passed in Scotland, and particularly sent him up this very letter, with many others. Skinner's life of *Monk*.

Thurloe's  
life of *Monk*

*THERE be that talk me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there, to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me.*

YET, as a creature of Cromwell's, he was hated by the common-wealth party, and a conspiracy had been formed against him by colonel Overton, in which *Sindercome* had undertaken to murder the general, who afterwards made a like attempt upon Cromwell; but Monk having discovered and disappointed the plot, contented himself with sending the authors of it up to London<sup>k</sup>. The principal cause of the protector's jealousy, was the kindness shewn by the general to the *Scots*, for finding them of his own temper, that is to say, of a civil, though reserved nature, he admitted them freely to his presence, of what party soever they were. Immediately on *Oliver's* death, he proclaimed *Richard*, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true, viz. that his father had directed him to be governed chiefly by Monk's advice; whereas he was scarce in his senses, when he appointed him to the succession<sup>l</sup>. The further to conciliate Monk's friendship, the protector sent down commissary *Clarges*, brother to Lady Monk, laden with promises: which, however, had no effect upon the wary general, who received his commands respectfully, wrote a civil answer to *Thurloe's* smooth letter, and took all the care he could to secure his command in Scotland, 'till he

<sup>k</sup> Thurloe's state-papers, vol. iv. p. 132. <sup>l</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 75.

saw what turn things in *England* would take, it having been his opinion, that, if *Oliver* had lived much longer, he would have been shaken in his seat <sup>m</sup>.

THE succeeding troubles in *England*, therefore, were very far from surprizing him. On the contrary, they were what he looked for, and expected; and it was very easy to foresee, that in consequence of them, some attempts might be made to restore the king. It would be beside the design of this treatise; it would require much more room than we have to spare; and, after all, it would be in a great measure needless, considering what has been already written on the subject, for us to enter deeply into the intrigues made use of, while general *Monk* was in *Scotland*, to bring him into that interest <sup>n</sup>. We shall content ourselves therefore with saying, that he acted in this matter with the utmost prudence and circumspection; so that what the earl of *Clarendon* and bishop *Burnet* have suggested, that he was a man of slow parts and slender abilities, ought to be considered rather as the effect of their prejudices, than of the general's conduct <sup>o</sup>. The truth is, they

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<sup>m</sup> Clarendon, Whitlock, Gumble, Skinner, and Price. <sup>n</sup> The curious reader may consult the life of dean Barwick, wherein he will find the best accounts that were ever published of this matter; and yet the earl of Clarendon says nothing of the services of this doctor John Barwick, though no man was better acquainted with them than himself; which shews, that there are some things in which that history is not altogether to be depended on. <sup>o</sup> It is clear from what lord Clarendon says, that he was altogether unacquainted with the general's intentions, and could only collect his design from his manner of acting. His reservedness, therefore, to so haughty a man, might well enough induce him to speak so coldly as he does of the general's performances. Yet he does not pretend to enter deeply into his character, as Burnet does, who must know much less of it, and that only from conversation in a court where Monk's patriotism and severity of morals, had left him few friends, and created him many enemies.

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were both out of this secret; that is to say, the former had no hand in it, and the latter never so much as heard of it, which was reason enough for them to write as they did. The general's council consisted chiefly of ladies. He corresponded in *England* with the lady *Savile*; he managed all *Scotland* by the assistance of the countess of *Buccleugh*, and consulted much, in regard to his personal conduct, with his wife, a woman of quick parts, and a thorough royalist. He had, besides, some confidants who will appear to posterity more worthy of the trust he reposed in them, for having never boasted of the assistance they gave him, as others did, who afforded him much less. Among the first, I reckon his wife's brother doctor *Clarges*, colonel *Globerry*, and general *Morgan*; amongst the latter, his chaplains *Price* and *Gumble*, with many others<sup>p</sup>.

IN the management of all great undertakings, the surest signs of a true genius, is, the disposition of its several parts. This shews the first mover; this marks the ruling character, that superiority of skill and conduct which denominates a man truly wise and great. Let us see, then, what it was *Monk* was to overthrow, what to establish, and what force he had to do it with. He was to change a settlement, new indeed in itself, but in appearance, so much the stronger, having all the authority in the three kingdoms, a veteran army of upwards of thirty thousand men in *England* and *Ireland*, and a victorious fleet on its side.

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<sup>p</sup> The capital secret of the restoration, was the general's forming the design of it, which he did in *Scotland*, and by the assistance of the countess of *Buccleugh*, drew all the loyal nobility to confide in him: a thing of which bishop *Burnet* knew nothing, though it was in truth the great spring of the affair, and the clearest proof that the general acted sincerely and uniformly through the whole expedition.

He was to restore a lost cause, in the opinion of its best friends; a cause which he durst not so much as own; a cause against which himself had done much, and the troops he commanded, more; all which he was to do, with a body of between five and six thousand men, which were so far from being better troops than those they were to oppose, that in reality they were not their equals. Yet, with the blessing of GOD, he performed what he proposed, he triumphed over all these difficulties; and he did this by a just distribution of the several parts of his scheme, any one of which, had it been omitted or misplaced, had ruined the whole.

He secured *Scotland* behind him, raised a sufficient sum of money to put the first springs in motion, and excited such a spirit in his army, as fitted it for the present work. Next, he took care to stir the humours in the body politic; to rouse and animate all the parties in the nation, that they might move, act, and shew their strength. He set up *Fairfax* against *Lambert*, and broke his veteran army, by shewing them their old general. He made use of honest doctor *Price* to feed the royalists with hopes, while his own actions could give them none. By the talkative *Mr. Gumble*, he wrought upon the common-wealth's men, by gracious and yet general answers, he kept himself well with all parties, without declaring for any. He prevailed with the parliament, to part with a better army than his own, meerly from the opinion of his being their *best Friend*: when he came to *London*, he shewed himself the very *best* of their *servants*, by obsequiously performing the *dirtiest* of their work, and proving them thereby to be the *worst* of *masters*, he paved the way for *outing* them of their *authority*. Thus he went beyond them in their own arts, outstripped

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out-stripped them in cunning, and having the city and the country, as well as the fleet and the army, on his side, he gave *law* to those who had been so long *dictators* <sup>1</sup>.

By recalling the secluded members, he, of a *rump*, made them a *house*, and; by their own consent, fairly dissolved that long parliament, which might otherwise have been everlasting. After doing all this, he did still more; he refused the kingdom, when it was offered him by the distracted republicans, to keep it from its right owner, and when our old enemies, the *French*, would have lent him their assistance, to have hindered the return of a monarch, who they foresaw, unless they misled him, must be the first in *Europe*; and this as good politicians, though that monarch was a grandson of *France*. But *Monk* generously despised a diadem to which he had no right, and with equal greatness of mind, refused to make any terms with him to whom it belonged <sup>2</sup>. He saw the folly of cobbling constitutions, and pretending to take power from one set of men to give it to another: he chose, therefore, like a wise and honest man, to fix things upon their old bottom, and to leave the king's power, and the people's freedom, to be discussed in the only assembly that could have a right to med-

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<sup>1</sup> See Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Kennet, Echard, Rappin; as also Gumble's life of Monk, doctor Price's mystery and method of the restauration, Skinner's life of Monk, and Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Locke, on the credit of the earl of Shaftesbury, has published a very strange story, in relation to the conduct of this great man, as if he had agreed with the French ambassador to take upon him the government; which story is reported at large by Echard in his history, p. 757. But this, as it is incredible in its nature, so it is improbable in its circumstances, and supported by no authority in the world, but that of a vain man, who was desirous of taking the merit of the restauration to himself.



de with them \* Thus was the restauration begun, prosecuted, and perfected by *Monk*, who received as favours from the king, his titles, preferments and fortune; all which to be sure he might have had in another way. And yet this is the man whom almost all our histories treat, as having only second rate parts, acting as he was prompted by men of brisker tempers, and invited by favourable occasions; as a horrid dissembler, though he refused to take the engagement, and was never concerned in the war against *Charles I*; as an avaritious, all-grasping person, though it is confessed, that he asked nothing from his sovereign, to whom he gave all; as a man utterly unfit for business, who yet had shewn himself a great captain in *Ireland*, an excellent governor in *Scotland*, and a profound statesman in *England*, not to mention his reputation as an admiral, acquired by humbling *Holland*; but it is one thing to merit a character, and another to purchase it. The latter was not *Monk's* talent, he provided for his relations and friends, but he was no encourager of flatterers, and withal being a bad courtier, he was seldom thought of after the restauration but when he was necessary; and this happening pretty often, leads us to the rest of his history, in which we shall still find him appear with honour, and perform with success.

THE command of the army was continued to the duke of *Albemarle*, as long as there was an army to command: he was likewise made master of the horse, and one of the king's

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\* The very enemies of *Monk* have always allowed him this eminent service of restoring the king without conditions, to which we owed that ten years calm succeeding the king's return; whereas, if he had submitted to conditions, we must, from the nature of things, have relapsed into confusion immediately.

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king's bedchamber. Bishop *Burnet* has said abundance of invidious things of him ; and this will make it necessary to shew how false they are, and how little credit is due to all the insinuations of that prelate against this great man's character. He says he was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature, (bad words these in a bishop's mouth, who at other times could say soft things of the ladies) and adds, that he soon lost all personal regard by becoming useless\*. When he was created a duke, the king settled seven thousand pounds a year on him, though one hundred thousand pounds had been proposed before the restoration took place. When he was called up by writ to the house of lords, he was attended by almost the whole house of commons to the door ; a very unusual mark of respect, which could only be due to extraordinary merit, and must have flowed from their sense of it. Various plots were framed immediately after the king's return ; and in all these the duke of *Albemarle's* life was particularly aimed at ; this seems to be a strong proof of his consequence, and, if we were to demand another, we cannot desire a better than what all the histories of those times tell us, *viz.* That these insurrections were chiefly suppressed by his activity at the head of his own faithful regiment". His success in this respect gave him an opportunity of deserving as much from the nation by his patriotism, as ever he did from the king by his loyalty. It was suggested in council, that these tumults shewed how little use could be made of trained-bands ; and

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\* Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. book ii. " Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle. See also his continuation of Baker's chronicle, life of dean Barwick, Skinner's life of general Monk, sir Philip Warwick's memoirs.

therefore, that it was fit a part of the army should be kept up. The duke said *this could not be done without giving the people a jealousy of the king; and that the best way to gain their affections, was to rely upon them*. I leave the reader to judge, with what decency this man could be said to forfeit all personal regard, and to become in a short time useless.

BUT the bishop is not content with barely characterizing this noble person, he charges him with three glaring crimes; which, as they relate to the most eminent actions of his life, we shall briefly consider. The first is the murder of the marquis of *Argyle*. This nobleman was questioned before the parliament of *Scotland*, for concurring with the late rebellious powers. He pleaded, that he complied with them only, and made a very strong defence\*: but the bishop says, that *Monk* having several letters of his, which fully shewed that his inclinations, as well as his actions were with the prevailing party; he sent these down, which were read in parliament, and by this breach of private friendship he brought the marquis to the block†. Now to this I say, that the fact cannot be true for many reasons: I shall mention only a few. First, the marquis in his defence complains, that he was surprized into being present at *Oliver's* proclamation as protector, by general *Monk's* sending for him to the council, without letting him know what was to be done. Would he have complained of this, and have passed by the letters; or would not this complaint have been ridiculous if there

\* Skinner's life of Monk, p. 322. † The proceedings against him may be found in the 2d volume of state trials. ‡ Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. book ii.

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there had been any such letters? II. The marquis died with an appeal to God for the sincerity of his defence, and wrote a letter to the king, affirming the same thing, a copy of which I have seen<sup>a</sup>. Would so a wise man as the marquis certainly was, have done this, if, as *Burnet* says, his own letters had made the thing so plain, that his friends had nothing to say? III. This does not at all agree with *Monk's* character. He was an advocate for mercy to the regicides in the house of lords; he was silent on the bench at the *Old-Baily* when commissioned to try them; and, which is much more to the purpose, he saved *sir Arthur Haslerig's* life and estate, (the bitterest personal enemy he had in the world) by owning a promise to him, which some say he never made. This seems to shew him of no betraying spirit<sup>b</sup>. IV. There was no occasion for *Argyle* to write any such letters, for *Monk* never was in *England* after *Oliver* became protector; and it is hard to understand, why the marquis should apply to him in *Scotland*, when he could so easily have an audience of *Cromwell* in *London*, where he often was<sup>c</sup>. V. But the thing is now out of doubt; for by the publication of *Thurloe's* papers it appears, that *Monk* never considered the marquis in this light, but always represented him as a secret friend to the king, and an active enemy to the protector's government<sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> State-trials, vol. ii.    <sup>a</sup> By the favour of his nephew, the honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell. In this letter, the marquis insists on his loyalty in very high terms; and indeed there is all the reason in the world to believe, he never meant any thing more in his proceedings in *Scotland*, than to restrain the power of the crown within due bounds.    <sup>b</sup> Skinner's life of *Monk*, p. 319, 320.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. chap. vii.    <sup>d</sup> See the correspondences of *Argyle* and *Monk* in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of *Thurloe's* state-papers; and thence it will plainly appear, that there was no harmony between them, and consequently no ground to suppose that the marquis would lay himself open to him by his letters.

THE *second* imputation on the duke of *Albemarle's* conduct is his recommending the match with *Portugal* \*. It is admitted, that this proposition was made by the *Portuguese* ambassador to the duke of *Albemarle* before the king's actual return, and that he proposed it to his majesty as a measure proper for extending the trade, and increasing the influence of his subjects abroad. It is likewise true, that his grace thought the acquisition of *Tangier* a very considerable thing; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider that in *Cromwell's* time there was a project of getting it into our possession. If, therefore, the duke of *Albemarle* was for this match from right motives, and with a view to the interest of his king and country, as it was plain he was, it is very hard to arraign his behaviour upon consequences, which it is certain he could not foresee, and very probably had never considered. Besides, another queen might have been barren as well as *Catherine*, and have brought the nation no advantage at all; whereas, it is certain that our close conjunction with *Portugal*, has been very beneficial to us as a trading people, and that our acquisitions of *Bombay* and *Tangier* became useless, or at least inconsiderable our own fault, through the perpetual struggle of factions amongst us, which have been always our bane; and therefore, to attribute these to the conduct of *Monk*, or to condemn him for advising a treaty of marriage, which was thoroughly canvassed in, and approved by the parliament, is as unreasonable as it is unjust.

WE find in the *third* place the sale of *Dunkirk* charged solely upon the duke, as if he had contrived and made the bargain

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\* Burnet's history, as before-cited.  
 Echard, Skinner's life of *Monk*, &c.

† Philips, Kennet,

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bargain for it, but then we have no other evidence to prove this, than that it was bishop *Burnet's* opinion, grounded I suppose on court-conversation<sup>s</sup>; for I find it charged by several who seem to be as well informed as he, to the account of other great counsellors. That it is not likely the motion came from him, the reader will easily discern, when I put him in mind of his great fondness for acquiring *Tangier*, and that by the XIX article of the same treaty of marriage it was provided, that *Dunkirk* should never be restored to *Spain*; which shews how much he had the keeping it at heart<sup>h</sup>. To speak candidly, it is a very difficult thing to know who advised this sale, or rather, who consented to it. Some *French* writers tell us, the affair was negotiated between the count *d'Esstrades*, the lord chancellor *Clarendon*, the lord treasurer *Southampton*, the duke of *Albemarle*, and the earl of *Sandwich*. The two former are acquitted by *Burnet* and some other writer; and as to what he says of the duke's asserting the place not to be tenable, and thereby inducing the king to be more easy in parting with it; I find that advice expressly ascribed by others to the earl of *Sandwich*, who to be sure was best acquainted with it, I mean with the place, its

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<sup>s</sup> The bishops words are these, " The matter under debate was, whether this place ought to be kept or sold. The military men who were believed to be corrupted by France, said the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the king to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The earl of *Clarendon* said, he understood not those matters, but appealed to Monk's judgment, who did positively advise the letting it go for the money that France offered." Yet I do not find the duke of *Albemarle* particularly charged in the most authentic relation we have of this matter, which is sir *Edward Harley's* account of the expences and treasure of *Dunkirk*, a MS. in the *Harleian* library. <sup>h</sup> *Echard*, p. 801.



its real consequence, and the possibility of keeping it<sup>1</sup>. However the duke acted in the matter, it is plain he was not alone in his sentiments, and though, without question, the giving up *Dunkirk* was a very wrong step, yet I think there is much better evidence to fix it upon the king's necessities, and his express will and pleasure, in order to come at so considerable a supply as five hundred thousand pounds without the assistance of parliament, than to charge it upon the duke, who, for any thing that appears, had no more to do with it than the rest of the lords of the privy council<sup>2</sup>.

WHEN the first *Dutch* war broke out in 1664, we find the duke of *Albemarle's* name among the lords of the council subscribing the proclamation; and there seems to be no reason to doubt, that he was very hearty in that measure; whereas the chancellor and the treasurer were both against it<sup>1</sup>. The duke of *York*, as we have before seen, at the beginning of the war commanded the fleet in person, and upon this occasion he devolved the whole administration

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<sup>1</sup> The true reason why so great a noise was made about this affair, was, an inclination expressed by the parliament to annex this town to the kingdom of England, and thereby render it inseparable. This was done at the motion of sir Edward Harley, who had been governor of it, and who was so good a patriot, that he refused a peerage, and ten thousand pound to be passive in this matter; and for this my authority is, *histoire de la Maison de Harley*, par Monsieur Moret, M. S. <sup>2</sup> The queen mother, whose presence and councils were always fatal to this nation, was here at the time; and one great cause of the king's want of money, was to settle a court for her at Somerset-house; another to pay the portion of the king's sister to the duke of Orleans. The French king visibly promoted this clamour about *Dunkirk*, by striking a medal on the purchase with this legend, *Providentia Principis*, i. e. by the attention of the prince. In the exergue, *Dunquerca Recuperata*, i. e. *Dunkirk recovered*. Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

administration of the admiralty on the duke of *Albemarle*; and this with such circumstances of confidence, as demonstrated his sense of his grace's capacity and fidelity. This, added to his former employments, might have sufficiently occupied him, and have even rendered the conferring on him any other charge, a thing unthought of: and, yet when the plague broke out in the succeeding year, and the king saw himself obliged to leave his capital, he intrusted the care of it, of his subjects, and the chief concerns of his kingdom, to this good duke, who resided at the *Cock-pit* near *Whitehall*, and with the assistance of the earl of *Craven*, and some other public-spirited persons of distinction, took care of the health, the properties, and the government of the inhabitants of this great city, distributing daily the vast charities that were raised for the supply  
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" This letter deserves the reader's perusal; because it is a direct proof of the falshood of this assertion, That the duke of *Albemarle* lost his credit soon after the restoration. It runs thus,  
 " My lord duke of *ALBEMARLE*, having formerly by the king's approbation, desired you to take the care of giving all necessary orders for the affairs of the navy during my absence, in the same manner as I ought to do if present, I should now need to repeat it to you, were it not to acquaint you, that I have not only by word of mouth, but also by writing, given the principal officers and commanders of his majesty's navy, directions to execute all your commands. I desire you, if you find any commanders or other officers, negligent in the dispatch expected from them for his majesty's service, not to be sparing in using your authority for their punishment: whether by displacing them, or such other way as you shall think fit. I have commanded my secretary to leave with you all such things as may be necessary for your information; if any thing be wanting, upon the least intimation it shall be supplied, so bidding you heartily farewell, I am, &c."

March 22, 1664-5

JAMES."

This letter was transcribed from a MS. in the hands of the late lord Frederick Howard.

of the distressed, giving audience to all who had any business with him, directing the affairs of the navy, while we were engaged in a war of such consequence, and giving a constant account of whatever happened, to the king and his ministers at *Oxford*<sup>n</sup>. Such was the courage, such were the labours of this great man, who, in the midst of devouring infection, did in a manner the whole business of the nation; and yet he is said to have forfeited all personal regard, and to have become useless in a short time after the restoration.

WHILE he was still charged with all these fatiguing offices, the king, in the spring of the succeeding year, sent for him suddenly to *Oxford*. He went thither post, and on his arrival, after paying his compliments to his majesty, and giving him a succinct account of the posture in which he had left affairs at *London*, he was told, that the intent of sending for him thither was, to make him joint admiral of the fleet with prince *Rupert*, and that he must immediately prepare to go to sea. He desired a day's time to consider of it, in which space he consulted with his friends, who were almost unanimously against his accepting that command. They said, that he had already established his character as a soldier, seaman, and statesman; and that it was unreasonable, at his time of life, for him to stake all the honours he had won, on the fortune of a day. That the *Dutch* were already driven into that fury, which made them most dangerous at sea, and that attacking them now, was quite another thing than it was at the beginning of the war: that in short, the loss of a battle would exceedingly tarnish his reputation, whereas, a victory

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<sup>n</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 331, 332, 333.

victory gained, could add very little thereto. The duke thanked them for the respect they had shewn for his person and character; but at the same time added, *these were out of the case; that he valued neither, farther than they were useful to his country; and that he was determined to obey the king's commands, since he was sure he either should accomplish them, or die in the attempt*°. Having accepted this commission, he returned to *London* the third day, and though the war and the plague had both made great havock amongst the seamen, yet it was no sooner known, that the duke of *Albemarle* was to command the fleet, than great numbers offered themselves to the service, because as they phrased it, they were sure, *honest George* (for so they called the duke) *would see them well fed and justly paid*°.

His grace, in conjunction with prince *Rupert*, used such diligence in equipping the fleet, that on the 23d of *April*, being *St. George's* day, they took leave of the king, and fell down the river in one of the royal barges to join the fleet: when they arrived in the *Downs*, the king received intelligence, that the *French* had fitted out a stout squadron to join with the navy of the *States*; upon which, he sent down positive orders to prince *Rupert* to sail with twenty of the best frigates in the fleet, to fight the *French* squadron before it could join the *Dutch*. This, without question, had been a right measure, if the king's intelligence had been good; but as, in truth, there was no such *French* squadron, so the taking away so great a part of the fleet, exposed the remainder exceedingly. Some have suggested, that there was treachery in this; and indeed

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° *Memoirs of the Dutch wars, Skinner's life of Monk, p. 335. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 471. P Memoirs of the Dutch wars, p. 39.*

deed, from sir *John Hurman's* letter, giving an account of the battle which ensued, one would apprehend, that he was of this opinion<sup>1</sup>. It is, however, easy to account for the thing otherwise, and by laying all circumstances together, I must own myself persuaded, that this intelligence proceeded from the arts of the *French*, who, by pretending to equip a great squadron, and to send it early to sea, thought to amuse both us and the *Dutch*, and engage us by dint of these preparations to take false measures; in which they succeeded, for the *Dutch* fleet actually expected to be joined by them, as certainly as prince *Rupert* did to meet them<sup>2</sup>.

THE duke of *Albemarle* commanding now alone, discovered on the 1st of *June*, the *Dutch* fleet, consisting of about 76 sail of large ships, whereas the duke had not above 50. We have already given an account of this battle<sup>3</sup>, and shall here, therefore, confine ourselves to such circumstances, as concern the duke's personal behaviour. He immediately called a council of war, composed of some of the gallantest men that ever bore commands in the *English* navy, and there, "In regard several good ships, besides the *Royal sovereign*, then at anchor in the *Gun-Fleet*, (neither fully manned, nor ready) would, upon their retreat, be in danger of a surprizal by the enemy; and that such a course might make some impression upon the spirit and courage of the seamen, who had not been accustomed to decline fighting with the *Dutch*; it was at last unanimously resolved to abide them, and that the fleet should presently be put in readiness to fall into a line<sup>4</sup>." Thus it appears, that this was an act done by

<sup>1</sup> Kennet's compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 281. <sup>2</sup> Le Clerc, tom. 138. de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter. <sup>3</sup> See p. 253. <sup>4</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 340.

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by the whole council of war, and upon very rational motives; so that to charge the duke with running too great a hazard from his contempt of the *Dutch*, is treating his memory ill without any just grounds<sup>u</sup>. The first day the enemy gained little or no advantage, notwithstanding their great superiority, this was entirely owing to the duke's example, who, though he was once obliged to be towed out of the line, yet after making the necessary repairs in his rigging, bore into the centre of the *Dutch* fleet, where he engaged *de Ruyter* with incredible fury<sup>w</sup>; hoping his own success might have opened a path to victory.

THE next morning the duke called a second council of war, in which he delivered himself thus. *If we had dreaded the number of our enemies, we should have fled yesterday; but, though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the enemy feel that though our fleet be divided, our spirit is entire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own*

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<sup>u</sup> Bishop Burnet says, that the English fleet, by the end of the fight, was quite unrigged, and were in no condition to work themselves off; so that they must have been all taken, sunk, or burnt, if prince Rupert had not come in good time — The Court gave out, that it was a victory, and public thanksgivings were ordered; which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had, in one respect, reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole fleet, history of his own times, vol. i. p. 377. 378. This account is visibly false; for if the Dutch could have destroyed our whole fleet, and were forced to sheer off, without doing it, this was a victory, the enemy's purpose being defeated. But the Dutch admiral owned the fact to be otherwise, and that the Duke with the English fleet (before prince Rupert's arrival) were aggressors to the last. <sup>w</sup> Philips's chronicle, p. 991. *Columna Rostrata*, Skinner's life of Monk.



own element, than to be made spectacles to the Dutch. To be overcome, is the fortune of war; but to fly, is the fashion of cowards. Let us teach the world, that Englishmen had rather be acquainted with death than with fear\*. The engagement began about eight, and continued till it was night; but our fleet suffered so much, that in a council of war held in the afternoon, it was resolved to make a fair retreat; which the duke performed the next day with great prudence and honour. In the evening of that day, prince *Rupert* with his squadron came in, and the duke's fleet endeavouring to join it, the *Royal Prince*, commanded by sir *George Ayscue*, ran a-ground, and was burnt by the enemy. Before night, however, the *English* fleets joined, and then it was unanimously resolved in a council of war, that it would be injurious to his majesty's honour, and the reputation of the *British* fleet, to suffer the *Dutch* to return with any appearance of an advantage, and that therefore, they should attack them the next day, as early as possible; which was accordingly done, when the duke, notwithstanding his hard service in the three former engagements, passed, in conjunction with the prince, five times through the enemy's fleet, and had in all probability beat them at last, if by an unlucky accident the prince's ship had not been disabled, and soon after the Duke's; which, however, did not hinder their firing upon the *Dutch* till it was dark†. Two days after, the fleet returned to our own coast, and the prince and duke to *London*. On the report of this extraordinary action, many took the

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\* Skinner's history of the composing the affairs of England by the restoration, &c. p. 88. Echard's history of England, p. 830.  
 † Philips's chronicle, ubi supra, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard, Rapin.

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the liberty, as his friends foresaw they would, to censure the duke of *Albemarle's* conduct; but the king having thoroughly examined the matter, declared himself fully satisfied with his behaviour; adding, that it was grounded on reason and necessity, and that the honour of the nation was concerned in it: that he had thereby given the greatest instance of his own, and of the *English* valour; and had raised the reputation of our naval force to such a height of glory, as would render it for ever terrible to its enemies, and respected by its friends<sup>z</sup>.

THE *Dutch* fleet having suffered less, was again very soon at sea; but they had not been long upon our coast before, to their amazement, the *English* fleet came out of the *Thames*, and then they stood over to their own. On the 24th of *July*, both fleets were in sight of each other, and the next day by six in the morning, a bloody battle began, wherein the *English* gained a clear and compleat victory, and the *Dutch* were driven into their ports. Upon this, there followed the burning of the town of *Brandaris*, by sir *Robert Holmes*, where the enemy's loss, as Mr. *Echard* tells us, on the authority of a good MS. in the paper-office, fell very little short of a million sterling<sup>a</sup>. This was the last great action performed at sea by the duke of *Albemarle*. On his return, he found the city of *London* in ashes, a misfortune which, however, redounded to his reputation, since the people said openly in the streets as he passed, that *if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt*, which is such an extravagant mark of affection for his person, as could arise only from their perfect

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<sup>z</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 352.  
p. 831.

<sup>a</sup> History of England

satisfaction, in regard to what he had formerly performed: and it must also add much to his character in the opinion of all true judges of merit, that he was recalled from the command of the fleet by his majesty, purely to quiet the minds of the people upon this misfortune<sup>b</sup>.

IN the spring of the year 1667, the king had some new advices given him in regard to the management of his navy, which were by no means approved by the duke of *Albemarle*. The drift of them was this, that as the *Dutch* were chiefly supported by trade, as the supply of their navy depended upon trade, and as experience shewed, nothing provoked the people so much as injuring their trade, his majesty should therefore apply himself to this, which would effectually humble them, at the same time that it would less exhaust us, than sitting out such mighty fleets as had hitherto kept the sea every summer. Sir *John Lawson* was particularly fond of this doctrine, which by degrees grew acceptable to the king, not so much from a persuasion of its being just and reasonable, as from a sense that it suited with his own condition, the vast expences of his court, rendering it very difficult to raise such sums as were requisite to keep up the navy. Besides, there was a peace then treating, and the king had the strongest assurances given him from the *French* court, (on purpose to betray and mislead him) that the *Dutch* would sit out no fleet that summer, and upon these motives the king took a fatal resolution of laying up his great ships, and keeping only a few frigates on the cruize<sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> Gumble's life of Monk.    <sup>c</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 367, 368. Kenner's compleat history of England, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

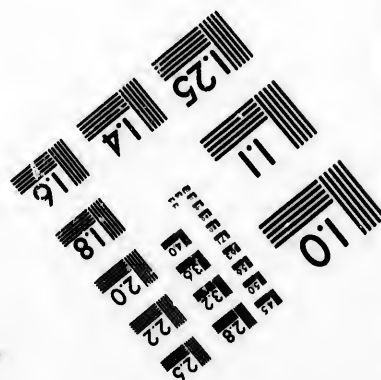
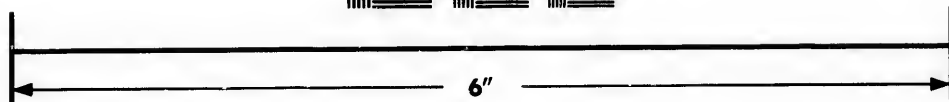
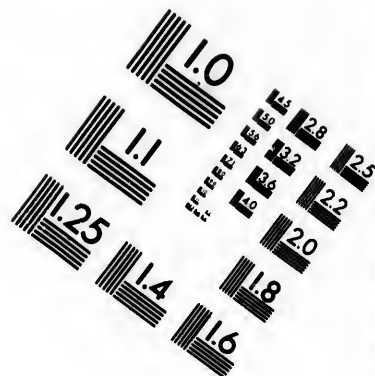
THE *de Wits*, who had perfect intelligence of all that passed here, and who perhaps wanted not some friends to propound such destructive measures as were then pursued, immediately laid hold of this opportunity; and having first amused the king with an attempt in *Scotland* grounded on their resentment, as it was said, for the injuries done their trade by privateers from thence; they in the midst of summer came with a formidable fleet, piloted by our own traitors, into the mouth of the *Thames*, and on *Thursday* the 11th of *June* 1667, appeared before *Chatham*<sup>d</sup>. In this trying circumstance, the most dishonourable to the *English* nation that perhaps ever happened in any reign, the duke of *Albemarle* was immediately thought of as the fittest person, to raise the spirits of the people by his presence, and to defeat the enemy's designs by his conduct. He did all, or even more than could be expected from him to frustrate the scheme of the *de Wits*; but such a panick had struck the people, and such a want of capacity was visible in those who had the direction of the king's yards, that his orders were very indifferently obeyed<sup>e</sup>. He caused, however, several ships to be sunk in the narrow passage by the *Muscle-Bank*, and took such other precautions as were of much service; and, had he been well seconded, there is the greatest reason in the world, to believe the *Dutch* had reaped no great credit from this undertaking. At least, this was the opinion of the parliament, who highly approved the duke's conduct, and on the narrative

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<sup>d</sup> Phillips's chronicle, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard, Rapin, <sup>e</sup> See his grace's account of this matter presented to parliament, which may be found in several books; but particularly in the history and proceedings of the house of commons; printed for Chandler, vol. i. p. 114.





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he presented them in relation to this affair, they impeached commissioner *Pett*, relying implicitly as to facts on the credit of what his grace was pleased to tell them<sup>f</sup>; so that it was a just observation, and at the same time a well turned panegyric, of a learned prelate, when he said of the duke's behaviour in this unlucky business, *That even where the issue of the whole matter was not very prosperous; God was pleased to order his part so, that he came off with immortal honour and reputation*<sup>g</sup>.

AFTER the *Dutch* war was over, and the king had it much in his mind to do his people a pleasure, he thought fit, on the decease of the earl of *Southampton*, to put the treasury into commission; yet that it might not be surmised the public was in any danger from the loss of so great a man, as the treasurer was allowed to be, the duke of *Albemarle* was put at the head of that commission: and this was the last mark of royal favour in this kind, which he received for losing his health suddenly, (that till then he had surprizingly retained, in the midst of so many and so great fatigues,) he chose to retire from public business, and to spend the remainder of his time in attending that dissolution which appeared to be not far off<sup>h</sup>. Yet, having some relief from his distemper, which was a dropsy, by the assistance of one *dr. Sermon* of *Bristol*; and when he relapsed again, continuing long in a declining way, he still shewed much loyalty to the king, and a very warm affection for his country. Many visits he received from his majesty and the duke of *York* in his last sickness, whom he always entertained with decent discourses on the impossibility

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<sup>f</sup> See the heads of this impeachment in *Echard*, p. 853.  
<sup>g</sup> *Dr Seth Ward*, bishop of *Salisbury* in his funeral sermon on the duke of *Albemarle*.  
<sup>h</sup> *Skinner's life of Monk*, p. 369.

possibility of supporting the royal authority any other way, than by pursuing the true interest of the nation. He was likewise attended by the most considerable persons in both houses of parliament, whom he exhorted to maintain, in their legislative capacities, a good correspondence with the crown, and with each other. This, he said, was the only way to serve the people; for if once the passions of private men, or, which was the same thing in another dress, the particular interest of parties came to influence their debates, the public would reap no good fruits from them. With the same presence of mind, he regulated the concerns of his family, causing his only son to be married to the daughter of lord *Ogle* in his chamber, on the 30th of *December* 1668, and on the 3d of *January* following he quietly yielded up his breath, sitting in his chair, when he had lived near threescore and two years<sup>1</sup>.

AFTER speaking of him so fully in his public, it may not be amiss to say something of so great a man in his private capacity, the temper of his mind, and his abilities natural and acquired. As to his person, he was a strong well-built man, of a good presence, and very able to endure fatigue. The advantages he derived from nature, were much strengthened by his manner of living. He was always an early riser, his private devotions, and whatever family concerns he had to manage, being constantly attended to and dispatched by seven o'clock, when he gave audience without distinction to all who desired it, and constantly dispatched (if it was in his power) every poor man's business on the spot. He was an enemy to

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<sup>1</sup> Skinner's troubles of England composed, p. 104. Gumble's life of Monk, and Skinner's. Lives English and Foreign, p. 196.

all oppression in the army, and used frequently to say, that his officers should have power to command and to protect, but not to terrify or pillage the soldiers\*. He was a strict observer of discipline, of which he gave a strange instance at the end of the first *Dutch* war in *Cromwell's* time. The seamen came to the navy-office in crowds to demand their prize-money: he told them, that there were fifteen hundred ships to be sold, and that as soon as they were sold they should have their money, with which they seemed to be satisfied; but in the afternoon; there came four or five thousand of them armed towards *Whitehall*, which *Monk* hearing, met them at *Charing-Cross*, in company with *Cromwell* and some other officers, where without much expostulation he drew his sword, and wounded several of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his word, who never broke it; which had such an effect upon them, that forgetting their former fury, they quietly retired, and were afterwards very honestly paid<sup>1</sup>. He was extremely moderate in his way of living, eating but one meal a day, and that homely and heartily. He despised and hated drinking; and having settled his affections on the woman he married, was a tender and constant husband through the course of his life. As a father, he shewed more of passion than in any other character; for on the loss of his second son *George* in *Scotland*, he gave way to his grief to such a degree, as surprized all who were acquainted with the firmness of his temper in other respects

\* See Gumble's life of Monk, which in these circumstances deserves the more to be depended on, since the author was a constant eye witness of what he wrote. <sup>1</sup> Lives English and Foreign, p. 144. where 'tis said, he cut off a man's nose, and gave him 10 l. as a satisfaction.

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respects <sup>m</sup>. His valour was very singular, for he was fierce without losing his temper, and had an extraordinary measure of patience, joined with boundless courage; and these qualities he possessed as much as ever, even in the decline of life. In the second *Dutch* war a chain-shot took away his breeches, yet he never altered his countenance, or his place <sup>n</sup>. In the *Chatham* business, apprehending the *Dutch* would land, he exposed himself in the midst of their cannon-shot, that his example might keep others to their duty, and defeat the design of the enemy, as it did; and when a person of distinction expostulated with him on this head, and would have persuaded him to retire, he answered very coolly, *Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago* <sup>o</sup>. His cardinal virtues were prudence and modesty: the former enabled him to perform the great things he did, and the latter, restrained him from ever valuing himself on the great things he had done. He was equally dear to the king, and to the nation; and it was his peculiar felicity, that he had the affection of both, without incurring the jealousy of either. He would have retired immediately after the restoration, if his country could have spared him; and when he saw it could not, he served it as chearfully as before. He served it in how many capacities? He com-

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<sup>m</sup> Skinner and Gumble's life of Monk.      <sup>n</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 342. The duke of Buckinghamshire gives us a much stronger proof of his resolution, on his own knowledge; for he says, the duke of Albemarle declared at the beginning of this action, that he was sure of one thing, viz. that he would not be taken; and that he saw him charge a little pocket-pistol with powder, which his grace believed he would have fired into the powder-room, in case the Dutch had boarded him. See his memoirs prefixed to his works, p. 6.      <sup>o</sup> Gumble's life of Monk.

manded the army in chief, when the king and the nation's safety depended upon that command. He was put at the head of a commission for managing the treasury, or rather settling it. His activity was necessary for suppressing all insurrections. His presence was thought requisite in the highest courts of justice. If he was intrusted by the king with the army, he was likewise entrusted by the duke with the fleet. He had the care of the city when visited with the plague; the command of the navy when we made war with *France* and *Holland* at the same time. He was sent for to recover the minds of the citizens after the fire. He was sent to meet the threatening invasion of the *Dutch*; and as he made way for the treasurer *Southampton*, so on his death he was thought the only man that could replace him. Well then might secretary *Nicholas*, that able and faithful servant of the crown, say, (and he said it when the duke had done a few only of these great things) *That independent of his merit in the restoration, the duke of Albemarle by his indefatigable zeal, and successful services afterwards, had merited more than his prince could do for him* <sup>P</sup>. Such was the man whom his master was not ashamed to call his *father*, because indeed he was the *father of his country* <sup>1</sup>!

## WHEN

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<sup>P</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 318. Lord Landsdown's works, vol. ii. p. 267. The reader will observe, that secretary Nicholas was a strict dependant on the chancellor Clarendon, who lived at open variance with the duke of Albemarle. <sup>1</sup> Lives English and Foreign, p. 188. It was said of him after his decease, by the king, that the duke of Albemarle never over-valued the services of general Monk. What those services were, appears in the preambles to the patents of the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Bath, where the restoration is ascribed to them by the king himself.



WHEN his son went to wait upon the king with the ensigns of the order of the garter, his majesty was pleased to restore them to him. The king likewise directed the duke's body to be removed to *Somerſet-houſe*, where it lay for many weeks in ſtate, and on the 4th of *April* was removed with great funeral pomp to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, and there interred in *Henry VII.* chapel †. Yet, as if his fame had ſtood in need of no ſuch ſupport, a monument was neglected; only thoſe who have the care of the place, preſerve his figure in wax, and think it ſufficient to raiſe the admiration of every loyal ſpectator to ſay, *This is general MONK!*

HE left behind him an only ſon, *Chriſtopher* duke of *Albemarle*, to whom both king *Charles* and king *James* ſhewed great reſpect. It muſt be confeſſed, that he had not his father's abilities, either in the cabinet, or in the field; but he was a generous, good-natured man, and leſſened conſiderably the very large eſtate that was left him, by indulging pleaſures his father deſpiſed †: yet he had many good qualities, and particularly that of ſheltering and encouraging merit in diſtreſs. He gave a ſingular inſtance of this in ſupporting captain *Phipps*, afterwards ſir *William Phipps*, and governor of *New England*. He came over to make a propoſal for fiſhing on a wreck on the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, and made the deſign appear ſo highly probable, and at the ſame time ſo practicable, that king *Charles II.* granted him a ſhip called the *Algier Roſe*, and furniſhed him with whatever was thought neceſſary for the undertaking; which, however, failed of ſucceſs, and captain *Phipps* returned as poor and as poſitive

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† Philips, Kennet, Echard, Skinner, Gumble, &c.  
English and Foreign, p. 196.

‡ Lives

tive as ever <sup>t</sup>. He endeavoured to obtain from king *James* II. (who by this time was on the throne) another ship; but to no purpose. Afterwards he set on foot a proposal for making it a private adventure; for which he was at first laughed at, till the duke of *Albemarle* engaged in the design, and advanced a considerable sum of money towards fitting him out. He quickly compleated the rest, and in the year 1687, sailed in the *Bridgewater Merchant*, a ship of two hundred tons on the same scheme, proposing to make an equal distribution of the profits on twenty shares, into which the expence of the undertaking was divided <sup>u</sup>.

He was more lucky in his second enterprize, though not till his patience was almost worn out; and afterwards prosecuted his design with such success, that in a short space he returned to *England* with 300,000 *l.* in silver. On his arrival, there wanted not some who would have persuaded the king to seize his ship and cargo, under pretence, that captain *Phipps* had not given a <sup>v</sup> exact information, when he applied for his licence, a <sup>w</sup> royal assistance: but his majesty generously answered, that he knew the captain to be an honest man, and a man of honour; and that if he had brought home twice as much treasure, his proprietors should divide it. His majesty further expressed his satisfaction by knighting him <sup>x</sup>. The duke of *Albemarle* had for his share 90,000 *l.* and sir *William* about 20,000 *l.* <sup>y</sup>. This piece of good fortune is thought to have engaged the duke of *Albemarle* to ask king *James* for the government of *Jamaica*, which he obtained:

<sup>t</sup> Sir William Phipp's life, by Increase Mather.

English and Foreign, p. 196.

392.

<sup>x</sup> British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 130.

<sup>u</sup> Lives

<sup>w</sup> Life of king James II. p.

ed: but if it was with a view to reap further advantages from that, or other wrecks, he was disappointed; for whether it was that the treasure was exhausted, or that the ship being broken up, the sea by degrees dissipated its contents; certain it is, that nothing of consequence could afterwards be obtained from that wreck<sup>y</sup>. His grace's free way of living, especially in regard to the bottle, rendered that a very unfit climate for him to live in, and therefore we need not wonder, that he did not long enjoy his government; but died in the year following without issue: and so this noble family became extinct<sup>z</sup>.

*MEMOIRS of Admiral MONTAGUE,  
afterwards earl of Sandwich, and knight  
of the garter.*

FAME belongs justly to those, who have deserved well of society; but the highest degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of such illustrious persons as have been martyrs for their country, and died, either to serve, or to preserve it. If this be a just position, as it must be sure allowed by every thinking man; then the noble person whose memoirs are at present to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by *Britons*. His life was an uniform scene of patriotism, and public spirit; his death so extraordinary a strain of exalted courage, that as few facts in modern history come near it, so none in more ancient and less corrupted times exceed it.

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<sup>y</sup> Sir William Phipps's life.  
rica, vol. ii. p. 319.

<sup>z</sup> British Empire in Ame-

To speak of the antiquity, or nobility of this family, would be an idle waste of words; the very name of *Montague* is sufficient to inform every intelligent reader, of all that I could say on that subject. Mr. *Edward Montague* was the only surviving son of sir *Sidney Montague*, the youngest of six sons of *Edward lord Montague of Boughton*<sup>a</sup>. He was born *July 27, 1625*<sup>b</sup>, and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, he came very early into the world, and into business; especially, if we consider the times in which he lived, and the qualities necessary for men to be distinguished in them.

He married, when little above seventeen, the daughter of Mr. *Crew*, afterwards lord *Crew of Stene*<sup>c</sup>; and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the parliament, than his father sir *Sidney Montague* was, who had been expelled his seat for refusing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of *Essex*, and giving such a reason for it, as it was easier to punish than answer<sup>d</sup>, received a commission dated *August 20, 1643*, to raise and command a regiment under the earl before-mentioned. This colonel *Montague*, though but eighteen, performed,

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<sup>a</sup> Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221.

<sup>b</sup> Peerage of England,

vol. ii. p. 280.

<sup>c</sup> Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 281.

<sup>d</sup> He told the speaker, " he would not swear to live with that nobleman, because he was an old man, and might die before him; nor would he swear to die with him, since the earl was going with an army against the king, which he did not know how to free from treason; and therefore could not tell, what end that great man might come to." Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221. The parliament's expelling this gentleman merely for declaring his sentiment, is complained of in one of the king's declarations as a most arbitrary proceeding. Clarendon's history, vol. ii. p. 81.

and the interest of his family being very extensive, he took the field in six weeks. He was present at the storming of *Lincoln*, on the 6th of *May*, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions in the war. He was likewise in the battle of *Marston-Moor*, which was fought on the 2d of *July*, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; inasmuch, that soon after, when the city of *York* demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles; which must have been the pure effects of personal merit, since he was then but in his nineteenth year <sup>e</sup>. We find him the next year in the battle of *Naseby*, and in the month of *July*, 1645, he stormed the town of *Bridgwater* <sup>f</sup>. In *September*, he commanded a brigade in the storm of *Bristol*, where he performed very remarkable service; and on the 10th of *September*, 1645, subscribed the articles of the capitulation, granted to prince *Rupert*, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament <sup>g</sup>; the news of this, in conjunction with colonel *Hammond*, he was appointed to carry, for which a thanksgiving was ordered <sup>h</sup>.

BUT after all this warm service in the army, at an age when few people have seen one, he shewed no inclination to make the sword the supreme power; but when, by the artifices of their leaders, the soldiers declared against the parliament, and impeached eleven of its most worthy members, he forbore going to the house, where, though not of age, he sat as knight for *Huntingdonshire* <sup>i</sup>. His acquaintance, however, with *Cromwell*; the court paid him by that artful man, and his own generous un-

<sup>e</sup> Rushworth's historical collections, vol. v. p. 637. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. vol. vi. p. 56. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. vol. vi. p. 83, 86. <sup>h</sup> Whitlock's Memorials, p. 166. <sup>i</sup> Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 282.

unsuspecting temper, drew him in to accept a seat at the board of treasury, and into a share of the transactions in those times, with which he was very much dissatisfied upon reflection. After the *Dutch* war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet; and was made choice of by the protector, to be joined with *Blake*, in his expedition into the *Mediterranean* <sup>k</sup>.

ADMIRAL *Montague* found abundance of difficulties to struggle with, at the very entrance on this affair; many of the officers being displeased with the service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few insisted on laying down their commissions. He managed this intricate business with great prudence and dexterity, so as to shew a due regard to discipline, without running into any acts of severity: and this had a very happy effect, since, by that time he came to sail, the fleet was pretty well settled, and the officers disposed to act in obedience to orders<sup>l</sup>. In the spring of the year, 1656, we find him in the *Mediterranean*, where himself, and his colleague, *Blake*, meditated great things. They once thought of attacking the *Spanish* fleet in the harbour of *Cadix*; but after attentively considering the port, it was resolved in a council of war, that such an attempt was impracticable. Then *Gibraltar* was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in case it could be taken. Admiral *Montague*, in a letter to secretary *Thurloe*; gave his judgment of this project, with great sagacity. According to his sentiments, the only method of taking that place, was, to land a body of forces on the *Isthmus*, and thereby cut off  
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<sup>k</sup> *Thurloe's State-papers*, vol. iv. p. 443. Clarendon, Whitlock, Philips, Kennet, Echard. <sup>l</sup> *Thurloe's State-papers*, vol. iv. p. 570, 571, 589, 594.



the communication of the town with the main; and in this situation, to make a brisk attempt upon the place. Yet as a proof of the fallibility of human understanding, we find in this very letter; a proposal for sending five thousand land-forces, on account of the hasty disposition of the seamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual service on shore. <sup>m</sup> When this place, however, was taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the sailors, and to that impetuosity in particular, which admiral *Montague* imagined would be a hindrance in any undertaking of this kind.

WHEN cruising before *Cadiz*, appeared to be of no great advantage, the fleet stood over to the opposite shore of *Barbary*, in order to repress the insolence of the *Tripoli* and *Sallee Rovers*, which was found no very easy task; and therefore admiral *Montague* could not forbear intimating his desire, that we should have some good port in *Africa*, which he believed might answer various ends, and especially conduce to the preservation and augmentation of our trade in the *Levant*. Hence, I suppose, grew the first notion of getting *Tangier* into our hands, of which a year or two after there was great discourse, as well as of the benefits that would redound to the nation from the possessing of it; and this in all probability might recommend the *Portugal* match so much to the favour of the duke of *Albemarle*, who, it is likely, depended therein, on the judgment of admiral *Montague*. At this time, however, we find our admiral more inclined to take that, or some other place from the *Portuguese* by force; for he entertained a very bad opinion of their sincerity, though at last, the terror

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<sup>m</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 67, 68, 69.

ror of the *English* fleet, compelled them to make such a composition, as satisfied the protector, and disappointed *Montague* in his favourite design of attacking their *Brazil* fleet<sup>a</sup>.

THE warmth he expressed in the discharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade, by the carrying on the *Spanish* war, of which he gives a fair and clear account in one of his dispatches to the secretary, wherein he complains, that he saw the *Dutch*, *Hamburgers*, and *Genoese*; carrying on a mighty trade with *Spain*, which, as he observes, it was impossible for them to hinder, without engaging the state in a war with all the world; and therefore proposed, that a squadron of light frigates only, might be kept in those seas, and that the fleet should be employed somewhere else to more advantage<sup>b</sup>. However, the protector's orders being positive, they returned towards autumn into the road of *Cadix*, where in *September* following, captain *Stayner* made prize of the galleons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, admiral *Montague* sent into *England*, as soon as they were taken; and when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, desiring at the same time, that some persons might be sent down to meet the fleet at *Portsmouth*, in order to take charge of the silver, and to make a further search into the contents of the galleons<sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 194. 195.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 170.    <sup>c</sup> This letter is directed to secretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the *Naseby*, at Sea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it he says, "There have been some miscarriages, by the ships that did take the ships of Spain; but I shall delay to tell of them here, and

THE money taken from the *Spaniards*, was the most popular act in all *Cromwell's* administration, and therefore the utmost pains was taken to give the people a very high idea of this advantage. The silver was carried in open carts, and ammunition-waggons, through *Southwark*, to the *Tower of London*; and, to make a shew of confidence in the people, these waggons had no greater guard than ten soldiers<sup>a</sup>. As for admiral *Montague*, he had all the compliments paid him upon this occasion, that it was possible to desire; the protector caressed him exceedingly; the parliament returned him thanks by their speaker; and some other honours he had received, if with industry he had not declined them<sup>r</sup>.

IN 1657, he was appointed to command the fleet in the *Downs*, and went accordingly on board it in the latter end of the month of *July*. The design of this fleet was to watch the *Dutch*, to carry on the war with *Spain*, and facilitate the enterprize on *Dunkirk*, and in all these, he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn, he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of

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" and I judge the best way to improve mercies of this kind, is to  
 " look forward: however, that is my business at this time. The  
 " silver they brought, is on board this ship, and the vice-admiral;  
 " in the admiral, we have five hundred and fifty sows of  
 " silver, and boxes of plate, and nine pieces of silver not well re-  
 " fined, like sugar-loaves. In the vice-admiral, there is a hun-  
 " dred and twenty-four sows of silver, all which we judge may  
 " produce near two hundred thousand pounds: I hope I speak  
 " the least, and that it will make much more. In the galleons  
 " holds also, there is that space between the main-mast, and the  
 " bulk-head of the bread-room, not yet rummaged." *Thurloe's*  
*state-papers*, vol. v. p. 509. <sup>a</sup> This appears from a letter of  
 the Dutch ambassador *Nieuport*, to the states-general, dated No-  
 vember 17, N. S. 1656. *Thurloe's state-papers*, vol. v. p. 269.  
<sup>r</sup> *Clarendon*, *Whitlock*, *Philips*, lord *Sandwich's journal*, MS.

the marshal *de Turenne*, where he had a conference with him, as to the properest method of carrying on the war; and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the channel till the beginning of winter \*. All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with the protector, and to have had the strictest intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral had thoughts of retiring from public business. What the reason of this was, cannot, at this distance of time, be recovered; but in all probability, the sense he had of the strange service he was put upon in assisting the *French*, and distressing the trade of all the rest of the world, made him uneasy †. One thing is remarkable, that, how much so ever he disliked the orders that were sent him, he executed them with the utmost punctuality; so that the *Dutch*, whose ships he searched for silver, made a heavy complaint against him ‡. We may likewise gather from his letters to *Cromwell*, and the instructions he received, that he was not a little embarrassed about the protector's designs, and yet it is plain enough, that *Cromwell* desired that the admiral should rather regulate things by his discretion, than be able to justify himself from the letter of his orders; and this particularly appears in the business of the flag, upon which the protector wrote him an epistle with his own hand, commanding in express terms, that he should insist upon the honour of the flag from all nations, within the limits of the *British* seas, and yet

\* These facts are collected from various letters in the sixth volume of *Thurloe's state papers*.  
 † We have these particulars in a very curious letter from lord Broghill, to Mr. Montague, dissuading him from retiring. Dated from Youghall, November 20, 1657. *Thurloe's state papers*, vol. vi. p. 622.  
 ‡ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 256.

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yet telling him as expressly, that he knew not what those limits were; adding at the same time, that he was to execute these orders with caution, since peace and war depended on them \*.

AFTER the death of *Oliver*, and the setting up of *Richard*, admiral *Montague* was made choice of to command the great fleet sent to the north; which, as it was in itself the wisest and best measure entered upon in those times, so this fleet was beyond comparison, the best that had been fitted out since the *Dutch* war; and therefore I think myself obliged to give a short account of it †. *The Naseby*, which was the ship the admiral sailed in, carried seventy guns and six hundred men, *The Resolution* had the like number of men, and eighty guns. There were fourteen ships carrying fifty pieces of cannon and upwards; twenty-eight forty gun ships or near it; four of thirty guns, besides twelve smaller vessels, carrying from twenty-two to eight pieces of cannon; in all sixty ships, and on board them eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty men ‡. The admiral went on board the fleet in the spring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of *April*, he wrote to the king of *Sweden*, the king of *Denmark*, and the *Dutch* admiral *Opdam*, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to send so strong a fleet into the *Baltick*; and that his instructions were not to respect the private advantage of *England* by making war, but the public tranquillity of *Europe*, by en-

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\* Ibid. p. 633. where the reader may find Cromwell's letter of five lines on this important subject. † As to the true grounds of fitting out this fleet, and the ends it was intended to answer, consult Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, &c. ‡ This account I take from two lists in Thurloe's collection; and from one in MS.

gaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace <sup>z</sup>.

BEFORE the admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which left him no real power, but in conjunction with their commissioners colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, Sir *Robert Honeywood*, and Mr. *Thomas Boon*; and at the same time they took an occasion to shew they had no great kindness for him, by giving away his regiment of horse; so that we may suppose he left *England* in none of the warmest dispositions for their service <sup>a</sup>. When he arrived in *The Sound*, he took his share with others ministers in negotiation, and made it sufficiently evident, that his genius was equally capable of shining in the cabinet, as of commanding at sea, or on shore. While he was thus employed, king *Charles* being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and strict conjunction with the protector's family, thought this a proper time (that family being entirely laid aside) to make a trial of his affections; and therefore sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and the other from chancellor *Hyde*, to be delivered to him, if possible, without the privity of his colleagues. The scheme was rational, and well laid; but the messenger very indifferently chosen. He was one whose loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in those perilous times, when wise men kept it close in their hearts; and it was with some difficulty, that the admiral preserved him from suffering by his indiscretion. Yet the letters and persuasions of a near relation of his,

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<sup>z</sup> These letters are in *Thurloe's state-papers*, vol. vii. and in *lord Sandwich's Journal*,  
<sup>a</sup> *Thurloe's state-papers*, vol. vii.  
 p. 680, 681.



his, who undertook to state the merits of the royal cause fairly, had such an effect on admiral *Montague's* mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, with all that warmth and sincerity incident to great minds, conscious of former failings. The service the king expected from him, was, a speedy return to *England*, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir *George Booth*, and other persons of distinction, who were disposed to hazard their lives for the service of their country: on weighing which proposal, Mr. *Montague* found it so plausible, that he resolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution; conceiving that, if this opportunity was missed, another equally fortunate might not quickly happen <sup>b</sup>.

COLONEL *Algernon Sidney* was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration: he soon discerned some change in Mr. *Montague's* conduct, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he missed very little of coming at his whole secret. The admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and close speech, in which he shewed them plainly the little hopes there were of doing any thing for the honour of *England*, by remaining where they were: that to fight they had no authority; and if they were to remain neuter, they might as well sail home. He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his native country, of the great struggles between the army and the parliament, whence he took occasion to hint, that themselves had a great stake there; and that if a new government was to be settled, some respect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with saying,

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<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 723.

that he readily submitted his sentiments to a free debate, and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing must be noted, provisions were already become scarce, it was very difficult to obtain supplies; and therefore, if they resolved to stay, they must resolve also to live at short allowance. The question was soon decided, and, in consequence of the council's opinion, admiral *Montague* weighed immediately and sailed to *England*. On his arrival, he found things in a very unexpected situation; Sir *George Booth* in the *Tower*, the parliament restored to their authority, and a warm charge against himself come to hand from colonel *Sidney*. Immediately on his arrival he set out for *London*, attended the parliament, and gave an account of his conduct with so much wisdom and eloquence, that even such as disliked it, knew not what to object, and were, therefore, very well satisfied with dismissing him from his command; to which *Lawson* was appointed, a rigid anabaptist, and one in whom they had the greatest confidence.

AFTER such an escape, Mr. *Montague*, as it was very natural, withdrew to his own estate, with a design to enjoy in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life; and this made him concern himself very little, if at all, in the following public transactions, before *Monk's* coming into *England*. After this, when that general shewed a desire, that admiral *Montague* should be restored to his command, he sent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he sent his majesty

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<sup>c</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 426. Memoirs of the reformation a MS. Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath. As to *Sidney's* charge, the reader may find it in *Thurloe's* state-papers, vol. vii. p. 731.

a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force. He likewise desired to know, whether the king had any assurance of the general; but was so cautious, as to desire no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations stood.<sup>a</sup> On his coming on board the fleet, he found things strangely altered, and *Lawson*, from whom he expected most opposition, as ready to serve the king as himself: upon which he laid by all reserve, and, as soon as he received the king's letter directed to himself and general *Monk*, he sailed with the fleet to *Holland*, leaving only two or three ships to attend the parliament commissioners. This was a very warm testimony of his affection for the king's service, and as such was received by his majesty; but when it was observed, that the parliament commissioners looked upon it as a mark of disrespect, the king was pleased to cover Mr. *Montague*, by sending him an order that was antedated. Soon after he had the honour to convoy his majesty to *England*, who, two days after his landing at *Dover*, sent Sir *Edward Walker*, garter king at arms to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribbond and george of the most noble order of the garter, which he presented him on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *May*, in the morning, in his ship then riding in the *Downs*<sup>f</sup>.

AMONG the honours conferred on such as had been particularly instrumental in restoring his majesty to his just rights, our admiral had his share, and by letters patent dated the 12<sup>th</sup> of *July* 1660, he was created baron *Monta-*

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<sup>a</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 731.

<sup>f</sup> Walker's historical account of the knights of the garter, a MS. p. 104, penes Job. Anstis arm.

gue of *St. Neots* in the county of *Huntingdon*, viscount *Hinchbrooke* in the same county, and earl of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, made master of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow seas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of *York*, as lord high-admiral of *England*. At his majesty's coronation, his lordship carried *St. Edward's* staff, and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal ministers, as well as the person chiefly intrusted with the care of the fleet <sup>g</sup>. He constantly attended the council, when any transactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate, and always gave his opinion like a good subject and a true patriot. When the marriage with the *Infanta* was concluded, he brought her majesty over, and performed other services as has been already mentioned <sup>h</sup>.

His lordship has been aspersed, for joining, as is surmised, with the duke of *Albemarle*, in the project for giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*. I have already examined Mr. *Echard's* account of this matter, and his insinuating, that the earl of *Sandwich* had spoke of *Dunkirk* as a place of no great importance; which determined the king to part with it <sup>i</sup>. But certainly, when he wrote this, he was more tender of the earl of *Clarendon's* character than the truth; for he could not but know, that the count *d'Estrades*, who negotiated the treaty for the sale of *Dunkirk*, charges the whole transaction upon *Clarendon*, and represents *Albemarle* and *Sandwich* to have been against it <sup>k</sup>. *Burnet* says, all the military men were bribed by *France*, and no doubt

<sup>g</sup> Pat. 12. Car. II. Walker's historical account of the knights of the garter, MS. <sup>h</sup> See p. 223. <sup>i</sup> History of England, p. 801. <sup>k</sup> See d'Estrades's letters, p. 279.

doubt includes the earl of *Sandwich* amongst them <sup>1</sup>. I will take this opportunity of giving the reader some further hints towards a fair account of this matter, and of the share this noble lord had in it.

THE king being distressed for money, the sale of *Dunkirk* was thought of as a means to supply him. Upon this a letter was written from *Hampton-Court*, the 29<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1662, to invite a *French* minister over, in order to transact an affair of great consequence; but what that affair was, the letter did not make appear <sup>m</sup>. It was some time before the count *d'Esstrades* arrived with the *French* king's full power to negotiate this business. After his arrival, he acquainted his master with this proposal about *Dunkirk*, and that it was the chancellor who had made it <sup>n</sup>. In subsequent letters he affirms, that the king, the duke of *York*, and the chancellor were for it; the treasurer, the general, and the admiral against it <sup>o</sup>. This, however, is to be understood of the sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French*; for the thing was proposed but by halves at the council; and at first, the strength and importance of the place was talked of: upon which the earl of *Sandwich* (who knew it as well as any man) said, that the coast in the vicinity of *Dunkirk*, was generally so tempestuous, and the ground so rolling upon every storm, that there never could be any certain steerage to the port <sup>p</sup>. This was the truth, and nothing more; yet was the earl far from thinking that it ought to be put into the hands of the *French*, though  
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<sup>1</sup> History of his own times, vol. i. p. 282, of the Dutch edition in six volumes octavo. <sup>m</sup> D'Esstrades memoirs, p. 280.

<sup>n</sup> This letter is dated August 27, 1662. <sup>o</sup> This appears from the *French* king's answer to the letter before-cited. <sup>p</sup> Which is the expression mentioned by Echard.

he judged it too expensive for his master to keep; and, therefore, he declared for demolishing it \*. This not being relished, the duke of *Albemarle* called for Sir *Edward Harley*, who told the king plainly, that the artillery and military stores were worth more, than the *French* were to give for the place; and then it was proposed to annex *Dunkirk* to the king's dominions, and so put the peace upon the parliament \*. How these propositions came to be rejected, I cannot say; but it is plain, that though the earl of *Sandwich* did not set a higher value upon *Dunkirk*, than, in the condition it was then, the place deserved; yet he never desired to see it fall into the hands of the *French*, as has been very falsely, and I very much suspect, maliciously asserted.

WHEN the *Dutch* war began, in 1664, the earl of *Sandwich* went heartily into the measure, as conceiving it for the honour and interest of *England*; and when the duke of *York* took upon him the command of the fleet as high admiral, his lordship commanded the *Blue* squadron, and by his industry and care, abundance of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their *Bourdeaux* fleet \*. In the great battle, fought on the 3d of *June*, 1665, wherein the *Dutch* lost their admiral *Opdam*, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed, a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the conduct of the earl of *Sandwich*; who, about noon, fell, with the *Blue* squadron, into the center of the enemy's fleet;

\* The French king takes notice of this in his answer to count d'Estrades of August 27.

See Landdown's vindication of Monk, amongst his works, vol. ii. p. 144.

Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, Echard's history of England, p. 819; 820. Burchet, Columna rostrata, Lediard.



fleet; and thereby began that confusion which ended, soon after, in a plain flight<sup>t</sup>. Most of our historians agree, that if this victory had been properly pursued, the *Dutch* fleet had been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage, is, as I have elsewhere observed, by some charged on the duke of *York*: yet *Burnet*, who pretends to a very particular knowledge of this matter, has certainly advanced a direct falsity about it; since he affirms, that *Brouncker* carried orders, as from the duke to admiral *Penn*, to slack sail, whereas in truth, these orders were carried to Sir *John Harman*, who was captain of the duke's ship, and he unluckily obeyed them<sup>u</sup>. This destroys all the rest of the bishop's story, about a council of war, and *Penn*'s opinion therein; that the *Dutch* were more formidable; and would fight the better for being beat. However, on the return of the *English* navy, and a report to his majesty of what had passed at sea, the king declared the duke of *York* should not return to the command of the fleet; but that it should be left to the earl of *Sandwich*, who was ordered to employ his utmost diligence to put it as speedily as possible in a condition to return to the *Dutch* coast; which he accordingly performed<sup>v</sup>.

THE earl of *Sandwich* sailed on the fifth of *July*, with sixty men of war to the coast of *Holland*, bearing the royal

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<sup>t</sup> *Columna rostrata*, p. 160. <sup>u</sup> Kennet's compleat history, vol. iii. p. 277, 278. Echard's history of England, p. 820. It is likewise so stated in the parliamentary enquiry: but Sir John Harman's reputation for courage, was so thoroughly established, that to have mentioned him, would not so well have answered the purpose of reflecting on the duke. <sup>v</sup> Philips, Kennet, Echard. In the earl of Clarendon's speech, as chancellor, to the parliament at Oxford, October the 10th, 1665, the keeping the duke at home is represented as a mark of the king's tenderness for his royal highness's person.

royal standard of *England*, and having under him several of the bravest seamen that perhaps ever bore the *English* flags. Finding the *Dutch* fleet not at sea, and having information that both their *East-India* and *Smyna* fleets were to return home north about, he resolved to steer for the coast of *Norway*, in hopes of meeting with them; nor was this a difficult thing, since it was soon after known, that they had taken shelter in the port of *Berghen* \*. We have already given some account of this action, but reserved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs; the rather because the attempt on the *Dutch* fleet in the harbour of *Berghen*, was the occasion of our war with *Denmark*, which some have ventured to charge on the earl of *Sandwich*, as brought about by his ill management; whereas in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour, as we shall shew in few words, because our naval historians are very unaccountably silent on this head.

SIR *Gilbert Talbot*, was then envoy at the court of *Denmark*, and he finding a disposition in that prince, to fill his coffers at the expence of the *Dutch*, proposed to him, as the most effectual way of doing it, his seizing of their fleets in his harbour, which would indemnify him from all the losses he complained of, and bring into his treasury many millions of dollars. The king of *Denmark* readily embraced the project, and offered only one objection, which was, his own want of force to execute it. Sir *Gilbert* immediately answered this, by saying, that he did not doubt, but the king of *England* would furnish

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\* Burcher, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville.

nish him with a fleet sufficient to make prize of all the *Dutch* ships, on condition that the profit of the expedition should be divided between them; to which his *Danish* majesty very readily assented <sup>y</sup>. This proposal being transmitted to the *English* court, was readily closed with, and advice thereof sent to the earl of *Sandwich*. As this was a transaction very little to the king of *Denmark's* honour, so he insisted upon it, that the agreement should not be put into writing; and this nicety spoiled the whole affair. For when the earl of *Sandwich* had intelligence of *de Ruyter's* being retired with the *East-India* fleet into *Berghen*, he resolved not to slip so fair an opportunity, but to sail thither with the utmost expedition. He sent, however, Mr. *Worden*, a gentleman of distinction, to sir *Gilbert Talbot*, to inform him, that he was determined not to lose the opportunity of attacking the *Dutch* fleet, and therefore desired that he would send him a distinct account of the nature of the king of *Denmark's* engagements, that he might the better know what he was doing. Sir *Gilbert* took some pains to comply with this request; but by various accidents they were frustrated, and the earl of *Sandwich* arrived in those seas without hearing any thing from the envoy <sup>z</sup>. Sir *Thomas Tyddiman* being sent with a stout squadron, to block up the port of *Berghen*, appeared before it on the first of *August*, 1665.

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<sup>y</sup> A true and perfect narrative of the late secret negotiation in Denmark, by sir Gilbert Talbot, MS. This piece was in the hands of bishop Burnet, and of Mr. Echard, who have made use of it in their histories. I have likewise consulted another piece published by authority, entitled, "A true deduction of all the transactions between his majesty of Great-Britain, and the king of Denmark; which differs in many respects from sir Gilbert Talbot's relation." <sup>z</sup> Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation before-cited.

The first thing he did, was, to send a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the design, and to know what orders he had. To this the governor answered, that he had none, but that he expected them by the post in two or three days; and therefore desired the *English* would desist from making any attempt for that time. The same evening, however, the castle fired upon the *English* fleet, and did some mischief; and the *Dutch* were suffered to bring seventy pieces of cannon on shore, to fortify their line. Admiral *Tyddiman* perceiving this, called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers, who, after a full and free debate, resolved to lose no time, but to attack the *Dutch* fleet the next morning; and this for three reasons: I. Because the *Danish* governor had given them no direct answer, nor had promised them any sort of favour or assistance. II. If the *Dutch* had further time given them to fortify themselves, an attempt might become impracticable. III. That the grand *Dutch* fleet was now at sea, and might probably come into their relief\*, before the *Danish* governor would acknowledge his receiving orders.

THIS resolution taken, sir *Thomas Tyddiman* gave all his captains strict charge, that they should not fire against the castles or ports, and should also be very careful to direct all their shot low, at the hulls of the *Dutch* ships, to prevent, as far as they could, any damage to the town that lay behind the ships; both which directions all the seamen did unanimously agree were performed, according as, in the several conferences with the governor, those directions

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\* Deduction of all transactions between his majesty of Great-Britain, &c. p. 11.

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ctions were promised to be given. The dispute continued till near eight o'clock: during which time, it is true, the castle hung out a white flag, but to what intent the *English* could not guess; for all the seamen, whose station was nearest to it, agreed also in this point, that the castle never left firing, from some quarter or other of it; imagining from thence, that the *Dutchmen*, who might have been taken in for the strengthening the castle, had fired against the general's orders, during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were at least three hundred of them there.

THE greatest damage that the *English* received, was from the castle, which, by accidental shots, cut some hawsers that kept the first line together; and so, to avoid falling foul one on another, they were forced from their stations, and when they were out of the reach of the *Dutch* guns, the fort upon the outmost point on the star-board side, shot at them afresh, the guns of which the *English* had silenced during the engagement; but in their going off, had many of their men killed by them. Notwithstanding which, the *English* came that day to anchor within the rocks of *Norway*, five leagues distance from *Berghen*, having no pilots that could shew them anchoring-hold nearer, for so many ships together.

WHILE the *English* were repairing their ships, the *Danish* governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negotiation, affirming, that now he had received his master's orders, and was content to afford them what assistance he could: but, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to trust to these promises<sup>b</sup>; and therefore  
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<sup>b</sup> True deduction of the transactions between his majesty of Great-Britain, &c. p. 11, 12. It must be allowed, that these facts

on the last of *August*, the earl sailed with the rest of his fleet towards the coast of *Holland*; but suffering much by a storm, his ships were carried back again to the northward, and on the 4th of *September*, he met with four *Dutch East-India* men, and several other of their merchant-ships under a good convoy; and though the stormy weather favoured their escape, yet he took eight good men of war, two of their best *East-India* ships, and twenty sail of their merchant-men. Also on the 9th of *September*, a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen of the *Hollanders*, the greatest part of which they took, with four *Dutch* men of war, and above a thousand prisoners.

On his return, he was received by the king with distinguished marks of favour: but his royal highness's conduct in the great engagement, on the 3d of *June*, being much censured; and the king then declaring the duke of *York* should go no more to sea, and the earl's conduct in the same action, being as much applauded; left his continuance in the sole command of the fleet might be any disadvantage to the duke, our affairs in *Spain* requiring an extraordinary

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facts are contradicted by the MS. Account of sir Gilbert Talbot, to which both Echard and Burnet have adhered, and consequently lay all the blame on sir Thomas Tyddiman, and the earl of Sandwich. But, besides the *Deductions* being a public paper, own'd by king Charles II. and consequently more authentic than sir Gilbert Talbot's relation; there is, in the former, a copy of the governor's letter, which flatly contradicts the substance of the same letter, given in sir Gilbert's account, which I take to be, at bottom, rather an apology for his own conduct. The truth seems to be, that the earl of Sandwich considered this whole negotiation as a dishonourable thing; and indeed it is very apparent, that if no respect at all had been had to this agreement, but the English had attacked the enemy's fleet without giving them time to fortify themselves, the whole, or at least the greatest part, must have been sunk or taken.

— Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Columna  
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extraordinary embassy to be sent into that kingdom, his majesty dispatched the earl of *Sandwich* to the court of *Madrid*, to mediate a peace between the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*<sup>d</sup>. This negotiation was of equal difficulty and importance: we had many things to ask from *Spain*, in favour of our trade; and there was nothing to which the *Spaniards* were less inclined than to make peace with *Portugal*, and own it for an independant kingdom. The earl of *Sandwich* however, managed his business with such address, that he concluded a most advantageous treaty with the court of *Spain*, consisting of forty articles; and this too in a surprizing short space of time, if we consider the nature of *Spanish* negotiations; for his lordship arrived at *Madrid* on the 28th of *May*, 1666, and the treaty was signed the 13th of *May*, 1667<sup>e</sup>. His lordship applied himself next to the other part of his commission, and by insisting principally on the interests of *Spain*, and making it evident, that the continuance of the *Portugal* war would be the total ruin of their affairs, and that a peace might be made without the least wound to their honour; at that juncture; he so far prevailed, as to gain the queen of *Spain's* consent, that a treaty should be set on foot under the mediation of the crown of *Great-Britain*. The great and unusual confidence reposed in him upon this occasion, was managed with such dexterity by the earl of *Sandwich*, that in three weeks after his arrival at *Lisbon*, he concluded a peace between the two nations, to their mutual satisfaction. This treaty was signed the 13th of *February*, 1668<sup>f</sup>. and as it was extremely advantageous

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<sup>d</sup> Philips's Chronicle, p. 545.<sup>e</sup> Kennet's compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 293. Philips's Chronicle, p. 565.<sup>f</sup> Poin-ter's chronological historian, vol. i. p. 223.

to the *Portuguese* (who, considering the distracted state of their government, had very little reason to expect so fortunate an event) it was no less honourable to the crown of *Great-Britain*.

UPON the conclusion of these treaties, the earl of *Sandwich* was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands; and his great services acknowledged in such terms as they deserved; which letters do no less honour to the memory of the princes who wrote them, than they do his, to whom they were written. Many of the dispatches penned by his lordship in this embassy have been made public, and remain so many indelible marks of his wisdom, integrity, and public spirit. They serve also to shew how unnecessary a qualification cunning is in a public minister, for they are written with a plainness that cannot be counterfeited, and shew in their composition a strength of genius capable of carrying its point, by setting truth in a proper light, without the assistance of any of those little arts, which are so much and so undeservedly admired in modern politicians. As he was too quick-sighted to be deceived, he had too much candour to impose on any with whom he transacted; and when this temper of his was thoroughly known, he was able to do all things in *Spain*; for being well informed of the nobility of his birth, and his great actions at sea, and having themselves received repeated proofs of his strict regard to honour, they readily believed every thing he said, and willingly assented to whatever he proposed. After the conclusion of the treaty with *Portugal*, he returned again to *Madrid*, where he spent some time in settling affairs, and confirming that court in the opinion, that *Britain* was its most useful and natural ally, and then taking his leave, arrived

arrived *September 19, 1668, at Portsmouth* <sup>g</sup>. On his return to court, he was received with all imaginable testimonies of respect by the king and duke, who were equally solicitous in fixing him to a good opinion of those measures upon which they were then entering.

THE trade to our colonies by this time was become very considerable, and growing daily more and more advantageous to the nation, his majesty was graciously pleased to erect a council for inspecting matters relating to trade, and for the special encouragement of the plantations. As this was in itself a very popular act, so king *Charles*, who knew, as well as any prince, the art of pleasing his subjects, when he thought fit to practise it, judged it convenient to put at the head of this new council, a man as acceptable in his character, as the project was in its nature; and this determined him to the choice of the earl of *Sandwich*, who *August 3d, 1670*, was sworn president of the council of plantations, and in that quality he swore the duke of *York*, prince *Rupert*, the duke of *Buckingham*, and other persons of the highest quality, members thereof <sup>h</sup>. In this capacity, as well as in that of vice-admiral and privy-counsellor, he gave no small disturbance to the CABAL: for in the first place, he was a sincere and zealous protestant; next, he was a true *Englishman*, loyal to his prince, but steady in the cause of his country, an enemy alike to faction and arbitrary power. He was, besides, for regarding no qualification but merit in the preferments of the navy, declaring upon all occasions against shewing favour to the relations of peers, or other persons of distinction, to the prejudice of such as had

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<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 226.

<sup>h</sup> See the gazette of that date.

served longer or better. This rendered him the darling of the fleet, who, after the death of the duke of *Albemarle*, looked upon him as the father and protector; which, however, raised him a great many enemies amongst such as could not bear the thwarting of their private interests, though for the sake of the public good. The secret histories of those times, (to which I must own I do not always give credit) insinuate, that his royal highness the duke of *York* was displeased with him; but, however, that might be, it is very certain, that the king had always a just sense of the earl of *Sandwich's* services, and shewed him upon every occasion, as much favour and esteem as he did to any of his subjects<sup>1</sup>.

On the breaking out of the last *Dutch* war, his lordship went to sea with the duke of *York*, and commanded the *Blue* Squadron, the *French* admiral count *d'Esprees* commanding the *White*. The fleet was at sea in the beginning of the month of *May*, and towards the end of that month came to an anchor in *Southwold* bay, in order to take in water. There we are told, that on the 27th, which was *Whitmonday*, there was great merry-making on board the fleet, and many officers and seamen were permitted to go on shore, and were at *Southwold*, *Danwich*, and *Aldborough*. Things being in this situation, and the weather withal very hazy, the earl of *Sandwich*, delivered it as his opinion at a council held in the evening, that, the wind standing as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being surprized by the *Dutch*; and, therefore, he thought it advisable to weigh anchor, and get out to sea: to this the duke of *York*, it is said, made such an answer as seemed to hint that the earl.

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<sup>1</sup> See bishop Parker's history of his own times, p. 151.

earl spoke out of fear; which insinuation, if it was really made, was certainly barbarous and unjust\*. I cannot say who it was first reported this story, but of this we may be positive, that, as a certain author has reported it, it could not possibly be true<sup>1</sup>. Several very judicious persons have inclined to think that it was framed long after the transaction, in order to heighten some circumstances which we shall presently relate.

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\* Echard's history, p. 883. Columna Rostrata, p. 217. <sup>1</sup> This author is bishop Burnet, who in the history of his own times says. "I say nothing of the sea-fight in Solbay, in which de Ruyter had the glory of surprizing the English fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the usual disorders of the 29th of May; which he prevented, by engaging them on the 28th."—It is an odd whim of this prelate, that because people might be disposed to be drunk on the 29th, they should be out of their wits on the 28th. Now the truth of the matter was, that the feasting happened on the 27th, because it was the Monday in whitfun-week; but some people have a great mind to set a black mark upon the 29th of May, and on the character of general Monk for the same reason. Yet let us once more hear his lordship—"The admiral of the blue squadron was burnt by a fire-ship, after a long engagement with a Dutch ship, much inferior to him in strength. In it the earl of Sandwich perished, with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage, to which he was provoked by an indecent reflection the duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing near the shore; and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himself, than of the king's honour."—We have seen above, that the earl's advice was to put to sea, that they might engage the sooner, and not be surprized. The Dutch Gazette treated the earl's memory better than this bishop; for in it we find, "The earl of Sandwich engaged for several hours with many of our men of war, disabled seven of our ships, among which was lieutenant-admiral Van Ghent's, vice-admiral Van Nefse's, and captain Brakel's; and after putting off three fire-ships, was at last burnt by the fourth."

ON the 28th of *May*, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the *Dutch*: upon which, his royal highness made the signal for weighing anchor, and getting out to sea; and the occasion being of so pressing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The *Blue* squadron, however, was out first, and in good order; the *Red* next; and the *White* in its proper station, much a-stern<sup>m</sup>. The earl of *Sandwich* in his fine ship the *Royal James*, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon, and about eight hundred men, began the fight, and fell furiously on the squadron of *Van Ghent*. This he did, not from a principle of distinguishing himself by an act of heroic valour, for he knew his character was too well established to need that: his view was to give the rest of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain *Brakel* in the *Great Holland*, a sixty gun ship, depending on the assistance of his squadron, attacked the *Royal James*, but was soon disabled, as were several other men of war; and three fire-ships were sunk. By this time most of his men were killed, and the hull of the *Royal James* so pierced with shot, that it was impossible to carry her off. In this distress he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral sir *Joseph Jordan*, if that gentleman had not been more solicitous about assisting the duke. When therefore he saw him sail by, heedless of the condition in which he lay, he said to those who were about him, *There is nothing left for us now but to defend the ship to the last man*, and those who knew him readily understood, that by the last man he meant himself. When a fourth fire-ship had grappled him

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<sup>m</sup> I take this from Mr. Saville's Letter to the earl of Arlington, then secretary of state, and published by authority.



him, he begged his captain sir *Richard Haddock*, and all his servants to get into the boat and save themselves; which they did: yet some of the sailors would not quit the admiral, but staid and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in spite of all their efforts they could not do, and so they perished together, the ship blowing up about noon<sup>n</sup>. The *Dutch* writers give a different account of this matter; they say, that the earl and one of his sons were smothered in the long-boat, by the crew jumping in upon them<sup>o</sup>; which cannot be true, since the genuine cause of the earl's remaining on board was, his apprehension that he might be taken in the long boat, and made a spectacle to the *Dutch*; the same thought which occurred to the duke of *Albemarle*, and determined him, in case no other way was left, to blow up his ship and himself. Such as ascribe this resolution to the resentment of what his royal highness had said the evening before, asperse one great man's character in order to tarnish another's. It is a strange pleasure that some people take in attributing the noblest actions to the worst motives, and always presuming that to be the spring of a man's conduct which seems least fit to be so. In this case from the temper of the person, and the circumstances attending his death, there is the highest reason in the world to presume, that he sacrificed himself from a principle of public spirit: why then should we be so inhuman as to fancy he did it from private pique? The ancient *Romans* would have had nobler notions: they would have said, he devoted himself to his country, and merited, by his manner of dying, the victory which ensued.

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<sup>n</sup> Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, de Neuville. • Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 208.

His lordship's body was found near a fortnight, afterwards, and the king testified, by the honours he paid to the corps, how much he admired the man; how sensible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the dust of his ancestors, the remains of such as died gloriously in their country's service. This fact stands thus in the *Gazette*.

*Harwich, June 10.*

“ THIS day the body of the right honourable *Edward*  
 “ earl of *Sandwich*, being by the order upon his coat disco-  
 “ vered floating on the sea by one of his majesty's ketches,  
 “ was taken up, and brought into this port; where sir  
 “ *Charles Littleton* the governor receiving it, took imme-  
 “ diate care for its embalming and honourable disposing,  
 “ till his majesty's pleasure should be known concerning it.  
 “ For the obtaining of which, his majesty was attended at  
 “ *Whitehall* the next day, by the master of the said ves-  
 “ sel, who by sir *Charles Littleton*'s order, was sent to  
 “ present his majesty with the *George* found about the  
 “ body of the said earl, which remained at the time of  
 “ its taking up in every part unblemished, saving some  
 “ impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast.  
 “ Upon which his majesty out of his princely regard to  
 “ the great deservings of the said earl, and his unexampled  
 “ performances in this last act of his life, hath resolved  
 “ to have his body brought up to *London*, there at his  
 “ charge to receive the rites of funeral, due to his great  
 “ quality and merits.”

“ THE earl of *Sandwich*'s body being taken out of one  
 “ of his majesty's yachts at *Deptford*, on the 3d of *July*

1672,

“ 1672, and laid in the most solemn manner in a sumptuous barge, proceeded by water to *Westminster-Bridge*, attended by the king’s barges, his royal highness the duke of *York’s*; as also with the several barges of the nobility, lord-mayor, and the several companies of the city of *London*, adorned suitable to the melancholly occasion, with trumpets and other music, that sounded the deepest notes. On passing by the *Tower*, the great guns there were discharged, as well as at *Whitehall*, and about five o’clock in the evening the body being taking out of the barge at *Westminster-Bridge*, there was a procession to the abby-church, with the highest magnificence. Eight earls where assistant to his son *Edward* earl of *Sandwich*, chief mourner, and most of the nobility and persons of quality in town gave their assistance to his interment, in the duke of *Albemar’s* vault in the north side of king *Henry VII.* chapel, where his remains are deposited<sup>1</sup>.”

AFTER this account of the respect shewn by his sovereign to his dead body, it may not be amiss to subjoin some instances of the tribute paid by illustrious persons to his memory. We will begin with the late duke of *Buckinghamshire*, who having given us an account of the battle in *Southwold-Bay*, concludes it thus. “ The enemy had no success to boast, except the burning our *Royal James*; which, having on board her not only a thousand of our best men, but the earl of *Sandwich* himself, vice-admiral of *England*, was enough almost to stile it a victory on their side; since his merit as to sea-affairs, was most extraordinary in all kinds.” Bishop *Parker*, after a pompous detail of this bloody dispute, proceeds in these

<sup>1</sup> Gazette, July 4, 1672.  
works, vol. ii. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Duke of Buckinghamshire’s

these words. "The *English* lost many volunteers, and  
 "ten captains of ships; amongst these, were the earl of  
 "Sandwich, and Digby, son of the earl of Bristol; who,  
 "almost alone, fought with the third squadron of the  
 "Dutch: yet, at length, when Digby was shot through  
 "the heart, and the ship that he commanded, was bored  
 "through with innumerable shots, the seamen with dif-  
 "ficulty brought her into the harbour; but Sandwich  
 "having miserably shattered seven of their ships, and beat  
 "off three fire-ships, at length being over-powered with  
 "numbers, fell a sacrifice for his country. A gentleman  
 "adorned with all the virtues of *Alcibiades*, and untainted  
 "by any of his vices; of high birth; capable of any busi-  
 "ness; full of wisdom; a great commander at sea and  
 "land, and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal and  
 "magnificent". Gerard Brant, who is never partial  
 to any but his own countrymen, after a full account of  
 the valour with which the earl defended himself, and  
 which he styles unfortunate courage, is pleased to say,  
 "Such was the fate of this noble peer, who was vice-  
 "admiral of *England*; a man equally brave, knowing,  
 "and of a most engaging behaviour; one who had ren-  
 "dered his sovereign the greatest services, not only in the  
 "field, but in the cabinet, and as an ambassador in  
 "foreign courts". Sir Edward Wotton, who wrote an  
 historical account of the knights of the garter, a work  
 which it were to be wished his successors in his office had  
 continued with like impartiality, gives the earl of Sand-  
 wich this character, "He was a person of extraordinary  
 "parts,

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\* Bishop Parker's history of his own times, p. 151.    † Vie de Ruyter, Liv. xi.

“ parts, courage, fidelity, and affability, and justly merit-  
“ ed all the honours that were conferred upon him ”.

THESE testimonies, from friends and foes (for the duke of *Buckinghamshire* and the bishop of *Oxford* were of a party not much inclined to favour the earl of *Sandwich*); from strangers as well as his own countrymen, are incontestable proofs of this great man's abilities, and therefore I was in some doubt, whether I should add the following poetical compliment to his memory; but, when I considered, that it might prove a hint to some abler poet, to do justice to so sublime a subject, I thought the reader would not be displeased with the sight of a few lines which have not hitherto been published.

E P I T A P H.

*ADORN'D with titles, but from virtue great,  
At sea a Neptune, Nestor in the state;  
Alike in council, and in fight, renown'd,  
In action always, with success still crown'd;  
A soldier, seaman, statesman,—here He lies;  
No heart more honest, and no head more wise:  
Though brave, yet gentle; though sincere, not rude;  
Justice in camps, in courts he truth pursu'd.  
Living, he rais'd a deathless, spotless name,  
And dying, soar'd above the reach of fame.*

*Reader, if English, stop the falling tear!  
Grief should not wait on him who felt no fear:*

*He*

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▪ Historical account of the knights of the garter, MS. before cited.

*He wants not pity—could his ashes speak,  
 These generous sounds would from the marble break,  
 “Go serve thy country, while God spares thee breath;  
 “Live, as I liv’d, and so deserve my death.*

WE ought next to say somewhat of prince *Rupert*, who commanded the *English* fleet often, and with great applause. To run through his memorable adventures, would take up too much time, and deviate likewise from the intention of this treatise: we shall, therefore, touch briefly those circumstances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a sea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of some faithful historian, who may incline to transmit them to posterity, in the manner they deserve: for though it cannot be denied, that this prince had his failings, and that these might have some bad effects on the affairs of king *Charles I.* yet it must likewise be confessed, that he did that monarch great services, and that his errors have been much heightened, by the skill, as well as partiality, of some who have decried them.

HE was the third son of the prince elector *Palatine*, sometime stiled king of *Bohemia*, by the princess *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to king *James I.* and was consequently nephew to king *Charles I.* His education, like that of most *German* princes, especially younger brothers, qualified him for arms; and such as have been least inclined to favour him, admit, that he was extremely well fitted, in respect both to natural abilities and acquired accomplishments, for a great commander \*. When the unhappy civil wars broke

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\* The fairest character I have met with of this gallant prince, is in Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 226, which is transcribed by Echard into his history. The reader may likewise consult Clarendon, Whitlock, and the other historians of those times.



broke out here, he came and offered his sword to his uncle, when he was scarce of age, and, through the whole war, behaved with great intrepidity; and on many occasions his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary success. When the war was over, he went abroad with a pass from the parliament: but when the fleet revolted to the prince of *Wales*, he readily went on board it, where he distinguished himself by vigorous councils; which, however, were not followed; but on the return of the fleet to *Holland*, the command of it was left to him. He then sailed to *Ireland*, where he endeavoured to support the king's sinking cause; but was quickly pursued by the parliament's superior fleet, under *Popham* and *Blake*, who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of *King'sale*; whence he escaped, by boldly pushing through their fleet; an action as successful in the event, as brave in the intention \*.

AFTER this escape, he sailed to the coast of *Spain*, where at first he was treated with some respect; but when it was known, that the parliament had a better fleet at sea, and were very intent on pursuing and crushing his highness, the *Spaniards* became afraid of shewing him any mark of favour; and therefore, when two or three of his ships were distressed, and ran ashore, they plundered them, and pressed the men into their service †. This, we need the less wonder at, if we consider that captain *Young* burnt *The Antelope*, one of the prince's ships, in the harbour of *Flevoetstuyt*, without any respect to the authority of the  
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\* Ludlow's memoirs, p. 290, 291. Burchet, Columna rostrata, Echard, &c. † Clarendon's history, p. 595, 596. Where there is a more circumstantial account of this fact, than is to be met with any where else.

*States-General*, even in their own ports; and this, it is said, inclined them to a war with *England*; for observing the temper of the parliament, and the growth of their naval power, it was easy for the *Dutch* to foresee that nothing but a vigorous resistance could defend their trade, or preserve them from subjection. From the coast of *Spain*, the prince sailed to *Lisbon*, and was quickly followed thither by *Blake*, with a squadron of eighteen sail. We have already given some account of this expedition, and of his being at last forced by *Blake* to leave that port, and betake himself again to the *Mediterranean*; and therefore, here I shall only observe, that it was chiefly the high respect paid to prince *Rupert's* person, that enabled him to keep the sea with his squadron, which was now become too small to be called a fleet. On the 5th of *November*, 1560, general *Blake* destroyed *The Roe-Buck*, and *The Black Prince*, two of the best ships he had remaining, while his highness in *The Reformation*, and his brother prince *Maurice* in *The Convertine*, or, as other writers say, in *The Swallow*, sailed into the *Adriatic Sea*, and after taking some prizes, returned, after *Blake's* departure, into the port of *Toulon*, where they disposed of them, paid their sailors, and provided for a more distant expedition<sup>2</sup>. It must be observed, that though this kind of behaviour in prince *Rupert*, exasperated the parliament against him, and was in reality, as I have elsewhere owned, a very unjustifiable practice; yet it was, on the other hand, the source of the parliament's power

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<sup>2</sup> Philip's chronicle, p. 289, Bate, Warwick, &c. Amongst other inconveniencies following from this practice, the prince's example was no small one. When he condescended to live by privateering, no body was ashamed to take up the trade, so that from *Brest*, *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, and the *Scilly islands*, there issued whole fleets of corsairs.

power at sea, which they would otherwise have scarce thought of maintaining; but finding themselves, on a sudden, on bad terms with *Spain*, embroiled with *France*, disliked by the *Dutch*, and at open war with *Portugal*; they were obliged to cultivate a naval force with their utmost care, in which, as they applied themselves to it with diligence, it must be admitted they were very successful, and had quickly so many squadrons well manned at sea, as made them terrible to all the world \*.

PRINCE *Rupert's* squadron, in the spring of the year 1651, sailed again for the *Streights*, consisting then of no more than five men of war, and two fire-ships. There he began to take *Spanish* ships by way of reprisal, for the respect they shewed the parliament; till finding himself hard pressed by *Penn*, he resolved, having indeed no resource besides, to follow his brother into the *West-Indies*. This project was owing to the lord *Willoughby's* engaging *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward-Islands* to declare for the king, when all other colonies, except *Virginia*, had submitted to the parliament. This design might possibly have proved more successful, if prince *Rupert*, on his arrival in those parts, had applied himself to the preservation of the *West-India* trade; but instead of this, both he, and prince *Maurice* continued to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, till the latter perished at sea, and the former found his ships in such a condition, that it was absolutely necessary for him to return into *Europe*; which accordingly he did, and in the beginning of 1653, arrived safely in *Brittany*, where he disposed

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\* Let the reader compare what I have observed, with facts mentioned by Whitlock, Ludlow, and Carrington, in his life of Cromwell, and he will see the truth of it immediately.

fed of his prizes, paid his seamen as far as it would go, and for the present, laid aside his command as an admiral<sup>b</sup>. His conduct on this occasion, is very harshly represented by the earl of *Clarendon*, who, as he never lived in any great terms of friendship with him, might possibly conceive worse of his proceedings than they deserved. This is certain, that the noble historian was greatly mistaken in what he says of the prince's deserting the king's service, on his going back into *Germany*; for we have undeniable testimonies of the contrary, and several letters of his are yet extant, whereby it appears, that he negotiated with several princes of the empire, on his majesty's behalf, and behaved towards him on all occasions in his exile (after the quarrel at *Paris*) with all the duty, and deference that he could have shewn him on the throne<sup>c</sup>.

On the king's restauration, prince *Rupert* was invited into *England*, where the king created him duke of *Cumberland*, earl of *Holderness*, &c. and gave him also various offices worthy of his high birth. By this time, his highness's fire was pretty much decay'd, and his judgment cooler and fitter for great employments, when, therefore, in the year 1666, the king intrusted him, in conjunction with the duke of *Albemarle*, to command the fleet, he discovered all the great qualities that could be desired in an admiral; for by his happy return to the fleet on the 3d of *June*, he ravished from the *Dutch*, the only victory they had

<sup>b</sup> Philip's chronicle, p. 337. *Clarendon*, *Kennet*, *Echard*, *Bate*, *Warwick*, &c.

<sup>c</sup> This is very evident from abundance of letters in *Thurloe's* state-papers, which represent his highness as a busy agent for the king; and particularly from a letter of his to king *Charles II.* dated *Heidelberg*, February 6, 1656, vol. i.

had the appearance of gaining; and afterwards, on the 24th of *July*, in the same year, beat them effectually; pursued them to their own coast, blocked up their harbours, and made them sensible of the superiority of *English* courage, when not oppressed by numbers <sup>d</sup>. In the autumn of the same year, having the sole command of our fleet, and understanding that the *Dutch* were endeavouring to join a *French* Squadron of forty sail, under the duke of *Beaufort*, he followed them so closely into *Bollogn* road, that, to avoid another battle, they hauled in so near the shore, as in all probability they must either have been burnt or sunk, if a sudden storm had not forced the prince to return to *St. Helen's* bay. But in the mean time sir *Thomas Allen* with his Squadron, fell in with part of the *French* fleet, and used them so roughly, that they were glad to betake themselves to port; and lay aside all thoughts of joining their allies <sup>e</sup>. On his highness's return home, he was kindly received by the king, and grew into great esteem with the nation. He always steered cautiously between the factions at court, and having so near a relation to the king, never thought of strengthening his interest by entering into intrigues. Yet on the other hand, he never declined any occasion that offered, of shewing himself a firm protestant, and a true patriot, though he knew that this conduct would expose him to some who were never much inclined to be his friends. But the king, who was obliged to govern too much by parties, was far from disliking his cousin's conduct, since it gave him an opportunity of using his councils, and engaging his services, with the general

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<sup>d</sup> Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Rapin. <sup>e</sup> Philips's chronicle, p. 552.

approbation of his people; which otherwise he could not have done. In other respects the prince was very loyal, and would never be persuaded, even by such as had a great influence over him, to go into any of those measures, which, though covered with specious pretences, served only to distress the king, and to distract his subjects.

AFTER the breaking out of the last *Dutch* war, and the passing the test-act, his highness was again drawn from his retirement, to take upon him the command of the fleet. The duke of *York* had resigned his office of lord high-admiral; the earl of *Sandwich*, and most of the old admirals were dead, so that none could with any decency be called to that command but himself<sup>f</sup>. He had never lived on any terms with the ministry, who were stiled the *CABAL*, and indeed it was impossible he should; for they were all persons of the utmost art, and he was one of the plainest men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themselves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make such dispositions in the fleet, as were fittest to render the admiral uneasy, from a prospect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own<sup>g</sup>. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of *York*, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character, would oblige his royal highness. There needed no more to set these folks to work: they began to find fault with every order

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<sup>f</sup> Echard's history of England, p. 893. Burnet's history of his own times, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Rapin. <sup>g</sup> See an exact relation of the engagements and actions of his majesty's fleet under prince Rupert.



order he gave, and to misrepresent every measure he took, but the prince quickly convinced them, that instead of hurting his character, they would destroy their own<sup>a</sup>. By his brisk getting out to sea in the month of *April*, he shewed that he could be active in age, as well as youth, and by sailing over to the *Dutch* coast, he discovered a readiness to fight, which was the old characteristic of an *English* admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of *May* 1672, in which we had the advantage; but it may not be amiss to copy a short paragraph from the prince's own letter, which shews the modesty of his nature, and withal his honour and impartiality, since it relates to the behaviour of one who he knew did not like him. "Sir *Edward Spragge* also on his side, maintained the fight with so much courage and resolution, that their whole body gave way to such a degree, that had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and the king would have had a better account of them. The case being thus, and the night approaching, I judged it fit to stand a little off, and to anchor here where I now ride"<sup>1</sup>.

THE next engagement happened on the 5th of *June*, in which the advantage was more plainly on the side of the *English*, as is evident from prince *Rupert's* letter, which was immediately published; but after this engagement, he found the fleet to be so miserably destitute of all necessaries, and, which was worse, so badly manned, that he thought fit to return home. This measure, though

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<sup>a</sup> Echard, Burnet, History of the Dutch war.

<sup>1</sup> This letter makes a single folio leaf, and is dated at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 1673.

very necessary, might have been liable to some misconstruction from posterity, if by accident we were not furnished with a true key to it ; which was this. The prince had often complained before, and the officers of the navy had constantly persuaded the king, that there were no grounds for his complaints ; which put his highness under the necessity of taking this step, that the thing might be put out of dispute, and the fleet out of wants. As this shewed his spirit, (for he brought the king himself to look upon the ships) so he gave afterwards as strong a proof of his judgment, by carrying the whole fleet through the *Narrow*, on the 19th of *July*, and appearing on the *Dutch* coast almost as soon as they had received certain intelligence of his returning to his own<sup>k</sup>. On the 11th of *August* he fought the last battle that was fought against this enemy ; of which we have already given so full an account, that, in respect to the fact, we can add nothing here. On his return from his command, the king expressed some coolness, which was owing not more to the arts of his highness's enemies, than to the quickness of his letter, in relation to the last fight, and the behaviour of the *French*<sup>l</sup> ; but the king's displeasure quickly wore out,

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<sup>k</sup> The members of the office of ordnance vindicated themselves notwithstanding the king's view : but whoever shall consider that vindication attentively, will perceive that it is extremely artificial, and calculated rather to screen themselves, than to clear up the truth of the fact. <sup>l</sup> The reader may guess at the particulars of this letter, from the following paragraph of the exact relation, &c. in which they are summed up almost in his own words. " In the midst of so many intrigues of opposition here at home, so many delays of his commission, so few powers contained in it, such scanty number of seamen, so little assurance of divers chief commanders, such failure of provisions, such want of ammunition and all other necessaries, such deceit of navy-offi-

cers,

as the interest of the CABAL began to decline. After this, the prince led a quiet and, (in a great measure) a retired life, mostly at *Windsor-castle*, of which he was governor, and spent a great part of his time in the prosecution of chemical and philosophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors with applause for his skill in painting, and celebrated by one of the most judicious of our own for his invention of *Mexzo-tinto* prints, since risen from their softness and beauty into so high esteem\*. He likewise delighted in making locks for fire-arms, and was the inventor of a composition called *Prince's metal*. As to his public character in the last ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot, which was owing to the innate honesty of his temper, and not to his having any liking to intrigues. In respect to his private life he was so just, so beneficent, so courteous, that his memory remained dear to all that knew him. This I say

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“ cers, such non-observance of orders at sea amongst his own  
 “ English, and so manifest defections of the French; not to be  
 “ staggered in his resolution, nor to be put out of all patience and  
 “ prudence in action, nor to abate of his affection and zeal for the  
 “ honour and service of his majesty, the safeguard and interest  
 “ of religion and the kingdom; in a season when so many pop-  
 “ pish projectors played a game under board, and above too;  
 “ will be an everlasting argument of his highness's valour and re-  
 “ nown, and must needs be a strong obligation upon the king,  
 “ the parliament and people of England, who are now left to  
 “ judge, whether it was not a wonderful good providence of  
 “ God, or one of the most memorable pieces of service ever done  
 “ at sea, to surmount all those difficulties, and even envy itself;  
 “ and after all, to bring home the fleet-royal of England, with-  
 “ out the loss of one man of war, to her own shore in safety,  
 “ in despite of all enemies that designed otherwise by sea and  
 “ land.” \* Cabinet des singularitez d'Architecture, &c.,  
 tom. i. p. 177. Evelyn's Calcography, &c.

of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in *Berkshire* speak in raptures of prince *Robert*. He died at his house in *Spring-Gardens*, on the 29th of *November* 1682, in his grand climacteric, leaving behind him a daughter by Mrs. *Margaret Hughes*, who afterwards married general *Howe*, and has not been long dead <sup>m</sup>.

SIR *John Lawson* has been so often mentioned in this work, that I find myself obliged to give the best account of him I can; though I must own it to be very slender, in spite of all the pains I could take to obtain better memoirs. He was the son of a person in low circumstances at *Hull*, and was bred to the sea, either on account of his taking a liking to it, or that it best suited his father's situation, who, perhaps, knew not otherwise how to provide for him. In process of time he obtained a ship by his merit, and serving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain for his extraordinary desert <sup>n</sup>. He served with great fidelity against all their enemies, so long as the parliament retained their power, and towards the end of the war carried a flag, together with *Penn*, under *Monk*. In 1653, he commanded a fleet of forty-four sail, which were sent over to the coast of *Holland*, and by taking a scarce credible number of prizes, had a great influence in making the peace <sup>o</sup>. On the change of the government, and *Cromwell's* assuming the supreme power to himself, he was continued in his command, and treated with respect; but it seems, his principles did not incline him to act so steadily under the new government,

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<sup>m</sup> Echard's history of England, p. 1023.  
 Whitlock's Memorials, p. 471, 563, 564.

<sup>n</sup> See Whitlock's Memorials, p. 466. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 591, 526, 606.  
<sup>o</sup> See Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 466.

as he did under the old <sup>P</sup>. As to church affairs, he was an anabaptist; and in respect to civil government, he was known to be a republican. In all probability, he received these tinctures early, and like many other people, thought pursuing his own prejudices to be persevering in a good cause. He was certainly very honest in his conduct during the civil war, acting altogether upon principle, which led him to dislike the protector's government, though not to resist it; for he thought, that a man might lawfully serve his country under any authority: and indeed this was *Blake's* notion, and that of most of the sea officers of those times.

It is very certain, that the protector *Oliver* had early intelligence of *Lawson's* disaffection. Colonel *Overton*, who had plotted against *Monk* in *Scotland*, had in some of his conferences with his friends, mentioned vice-admiral *Lawson*, as a person upon whom they might depend; yet for all this, he was employed and entrusted to command a fleet for the channel-service in 1655 <sup>q</sup>. But the *Spanish* war had the same effect upon him, that it had upon many other officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injustice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into schemes against the protector. True it is, that *Cromwell* had no just motive for attacking *Spain*: but the grand reason why the republicans resented this so warmly was, because the crown of *Spain* had made greater advances to the parliament, than any other foreign

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power.

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<sup>P</sup> This appears from several informations given against him to *Thurloe*, of which notice will be afterwards taken. <sup>q</sup> This information to *Monk* is in *Thurloe's* State-papers, vol. iii. p. 185. where president *Bradshaw*, sir *Arthur Haslerig*, colonel *Pride*, colonel *Cobbet*, colonel *Ashfield*, and other officers are named therein.

power<sup>1</sup>. There were at the same time a very formidable body of men, who conspired against *Cromwell* on enthusiastic principles, and were stiled fifth monarchy-men. With these, *Lawson*, *Okey*, *Rich*, and other officers thought fit to join ; because they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the present tyranny. Secretary *Thurloe*, however, had such clear information of all their proceedings, that they were able to affect nothing. On the contrary, *April* 10, 1657, major-general *Harrison*, admiral *Lawson*, and several others were committed; which put an end to their intrigues<sup>2</sup>.

WHEN he recovered his liberty, he judged proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he should be employed again ; but upon the first news of the return of admiral *Montague* with his fleet from the *Baltic*, the parliament resolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide ; and, therefore, sent for Mr. *Lawson*, declared him vice-admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival<sup>3</sup>. In his privacy, he had conversed with some understanding cavaliers, and came to have a true notion of the folly of shifting from one

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<sup>1</sup> The reader may find this matter largely and clearly explained in a treatise entitled, "The world mistaken in Cromwell," which is re-printed in the first volume of State-tracts in the reign of Charles II.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst *Thurloe's* State-papers, vol. vi. p. 184. there is a very large discourse on this matter, which seems to have been a report made to the house of commons. This is wrong referred to in the index, where vice-admiral *Lawson* is said to be one of the fifth monarchy-men ; whereas from that very paper it appears, that he was one of a committee appointed by the discontented officers in the army, to confer with these fifth monarchy-men ; amongst whom was *Venner*, who afterwards made a desperate attempt against king Charles II.

<sup>3</sup> *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 690. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 666.



one form of government to another, and the great crime of subverting the constitution of one's country, to which an absolute obedience is due. As soon, therefore, as he heard of general *Monk's* march into *England*, he resolved to co-operate with him; and knowing that nothing could be done, but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon that head; for which he received their solemn thanks <sup>u</sup>. When *Monk* came to *London*, and many people doubted what course he would take, admiral *Lawson* said to general *Ludlow*, *That since the levite and the priest had passed by without helping them, he hoped they had now found a Samaritan who would* <sup>v</sup>. This *Ludlow* understood in his own sense; but it was certainly meant in another. The lieutenant-general himself understood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. *William Prynne*, out of his great loyalty to the house of *Stuart*, had given the clerk, without order of the house of commons, a clause for excepting out of the bill of indemnity, such as had taken the oath for abjuring that family, in the council of state; he was severely reprimanded by doctor *Clarges*, brother to general *Monk*, because he foresaw that this would affect admiral *Lawson*, to whom the general was previously engaged <sup>x</sup>. Indeed, as to the vice-admiral, he came very early, and very heartily into the restoration, so that when the earl of *Sandwich* acknowledged his services in this respect to the king in *Holland*, he was much caressed, received the honour of knighthood, and was always looked upon as a man sincerely

<sup>u</sup> Whitlock's Memorials, p. 693.  
p. 821.      <sup>x</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 24

<sup>v</sup> Ludlow's Memoirs.

ly attached to the crown; which was confirmed by all his succeeding actions <sup>1</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after the restauration, he was sent as vice-admiral to the earl of *Sandwich*, when he went to fetch queen *Catherine* from *Portugal*, and was afterwards employed in the *Mediterranean* against the *Algerines*, to whom he did considerable damage, and so effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to send any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would, have done, if he had not been disappointed in his expectation from *de Ruyter*; who, with his *Dutch* squadron, was sent on the same errand <sup>2</sup>. These admirals differed about a salute, which *de Ruyter* paid *Lawson*, and *Lawson* refused to return, as being bound up by his instructions: after this, there was no harmony between them; the *Dutch* admiral took the first opportunity of quitting this service, and slipping away to *Guinea*, which was highly resented by king *Charles*, and alledged as one of the causes of the *Dutch* war. That we may not suppose sir *John Lawson's* refusing to salute *de Ruyter*, proceeded either from pride in him, or from a captious disposition in those who drew his instructions, it will be proper to set this matter in a true light. The *Dutch*, to prevent their saluting *English* ships in their own seas, from passing for an acknowledgment of our sovereignty in those seas, affected to pay them that respect wherever they met with them, that so it might appear to be a compliment to an ally, and not a submission to a superior. The court of *England* very well understood this, and therefore at his departure

<sup>1</sup> See Clarendon, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, *Columna Rostrata*; and particularly sir Philip Warwick in his *Memoirs*, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Philip's continuation of *Heath's* chronicle, p. 526, 528.

departure from the earl of *Sandwich's* fleet, sir *John* had orders not to strike to the ships of any prince or state whatever. Soon after this accident, he received instructions to return home, and to leave the command of his squadron to captain (afterwards sir *Thomas*) *Allen*, who was appointed to finish the war he had begun against the *Algerines* \*.

ON his arrival in *England*, he found the *Dutch* war broke out, and that the king had sent for him in order to serve under his brother, as rear-admiral of the *red*. Sir *John* was very grateful for this honour; but at the same time told his majesty, that he could shew him a more compendious way of bringing the *Dutch* to reason, than by fitting out great fleets. He observed, that in the last *Dutch* war, they were more distressed by the captures he made after the last great battle, than they had been by all the operations of the war; and he added further, that the reason of this was not hard to find, *viz.* That they were able, as a state, to fit out great fleets in less time, and at much less expence, than it was possible, or ever would be for his majesty to do; and their subjects willingly contributed to this, because they saw the necessity, and were sensible of the good effects of it. But if numbers of their merchant-ships were taken, if their commerce was rendered precarious, and many of their traders became beggars; for this they had no remedy, and that therefore this was their tender part in which they might be hurt, and in which, if they were hurt, they must make a peace on such terms, as his majesty should think fit to prescribe.

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\* *Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. i. p. 712. *Philip's Chronicle*, p. 528.

scribe. This advice was rejected at that time, because his royal highness was resolved to go to sea, and it was not thought to be consistent with his honour to stand on the defensive, and avoid fighting the *Dutch* fleet. But after sir *John Lawson* was dead, and the expence of the war made it burthensome to the king, he began to reflect on the council he had given him, and resolved to pursue it. But wanting proper directions in the execution of this scheme, and, to speak the truth plainly, having many dishonest servants, who pretended to have their ships well manned, when they had scarce sailors enough to manage them<sup>b</sup>; (for so the thing appeared on a parliamentary enquiry) this design, as we have seen elsewhere, miscarried; and yet this miscarriage remains a stain on the memory of sir *John Lawson*, in the judgment of some writers<sup>c</sup>. But to return from these reflections to our history.

ON the 21st of *April*, 1655, the duke of *York* sailed with a grand fleet to the coast of *Holland*, himself carrying the red flag, prince *Rupert* the white, and the earl of *Sandwich* the blue. His royal highness's vice and rear admirals were *Penn* and *Lawson*, who both performed all that could be expected from them. Towards the latter end of the engagement, which happened off *Leaghtoff*, on the memorable third of *June*, that day twelve years, in which they had been beat by *Monk*; *Lawson*, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was, by a musket-

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<sup>b</sup> See the history and proceedings of the house of commons, printed for Chandler, in which there is a resolution of the house of commons, that notwithstanding his majesty had 18,000 men in pay, in dispersed ships, 1687, there was not a sufficient number of ships left to secure the rivers *Medway* and *Thames*. <sup>c</sup> See Skinner's life of *Monk*, p. 367.

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## Sir JOHN KEMPTHORNE. 429

ket-shot in his knee, disabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured so hard to gain. He did not, however, die till some days after, when he had the satisfaction of knowing, that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, so he died with glory. This was the end of fir *John Lawson*, a man who owed all things to his merit, and who, after doing so many and great services to this nation, wants, for any thing I can learn a tomb. The particulars I have given the reader, are collected from various writers, who all agree in this, that he was an able, brave, honest man <sup>d</sup>. Sir *Philip Warwick* says, that he was highly loyal <sup>e</sup>, and another eminent author, that he was the most experienced seaman of the age in which he lived, excepting only one of whom we shall presently speak <sup>f</sup>.

Sir *John Kempthorne*, was descended from a good family in *Devonshire*, and was born in the parish of *Widcombe*, in that county, in the year 1620. His father being a royalist, and in low circumstances, was glad of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading vessel, belonging to *Topsham*, with whom he lived very happily for some years, and being a young man of good natural abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge, in his profession, by which, and by the favour of his master, he grew into great credit with the most eminent traders in *Exeter*, in whose service he made various

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<sup>d</sup> Echard's history, p. 827. Burchet, Columna Rosirata, bishop Parker's history of his own times, &c.

<sup>e</sup> In his memoirs, p. 415. <sup>f</sup> Author of the history of the Dutch war, who says, "In this battle fell vice-admiral Lawson, the most experienced seaman of the age, if we except sir George Ayscue."

various voyages into the *Mediterranean*, with great profit to them, and no small reputation to himself<sup>s</sup>. In the beginning of our wars with *Spain*, he distinguished himself, by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large *Spanish* man of war, commanded by a knight of *Malta*; and though the odds was very great, yet captain *Kempthorne* defended himself gallantly, till all his ammunition was spent; and then remembering that he had several large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better serve to annoy, than enrich the enemy; and therefore ordered his men to load their guns with silver, which did such execution on the *Spaniards* rigging, that if his own ship had not been disabled by an unlucky shot, he had in all probability got clear. At last, however, over-powered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into *Malaga*.

THE knight to whom he was prisoner, treated him with the utmost kindness and civility, carried him home to his house, gave him the free use of it, spoke of him with much respect, commended his valour to every body, and declared, that he never knew a man who deserved higher preferment; and after a short stay in this manner, which I can scarce call a confinement, he sent him safe home to *England*. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate such a passage as this, without the proper circumstances of names and dates; but when these have been slighted by such as first committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards easily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation, since upon the credit of this action, captain *Kempthorne*

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<sup>s</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 437.



thorne laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes. Having premised this, we may proceed to the second part of this adventure. Some years after, the same knight of *Malta* was taken in the *Streights*, by commodore *Ven*, and brought prisoner into *England*, where he was committed to the *Tower*. This afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did, at his own expence, and furnished him with every thing necessary to return to *Spain*: An action generous and grateful in itself, and which could not fail of doing our *English* commander great honour <sup>a</sup>.

AFTER the restauration, captain *Kempton* had some merit to plead; his father having quitted the profession of the law, to serve as a lieutenant of horse in the king's army, which honest and loyal act proved his ruin. Whether this, or any personal interest which his son might have, brought him into the navy, it is not easy to say; but soon after the king's return, he was provided with a ship, viz. the *Mary Rose*, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ship he went as convoy to a considerable fleet of merchant-men into the *Streights*, and in the month of *December* 1669, met with a squadron of seven *Algerine* men of war; and yet by his prudence and courage, he preserved all the vessels under his care, and obliged the enemy to sheer off, after leaving behind them several of their men, who had boarded the *Mary Rose*, and were brought by captain *Kempton* into *England*. This gallant action, justly entitled him to a flag

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<sup>a</sup> Remarkable sea-deliverances, p. 22. <sup>1</sup> See the particular relation of this engagement cited before, p. 283.

flag; and yet it was some years afterwards out-done, with great satisfaction to the captain. For his son, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the *King's Fisher*, a frigate of forty-six guns, and 220 men, engaged several *Algerines*, three of which carried as many guns as the whole Squadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was several times boarded, made them weary of their undertaking, and carried the king's ship safe into a *Spanish* port; where himself died of his wounds<sup>k</sup>.

As for our hero, he was in both the *Dutch* wars, and behaved so well, that upon the duke of *Albemarle's* taking the command of the fleet in 1666, he carried one of the flags, and in the succeeding war he served as rear-admiral, and had the honour of knighthood<sup>l</sup>. He spent the latter part of his life in a post both of profit and reputation, viz. Commissioner of his majesty's navy at *Portsmouth*: and yet it is said, that he was disgusted (as is frequently the case) at his being thus laid aside, and precluded, as he understood it, from any farther promotion which his merit might have entitled him to in the navy. We have no account of the motives which might induce the court to slight a man of sir *John Kempthorne's* merit; only we are told, that he was a very zealous protestant, and having been chiefly raised by the favour of prince *Rupert*, it is probable his interest declined with that of his highness. However it was, it has been transmitted to posterity, that his sharp sense of his disappointments shortened his days: and thus a man who had with such courage ventured his life for the honour of the crown, and had done such signal

<sup>k</sup> Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 438.  
Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Echard.

<sup>l</sup> Phillip's chronicle,

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nal service to the nation, was sacrificed to some pitiful court-intrigue, and left to wear away his life in a little employment, which would have been esteemed a high promotion by a person of another temper, and who had less passion for glory than this worthy gentleman, who ended his days on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *October* 1679, when he wanted a year of threescore. His body lies interred on the north side of the altar in the great church at *Portsmouth*, and I have heard that some of his posterity are yet remaining in *Devonshire*<sup>m</sup>. This sir *John Kempthorne* had an elder brother, captain *Simon Kempthorne*, who also distinguished himself at sea, but of whose actions I can say nothing particular: I shall therefore content myself with having thus endeavoured to preserve his name.

THE care taken by the *Dutch* to preserve the memories of those who have eminently served the state, by burying them at the public expence, erecting for them magnificent tombs, adorning these with honourable inscriptions, settling pensions on their family, and by such acts of gratitude, obliging all historians, as well as putting it into their power to relate whatever concerns such persons carefully and distinctly, can never be enough commended. It is indeed one of the greatest instances of the wisdom of their government, since it supports and encourages public spirit, maintains the power, and secures the reputation of the republic, which are things of the highest consequence to society, and the source of that liberty and happiness by which they are so gloriously distinguished from their neighbours. Happy had it been for us, if a like spirit had prevailed here! I should not then have been obliged to apolo-

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gize so often for omissions, which I find it impossible to supply; nor would there have been occasion for this remark, to excuse the shortness of those accounts which I am yet to give, of some of the greatest seamen who lived in this reign, and who by their gallant behaviour, justly merit the praise of succeeding times.

SIR *George Ayscue*, as an old officer in the navy, was treated with much respect by the parliament, which bound him effectually to their service; so that when the fleet revolted to prince *Rupert* in 1648, sir *George*, who commanded the *Lion*, brought her into the river of *Thames*, and declared for the parliament; which was in itself a very important service, and was acknowledged to be such at that time<sup>a</sup>. Upon this testimony of his fidelity, the parliament gave him a command in those ships which were sent over to the coast of *Holland*, to observe the motions of the prince of *Wales*<sup>o</sup>. In *March* 1649, he was constituted admiral of the *Irish* seas, and in that office did great service to the protestant interest, furnished *Dublin* with provisions, and contributed greatly to the reduction of the whole island; which induced the parliament, as a mark of their favour, to make an immediate provision for his arrears, and continue him for another year in his command<sup>p</sup>.

WHEN the war began to decline in *Ireland*, and the parliament had leisure to think of recovering places at a greater distance, sir *George Ayscue* received orders to sail with a small squadron to reduce the island of *Barbadoes*; but

<sup>a</sup> Whitlock's Memorials, p. 317.  
Whitlock's Memorials, p. 279.

<sup>o</sup> Phillips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 740. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.  
<sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 381.

but before he was in any readiness to sail, his orders were countermanded. The reason of this was, the parliament had information, that the *Dutch* were treating with sir *John Greenville*, in order to have the isles of *Scilly* put into their hands; and, therefore it was thought necessary to reduce these islands first. *Blake* and *Ayscue* were employed in this expedition, in the spring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and success. They had but a small body of troops on board, and sir *John Greenville* had a considerable force in the island of *St. Mary*, commanded by some of the best officers in the late king's army; so that if things had been decided by the sword, the dispute must have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir *John* easily perceived that this must end fatally, in respect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command; and therefore entered into a treaty with general *Blake* and admiral *Ayscue*, who used him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions: after which *Blake* returned to *England*, and *Ayscue* prepared for his voyage to *Barbadoes*<sup>1</sup>. The parliament when they first heard of the reduction of *Scilly*, were extremely well pleased, as indeed they had reason, since privateers from thence did so much mischief, that scarce any trade could be carried on with tolerable security. But when the conditions were known, some great men changed their opinions, and gave *Blake* to understand, that he and his colleague had been too forward, so that it was doubtful whether the parliament would ratify this agreement. *Blake* said, that if they had given sir *John Greenville* good conditions, they

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had

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<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's history, p. 636. Hearsh's chronicle, p. 306. Bate's history of the troubles, &c.

had done it with good reason; that in the first place it saved the effusion of *English* blood; and next, that there was a strong squadron of *Dutch* ships at no great distance, the commander of which had offered sir *John* one hundred thousand pounds to put these islands into his hands; that if the parliament did not approve of his conduct, he should be sorry for it, and would take care to prevent a mistake of that sort for the future, by laying down his commission, as he was confident sir *George Ayscue* would likewise do. Upon this there was no more said of the articles, which were honourably complied with, and sir *George* received orders to sail immediately to the *West-Indies*; which he obeyed.

He arrived at *Barbadoes* on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *October* 1651, and became quickly sensible of the difficulty of that enterprise. His own force was very inconsiderable in comparison of that of the island; the governor was a man of quality, good sense, and well beloved, and had assembled a body of near five thousand men to oppose him. In spite of all these difficulties he was determined to do his utmost to reduce the place, and how well he succeeded, the reader may learn from the following succinct relation of general *Ludlow*. “ Sir *George* opened a passage into the harbour, by firing some great shot, and then seized upon twelve of their ships without opposition. The next day he sent a summons to the lord *Willoughby*, to submit to the authority of the parliament of *England*; but he not acknowledging any such power, declared his resolution to keep the island for the king’s service. But  
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• Lansdown’s prose works, vol. ii. p. 256, 257. • Heath’s chronicle, p. 323. Columna Rostrata, p. 98. British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 18.



“ the news of the defeat of the *Scots* and their king at  
 “ *Worcester* being brought to sir *George Ayscue*, together  
 “ with an intercepted letter from the lady *Willoughby* con-  
 “ taining the same account; he summoned him a second  
 “ time, and accompanied his summons with the lady’s  
 “ letter, to assure him of the truth of that report. But  
 “ the lord *Willoughby* relying upon his numbers, and the  
 “ fewness of those that were sent to reduce him, being  
 “ in all but fifteen sail, returned an answer of the like  
 “ substance with the former. Whereupon sir *George Ays-*  
 “ *cue* sent two hundred men on shore, commanded by  
 “ captain *Morrice*, to attack a quarter of the enemies that  
 “ lay by the harbour, which they executed successfully  
 “ by taking the fort, and about forty prisoners, with four  
 “ pieces of cannon, which they nailed up, and returned  
 “ on board again.

“ AT this time the *Virginia*-fleet arriving at *Barbadoes*,  
 “ it was thought fit to send a third summons to the lord  
 “ *Willoughby*; but finding that neither this, nor the de-  
 “ claration sent to them by the commissioners of parlia-  
 “ ment to the same purpose, produced any effect, sir  
 “ *George Ayscue* landed seven hundred men from his own  
 “ and the *Virginia*-fleet, giving the command of them to  
 “ the same captain *Morrice*, who fell upon 1300 of the  
 “ enemy’s foot, and three troops of their horse, and beat  
 “ them from their works, killing many of their men,  
 “ and taking about one hundred prisoners, with all their  
 “ guns. The losses on our side was inconsiderable, few  
 “ of ours being killed upon the place, and not above  
 “ thirty wounded. Yet these successes were not sufficient  
 “ to accomplish the work, there being above five thou-  
 “ sand horse and foot in the island, and our *Virginia*-fleet  
 “ preparing to depart for want of provisions.

" IN this conjunction, colonel *Muddisford*, who com-  
 " manded a regiment in the island, by the means of a  
 " friend that he had in our fleet, made his terms, and de-  
 " clared for the parliament. Many of his friends follow-  
 " ing his example, did the like, and in conjunction with  
 " him, encamped under the protection of our fleet. Up-  
 " on this, the most part of the island were inclined to  
 " join us; but the lord *Willoughby* prevented them, by  
 " placing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and de-  
 " signed to charge our men with his body of horse,  
 " wherein he was much superior to them, had not a can-  
 " non-ball, that was fired at random, beat open the door  
 " of a room where he and his council of war were sit-  
 " ting; which taking off the head of the centinel who  
 " was placed at the door, so alarmed them all, that he  
 " changed his design, and retreated to a place two miles  
 " distant from the harbour. Our party consisting of two  
 " thousand foot and one hundred horse advancing towards  
 " him, he desired to treat; which being accepted, colo-  
 " nel *Muddisford*, colonel *Collyson*, Mr. *Stearl* and captain  
 " *Pack*, were appointed commissioners by sir *George Aysc*;  
 " and by the lord *Willoughby*, sir *Richard Pierce*, Mr.  
 " *Charles Pym*, colonel *Ellis*, and major *Byham*. By  
 " these it was concluded, that the islands of *Nevis*, *Anti-*  
 " *gua*, and *St. Christopher's*, should be surrendered to the  
 " parliament of *England*: That the lord *Willoughby*, co-  
 " lonel *Walrond*, and some others, should be restored to  
 " their estates; and that the inhabitants of the said isles  
 " should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what  
 " they possessed, on condition to do nothing to the pre-  
 " judice of the commonwealth. This news being brought  
 " to *Virginia*, they submitted also, where one Mr. *George*  
 " *Ludlow*, a relation of mine, served the parliament in  
 the

"the like manner, as colonel Muddisford had done at  
"Barbados."

Sir George Ayscue returned to Plymouth on the 25<sup>th</sup> of  
May 1652, with great reputation. The Dutch war was  
now very warm, and sir George was forced to take a share  
therein, though his ships were extremely foul with so long  
a voyage, and in a manner unfit for service. Yet when  
general Blake sailed to the north, he performed incredible  
things; for in July he took five Dutch merchant-men,  
and afterwards attacked a fleet of forty sail, under the  
convoy of four men of war, took seven, burnt three, and  
forced the rest "on the French shore. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of  
August 1652, the Dutch attempted to surprize sir George  
with a great fleet, who was just then returned from con-  
voying a rich fleet of East-India ships into Plymouth.  
Though he was much inferior in strength, he fought not-  
withstanding; and at last, yet with a considerable loss, he  
forced them to retire. After this he acted vigorously a-  
gainst the enemy, and though his services were not very  
well received by the parliament, yet both the seamen and  
the people agreed that he had acted like a hero, of which  
we have a strong testimony in Lilly's almanack, which  
was a kind of oracle in those days.

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\* Ludlow's memoirs, &c. vol. p. 387.

\* In Lilly's astrological predictions for 1653, we have this ac-  
count of what passed in the preceeding year. "May 25, sir  
"George Ayscue knight, returned safe from the western islands  
"to plymouth, to the great joy of the people, having reduced  
"all the western isles, and taken from the Dutch above forty  
"sail of ships." Whitlock's memorials, p. 534. Heath's chroni-  
cle, &c. \* Whitlock's memorials, p. 539, 540, 541. \* This  
passage occurs in his observations on August 1653, and runs thus.  
"August 16, 1652, sir George Ayscue near Plymouth with four-  
"teen

IN some short time after this, the parliament thought fit to consider, Sir *George's* services, and to vote him a reward of three hundred pounds a year in *Ireland*, and three hundred pounds in money; but withal, they thought proper to lay him aside, under pretence that the honour of the nation was some way affected, by the loss he had suffered in the late fight in *Dover-Road*: but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own historians, but the *Dutch* writers also agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occasion: and so far was the honour of the nation from being at all wounded by any loss he sustained, that this very action was then, and still is, considered as one of the strongest proofs of the invincible courage of the *English* at sea <sup>1</sup>. Nay, immediately before he was dismissed from his command, he gave a most extraordinary proof of his courage; for he protested against *Blake's* retreat, after he had been worsted in the battle of the 29th of *November*, and declared, he thought it more honourable to perish at sea, than to retire in the sight of an enemy: and upon this occasion, he intimated a design of throwing up, which gave his enemies an opportunity of taking away his commission <sup>2</sup>. The true grounds of the parliament's displeasure towards him, though they did not care to own it,

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"teen or fifteen ships only, fought threescore sail of Dutch men of war, had thirty shot in the hull of his own ship. Twenty merchant (I suppose merchant-men convert'd into) men of war, never came in to assist him; yet, he made the Dutch give way. Why our state shall pay those ships that fought not, we, of the people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his actions."

<sup>1</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 323. Columna rostrata, p. 101. Bate's troubles in England, pt. ii. p. 175. Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 260. Le Clerc, de Neuville, &c. <sup>2</sup> Columna rostrata, p. 101.

it, was the fair agreement he had made with the lord *Willoughby* of *Barbadoes*, and the largeness of those articles of capitulation which he had granted him. They thought he might have been sufficiently cautioned by the resentment they had shewn on the treaty he made with Sir *John Greenville*, and were therefore the more deeply touched with this second offence<sup>a</sup>. Another reason for their inclining to lay him down softly, was his great influence over the seamen, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. In this transaction, they were too wise for themselves; for they parted with a man who was certainly firm to their interests; disobliterated the sea officers, who knew not what to think of such a proceeding; and lost the affection of the sailors, as appeared very soon after, when general *Cromwell* turned them out of doors, the whole fleet concurring in the approbation of that measure; which shews how dangerous a thing it is to sacrifice a man of known merit to secret distrusts<sup>b</sup>.

AFTER this, the admiral led a retired life, without concerning himself with public affairs. The grant he had of an estate in *Ireland*, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with *Henry Cromwell*, who then governed that kingdom, and who had so great an esteem for him, that he wrote expressly to secretary *Thurloe*, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment, then in agitation, and in any thing else which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced person<sup>c</sup>. Yet it doth not appear that he was ever employed in the protector's service; for I find him, in 1656, at his

<sup>a</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 323.

<sup>b</sup> See the postscript to Lilly's

almanack, for 1654.

<sup>c</sup> This letter is printed amongst *Thurloe's* state-papers, vol. iv. p. 198.

his seat in *Surry*, which is thus described by *Whitlock*.  
 “ The house stands environed with ponds, mores, and wa-  
 “ ter, like a ship at sea; a fancy the fitter for the master’s  
 “ humour, who was himself so great a seaman. There,  
 “ he said, he had cast anchor, and intended to spend the  
 “ rest of his life in private retirement “ ”. He changed  
 his resolution, however, for which, if I mistake not, this  
 visit laid a foundation; since *Whitlock* went in company  
 with the *Swedish* ambassador, and Sir *George* was after-  
 wards prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to  
*Sweden*, where he was to be admiral “.

THIS scheme of sending him into the north, was one  
 of the last formed by the protector *Oliver*. He had al-  
 ways kept a close correspondence with *Charles Gustavus*  
 king of *Sweden*, from the time that prince mounted the  
 throne, and drew many advantages from this conjunction.  
 He saw, therefore, with great regret, the success of the  
*Dutch* in settling the affairs of the north, and their awing  
 his ally, the king of *Sweden*, by keeping a strong fleet in  
 the *Baltick*. He had his reasons for avoiding a second war  
 with the *Dutch*, and yet he could not think of abandoning  
 the *Swedes* “. At last, therefore, he took a resolution of  
 sending a stout squadron, well-manned, under the command  
 of Sir *George Ayscue*, who was to enter into the *Swedish*  
 service; by which stroke of policy, the protector thought  
 he should avoid all disputes with *Holland*, and yet do as  
 much

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“ *Whitlock's* memorials, p. 649. where there is a long account  
 of a very curious conversation on maritime affairs, between the  
 ambassador and the admiral. “ *Thurloe's* state-papers, vol. iv.  
 p. 260. “ *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 545.  
 where there is a better account of *Cromwell's* designs, than I have  
 found in any of our own historians



## Sir GEORGE AYSCUE. 443

much for the *Swedes* as they could desire <sup>c</sup>. But this squadron sailing too late in the year, the ice prevented its arrival at *Copenhagen*: however, admiral *Ayscue* continued his journey to *Sweden* by land, and was received with great marks of favour by his *Swedish* majesty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's death, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660<sup>a</sup>; so that Sir *George Ayscue* had no manner of concern in the last troubles in *England*.

He returned home soon after the restoration, and was received with all the respect due to a man of his rank and merit. When the *Dutch* war broke out, in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the *Blue* squadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665<sup>d</sup>. On the duke of *York's* return to court, and the earl of *Sandwich's* hoisting the royal flag, Sir *George Ayscue* served

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<sup>a</sup> How much the news of this project alarmed the Danes, will appear from the following letter of their minister to secretary *Thurloe*, dated September 27, 1658, when in prosecution of *Oliver's* design, *Richard* had resolved to send *Ayscue* to *Sweden*.

May it please your lordship,

"Talk has been this many months, that Sir *George Ayscue*, and ten or twelve sea-captains were to take service under the king of *Sweden*, which I could not be induced to believe, thinking the said *Ayscue* would not turn a mercenary soldier of another prince, whilst the war in his own country lasted; if he could not be satisfied with that wealth and honour he has gotten and live a retired and quiet life. But I have been deceived in my opinion, and find, that certainly he and the said captains are to depart in a few days; they to command each a man of war, and Sir *George* the whole *Swedish* fleet." *Thurloe's* state-papers, vol. vii. p. 412.

<sup>b</sup> *Histoire de Suede*, par *pufendorf*, tom. iii. p. 30. *Whitlock's* memorials, p. 677, 698. *Burchet's* naval history, p. 397. <sup>c</sup> *Richard's* history of *England*, p. 820.

served as vice-admiral of the *Red*, and was very fortunate in making prizes <sup>2</sup>. In 1666, when prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle* commanded, Sir *George Ayscue*, in *The Royal Prince*, the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, bore the *White* flag, as admiral of that squadron, having Sir *William Berkley*, for his vice-admiral, and Sir *John Harman* for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the first of *June*, he did remarkable service, not only against the enemy, but in the preservation of such of the *English* ships as were disabled by their superior force. With the same successful diligence he acted the two next days; but towards the evening of the third, when prince *Rupert* appeared with the frigates under his command, and a signal was made for the fleet to join, Sir *George Ayscue's* ship unfortunately ran upon *The Galloper*, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, surrounded by his enemies, and unassisted by his friends, he was, as the *Dutch* writers themselves confess, compelled by his own seamen to strike; upon which, the *Dutch* took them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off *The Royal Prince*, set her on fire <sup>1</sup>. This capture of Sir *George Ayscue*, gave the enemy great satisfaction: they carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at last shut him up in the castle of *Louvestein*, where he continued for some months<sup>3</sup>. After his return, he went no more to sea, but spent the remainder of his days in quiet.

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<sup>1</sup> Burchet, p. 398. *Columna rostrata*, p. 166. Lediard. <sup>2</sup> *Echard's history of England*, p. 830. Burchet, p. 399, gives an account of this battle; but takes no notice of the loss of *The Royal Prince*. *Columna rostrata*, p. 172. <sup>3</sup> *Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville*. *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 776.

Sir *Edward Spragge* was a gentleman of great abilities in the cabinet, as well as at sea, and as much distinguished by his prudence in advising, as by his activity in executing, in which he was second to none. We find him a captain, in the first engagement with the *Dutch*, after the restoration, on the 3d of *June* 1665, wherein he behaved with great reputation, and so far recommended himself to the favour of the duke of *York*, that upon his majesty's visiting the navy, and going on board *The Royal Charles*, he received the honour of knighthood<sup>a</sup>; which encouraged him to expose himself still more freely. He was likewise in the four days battle in *June* 1666, where he was particularly taken notice of by the duke of *Albemarle*, and in the succeeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of *July*, he carried a flag under Sir *Jeremiah Smith*, admiral of the *Blue* Squadron, who engaged *Tromp*, shattered his vice-admiral, so that she was absolutely disabled; and having ruined the rigging of his rear-admiral, and killed its commander, contributed greatly to the glory of that day<sup>o</sup>. He distinguished himself likewise, in the close of that war, in the unlucky business at *Chatham*, where he was employed to defend the fort of *Shierness*, attacked by the enemy on the 10th of *June* 1667, and tho' it was unfinished, his garrison very small, and the place in no state of defence; yet he continued to defend himself, till it would have been an act of rashness to expose his garrison any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual service by land, he set himself to collect as great a force as he could by sea. This amounted to no more than five frigates,

<sup>a</sup> Echard's history of England, p. 831.  
strata, p. 179.

<sup>o</sup> Columna Ro-

gates, seventeen fire-ships, and some tenders; and yet when the *Dutch* admiral *Van Nes* came up the river again, after their attempt upon *Harwich*, Sir *Edward Spragge* engaged him about the *Hope*. The fight was very unequal; but there being at first little or no wind, Sir *Edward* laid hold of that advantage, and by dexterously towing his ships, burnt eleven or twelve of their fire-ships, with six of his own; but the wind stiffning, he was at last obliged to shelter himself from the enemy's unequal force, under the cannon of *Tilbury-Fort*. The next day the weather being favourable, he attacked the *Dutch* again in his turn, and by the happy management of his fire-ships, put them into such confusion, that after a short dispute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their last fire-ship to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they prosecuted their retreat; but with Sir *Edward Spragge's* Squadron of fire-ships in their rear. He followed them to the river's mouth, where they met another Squadron of fire-ships from *Harwich*, which put them in such danger, that above a hundred men in *The vice-admiral* of *Zealand*, and another large man of war, leaped over-board, and were drowned. This was the last action on our side in that war <sup>P</sup>.

In 1669, the constable of *Castile* being appointed governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, Sir *Edward Spragge* was sent over to compliment him upon that occasion, and to enter into some further negotiations for the success of the new measures, in which Sir *Edward* is said to have been deeply engaged <sup>Q</sup>. The truth is, he was raised by the favour, and supported by the friendship of the duke of *Noct*,

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<sup>P</sup> Philip's chronicle, p. 561. Burchet, Echard, Columna Rostrata, Bainage, Le Clerc, de Neuville. <sup>Q</sup> Echard's history of England, p. 857. Rapin, Oldmixon's history of the Stuart's

York, so that he devoted himself wholly to his service, and was thought to have a large share in his confidence. Some have reported, that he was a papist; of which, there is little probability, since we find him sent to sea with prince Rupert, in 1673, when the *Test* had driven the duke of York, and others of his religion, from their posts. This advancement of *Spragge*, I mention here, only to obviate the objection to him on the score of religion; for before I speak of his behaviour in the last Dutch war, I must take notice of his employment in the *Mediterranean*, after his return from his negotiation in *Flanders*.

TWO or three had been squadrons sent to chastize the *Algerines*, both by the *English* and *Dutch*; but very few of them had been able to effect any great matter. They, generally speaking, contented themselves with some slight action, to the prejudice of these *Corfairs*, and then concluded a peace; which was usually broken by that time they with their squadrons were returned home. The consideration of this, together with the loud complaints of the merchants, induced the court to fix upon Sir *Edward Spragge* to command a squadron in those seas, in hopes of his meeting with better success than his predecessors, from his known courage and resolution; for it is confessed by the writers of those times, that Sir *Edward* greatly resembled the earl of *Sandwich*, and concealed, like him, a high and daring spirit, under the most polished behaviour. He sailed from *England* on this expedition in the spring of the year

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\* History of the Dutch war, p. 45. An exact relation of the actions of his majesty's fleet, under prince Rupert, &c. p. 3. Secret history of the Reigns of king Charles II. and king James II. \* Kennet, Burchet, Columna Rostrata, Basnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, vie de Ruyter, &c.

year 1671, with five frigates and three fire-ships, and there might be as many more ships in those seas; so that in all, his fleet consisted of about twelve sail. In the latter end of the month of *April*, he had intelligence that there were several *Algerine* men of war in *Bugia* bay; on which he called a council of war, when it was resolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In pursuance of this resolution he sailed thither, but in his passage, had the misfortune to have *The Eagle* fire-ship disabled by a storm; and soon after one of his ships springing her main-mast, was obliged to bear away for the christian shore. Sir *Edward*, however, persisted in his design, refitted *The Eagle*, and bore into the bay of *Bugia* with a brisk gale, not doubting that he should be able to fire the ships: but by that time they got within half shot of the castle and forts, it fell a dead calm; and when the wind rose again, it proved contrary. On the 2d of *May*, they were able to do nothing for the same reason, the wind changing every half hour; upon which, Sir *Edward* resolved to make an attempt upon them in the night with his boats, and the smallest of his fire-ships, which rowed as well as a long-boat. About twelve o'clock that night he executed his project, sending in all his boats and *The Eagle* fire-ship, under the command of his eldest lieutenant Mr. *Nugent*. But the night proving very dark, and the high land obscuring the ships as they drew near them, they passed by, and lieutenant *Nugent* leaving one of the boats with the fire-ships, besides her own, rowed in to discover the enemy, leaving orders with the captain of the fire-ship, to come to an anchor in case he found shoal-water. The lieutenant had not left him a minute before he perceived himself within pistol-shot of the ships, and concluding the business now as good as done, steered off again to find the fire-ship, and

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to his amazement saw her all in flames: The enemy taking the alarm at this, the lieutenant was forced to row off with his boats; and so this fair opportunity was lost of burning the *Algerine* men of war without the loss of a man. The next day the enemy unrigged all their ships, and made a strong boom with their yards, top-masts, and cables buoyed up with casks, for which they had all the opportunity in the world, the wind hindering the *English* from doing any thing; and to try the admiral's patience to the utmost, it so fell out, that by a drunken gunner's firing a pistol, his other little fire-ship was lost; so that he had none now left but the *Little Victory*, which drew too much water, to enter that part of the bay where the *Algerines* lay.

ON *Monday* the 8th of *May* 1671, there appeared a considerable body of horse and foot in the neighbourhood of the bay, which were soon after discovered to be an effort to a very large convoy of ammunition sent from *Algiers* to the ships, on the safe arrival of which they fired all their cannon, to testify their joy. Sir *Edward Spragge* considering this, and not knowing what future reinforcements they might receive, resolved to take the first opportunity of making his utmost effort; and in order thereto, directed the *Victory* to be lightened, so that she might not draw above eight foot. About noon, there sprung up a fine breeze to the east, upon which the admiral gave the signal for the men of war to draw into a line, and bear up in the bay. Immediately after this, the wind sunk at once, so that they despaired of doing any thing. But about two, the gale sprung up again, and the ships bore in as they were directed. The admiral came to an anchor in four fathom water, close under their castle walls, which fired

upon him continually for two hours. In this space he sent in his own pinnace, and those of the *Mary* and the *Dragon*. These cut the boom, though not without considerable loss. Lieutenant *Pin*, who commanded the *Mary's* boat's crew, had eight wounded with himself; lieutenant *Pierce* of the *Dragon* was also wounded, with ten of his men, and one killed. In the admiral's own pinnace there were seven killed, and all the rest wounded, except Mr. *Harman* who commanded it. The boom being cut, the fire-ship went in, and getting up athwart their boltsprits, their ships being a-ground, and fast to the castles, she burnt very well, and destroyed them all. Captain *Harris* who commanded her, his master's mate, gunner, and one of his seamen were desperately wounded with small shot, and this at their entrance; so that probably the whole design had proved abortive, if the admiral had not with great prudence commissioned *Henry Williams*, (then one of his master's mates, but who had formerly commanded the *Rose* fire-ship) to take the charge of the vessel, in case the other was disabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him. This loss was irreparable to the *Algerines*, who had picked out the seven men of war here burnt, on purpose to fight sir *Edward Spragge*, had furnished them with their best brass ordnance from on board all the rest of their vessels, with 18 or 1,900 chosen men double officered, under the command of old *Terkey* their admiral, of whom, between three and four hundred were lost, the castles and town miserably torn, and a vast number of people in them killed and wounded; and which much increased their misery, all their surgeons chests were burnt on board their ships, so that numbers died for want of having their wounds dressed. Besides the men of war (of which

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p. 283,

## Sir EDWARD SPRAGGE. 451

which we shall give a list) there were burnt a *Genoese* ship, a small *English* prize, and a settee,

An exact LIST of the *Algier* ships burnt in *Bugia*, with their number of guns and age. May 8, 1671.

Ships Names.	Commanders.	Guns.	Years old.
<i>The White Horse.</i>	<i>Tabark Rays.</i>	34	— 4
<i>The Orange Tree.</i>	<i>Courhaly.</i>	34	— 4
<i>The Three Cypress Trees.</i>	<i>Caram Hammet.</i>	34	— $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>The Three Half Moons.</i>	<i>Brayham Tagrin.</i>	28	— 2
<i>The Pearl.</i>	<i>Brayham Turco.</i>	26	— 3
<i>The Golden Crown.</i>	<i>Halua Tagrin.</i>	24	— $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>The Half Moon.</i>	<i>Hammet.</i>	24	— $\frac{1}{2}$

In this engagement *sir Edward Spragge* had only seventeen killed, and forty-one wounded; which makes the victory still more extraordinary, and is a very full proof how necessary a steady and constant, as well as brisk and active courage is in an officer, who bears supreme command at sea<sup>t</sup>. What the consequences were of this action, and how well *sir Edward* by his wisdom improved the advantage that had been gained by his arms, we have already shewn<sup>u</sup>, and shall therefore not repeat it here, but proceed

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ceed

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<sup>t</sup> I take this account of *sir Edward Spragge's* expedition first from his instructions published in the memoirs of English affairs chiefly naval, p. 200, which instructions are dated at Richmond, the 14th of June 1670, and several other papers in the same book. Secondly, from *sir Edward's* own letter, dated May 11, 1671, and published by authority, under the title of, "A true and perfect relation of the happy success and victory, obtained against the "Turks of Argier at Bugia, by his majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, under the command of *sir Edward Spragge*, &c. "Printed in the Savoy, by Thomas Newcomb, 1671." See p. 283, 284.

ceed to his conduct in the last *Dutch* war, in which he remarkably distinguished himself.

AFTER having performed with honour the business for which he was sent into the *Mediterranean*, he returned in the beginning of the year 1672, with the squadron under his command. The *Dutch* war was then meditated by our court; but had not as yet broke out. Sir *Robert Holmes*, who had been the principal instrument in bringing on the first *Dutch* war, had been employed also to begin this, by attacking the *Smyrna* fleet, which was then expected home. On the 12th of *January* sir *Edward Spragge* met with sir *Robert Holmes's* squadron near the *Isle of Wight*, and upon sir *Robert's* enquiring news, sir *Edward* very frankly told him, that he had failed several days with the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet, that in a day or two's time they might be certainly expected. Sir *Robert Holmes* was very well pleased with this news, but took great care to say nothing, that might give him the least intimation of his having any orders to attack them, though if he had so done, and required sir *Edward's* assistance, he could not possibly have failed of taking or destroying that whole fleet, reckoned worth a million and half; and on the taking of which the king depended, for a supply towards carrying on the war. But sir *Robert*, averse to sharing any part of the reputation that might be acquired by this action, used his utmost diligence that no body should have any part in the execution of it but himself, in which, however, he had no success; and as this blasted his reputation with the world, so it produced a quarrel between him and sir *Edward Spragge*, which could never afterwards be composed \*.

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\* Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 555. of the *Dutch* edition. True account of the actions of the fleet under prince *Rupert*. History of the *Dutch* war.

## Sir EDWARD SPRAGGE. 453

WHEN his royal highness the duke of *York* had resolved to take upon him the command of the *English* navy in the same year, sir *Edward Spragge* was chiefly depended on for assembling the fleet, and preparing all things for the reception of his highness, as I find by an order directed to him, as commander in chief of his majesty's fleet, on *June 15, 1672*<sup>\*</sup>; and he performed his part so well, that by the end of the month all things were ready, and his highness was invited on board, who joined him soon after, together with the earl of *Sandwich*, and other persons of distinction. He was present in *Solbay* fight, the 28th of *May*, and distinguished himself therein, by sinking a *Dutch* ship of sixty guns. During the rest of that campaign, he behaved with his accustomed diligence, and returned with great reputation after it was over; which very probably determined the court to employ him (as they did) the next year.

WHEN the duke of *York* was obliged to part with his command, and the court, to gratify the desire of the nation, lay under a necessity of making use of prince *Rupert*, they took care to secure the fleet notwithstanding, by employing such officers as they could best, and his highness least, trust. Sir *Edward Spragge* was to carry the *blue* flag instead of sir *Robert Holmes*, whom his highness proposed; and, because there had been a difference between these two admirals, the court thought fit to lay *Holmes* entirely aside, though he was a very active man, and had been much in their confidence<sup>†</sup>. Before the fleet put to sea, sir *Edward* was sent with the character of en-

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<sup>\*</sup> *Memoirs of the royal navy*, p. 246.      <sup>†</sup> True account of the actions of the fleet under prince *Rupert*, &c. p. 5.

voy extraordinary to *France*, where he was received with all possible respect, was exceedingly caressed during his stay, and at his taking leave had a present made him of great value. His business was to renew the treaty with that court, to settle the rules that were to be observed on the junction of the *French* and *English* fleets, and to restore the old friendship between the courts, which seemed to be somewhat injured by the late proceedings in *England* <sup>2</sup>. As no part of sir *Edward Spragge's* negotiation, or instructions was ever communicated to prince *Rupert*, it gave him fresh grounds of dislike; so that when sir *Edward* came to hoist his flag, there was a great coldness between them <sup>3</sup>. This did not hinder our admiral's doing his duty very gallantly in the engagement, which happened on the 28th of *May*, wherein he fought *Tromp* seven hours, forced him to go from the *Golden Lion* into the *Prince on Horseback*, and thence into the *Amsterdam*, from that into the *Comet*, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by *de Ruyter* <sup>4</sup>. Sir *Edward* also twice changed his ship. These circumstances are not taken notice of in the account which was published after sir *Edward's* death; but in prince *Rupert's* letter to the earl of *Arlington*, the matter (notwithstanding the quarrel betwixt them) is very fairly stated. "Sir *Edward Spragge*, says his highness, did on his  
 "fide maintain the fight with so much courage and resolu-  
 "tion, that their whole body gave way to such a degree,  
 "that had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven  
 "them

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<sup>2</sup> Kennet, Echard, Columna Rostrata, Oldmixon, Rapin,

<sup>3</sup> True account of the actions of the fleet under prince *Rupert*, p.

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<sup>4</sup> Basnage Annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 411.  
 Vie de *Ruyter*, p. 565.



“ them into their harbours, and the king would have had “ a better account of them “.” In the battle of the 4th of *June*, sir *Edward* is blamed for coming, just before the engagement began, six miles in his boat to receive his highness's orders<sup>d</sup>: however, after he returned, he behaved with great resolution, forced *Van Tromp*, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his ship, and would inevitably have either taken or destroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the admiral. The hazard that he ran, provoked him so against vice-admiral *Sweers*, that he accused him to the *States-General*. Prince *Rupert*, in his letter, takes no notice of sir *Edward Spragge's* behaviour at all, and though “ it is very certain, that he had the advantage of *Tromp* in this action; yet even that is concealed by an author, who pretends to more than ordinary knowledge of all that passed. The *Dutch* writers confess his bravery, and own he pushed them hard; and *Tromp* in his letter to the *States*, say, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark “.

In the third battle, which happened on the 11th of *August*, sir *Edward Spragge*, with the *blue* squadron, was in the rear, where it is said, that notwithstanding he had promised prince *Rupert* not to part from his side, yet being provok'd by *Tromp*, he laid his fore-top sail to the mast to stay for him; and having engaged his squadron, continued fighting for many hours, at a distance from the fleet. Sir

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*Edward*

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<sup>c</sup> See that letter printed by authority, and dated from on board the *Royal Charles*, off the oyster bank, May 29, 1673. <sup>d</sup> True account of the actions of the fleet, under prince *Rupert*, p. 10, 11.

<sup>e</sup> The writer abovementioned is the author of the relation so often cited, who had himself a command in the fleet. *Balnago Annales des Provinces Unies*, vol. ii. p. 415. *Le Clerc*, tom. ii. p. 241. *Vie de Ruyter*, p. 498.

*Edward* was at first on board the *Royal Prince*, and *Tromp* in the *Golden Lyon*; but after a dispute of about three hours, in which the *Dutch* admiral avoided coming to a close fight, sir *Edward*'s ship was so disabled, that he was forced to go on board the *St. George*, as *Tromp* did on board the *Comet*. Then the fight began again with greater fury than before. At last, the *St. George* was so battered, that sir *Edward* thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the *Royal Charles*; but before his boat had rowed ten times its own length from the *St. George*, it was pierced by a cannon-shot; upon which, the crew endeavoured to get back again; but, before that could be effected, sir *Edward* was drowned; his hands taking so dead a hold on the side of the boat, that when it came to float, he was found with his head and shoulders above water<sup>†</sup>.

THIS end had the brave sir *Edward Spragge*, who thereby made good what he promised the king, when he took leave of him, that he would bring him *Van Tromp* alive or dead, or lose his own life in the attempt<sup>‡</sup>. These admirals, indeed, seem to have had a particular desire, each to overcome the other; for they had constantly fought in every battle from the time that sir *Edward Spragge* succeeded the earl of *Sandwich*, and *Van Tromp* came again to command the *Dutch* fleet in the room of *Van Ghent*. The *Dutch* writers speak of his death with visible regret, and own, that he was one of the bravest men, and best commanders that ever fought at sea. Our own

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<sup>†</sup> An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, &c. p. 14 — 21. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 420. De Neuville, vol. iv. p. 204. Vie de Ruyter, p. 574. Echard's History of England, p. 894.

own writers are profuse in the praises they bestow on his valour, and therefore I shall content myself with citing only one testimony in his favour; which shall be that of bishop *Parker*, who describes the last scene of his life thus. "There was a remarkable fight between *Spragge* and *Tromp*; for these having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out of hatred, but a thirst of glory; they engaged with all the rage, or as it were, with all the sport of war. They came so close to one another, that like an army of foot, they fought at once with their guns and swords. Almost at every turn, both their ships, though not sunk, were yet bored through, their cannon being discharged within common gun-shot: neither did our ball fall in vain into the sea; but each ship pierced the other, as if they had fought with spears. But at length, three or four ships being shattered, as *Spragge* was passing in a long-boat from one ship to another, the boat was over-turned by a chance shot, and that great man not being skilled in swimming, was drowned, to the great grief of his generous enemy, who, after the death of *Spragge*, could hardly hope to find an enemy equal to himself. But thus it happened, that when that brave man had overcome so many dangers, his country being now victorious and safe, no honour remained for him to receive, but the reward of a glorious death<sup>h</sup>."

THESE were the great men who carried the glory of the *English* arms so high, and who effectually supported the

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<sup>h</sup> Bishop *Parker*'s history of his own times, p. 157. The same prelate in another part of his history, tells us, that sir *Edward Spragge* was a person, the love and delight of all men, as well for his noble courage, as the gentle sweetness of his temper, p. 126.

the honour of the flag. If the reader misses the memoirs of some whose actions are mentioned in our history, it is, because they belong to another place, in consequence of their having survived this reign, and that unfortunate one which succeeded it. But, these are the heroes to whom were owing our principal victories, which raised our reputation so high, extended our commerce so far, and might have brought us much greater advantages, if our domestic divisions had not in some measure frustrated their labours, and defeated our expectations from those naval successes, which all hazarded, and many laid down their lives to purchase. A memorable misfortune this, and which we ought never to forget, if we desire to avoid feeling the effects of so wretched a conduct, with a short explication of which, as a necessary comment on what has been already said, we shall conclude this chapter.

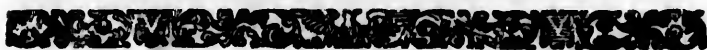
THE two *Dutch* wars were very disagreeable to a great part of the nation, through an apprehension of their consequences, and therefore the great exploits performed by our seamen, and the advantages gained by the last peace, which has secured us from any subsequent quarrels with that nation, were not looked upon in the light they deserved; but such as did their duty, and acted vigorously in their stations, were disliked, and treated as the ferule creatures of a court, ready to attempt any thing for which they received orders. This was certainly very injurious usage, and such as must have contributed to sink the spirits of many. The true merit of a soldier, or seaman, certainly consists in executing vigorously the order he receives; and things are carried too far when we pretend to make them accountable for those orders; because, if this maxim should be once established, such consequences

quences must inevitably flow from it, as would be far more detrimental to society, than the affording a certain measure of applause, to such gallant actions as might be performed upon wrong principles. Of this, I might give a flagrant instance, by referring to a certain history, where *for Robert Holmes* is severely censured for doing what a council of war directed; and some persons, who had been attainted by parliament, are justified, and commended for assisting the *Dutch* to invade this nation, and to destroy our ships at *Chatham*; which is a doctrine of a very dangerous nature, and directly contrary to that true public spirit, which ought to influence all men, and all parties; to bear whatever may be required of them for their country's good, and to forbear avenging themselves upon her, whatever provocations they may receive.

AFTER having pointed out this error on one side, I shall with equal freedom, lay open a greater on the other: I mean the court's too great regard for *France*, which was highly detrimental to the trade of these nations, and had well nigh been the destruction of our navy. It is a monstrous thing to assert, and yet there are too strong proofs of this truth for us to avoid saying, that the administration in the latter part of king *Charles's* reign, from the time his notions had a wrong turn given them by the CABAL, favoured too much the *French* schemes, for the advancement of their commerce to the prejudice of ours; in doing which, they issued such orders to the officers of the navy, as made them justly obnoxious to parliament, though very able men in their places, and thereby created such an alteration in the management of things, as added the ruin of our shipping, to the hurt done our trade: whereas, if the court had acted honestly, and the nation been of one mind, we might certainly


tainly have given law to *Europe*, and become the greatest maritime power the world ever saw.

WE lost these advantages then, and the sense of this ought to be of service to us now. The fleet, at the death of king *Charles II.* was recovering indeed, but very slowly. It is time to see how a prince, who took care of nothing else, prosecuted that work with diligence, and raised our navy to a better state than it was ever in before.



## CHAP. V.

*The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of king James II. containing an account of the methods made use of for restoring and improving the fleet; their success, and the king's disappointment in his endeavours to prevent an invasion from Holland.*

EW princes have struggled with greater difficulties before they ascended their thrones, than king *James II.* and few, ever sustained a greater load of trouble afterwards. He succeeded his brother the 6th of *February*, 1685, with the general acclamations of his subjects, who expected great things from a king, who came to the throne with such advantages. He was then turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and strengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in business;



finest; a good œconomist: in fine, a prince, who, if he had managed public affairs with the same ease and dexterity, which he shewed in the conduct of his private concerns, his reign must have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troublesome and unfortunate.

It was his great foible, that he was constantly influenced by foreign councils, which is a thing the *English* nation cannot endure; and indeed, it is impossible they should; for as our constitution differs from the constitution of all the states upon the continent, it is simply impracticable to govern us well, by any other system of politics than our own. King *James* knew this well enough; and yet his fondness for the popish religion, threw him into the arms of *France*, and engaged him, while a subject, to act as a tool; when a king, to rule as a vice-roy to *Lewis XIV.* and this at a juncture, when if he had been of the religion of his fathers, and had complied with the desires of his people, he might have given law to that haughty monarch, and been esteemed the deliverer of *Europe*. His bigotry blinded him; some of his ministers abused his confidence; till by a series of bad management, he made his affairs desperate, and lost the affections of his people, which soon lost him all.

YET, as wrong as his conduct was in almost every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs, deserves to be transmitted to posterity with just applause. He had long experienced the office of lord high-admiral, in the reign of his brother, and understood it thoroughly; he knew too the disorders which had crept into the whole œconomy of the fleet, in the six years immediately preceeding his accession; and he was well acquainted besides, with the difficulties the late king had found, in discovering and apply-

applying remedies to these mischiefs. As soon, therefore, as he was seated on the throne, he began to consider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only set right for the present, but also be put into such a settled course, as that they might not suddenly go wrong again. With this view he consulted Mr. *Pepys*, and some other considerable persons, on whose abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was necessary to be done to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he first assigned a stated fund of four hundred thousand pounds a year, payable quarterly out of the treasury for the service of the navy, and then issued a special commission for settling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into such a method, as might need few or no alterations in succeeding times.

THIS commission was the wisest act of his whole reign, and answered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be expected from it. It was grounded, as to form, on a commission which had issued for the same purpose in the reign of his grandfather, of which we have taken notice more than once. As the then commissioners of the navy were men of fair character, though they had been so unlucky in the management of their office, the king would not remove them, but caused their names to be inserted in this commission, which superseded their own, with the addition of a few old servants, though new commissioners, on whose skill and vigilance he depended. The old commissioners were the lord viscount *Falkland*, sir *John Tippets*, sir *Richard Haddock*, sir *Phineas Pett*, sir *John Narborough*, Mr. *Southerne*, sir *Richard Beach*, sir *John Godwin*. The new ones, sir *Anthony Dean*, sir *John Berry*, Mr. *Hawer*, and Mr. *St. Michael*. This commission was dated

ed the 17<sup>th</sup> of *April* 1686, and by it the commissioners were directed to enquire into, and remedy all the disorders that were then in the navy, to restore it in every respect to good order, and from time to time to report the proceedings to his majesty and the privy council, as they were particular enjoined in that commission<sup>1</sup>.

THE commissioners vested with these powers lost no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inspection into the state of the navy, enquired strictly into the causes of past miscarriages, with respect rather to things than men, and taking such measures for the immediate remedy of the mischief they discovered, that the old ships were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and mended; the yards properly supplied with the ablest workmen; all the storehouses filled with whatever was

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<sup>1</sup> The whole of this account is taken from Mr. Pepy's memoirs relating to the state of the royal navy of England, wherein he tells us, that the following qualifications were chiefly considered in the choice of the new commissioners, pursuant to a memorial addressed by him to the king, and drawn by his masters directions, viz.

" I. A practised knowledge in every part of the works and methods of your navy, both at the board and in your yards. " The not discerning of which (and the others that follow) appears to have cost your royal brother and you within the fore-mentioned five years, above half a million. II. A general mastery in the business and accounts, though more particularly those incident to the affairs of your navy. III. Vigour of mind, joined with approved industry, zeal, and personal aptness for labour. IV. An entire resignation of themselves, and their whole time to this your service, without liableness to avocation from other business or pleasure. V. Lastly, Such credit with your majesty for integrity and loyalty, as may (with the former conditions) lead both yourself and my lord treasurer, to an entire confidence of having all done; that can be morally expected from them, in the advancement of your service, and the circumspect and orderly dispensing and improving of your treasure."

was requisite bought at the best hand, and in all respects the best in their kind; the estimates brought into proper order, and the whole œconomy of the navy reduced into so clear a method, that it was impossible any officer could be ignorant of, or mistake in his duty, the public service suffer in any of its various branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated without an immediate discovery of the offender. That all this might more fully and indisputably appear (besides the reports directed by the commission being duly made) the commissioners engaged his majesty to visit in person the yards, docks, store-houses, &c. which, considering his perfect acquaintance with naval affairs, made it impossible he should be deceived; and then having demonstrated the justice of their conduct, by leaving the navy much encreased, in perfect order, and with sea-stores valued at four hundred thousand pounds, they laid down their posts, their commission being superseded with a just approbation of their conduct; by letters patent under the great seal, *October 12, 1688*. Thus in little more than two years time this great reform was made, all the officers of the navy in general paid to a farthing; and a saving made to the public of three hundred seven thousand five hundred and seventy pounds nine shillings and four-pence, and this for the inconsiderable expence of six thousand pounds paid to the new commissioners.

WHILE this commission subsisted, the king issued new instructions to the officers commanding his ships of war, these are dated the 15<sup>th</sup> of *July 1686*, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public service, securing discipline, and preserving proper memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains and superior officers, to deposit a perfect copy of their journals with the secretary of the admiralty. As many things in these regulations

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tations might seem to bear hard upon commanders, and to deprive them of those emoluments which their predecessors had enjoyed; his majesty was graciously pleased to grant them very considerable favours, such as a settled allowance for their tables<sup>k</sup>, several advantages in respect to prizes, &c. and in the close, the king was pleased to promise to take special notice of, and amply to reward, every instance of courage, care or diligence in any of his officers, upon proper attestations deposited with the secretary of the admiralty.

We need not wonder that in consequence of so great an attention, the *British* fleet was in very good order when king *James* had the first notice of the prince of *Orange's* design; but we may be justly surprized at the strange management of maritime affairs from that time. A squadron of ships was indeed ordered to sea under the command of sir *Roger Strickland*, then rear-admiral of *England*, who was, perhaps, the most improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the seamen, by the readiness he had shewn in

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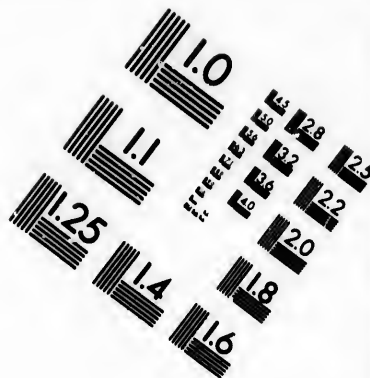
<sup>k</sup> The reader may form a proper conception of the importance of this regulation, by considering the following table which shews the proportion maintained in this new allowance, so as to make it a just equivalent for the perquisites taken away by this instruction.

Rate. Present Wages. Present Victualling. Additional Grant for his table.

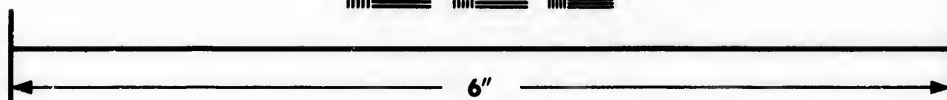
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
1	273	15	12	3	4		250		
2	219		12	3	4		200		
3	182		12	3	4		166	5	
4	136	10	12	3	4		124	5	
5	109	10	12	3	4		100		
6	91		12	3	4		83		







Resolution test chart showing patterns of vertical and horizontal lines with numerical values ranging from 1.0 to 2.5.



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bringing priests on board the fleet. His squadron was ordered to the *Downs* very indifferently manned, and when he complained of it, and desired to have soldiers at least sent on board; this was very slowly done, considering the importance of the service. By his instructions he was to have remained in the *Downs*; but conceiving that to be a very improper station for the service he was to perform, after consulting with the captains in whom he could best confide, he certified as much to the court, and offered it as his opinion, that it would be better, for the fleet to remain at the buoy of the gun-fleet, near *Harwich*. The king, as soon as he received this advice, sent for lord *Dartmouth*, sir *John Berry*, captain *John Clements*, the three elder brothers of the *Trinity-house* at *Deptford*, and Mr. *Pepys*, to whom he communicated sir *Roger Strickland's* letter, and in consequence of their joint advice, sent the admiral orders to go out of the *Downs* with the first easterly wind, and place himself between the north sand-head, and the *Kentish Knock*, there to continue under sail in the day time, and at anchor in the night, in order to observe the *Dutch* fleet, and to gain the best intelligence of them he could, in pursuance of the instructions then sent him<sup>1</sup>.

WHEN the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was ordered to retire to the *Buoy in the Nore*; and lord *Dartmouth* was ordered to sea, with such a reinforcement as made the whole fleet under his command, consist of forty men of war of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire-ships. This fleet being at the gun-fleet, and ready in all respects to sail, a council of war was called,

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<sup>1</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 411. Kennet's compleat history of England, Echard, Rapin, &c.

called, wherein sir *William Jennings*, who commanded a third rate, propos'd to put to sea, and stand over to the *Dutch* coasts, as the shortest and surest way to prevent an invasion. This proposition, however, was reject'd by a great majority, and so it was resolv'd to continue there, the true ground of this, as Mr. secretary *Burchet* fairly tells us, was the secret resolution of the greatest part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in case he had come up with the *Dutch* fleet, from doing them much damage; and thus it appears how ineffectual fleets and armies are, when princes have lost the confidence of those who serve in or command them.

It may not now be amiss to cast our eyes over to *Holland*, in order to consider the force preparing there for this invasion. His highness the prince of *Orange* had about his person abundance of *English* noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Macclesfield*, the lords *Mordaunt*, *Wiltshire*, *Pasquet*, *Elan*, and *Dumblain*, admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert*, colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Russel*, sir *Rowland Gwyn*, major *Wildman*, dr. *Bennet*, mr. *Harbord*, mr. *Ferguson*, and besides the general officers of the states, the marshal *Schomberg*, count *Charles*, his son mr. *Caillemotte*, younger son to the marquis of *Rouvigni*, and two or three hundred *French* refugees. The fleet that was to carry these consisted of about fifty sail, most of them third or fourth rates, and the transports were about five hundred. These with twenty-five fire-ships made up the whole navy; the land forces embark'd were four thousand horse and dragoons, and ten thousand foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the captains of these vessels were *Dutch*, yet the chief command was given to admiral *Herbert*, who very lately commanded the *English* fleet; and this with a view either

to engage ships to come over, or at least to encourage the seamen to desert. In order to do this more effectually, *Herbert* first addressed a letter to his countrymen in the service, and then stood with the *Dutch* fleet over to the *Dowes*, in order to look at the *English* squadron, and try what effects his exhortations had produced. At that time his success did not promise much, and after a fortnight's cruising, he returned to the *Dutch* coasts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worse of his own, than when he sailed. But for all this, his epistle did almost as much service as the force he commanded; for though the desertion was inconsiderable, yet by degrees the sailors lost their spirits, and their officers began to cabal, and to consult, not how they should execute the orders they had received, but how they might best secure the fleet.

ON the 19th of *October* 1688, the prince went on board, and the whole fleet sailed that night; but the next day the wind turning north, and then settling in the north-west, it was found impossible to struggle with it; and therefore, on the 21st the fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a storm. On the first of *November* the fleet sailed again. The prince intended to have gone northwards, and to have landed in the mouth of the *Humber*; but a strong east wind rendered this impracticable, and seemed to direct them to a better course. His highness then sailed westward, the same wind which brought him to the *English* coast keeping in the king's ships, though they were come down so low as the *Gun-Fleet*. There in a foggy day they passed the *English* navy undiscerned, except a few transports which sailed in sight, while the *English* fleet rode with their yards and top-masts down, and could not by reason of the extraordinary violence of the wind purchase their anchors. On the 4th of

*November*

*November* at noon, it was resolved on board the *Dutch* fleet, that part of the ships should go into *Dartmouth*, and the rest into *Torbay*; but in the night the pilots overshot both, and then it was determined to go into *Plymouth*, which if they had done, might have proved fatal; but the wind suddenly turning from east to south, corrected the error of their pilots, and brought them safe into *Torbay*, where the army was immediately landed, and the prince made the necessary dispositions for drawing the country gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him.

As soon as the wind would permit, the earl of *Dartmouth*, a gallant, loyal and active officer, weighed with the *English* fleet, and stood to sea with a resolution to follow and fight the *Dutch*. Secretary *Burchet* and bishop *Burnet* seem to contradict each other in what they say on this subject: the secretary informs us, that lord *Dartmouth* came before *Torbay* with his fleet, and gave the *Dutch* an opportunity of seeing what his strength might enable him to have done, if he had inclined to treat them as enemies. The prelate on the contrary says, that lord *Dartmouth* assured him sometime after, that whatever stories the *Dutch* might have heard either of officers or seamen, he was confident they would have fought very heartily. This seeming contradiction may however, be easily reconciled; for this disposition of fighting, is to be referred to the time when the *English* first got to sea, and then, if they had come up with the *Dutch* fleet, it is very probable they had come to blows, and the business had been decided by a battle: but when the wind turning to the south, carried the prince's fleet into *Torbay*, it forced the *English* fleet back, and afterwards rising into a storm, ruffled them so much, that it was two or three days before lord *Dartmouth* came again before *Torbay*; and then it was, that as Mr. *Burchet* says, he shewed the *Dutch* fleet.



fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The seamen had time in this space, to consider what they were doing, and such of the officers as were well affected to the prince's design, had an opportunity of working upon them, and disposing things for his service; and thus that naval force, which the king had cultivated with so great care, and on which he depended so much, proved of little or no use, as well as his army: so difficult a thing it is to bring *Englishmen* to enslave *England*!

As to the conduct of the king, after the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet, it was so unaccountable in itself, and so much has been said of it, by other writers, that it is absolutely unnecessary for me to insist upon it: I shall only observe, that it was very strange he paid so little attention to the fleet, since, if we except the care he took in sending away his family, it does not appear, that he issued any orders relating thereto; which will seem still the more extraordinary, if we consider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whose fidelity he could absolutely depend; but also an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the sailors<sup>m</sup>. In all probability,  
he

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<sup>m</sup> Admiral Legg, had been created lord Dartmouth by king Charles II. but he received much greater favours from king James, in whose reign, he was master of the horse, general of the ordnance, constable of the Tower of London, one of the lords of the privy-council, colonel of the royal regiment of fusileers, and captain of an independent company of foot. He was also high steward of Dartmouth, Kingston upon Thames, and recorder of Litchfield. In the year 1687, attending the king in his progress, and the city of Coventry presenting his majesty with a large gold cup and cover, he immediately deliver'd it to the lord Dartmouth, telling him, there was an acknowledgment from the city of Coventry, for his father's sufferings in their town; where, during the civil wars,

he was deterred from taking any measures of this sort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the service of the royal navy, rose on a sudden, and without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out a regiment of regular troops quartered at *Rochester*, and *Chatham*, and declared for the protestant religion, and the prince of *Orange*.

It is also not improbable, that the king was discouraged from making any applications to the seamen, in whom he had formerly shewn much confidence, by the revolt of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, where the people, and especially the sailors belonging to the vessels in their harbours, seized several popish officers, who had been sent thither to discipline their militia, and on other pretences; and this upon the first news of the invasion here. To say the truth, the sea-faring people all over the nation, but particularly in *Bristol* and *London*, declared unanimously and vehemently against his measures, and did all in their power to prevent the most obnoxious of his ministers, such as chancellor *Jeffries* and father *Petre*, from making their escape: which can be attributed to nothing but the just sense they had of the iniquitous measures these people had pursued; for, as to themselves, they had no particular grievances.

BUT what is still more strange, the king made no use  
of

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wars, he had suffered a long imprisonment. The succeeding year, he was made admiral of the fleet of England, then set out to intercept the Dutch fleet, bringing over the prince of *Orange*; which employment he accepted out of gratitude to the king, who, as bishop Burnet writes, loved him, and in whose service and confidence he had long been. The bishop also says, that he was indeed one of the worthiest men of his court; but he was much against the conduct of his affairs; yet he resolved to stick to him at all hazards. Collins's peerage of England, vol. iii. p. 108.

of the *French* power at sea, though he was in the strictest alliance with that court. A *French* fleet, if fitted out at that juncture, might have made the *Dutch* more cautious, even while this invasion was under their deliberation. Or, if a *French* squadron had joined his own navy, as in his brother's time, when we were engaged in the last *Dutch* war, this must have had a great weight. For though in the former case, the *French* squadrons, as we have shewn, never did any good; yet now the circumstances of things being altered, and the *French* king so nearly concerned in breaking a confederacy, which he knew to be forming against him, and of which this was the first apparent act, as well as in succouring so firm and so useful an ally; there is reason to believe his officers and seamen would have acted heartily and harmoniously. Besides, the *French* naval power (without our king's assistance) was now quite another thing than it was in the *Dutch* war, since very lately they had fought the *Dutch* upon equal terms in the *Mediterranean* with honour, and consequently were capable of fighting them elsewhere, as the *States* very well knew, and would have been unwilling to run any such hazard. But above all, in so delicate a conjuncture, the appearance of a large *French* fleet, would have compelled his own to fight, and in all probability, would have reassumed the timid, and put suspected captains on exerting themselves to wipe out the imputations of their enemies. The engaging the *Dutch* was what he ought chiefly to have aimed at; for an action must have done him service, by rousing the spirits of his sailors, who would then have banished all Diffidence, and considered nothing but the support of the *English* reputation. These obvious advantages he missed, either from a strong persuasion that his own force was more than sufficient to repel the invaders; or, as it is commonly reported,

ported, by the advice of the earl of *Sunderland*, who discouraged the having recourse to foreign assistance from arguments drawn from the king and nation's safety, and so the king, when he wanted them most, had neither a fleet of his own, or of his allies, at his devotion; which if he had, it is not improbable he might have turned the tables again, and forced the *Dutch* off the coast.

THE mistakes committed on this side, were heightened in their appearance by the great caution and wise management on the other; and by the foreseen, and unforeseen consequences of the whole transaction. The embarkation, was made with ease; the passage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the descent in the fittest place in *England* for landing of horse, so that it was performed without difficulty, as well as without danger. Bishop *Burnet*, therefore, says truly, that these lines from *Claudian*, were very happily applied to the prince of *Orange's* expedition.

*O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,  
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.*

Oh heaven-protected chief! whom skies defend,  
And on whose call, submissive winds attend.

IN *Holland*, they triumphed on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the *States*, and the most eminent news-writer they then had, made this observation on the success of the prince's enterprise, in his reflections on the history of *Europe*, for *November* 1688. "The expence  
" bestowed on the fleet and army, set out from *Holland*,  
" is a sign they are morally assured of the success of the

“ expedition, which I am apt to think has been a long  
 “ time in agitation, though it was carried with that pru-  
 “ dence and secrecy, as not to be discovered, ’till it could  
 “ be no longer concealed.” When skill, industry, and zeal  
 were visibly on the part of the prince; and weakness,  
 irresolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king’s mea-  
 sures, it was impossible things should continue long in dis-  
 pute, or that his highness, who knew so well how to use  
 the advantages that were in his hands, should not prevail.

WHEN lord *Dartmouth* saw the disposition of his offi-  
 cers, and how little it was in his power to serve his master,  
 he wisely yielded to necessity, and failing once again in-  
 to the *Downs*, and there holding a council of war, it was  
 resolved, first to dismiss from their commands all such of-  
 ficers as were known to be papists, or suspected so to be,  
 and then to send up an address to his highness, setting  
 forth their steady affection to the protestant religion, and  
 their sincere concern for the safety, freedom, and honour  
 of their country. Not long after this, the ships were  
 dispersed, some to the dock-yards, to be dismantled, and  
 laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired; and such as  
 were in the best condition for the sea, were appointed for  
 necessary services.

THESE were all the services performed by the *En-  
 glish* navy, during the reign of a prince, who, while a  
 subject, had served and acquired a reputation at sea; who  
 understood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who at-  
 tended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought  
 to be remembered, that tho’ this fleet was useless to him,  
 yet it was of the highest advantage to the nation. If he  
 had been less careful in this respect; if he had left the navy  
 in a low condition; nay, if he had left it as he found it

at.

at his brother's decease, it would have been impossible for us to have withstood the naval power of *France*, which had been for several years growing, and about the time of the revolution, or a little before it had attained its greatest height. As it was, the king left behind him, as numerous, and in every respect as compleat and well furnished a navy, as *England* had ever seen ; so that, when the *French* came out with such a strength as amazed all the world, it surprized indeed, but did not fright us. We were quickly in a condition to look them in the face, and the subsequent part of this work will shew, that notwithstanding the mighty change that had happened in a short time abroad, and the pains almost every where taken to create a naval force, yet we were as able to assert our sovereignty in our own seas, and to maintain the honour of our flag every where else, as in any preceeding period.

I shall conclude this volume, by exhibiting to the reader's view, an exact account of the fleet, and the condition in which it was left by king *James*, in order to prove what has been before asserted, and to prepare him for the history of those actions at sea, which followed in



AN abstract of the list of the royal navy of *England*,  
upon the 18th of *December*, 1688, With the force of  
the whole.

## Ships and Vessels.

		Force,		
		Number.	Men.	Guns.
Rates,	{ 1	9	6,705	878
	{ 2	11	7,010	974
	{ 3	39	16,545	2,640
	{ 4	41	9,480	1,908
	{ 5	2	260	60
	{ 6	6	420	90
Bombers.		3	120	34
Fire-ships.		26	905	218
Hoys.		6	22	
Hulks.		8	50	
Ketches.		3	115	24
Smacks,		5	18	
Yatchs.		14	353	104
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		173	42,003	6,930

F I N I S.

A GENERAL  
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T O T H E

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