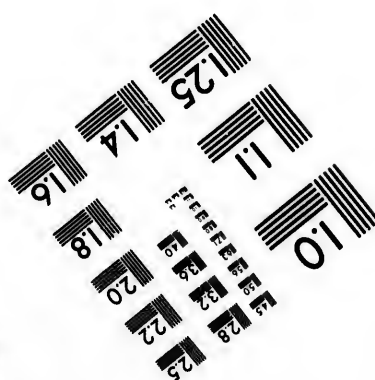
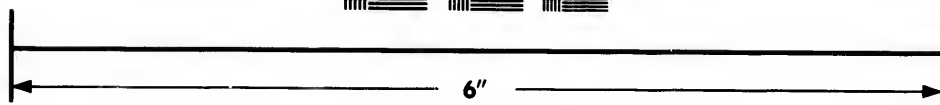
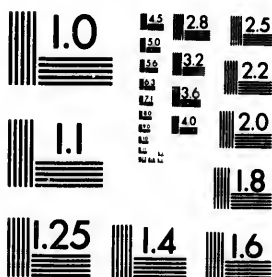


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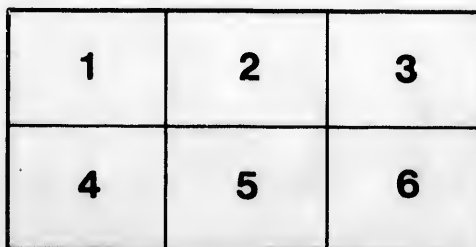
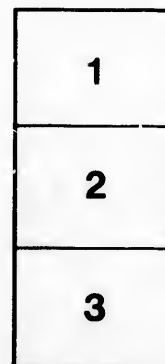
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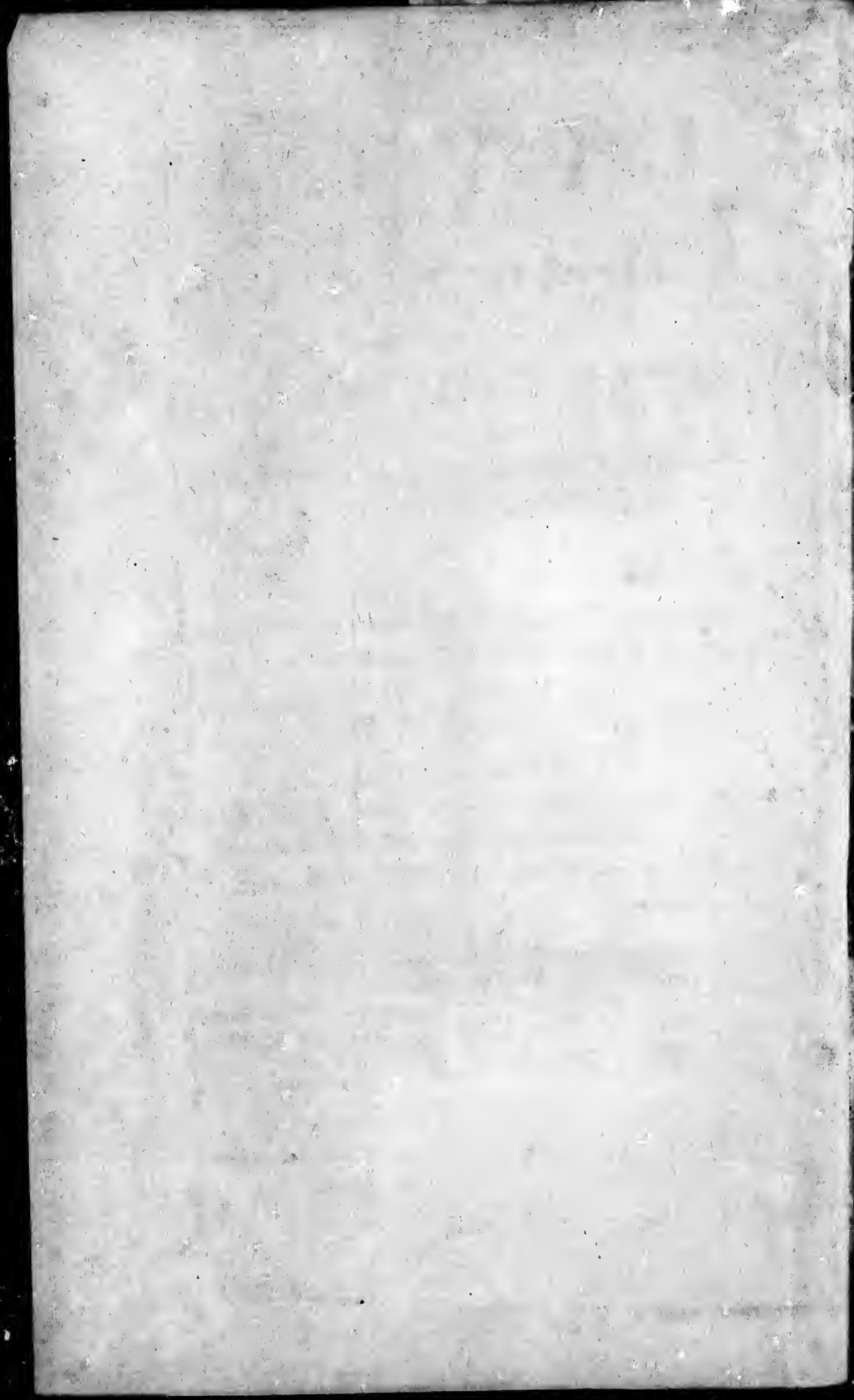
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C H A P. I.

*The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN;  
from the UNION of the two kingdoms, to  
the end of the reign of her majesty queen  
ANNE.*



S I propose to make the UNION of the two kingdoms, the great event from whence, in this volume, I shall deduce our naval history to the present times; and as this event in itself, has had a great influence on the naval power and commerce of this nation; so I think I cannot act with greater propriety, than to open this chapter with an impartial account of that important trans-

VOL. IV.

B

action.



action. This, I take to be the more necessary, because almost all historians, and memoir-writers, have given way to their passions and prejudices, in what they say about it; and this to such a degree, that they not only contradict and abuse each other, but also darken things in such a manner, that even the most intelligent reader can hardly discern the truth. As I am not conscious of feeling in myself so much as a spark of party heat; as I have some relation to, and at the same time an equal affection for both countries, without the least bias in favour of either, I shall endeavour to give a clear, succinct, and fair account of this whole business; in order to which, I shall begin with the motives which induced the queen's ministry to push this matter so earnestly at that time: I shall next consider, the advantages proposed to each nation from this UNION, which will consequently oblige me to say somewhat of the persons who opposed, and the grounds of their opposition to it; and which, I shall give a very short detail of the rise, progress, conclusion, and consequences of it.

It had been very apparent to almost every *English* ministry, from the time the two kingdoms had been united under one monarch, that something was wanting to compleat that strength and harmony, which every reasonable man looked for from this conjunction; neither was it long, before some able statesmen perceived what it was that would produce this effect; and a national union accordingly was proposed in the reign of king *James I.* It was defeated then, as great and good designs are generally defeated, for want of public spirit. The king was partial to his country-men, and the *English* were partial to their country. The former thought it his duty to make all his old dependants rich, in a manner not over justifiable; and

and the last despised the poverty of that nation to such a degree; that they forgot how far their own power and riches might suffer from such treatment. Under king *Charles I.* his old hereditary subjects departed from their duty to him; and, a potent faction in *England* inclining the same way, the great weight of these northern neighbours was soon made but too evident, by the murder of the king, and the destruction of the constitutions of both kingdoms. After the restoration, the politics of *Charles II.* took such a turn, as necessarily occasioned all thoughts of a closer union between the two kingdoms to be laid aside; it having been a maxim, during his reign, to make use of one nation to awe the other. The unfortunate king *James II.* sat too short a time on the throne, and felt too many cares, from the time he ascended it, to form any projects of this nature, though otherwise, much might have been expected from him; for he was certainly a better judge himself, of the interest of both kingdoms, than any prince of his line. Some thoughts there were of a union in the beginning of king *William's* time; but the design was dropped from the belief, or the apprehension, of its being impracticable<sup>a</sup>.

B 2

THE

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<sup>a</sup> In the text, I have given a succinct account of the several designs formed for uniting the two kingdoms. I am not ignorant, that there were other attempts of that nature; such as in the reign of king *Charles II.* in the beginning of that of king *William*; as also in the beginning of the queen's reign: but these were mere acts of state policy, and not founded upon any settled design of bringing about such a thing; and therefore, as the nature of this work would not allow me to enter into a strict, chronological deduction of this affair, I thought the best thing I could do, was, to give the reader, as far as in my power lay, a true state of the matter, in the shortest compass possible.

THE lord high treasurer *Godolphin*, one of the ablest and most prudent ministers we ever had, saw very soon the expediency of such a thorough national union, for the public service, and the necessity of it, for his own safety. He saw, that, without this, the *Hanover* succession could never take place, the war with *France* be effectually carried on, or the new system that he was then introducing, be ever established on a firm basis. As he was far from affecting the exercise of a boundless arbitrary power, so, to establish his influence in *Scotland*, he had, through the advice of some of the statesmen of that country, given way to the passing some acts of parliament there, which enabled the people to stand upon even ground with the *English*, and put it in their power, when they were at any time crossed, to carry things very high, and consequently to talk much higher<sup>b</sup>. In order to rid  
himself

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<sup>b</sup> Whatever other writers may assert, this was undoubtedly the fact. The English parliament had recommended the succession, I mean procuring the Hanover succession to be settled in Scotland, very earnestly. The parliament of Scotland, inclined to make use of this opportunity, to get some favourable conditions stipulated for their trade; and as quiet was at this time very necessary, and in the nature of the thing, perhaps, the desires of the parliament of Scotland not altogether unreasonable, they were allowed to pass an act, by which, the prerogative of the crown was limited, and peace and war were left, not only to the approbation, but to the consent of parliament. This, with another act empowering the Scotch to arm themselves, alarmed the English house of commons to such a degree, as to address the queen, to order the militia of the four northern countries to be disciplined, and to take some other steps, which had a direct tendency to plunge the two nations in a war. The treasurer, therefore, saw himself under a necessity of bringing about a union, to avoid these mighty inconveniencies, and to enable him to carry on his great scheme, of ruining the power of France; which must certainly have miscarried, if these domestic quarrels had come to extremities.

himself of these difficulties, the treasurer, in conjunction with lord *Somers*, formed the scheme of the union, which they resolved should not be a temporary expedient, but such an act as should remove all their doubts and fears effectually, and for ever. When they had settled this project to their own satisfaction, they took the advice of some great men of the other kingdom, particularly the earl of *Stair*, a man of deep abilities, and, in all the senses of the word, a perfect politician. He it was who gave them the lights they wanted; he shewed them how, and by what means, his countrymen might be managed; he pointed out such as would oppose it heartily, and such as would oppose it only till they found their account in desisting from that opposition. In short, he gave both the plan and the last form to this great work, which made it both plausible and practicable.

In regard to the advantages resulting from this measure, to both kingdoms, they were, in the judgment of the ministry, very great; on the side of *England* especially, and of *Scotland* apparently. With regard to the former, the benefits derived from it were real and substantial, but some of them were such as it was not thought proper

B 3

per

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<sup>c</sup> This notion of the earl of *Stair*, that if a considerable number of the *Jacobites* could be brought to approve this measure as commissioners, they would be forced to second it in parliament, was extremely well founded, as the event proved. For, whatever ways and means were made use of, to engage the high Tories in this commission, to sign the articles of the treaty, which, (except Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*,) they all did; yet this is certain, that they adhered to their sentiments in parliament, and pushed the affair with effect; so that, if we consider that it brought about a total change of the constitution, instead of being amazed at the difficulties it met with, we shall be surprized, that they were got over so easily; especially if we reflect on the temper of the nation in general, and the great repugnance it must have had to some particular points in this treaty.

per to avow. For example, the government in *England* could never be safe, whilst *Scotland* remained an independent kingdom, at liberty to make laws, set up trading companies, or raise forces whenever she thought fit; nor was the succession safe, while the parliament of *Scotland* had an indubitable right to depart from that measure, and a strong party was actually formed in that country for departing from it. An entire, absolute, and uniform dominion over *Scotland*, was necessary to the safety, power, and commerce of *England*; and this dominion could be attained no other way. The danger of having princes drawn to pursue measures in the different kingdoms, or to govern in *England* upon the maxims of northern ministers, the mischiefs of which, had been severely felt, and thoroughly understood, from the power of the duke of *Lauderdale* with king *Charles II.* which lasted during life, and which, without disputing how far it was right or wrong, enabled the king to maintain his power in both countries, and that too in a higher degree than was very acceptable to a great part of his subjects in either, was yet recent. The other motives that were commonly insisted upon, were these, *viz.* The uniting the interests of both kingdoms, which had often thwarted each other, and thereby giving the united kingdoms, or, which was the same thing, *England*, much greater force, and consequently much greater weight abroad; the conveniency of bringing both nations under one form of government, the seat of which must always remain fixed in *England*, and consequently all advantages accruing to *Scotland* for the future, must be drawn to, and centre there; the extirpating the *French* and *Jacobite* interest, where it was evidently strongest, introducing the *Hanover* succession, securing the protestant interest, giving one turn of mind to  
all

all the people in the island, putting them under the same rulers, the same taxes, and the same prohibitions, so as to have but one political head, with a due subordination of members; these were considerations so high in themselves, and of such certainty in their consequences, that the bulk of the *English* nobility and gentry were no sooner acquainted with them, than they were convinced of their utility, and that it was not very easy to set the purchase at too high a rate; especially, when they considered the mischiefs to which they had been exposed in former times from the want of such a union. The ministry had a just foresight of this, and gave themselves, therefore, very little trouble about preparing their friends in *England*, for the reception and execution of their scheme, because they knew, that, whenever it was proposed and explained, it would make its own way; and their good sense, and right judgment in this management, were fully justified by the event.

THE advantages proposed to *Scotland*, were the freeing that kingdom from all the grievances they had so long, and of which so justly complained; such as, that their interest always gave way to that of *England*; that their concerns abroad were sacrificed, instead of being protected; that, with equal prejudice, they were considered sometimes as subjects, but mostly as foreigners; that they were discouraged in carrying on their trade and manufactures; and, in fine, continually upbraided with their poverty, while it was made an invariable maxim in *English* policy, to keep them poor. By this union, it was proposed to make them one nation with the *English*, and to admit them to a full participation of their liberties, privileges, and commerce; as also to a share in the govern-

ment and legislature, and a perpetual conjunction of interests at home and abroad; so that henceforward the government of the united kingdom would be equally in the hands of persons of both countries, which would prevent partiality on the one side, and take away many hardships that had hitherto been felt on the other. In short, it was insinuated, that, for the sake of peace, and general security, the *English* were content to grant their neighbours, not only as good conditions as they could well expect, but even better than they could reasonably desire; and that, to obtain the friendship and assistance of *Scotland*, the people of *England* were desirous to bury in oblivion, all their former prejudices, and to contribute as far as in their power to support and enrich the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and to treat them so favourably in point of taxes, as that they should have reasons to be very well pleased with the exchange of nominal prerogatives, for real and weighty advantages.

SUCH as opposed the union in *Scotland*, were either the friends of the *Stuart* family, or such as were from neglect or disappointment, discontented under that administration. The former were in earnest concerned for the dignity and independency of the crown of *Scotland*, the honour of the nobility, and the welfare of the people, considered by them as a nation having interests separate from, and in some cases opposite to, those of the *English*. These men, upon their principles, heartily disliked the union, and had reason to dislike it<sup>d</sup>. But as for the malecontents,

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<sup>d</sup> Bishop Burnet's reflections upon this subject, which he understood as well as any man, deserve the reader's notice and attention. "The treaty, says he, being laid before the parliament in Scotland,

contents, they set up pretences of an odd, and extraordinary nature, and while they pretended zeal for the government, alledged, that *Scotland* would be prejudiced by the union; which, according to their principles, it was impossible to prove. There was a third party in *Scotland*, which must be allowed by men of all principles, to have acted with great candour and uprightness. These were stiled the *Squadrons*, and, if I might be allowed to translate the word into political *English*, I should call them

Old

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“ land, met with great opposition there. It was visible, that the  
“ nobility of that kingdom suffered a great diminution by it; for,  
“ tho’ it was agreed, that they should enjoy all the other privileges  
“ of the peers of England, yet the greatest of them all, which  
“ was the voting in the house of lords, was restrained to sixteen,  
“ to be elected by the rest, at every new parliament; yet there  
“ was a greater majority of the nobility that concurred in voting  
“ for the union, than in the other states of that kingdom. The  
“ commissioners for the shires and boroughs were almost equally  
“ divided, tho’ it was evident, they were to be the chief gainers  
“ by it; among these, the union was agreed to, by a very  
“ small majority: It was the nobility that in every vote turned  
“ the scale for the union. They were severely reflected on by  
“ those who opposed it; it was said, many of them were bought  
“ off to sell their country, and their birthright. All those who  
“ adhered inflexibly to the jacobite interest, opposed every step  
“ that was made, with great vehemence; for they saw, that the  
“ union struck at the root of all their views and designs for a new  
“ revolution: yet these could not have raised or maintained so  
“ great an opposition as was now made, if the Presbyterians had  
“ not been possessed with a jealousy, that the consequence of this  
“ union would be the change of church-government among them,  
“ and that they would be swallowed up by the Church of Eng-  
“ land. This took such root in many, that no assurances that  
“ were offered, could remove their fears. It was infused in them,  
“ chiefly by the old dutchess of Hamilton, who had great credit  
“ with them. And it was suggested, that she and her son had  
“ particular views, as hoping, that if *Scotland* should continue a  
“ separate kingdom, the crown might come into their family,  
“ they being the next in blood after king James’s posterity.”



*Old Whigs.* They had been very instrumental in the revolution, and were cordial friends to the government; but from motives of state, which I shall not take upon me to explain, had been turned out of their places, and ill enough treated during this reign. These men, however, remained firm to their principles, which led them to approve and promote the union; and they did it with great zeal. Their arguments were strong and conclusive, and made the greater impression, because they were disinterested. There was, as is usual in cases of the like nature, a good deal of corruption practised; but all this would have never have carried the point, if it had not been abetted by the industry and zeal of these worthy men. The earl of *Stair*, who was not of their number, knew this, and therefore advised taking in them, and the country party, into the commission for settling that important treaty; but his advice was followed by the ministers only in the latter part, which, though it amazed the world at that time, had however the effect he expected from it, and was one great cause that the affair succeeded so well as it did.

ALL things being thus settled, the queen, by her commission, dated at *Kensington*, the 27th of *February* 1706, in virtue of powers granted to her by an act of parliament, passed in *Scotland*, appointed thirty commissioners on the part of *Scotland*, and on the 10th of *April* following, her majesty appointed as many *English* commissioners. This commission was opened at the *Cockpit*, on the 16th of *April*, 1706, *William Cowper*, esq; then lord-keeper, delivering the sense of the *English* commissioners, and the earl of *Seafeld*, lord high-chancellor of *Scotland*, acting in like manner on the part of their commissioners. On the 1st  
of

of *May*, the queen paid them a visit, and enquired into the progress they had made. About a month after, she did the same; and these instances of royal care, had such an effect, that on the 22d of *July*, the commissioners signed and sealed the articles, which were presented to the queen the next day. By these articles, which were in number twenty-five, the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* were united, under the title of *Great Britain*; the protestant succession settled; one parliament established; the common enjoyment of privileges and commerce stipulated; ships built in *Scotland*, admitted under the act of navigation; an equal distribution of customs and excises fixed; the duties upon salt regulated; the land-tax adjusted in the following proportion, *viz.* that when *England* paid 1,997,736*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ . *Scotland* should pay 48,000*l.* and so in proportion; and, as an equivalent for *Scotland's* being charged with the debts of *England*, there was granted to the former by the latter, the sum of 398,085*l.* 10*s.* to be applied to the discharge of the public debts of the kingdom of *Scotland*, the capital stock of the *African* and *India* company, with interest at five *per Cent.* and for the improvement of the manufactures and trade of that part of the island. It was also provided, that the monies and weights of *Scotland*, should be the same with those of *England*; the *Scotch* courts of justice were preserved, together with all hereditary offices, and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the representative of *Scotland* was fixed at sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which, though small in proportion to the *English* peers and commoners, yet was high in comparison of the share borne by *Scotland*, in the taxes; the rights and privileges of the rest of the peers were fully secured; so that, except sitting in the house, they were to enjoy all the privileges

vileges of the peerage; and all the laws of either kingdom, inconsistent with the union, were declared null and void <sup>c</sup>.

IN the next session of parliament in *Scotland*, the union was carried, though not without great debates, and some protests. In *England*, it went easier. In the house of commons, there was little or no opposition; there would have been a very warm one in the house of lords, but it was prevented by the wisdom of sir *Simon Harcourt*, after viscount *Harcourt*, and lord chancellor, who drew the act so, that it would admit of no debate, but upon the general question, whether it should, or should not pass <sup>f</sup>.

It

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<sup>e</sup> The advantages on the side of Scotland, were such, as enabled those who supported the union, to say many strong things in its favour; for whereas, when England paid two millions by way of land-tax, Scotland was to pay but forty-eight thousand pounds, yet, in return for bearing a fortieth part of the expence, they had the eleventh part of the legislature given them; and the event has shewn, that the power of their members in a British parliament, is not so inconsiderable as the enemies of that treaty represented it to the parliament. There were, besides, some other strong motives, which induced the better sort of the inhabitants of Scotland, to wish well to the union. A great part of the gentry of that kingdom, who had been often in England, and observed the protection that all men had from a house of commons, and the security that it procured against partial judges, and a violent ministry, entered into the design with great zeal. The opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, drew in those who understood those matters, and saw, there was no other way, to make the nation rich and considerable. Those also who had engaged far in the design of *Darien*, and were great losers by it, saw now an honourable way to be reimbursed; which made them wish well to the union, and promote it.

<sup>f</sup> We have this fact from bishop *Burnet*, who lays it down in a very clear and satisfactory manner. "When all was agreed to, *says he*, in both houses, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to enact it, which was prepared by *Harcourt*; with so particular a contrivance, that it cut off all debates. The preamble was a

" recital

It was carried in the house of commons by a majority of 274, against 160, and was carried up to the house of lords on the first of *March*, by the late earl of *Wilmington*, then *Spencer Compton*, esq; passed in that house by a majority of 55, to 29, and on the 6th of *March*, the queen came, and gave her royal assent; upon which occasion her majesty delivered herself thus. “ I consider this union, as a  
 “ matter of the greatest importance, to the wealth,  
 “ strength, and safety of the whole island; and at the  
 “ time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its  
 “ own nature, that, till now, all attempts which have  
 “ been made towards it, in the course of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore, I  
 “ make no doubt, but it will be remembred and spoke of  
 “ hereafter, to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I  
 “ desire,

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“ recital of the articles, as they were passed in Scotland, together  
 “ with the acts made in both parliaments, for the security of their  
 “ several churches; and, in conclusion, there came one enacting  
 “ clause, ratifying all. This put those upon great difficulties,  
 “ who had resolved to object to several articles, and to insist on  
 “ demanding some alterations in them; for they could not come  
 “ to any debate about them; they could not object to the recital,  
 “ it being but bare matter of fact; and they had not strength enough  
 “ to oppose the general enacting clause, nor was it easy to come  
 “ at particulars, and to offer proviso's relating to them.  
 “ The matter was carried on with such zeal, that it passed through  
 “ the house of commons, before those, who intended to oppose  
 “ it, had recovered themselves out of the surprize, under which  
 “ the form it was drawn in, had put them. It did not stick long  
 “ in the house of lords, for all the articles had been copiously debated  
 “ there for several days before the bill was sent up to them; and thus,  
 “ this great design, so long wished and laboured for in vain,  
 “ was begun, and happily ended, within the compass of nine months.  
 “ The union was to commence on the first of May, and till that time the two kingdoms were still distinct,  
 “ and their two parliaments continued still to sit.”

“ desire, and expect from all my subjects, of both na-  
 “ tions, that from henceforth, they act with all possible  
 “ respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear  
 “ to all the world, they have hearts disposed to become one  
 “ people; this will be a great pleasure to me, and will  
 “ make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this  
 “ union. And I cannot but look upon it as a particular  
 “ happiness, that in my reign, so full a provision is made  
 “ for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the secu-  
 “ rity of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the  
 “ protestant succession throughout *Great Britain. Gentle-*  
 “ *lemen of the house of commons.* I take this occasion to  
 “ remind you of making effectual provision for the pay-  
 “ ment of the equivalent to *Scotland*, within the time ap-  
 “ pointed by this act, and I am persuaded, you will shew  
 “ as much readiness in this particular, as you have done  
 “ in all the parts of this great work.”

IT is certain, that the passing the union was a mortal  
 blow to the *French*; and it is no less certain, that the  
*French* did not exert themselves, as they might have done,  
 to prevent it. Yet, I am far from thinking with bishop  
*Burnet* (though I esteem his account of the union very  
 much) that this proceeded from an absolute inability,  
 and that they did not, according to their common practice,  
 try the influence of their gold, because they had it not; I  
 say, I do not think this, because I apprehend, I shall be a-  
 ble to shew the contrary. The true reason, then, in my  
 judgment, why the *French* were so very cool in this affair,  
 was this; they thought that, though the union would de-  
 stroy their interest in *Scotland* entirely, if it could be esta-  
 blished, yet, that the suffering that law to pass, was the  
 likeliest way for them to defeat it. For they depended up-  
 on

on a back game, and looking upon it, as a thing certain, that this would throw *Scotland* into the utmost confusion; they projected an invasion, not with any intention of fixing the son of king *James* upon the throne of *Scotland*, but of making use of him to excite a civil war in that kingdom, which, they apprehended, would at least force *England* to consent to the dissolution of the union, in order to make the people of *Scotland* easy. If this had not been their scheme, why did they afterwards attempt the invasion? If want of money had been the only reason for their not exerting their influence, how came they by the mighty sums of ready money, which that fruitless and foolish invasion cost them? I have now done with this affair of the union, and shall only add my opinion of it freely, which is, that both nations have been great gainers by it, and that neither have the least cause to complain of it. If, on the one hand, the inhabitants of *North-Britain* have not profited as much by it, as they expected, it is their own fault; for without industry and application to TRADE, it is impossible any nation should be great gainers by it; and on the other, if the *English* repine at seeing so many of that nation in civil, military, and naval employments, they are blind to their own interests; for it is plain, that, by acting in this manner, these men waste all their days in the service of *England*; whereas, if they applied themselves to commerce and manufactures, they might live happily in their own, and enjoy there, the greatest freedom and independency.

THE war had now continued long enough to make both sides very weary of it, and yet the *French* were not sufficiently humbled, to think of peace on the terms prescribed to them. On the contrary, they found means this campaign,

campaign, to bring more troops into the field, than since the war began had hitherto appeared; which obliged the allies to make as great augmentations to oppose them. In short, as the maritime powers bore the largest in the expence, and reaped the least immediate benefit from the continuance of the war, it was resolved to make the utmost efforts this year to put an end to it. With this view, the duke of *Marlborough*, and the *English* ministry, concerted several schemes for pushing the enemy on all sides, particularly in *Spain*, in *Italy*, and even in their own country; and this, especially, by the help of the great maritime power we then had in the *Mediterranean*. It would lead us into frequent and unnecessary repetitions, if we shall enter here into a detail of these projects, and therefore, to avoid such inconveniencies, we will speak of each in its turn, and, as near as may be, in the order of time in which they were undertaken.

IN respect to the war with *Spain*, an opinion began to prevail in *England*, that it was neglected, chiefly because the ministry found it impracticable to push this, and the war in *Flanders* at the same time. The duke of *Marlborough*;

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‡ It is very surprizing, that France, after such a series of misfortunes, should be able to make the figure that she did this year. The truth, however, seems to be, that the absolute power of her government, gave her great advantages over the allies. The emperor's consenting to the evacuation of Italy, without so much as consulting either Great Britain or Holland, was the great source of king Philip's success in Spain; and whoever considers attentively, the French schemes for carrying on this campaign, will easily discern, that they must have met with the like success every where else, if it had not been for our expedition against Toulon. Quincy, *Histoire Militaire*, tom. v. p. 271. *Memoires de la Torres*, tom. v. p. 69. *Limiers*, tom. iii. p. 230.

*rough*, knowing how injurious this notion was to his reputation, advised the prosecution of the war in *Spain* this year, with the utmost spirit; the rather, because of a great reinforcement of *English* and *Dutch* troops, had been lately sent thither: and it was very well known, that sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, would neglect nothing that might contribute to the advancement of the service. The army, under the command of the earl of *Galway*, was very early in the field, and promised great things; but, whether his abilities were unequal to such a command, as some have suggested; or, as others alledge, king *Charles* ruined his own affairs, by marching back with a great body of troops into *Catalonia*; so it was, that about the middle of the month of *April*, the earl of *Galway* found himself under the dreadful necessity at least, as he imagined) of either starving, or fighting a superior army. Accordingly, on the 14th of *April*, the earl, with about sixteen thousand men, ventured to give battle to the duke of *Berwick*, who had twenty-four thousand; and of these, near eight thousand horse and dragoons, that were very fine troops. The *English* and *Dutch*, were at first victorious, and broke through the enemy twice; but the *Portuguese* behaved very ill, or rather, did not behave at all, which gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking the *English* and *Dutch*, of whom, about ten thousand were killed or taken prisoners. The earl of *Galway* retired with the broken remains of his army, which, however, nothing could have saved, but the timely appearance of our fleet <sup>b</sup>. Sir *Cloudefley Shovel* knowing the distress our army was in, through the want of almost

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<sup>b</sup> See the compleat history of Europe for 1707. Burnet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, &c.



every thing necessary, sent sir *George Byng*, with a strong Squadron, to the coast of *Spain* for their relief. Sir *George* sailed on the 30th of *March*, and coming off cape *St. Vincent*, on the 15th of *April*, he received there the news of our defeat.

He soon after received a message from lord *Galway*, acquainting him with the distress *Spain* was in, and desiring, that whatever he brought for the use of the army, might be carried to *Tortosa*, in *Catalonia*, to which place his lordship designed to retreat, and that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at *Denia*, *Gandia*, and *Valencia*, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things that could be got together, should be put on board. Accordingly, he took care of the sick and wounded men, and sent them to *Tortosa*, where the lord *Galway* proposed to make a stand with the poor remains of the army. This service employed sir *George Byng* almost the whole month of *April*, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, from *Lisbon*, either on that part of the coast of *Spain*, or at *Barcelona*, whither he was designed <sup>1</sup>. Thus all the great things that were hoped for, from the augmentation of our forces in *Spain*, were absolutely disappointed; and this chiefly, through the unaccountable mismanagement of that prince, for whose service these expensive and hazardous expeditions were undertaken. Let us now turn our eyes to *Italy*, where we shall find a scene much of the same nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Burchet's naval history, annals of queen Anne, Memoirs of sir Cloudesley Shovel.

THE first design that was formed upon *Toulon*, by the duke of *Savoy*, is said to have been concerted with the famous earl of *Peterborough*; but his royal highness, finding that nobleman had no longer any great credit at court, he changed the scheme entirely, and concerted by his ministers at *London* a new one, with the duke of *Marlborough*\*. This, to say the truth, was the best laid design during the war, if we except the march into *Germany*, which had this advantage over it, that it was not only laid, but executed, by the duke of *Marlborough*. The taking *Toulon*, if it could have been effected, would have destroyed for ever the maritime power of *France*; rendered her utterly incapable of carrying on any commerce with the *Spanish America*, and have distressed her to such a degree at home, as must have produced a peace, even upon worse terms than had been prescribed to her. All things were soon settled between us and the duke of *Savoy*; he could not undertake such an expedition without large supplies of money, and these were both promised and paid him: yet, even this would not have engaged him in so dangerous an attempt, if we had not given him the strongest assurances, that our fleet too should constantly attend him; which were likewise punctually fulfilled. The

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\* This is a very dark and perplexed affair; and, for any thing I can perceive, most of our historians are at a loss about it. The truth of the matter, to me, seems to be this. The duke of *Savoy*, and prince *Eugene*, first proposed attacking *Toulon*, to the earl of *Peterborough*, who thereupon wrote to his court about it. In the mean time, the duke of *Marlborough* had proposed the same thing to count *Maffey* abroad, and afterwards concerted the whole scheme with that minister, and count *Briançon*, at *London*. The duke of *Savoy*, however, did not think fit to acquaint the earl of *Peterborough*, that this project was laid aside; and this it was, if I conjecture right, that created all this confusion.

first ill omen that appeared, was, the resolution taken by the emperor, to make, at this juncture, when his forces in *Italy* should have been employed in promoting our design, the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*. In vain our ministers represented to his imperial majesty the mighty things we had done for him and his family; the great importance of the present undertaking to the common cause, and the certainty of his acquiring *Naples* without resistance after this expedition was over. In vain were the like applications from the *Dutch*; and in vain the earl of *Manchester's* journey, and the queen's letter to dissuade him from that ill-timed attempt, though written in the strongest terms, and by her own hand. He alledged, that such assurances had been given to his friends in *Naples*, that something should be immediately done for their service, that it was impossible for him to desist, and therefore, notwithstanding all these applications, count *Daur* had orders to march with 12,000 men, part of the troops that should have been employed in the expedition against *Toulon*, to invade that kingdom; which he accordingly performed<sup>1</sup>.

THE duke of *Savoy*, notwithstanding this disappointment, continued firm in his resolution, and it was resolved to prosecute this great design, with the assistance of the *English* fleet. Accordingly, sir *Cloudesley Shovel* having joined sir *George Byng*, near *Alicant*, sailed for the coast of *Italy*, and on the 5th of *June*, came to an anchor be-

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop Burnet reflects upon this step taken by the emperor, very severely; and, I think, with great justice. But the emperor went yet further; for he sent such orders to prince Eugene, to avoid, on all occasions, exposing his troops that were to be employed in the *Toulon* expedition, as proved one great cause of the miscarriage of the allies when they came before that city.

fore *Final*, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-seven transports. Prince *Eugene* went thither to confer with the admiral; and soon after the fleet sailed for *Nice*, where, on the 29th of the same month, the admiral had the honour to entertain the duke of *Savoy*, prince *Eugene*, most of the general officers, together with the *English* and *Dutch* ministers, on board his own ship, the *Association*<sup>m</sup>. After dinner, they held a council of war, and therein it was resolved to force a passage over the *Var*, in which the *English* admiral promised to assist. On the last of *June*, this daring enterprize was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the *French*, who believed their works upon that river, to be impregnable; and so indeed they had proved, to any forces in the world, except *English* seamen. The late gallant sir *John Norris*, with some *British*, and one *Dutch* man of war, sailed to the mouth of the river, and embarking six hundred seamen, and marines, in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musket-shot of the enemies works, making such a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, astonished at an attack they never suspected, began to quit their entrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return. Sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, who followed sir *John Norris* to the place of action, no

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<sup>m</sup> Sir Cloudefley Shovel, though he was not one of the politest officers we ever had, shewed a great deal of prudence in the magnificent entertainment he made upon this occasion. The duke, when he came on board the *Association*, found a guard of halberdiers, in new liveries, at the great cabbins-door. At the upper end of the table was set an armed chair, with a crimson velvet canopy. The table consisted of sixty covers, and every thing was so well managed, that his royal highness could not forbear saying to the admiral at dinner, "If your excellency had paid me a visit at *Turin*, I could scarce have treated you so well."

sooner saw this confusion, than he ordered sir *John* to land with the seamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with so much spirit, and sir *John* and his seamen scampered over the works, the *French* thought inaccessible, so suddenly, that the enemy struck with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The duke of *Savoy* immediately pursued this advantage, and in a single half hour passed that river, which, in the judgment of the best officers in his army, had, without this assistance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of his expedition<sup>n</sup>. On the 2<sup>d</sup> of *July*, his royal highness, and prince *Eugene*, with the *British* envoy, and sir *John Norris*, dined again on board the admiral; and after dinner, they entered into a conference, wherein, upon mature deliberation, his royal highness was pleased to declare, that since the queen of *Great-Britain*, had earnestly recommended to him the marching directly to *Toulon*, without losing time in the siege of any place of less importance, he was resolved to comply with her majesty's pro-

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<sup>n</sup> It may not be amiss, to cite on this occasion, the words of the dispatch, received from the confederate camp, July 14. N. S. as they are printed in the *London-Gazette*, No. 4352. "The admiral himself followed sir *John Norris* to the place of action, and observing the disorder of the enemy, commanded him to put to land, and flank them in their intrenchments. His men advanced in so undaunted a manner, that the enemy, fearing to be surrounded, marched out of their works, and retired with great precipitation. His royal highness having received from the admiral, an account, that we were in possession of the enemies works, ordered his troops to pass the river, which they did with so great eagerness, that above a hundred men were driven down by the violence of the stream, and ten of them drowned; which was all the loss we sustained, in forcing a pass, where we expected the most vigorous opposition." — Thus we see this whole affair was effected by english sailors.

proposal, and hoped for a good conclusion of the affair, through the continuance of her majesty's friendship and assistance, which had encouraged him to undertake it. The army of the allies consisted of about 35,000 men, all enured to hardships, commanded by officers of the greatest experience, and of the highest reputation, supported by a numerous fleet, commanded by an admiral of known courage and conduct, who, upon all occasions, shewed the utmost zeal for the service, and particularly in this last conference, where the duke of *Savoy* having observed, that even after *Toulon* was taken, himself and his army might find it impracticable to retreat; the admiral replied, "I hope better things from your royal highness's fortune; but, if there should be any appearance of such a thing's happening, your highness may rely upon me, I will take care to supply a sufficient number of transports to embark all your troops". The duke thanked him for his generous offer; told him, he relied chiefly on the assistance he expected from him, and that, if he would repair to the islands of *Hieres*, he should not long remain there, before he had advice of the armies being in the neighbourhood of *Toulon*, and that then he should expect to see the fleet in the road °.

It is impossible to describe the confusion into which this march of the duke of *Savoy*, threw the *French. Toulon*

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° Thus far, all things went well, because all parties were agreed; but from this very moment, the business began to be clouded. The duke of *Savoy*, what ever the reason was, did not make the expedition he might have done; for though he began his march from the *Var*, on the 3<sup>d</sup> of July, yet he did not arrive before *Toulon* till the 15th. But when he found it necessary to make his retreat, he did it with much greater expedition, for though he began it on the 12th, he reached the *Var* by the 19th.

Ion was not in any state of defence; they had no troops in that part of the country; they scarce knew whence to bring them. They had then in the port, a better fleet than they have been masters of since; besides twenty-five frigates, fire-ships, and other vessels, of the same size, all of which, they were sensible, were in the utmost danger of being destroyed <sup>P</sup>. In this distress, *Lewis XIV.* shew-  
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<sup>P</sup> I take this from the London-gazette, No. 4357, in which there is the following list of large men of war, then in that port.

	Guns.
Le Terrible	110
Le Foudroyant	104
Le Soliel Royal	102
L'Admirable	100
Le Triumphant	96
L'Orgueilleux	92
Le Triomphant	92
Le St. Phillippe	90
Le Magnifique	90
Le Tonnant	90
Le Sceptre	90
La Couronne	86
Le Vainqueur	86
Le Monarque	84
Le Pompeux	80
L'Intrepide	80
Le Neptune	76
Le Parfait	76
Le St. Esprit	70
Le Bizarre	70
L'Invincible	70
L'Heureux	68
Le Constant	68
L'Eclatant	66
L'Henry	66
L'Ecueil	64
Le Thoulouze	62
L'Eole	62
Le Serieux	60

ed less presence of mind, than on any other occasion in his whole reign; for he condescended to recall the best officer in *France*, whom he had disgraced, I mean the marshal *Catinat*, in order to consult him; and, after taking his advice, was prevailed upon by female intrigues, to trust the execution of an affair of such importance, to the marshal *de Tefse*, who had so notoriously blemished the honour of the *French* arms, by raising the siege of *Gibraltar*. To say the truth, the zeal of his subjects contributed more to the preservation of the place, than either the monarch's care, or the skill of his generals; for the nobility and gentry of the adjacent provinces, did not content themselves with arming and marching thither their tenants and servants, but even coined their plate, and pawn'd their jewels to raise money to pay the workmen employed in the fortifications, which were carried on with such amazing alacrity, that in three weeks time, the town, as well as the port, was in a pretty good state; and they had

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	Guns.
Le Content	60
Le St. Louis	60
Le Fendant	60
Le Varmandois	60
Le Temeraire	60
Le Laurier	60
Le Furieux	60
La Zelande	60
L'Entreprenant	58
Le Fleuron	56
Le Trident	56
Le Diamant	56
Le Sage	54
Le Ruby	54
Le Mercure	52
La Perle	50
La Meduse	50



had, besides, in the neighbourhood three intrenched camps, which however, was all owing to the dilatoriness of the allies <sup>9</sup>.

SIR *Cloudeſly Shovel* with the fleet under his command sailed for the *Hières*, after having made all the necessary dispositions, for securing a safe and constant intercourse between the army, and the dominions of the duke of *Savoy*, upon which, the success of the whole was thought to depend. It was the 15th of *July* before the siege of *Toulon* was formed, and on the 17th admiral *Shovel* landed, and assisted at a council of war, in which many demands were made on the fleet for the service of the army; and the admiral promised all that was in his power, which he accordingly performed. One hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; and cordage, nails and spikes, with all other

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<sup>9</sup> One need not wonder at the surprize the French court was in, when the design of the duke of *Savoy* was no longer to be doubted; *Toulon* was then in such a situation, that, if the duke of *Savoy* had marched expeditiously, it is not easy to conceive how his enterprize could have miscarried. They did not begin to fortify the city, till he passed the *Var*, and it was the 7th of *August*, N. S. before *M. Tefſe* arrived there. Four days sooner, would have given his royal highness possession of *Toulon*, without a blow unless the French had been mad enough to have stood a storm; and in that case, the dispute must have been over in a few hours. As it was, the duke of *Savoy* found the enemy as strong as himself, they had six thousand men in the town, and twenty-four thousand in the neighbourhood of it. The very moment the allies arrived, the generals differed; his royal highness sent orders to prince *Eugene*, to possess himself of mount *St. Ann*, which he refused to do, because, as I have observed, the emperor had ordered him not to expose his troops. Foul weather too prevented the fleet from landing artillery, and ammunition; in all this time, the enemies forces was encreasing, since the allies never had it in their power to invest *Toulon*.

other things wanting for the camp (for indeed they were but poorly furnished) were supplied from the ships; so that affairs had a very good face till the 4th of *August*, when early in the morning the enemy, making a vigorous sally, forced most, or all the confederate troops out of the works, and took possession to the right, where they continued all day, and upon their going off destroyed them, drawing away eight or ten guns into the town; in which action there were killed and wounded on the side of the duke of *Savoy* above eight hundred men, among whom were the prince of *Saxe Gotha*, and some officers of distinction. This attempt being made with such numbers, it put the troops under great apprehensions, and the generals were of opinion, it would not be proper to carry on the siege, since, while the duke of *Savoy's* army decreased, the enemy continually gather'd strength, insomuch that, on the 6th of *August*, his royal highness desired the admiral would immediately embark the sick and wounded, and withdraw the cannon, in order to his raising the siege, which from this time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment. His royal highness also informed him, that he purposed to decamp the 10th in the morning, and desired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the *Var*; which being done, it was proposd to carry the duke, prince *Eugene*, and the troops which could be spared for service in that country, on board the fleet to *Spain*: but since there was not any thing determind in this affair, the admiral soon after shaped his course down the *Streights*, as we shall see hereafter<sup>r</sup>.

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<sup>r</sup> Many reasons were assignd for the raising this siege: I shall mention only a few. It was said, that sir Cloudesly Shovel disgustd

THE very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as possible, and five bomb vessels supported by the lightest frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral *Dilkes*, advanced into the creek of fort *St. Lewis*, and notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour, from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the success that could be expected. By this means the land-army had time to quit their camp at *La Villette*, which they did in five columns in great safety, the enemy having something else to do than to pursue them; and as to any attempts afterwards, his royal highness put them pretty much out of their power by marching, in two days, as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in six. This end had the famous siege of *Toulon*, from whence the confederates hoped, and the *French* feared so much. To speak impartially, one may safely set the faults of both generals against each other. If the duke of *Savoy* had arrived a week sooner, he had carried his point:

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gusted the duke of *Savoy*, by detaining the payment of his subsidies, which were due on his passing the *Var*. I apprehend, however, this fact could not be true, since the admiral sailed the next day; and therefore, he must either have paid the money, or his royal highness would not have stirred a foot further. Bishop *Burnet*, says, that the duke was afraid of getting to *Toulon* before the fleet, and in that case, he would have wanted provisions; all our *Gazette's* contradict this, and say that if he had arrived there sooner, he must have taken the place, and all the *French* magazines. I think there are three substantial reasons which cannot be disputed, and which sufficiently account for the failing of this design. First, the want of twelve thousand imperialists, which, as I have said, were sent to *Naples*. Secondly, the disagreement betwixt his royal highness, and prince *Eugene*. Thirdly, the treacherous correspondence held by the countess of *Soissons*, sister-in-law to the prince, and the duke's near relation, of which we have an account in the *London Gazette*, N<sup>o</sup>, 4368.

point: and if, on the other hand, marshal *Teffe* had understood his business, as well as marshal *Catinat*, his royal highness had returned without an army. After all, this business, though it miscarried in the main, proved of great service to the allies, and had many happy consequences, which perhaps ought to ballance the expence of it; for besides the great damage the *French* sustained in their shipping; the burning and destroying of eight of their capital ships; the blowing up several magazines; the burning of above one hundred and sixty houses in *Toulon*, and the devastations committed in *Provence* by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of *French* livres; this enterprize (which struck a greater terror throughout all *France*, than had been known there during the whole reign of *Lewis XIV.*) brought these further advantages to the common cause, that it caused a great diversion of the enemies forces, whereby their army in *Germany* was weakned, the duke of *Orleans's* progress after the battle of *Almanza*, retarded in *Spain*: the succouring of *Naples* prevented; and the conquests of the allies in *Italy* secured. I must observe further, that as no prince in the world knew better than the duke of *Savoy* how to repair faults, and recover past miscarriages; so he gave on this occasion a noble proof of his high spirit, and great presence of mind, by investing the important fortress of *Susa*, which surrendered at discretion.

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[This is the opinion of all the *French* writers, and seems to be founded on truth; for it is certain, that, except the loss his royal highness sustained by so quick a march, and the desertion that attended it, he was very little incommoded by the pursuit of the enemy; and yet the siege and the retreat are said to have cost him thirteen thousand men. *Histoire Militaire*, par M. Quincy, tom. v. p. 369. *Memoires de la torres*, tom. v. p. 67. *Histoire de Louis xiv.* tom. v. p. 441.]

tion, on the 24th of *September*, and thereby gave him an open passage into *Dauphine*, at the same time, that it enabled him to shut the *French* effectually out of his dominions.

OUR admiral not a little chagrined at the miscarriage of an expedition upon which he had set his heart, after having assigned sir *Thomas Dilkes* a squadron of thirteen sail for the *Mediterranean* service, sailed with the rest of the fleet from *Gibraltar*. On the 23d of *October*, he had ninety fathom water in the soundings, in the afternoon he brought the fleet to anchor and lay by. At six in the evening he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, whence it is presumed, he believed he saw the light of *Silly*; soon after which he made signals of danger, as several other ships did. Sir *George Byng* who was then within less than half a mile to the windward of him, saw the breaches of the sea, and soon after the rocks, called, the *Bishop and his Clerks*; upon which, the admiral struck, and in two minutes there was nothing more of him, nor his ship seen. Besides the *Association*, the *Eagle*, captain *Robert Blomock* of seventy guns, and the *Romney*, captain *William Gaty* of fifty guns perished: the *Firebrand* Fireship was lost likewise; but captain *Piercy* who commanded her, and most of the company were saved: the *Phoenix* Fireship, commanded by captain *Sauson* ran ashore but was happily got off again. The *Royal Anne*, in which sir *George Byng* bore his flag, was saved by the presence of mind of the officers and men, who in a minutes time set her top-sails, when she was within a ship's length of the rocks.

*Durley*

\* Burchet's naval history, compleat history of Europe, for 1707, Burnet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, &c.

*Durley* in the *St. George*, ran as great hazard, and was saved by mere accident; he struck on the same rocks with sir *Cloudesley*, and that wave which beat out the admiral's lights, set his ship afloat. The day after this unhappy accident, some country fellows took up sir *Cloudesley Shovel's* body, stripp'd him, and buried him in the sand; but the boats crew of the *Salisbury*, and the *Antelope* having discovered it, dug him up again, put his corps on board the *Salisbury*, by whom it was brought home to *Plymouth* on the 28th of *October*, convey'd thence to *London*, and buried with great solemnity in *Westminster-Abbey*, where a magnificent tomb was soon after erected to his memory.

REAR-admiral *Dilkes*, with the Squadron appointed for the *Mediterranean* service, sail'd from *Gibraltar* on the 5th of *October*, in order to have escorted a convoy of troops, and provisions from *Italy* to *Catalonia*. But when he was some leagues westward of *Barcelona*, he received several expresses, desiring that he would enter that port, his catholick majesty having some matters of great consequence to communicate to him. The admiral accordingly repaired thither, and found that the principal point in view with his catholick majesty was, the reduction of the island of *Sardinia*, and the defence of the *Catalonian* coasts. The proposition made by his majesty, not squaring with the orders sir *Thomas Dilkes* had already received, he found himself under a necessity of waving in the best manner

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<sup>a</sup> We shall have occasion to speak, hereafter, more at large of this unfortunate event, when we come to the memoirs of this admiral. There were near nine hundred persons on board the association when she was lost, and not a soul escaped. The chaplain happened to go on board another ship that morning, in order to administer the sacrament to some dying people, and by this means his life was saved.

manner he could, complying with what his catholick majesty desired; and since the care of the embarkation in *Italy*, was particularly recommended to him, by his instructions, he sailed from *Barcelona* on the 2d of *November*; but meeting with hard gales of wind, his squadron was separated, and could not join again before the 14th, when, being off of cape *Corfica*, he received a letter from the king of *Spain*, which contained an account of the loss of *Lerida*, and of the great danger of *Tortosa* and *Terragona*. He arrived at *Leghorn* the 19th of *November*, but met in the road with so terrible a storm, that almost every ship in his squadron suffered by it. At his coming into the road, he demanded a salute of seventeen guns, which was refused him: upon this, he wrote to her majesty's minister at the court of the grand duke, who complained of this piece of disrespect. The secretary of state sent him soon after an answer, importing, that the castle of *Leghorn* never saluted any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral first; and therefore sir *Thomas Dilkes*, being a rear-admiral only, had no right to expect it; and as to the number of guns, sir *Cloudesley Shovel* was content with eleven, and returned the same number\*. On the 1st. of *December*, this dispute being adjusted, he was invited on shore, and died a few days afterwards of a fever, caused, as most people imagined; by an *Italian* dinner.

UPON his decease, the command devolved on capt. *Jasper Hicks*, who was the next senior officer, and who sailed from

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\* The court of Tuscany was all along manifestly partial to the French, and this demand of sir Thomas Dilkes, was founded upon some extraordinary civilities that had been paid to French flags. The seamen always looked upon the admiral as a martyr for the honour of his country, and I wonder that nobody has touched on this matter in print. See Burchet's naval history, p. 736.

from *Leghorn* to the coast of *Genoa*, where embarking the troops at *Vado*, a little town to the westward of *Savona* he escorted them safely to *Spain*, and then proceeded with his squadron to *Lisbon*, where he received orders to put it in the best condition he could, against the arrival of sir *John Leake*, who was coming with the title of admiral, and commander in chief from *England*. It may not be amiss to observe, that this year the enemy had a considerable force in the *Mediterranean*, which relieved their party in the island of *Minorca*, and did other services in those parts; but it was in a manner by stealth, and in the absence of our fleet, which, as the reader has seen, was then before *Toulon*. I shall conclude this subject with observing that, how ill soever our affairs went in *Spain*, it was owing entirely to the disputes amongst our land-officers, and the mismanagements induced thereby: for, at sea, all things went well; our fleets and squadrons did all that could be expected from them, and it seemed to be our misfortune, that it was not in their power to do all that was to be done\*. If it had, we had certainly carried our point, and king *Philip*, in spite of all the great succours he received from his grand-father, had been obliged to quit his pretensions to *Spain*, and the *Indies*. But, as bishop *Burnet* has shewn; the *Austrian* politics at this juncture, fell in with the *French*; and yet we continued to serve that august house, not only at the expence of our interest, but as it were in spite of their teeth.

VOL. IV.

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BEFORE

\* Compleat history of Europe, for 1707. Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, &c.

As this is a very extraordinary assertion, I think myself obliged to cite bishop Burnet's own words. "The court of France find-

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BEFORE I return to the consideration of affairs nearer home, it will be proper to say something as to a secret treaty between the queen of *Great Britain*, and king *Charles III.* of *Spain*, because that was the real source of some very great events, which afterwards happened, though there is very little mention made of this treaty in any of our histories. Mr. *Stanhope*, afterwards earl of *Stanhope*, and a great minister here, then managed her majesty's affairs with king *Charles*. He, representing the zeal with which *Great Britain* had always supported his catholic majesty, and the immense expence she had been at, in order to establish him on the throne of his ancestors, prevailed on him, partly out of gratitude, and partly from a sense of the necessity he lay under, of depending still on our protection, to conclude secretly a treaty of commerce, extremely favourable for the subjects of *Britain*, and which, in case that prince had been firmly established on the throne of *Spain*, must quickly have reimbursed the nation all she had laid out for the service of his catholic majesty. By it, the *English* alone were intrusted with the *Barbary* trade, and were to import into all the maritime places in *Spain*, such kind of goods from thence, as should appear to

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“ ing they could not prevail on the king of Sweden, made a public application to the pope for his mediating a peace. They offered the dominion in Italy to king Charles; to the States, a Barrier in the Netherlands, and a compensation to the duke of Savoy, for the waste made in his country; provided that, on those conditions, king Philip should keep Spain, and the West-Indies. It was thought the court of Vienna wished this project might be entertained; but the other allies were so disgusted at it, that they made no steps towards it. The court of Vienna did what they could to confound the designs of this campaign, for they ordered a detachment of twelve thousand men to march from the army into Lombardy, to the kingdom of Naples, &c.”

to them proper, and without paying any higher duty, than if those goods were actually the growth and merchandize of *Great Britain*. The *English* merchants residing in *Spain*, were to give security for their duties, and were to pay them six months after the goods were landed, and sold. A new book of rates was to be established, and all merchandizes, only omitted therein, were to pay seven *per Cent. ad valorem*, according to the invoice. These advantages were in themselves very great; but there were still greater secured by a separate article, in which it was stipulated, that the whole commerce of the *Spanish West-Indies* should be carried on by a joint company of *Spanish* and *British* merchants: but because this could not be immediately carried into execution, since *Spain* and the *Indies* were then in the hands of king *Philip*, it was further stipulated, (as far as king *Charles* could consent) that her *Britannic* majesty should, for the present, trade freely in all the ports of the *West-Indies*, with ten ships, each of the burthen of five hundred ton, under the escort of as many ships of war as her majesty should think proper. *France* was to be for ever excluded from this commerce; and if, at any time afterwards, either of the contracting parties should depart from this agreement, then they were to forfeit all the advantages granted them by this treaty; which was signed the 10th of *July*, 1707, by the ministers of his catholic majesty, and Mr. *Stanhope*<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Some people have affected to doubt, whether there ever was such a treaty as this; but that was only at a time, when there was a necessity of keeping it secret. Doctor *Swift*, who wrote the conduct of the allies, and who had as good lights as any writer of that time, says a little disingenuously. "Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this, they will pretend

THE person who was entrusted to carry this important treaty to *London*, embarked, for the greater expedition, on board a small vessel bound for *Genoa*, which vessel was unluckily taken by a *French* privateer. The express, as is usual in such cases, threw his mail over board; but, the *French* captain promising a considerable reward, in case it could be recovered, a negro slave undertook to dive, and bring it up; which he performed, and it was immediately transmitted to the marquis *de Torci*, the *French* king's minister for foreign affairs, who took care to send a copy of it, very speedily, to the *Hague*, where it made a great impression on the *States-General*, though they did not think fit to complain of it, but contented themselves with giving, as far as they were able, such a turn to the war, as might render it beneficial to themselves; and ever after assisted his catholic majesty but coolly, and no farther than they were obliged by treaty. It afterwards was converted into a reason for concluding a negotiation very favourable to their trade with the *Dutch*, wherein, amongst other things, it was agreed, that, whatever advantages we should obtain from *Spain*, the *Dutch* should enjoy the like; which  
treaty,

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“ to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under  
 “ the house of Austria, and we have already made a treaty with  
 “ king Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr.  
 “ Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with  
 “ Spain: but, whatever it were, there was another between us  
 “ and Holland, which went hand in hand with it. I mean that of  
 “ the Barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advan-  
 “ tages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland.”  
 Swift's miscellanies, vol. iii. p. 3. The observation I would make,  
 is, that the fact here laid down, is by no means true: the Barrier  
 treaty, and this with Spain, could not be carried on together,  
 since the one was signed the 10th of July, 1707, and the other  
 on the 29th of October, 1709. As to the treaty itself, the in-  
 quisitive reader may, if he pleases, consult Lamberti, vol. iv.  
 p. 592.

treaty, if it was ever intended should be fairly executed, would have been very injurious to us, since, while we bore the whole burthen of the war, it would have taken from us all hopes of recompence in time of peace, since to share the *Spanish* trade with the *Dutch* by treaty, was very little better than agreeing to give it up to them in a short space of time<sup>a</sup>. This secret negotiation had still further consequences, since it gave the *French* an opportunity of suggesting in a separate treaty, that article upon which the south-sea-company is founded, and without the assistance of which, the intelligent part of mankind know very well the peace of *Utrecht* could never have been made, or the public debts brought into that situation in which we now find them<sup>b</sup>. From these remarks on secret treaties, let us return now to the open operations of the war.

AT the time that our fleets were every where superior to those of the enemy, our trade suffered, in almost all parts of the world, by their small squadrons of men of war, as well as privateers. This, though it fell heavily

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upon

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<sup>a</sup> I have here attempted to explain the matter, as it appears to me, fairly, and naturally, by making part of the Barrier treaty, a consequence of the Dutch being acquainted with our secret treaty; though, perhaps, at the negotiation of the Barrier treaty, it might not be mentioned in direct terms. For the affairs of our ministry began then to be pretty much perplexed, and the natural consequence was, the considering their own support, more than the interest of the nation; which is the case with every declining ministry, and has been more fatal to us, than all the efforts of our enemies.

<sup>b</sup> In my last note, I have a little digressed in point of time, and therefore I must refer the reader for the verification of this fact, to what I shall be obliged hereafter to say, in respect to the causes and consequences of the treaty of *Utrecht*, in which I shall take particular notice of this article.

upon us, was a plain proof of the weakness of the *French* power; since it never can be conceived, that so haughty a prince as *Lewis XIV.* would have stooped to this pyrrhical way of carrying on the war, if he could have maintained it in a manner more honourable<sup>o</sup>. Sir *Thomas Hardy*, who had commanded a squadron in the foundings a year before, and who had this year been employed on the coast of *Ireland*, to protect the *East-India* fleet, was, in the beginning of the month of *July*, ordered to escort the *Lisbon* trade. Sir *Thomas*, pursuant to this order, sailed with the squadron under his command, and the outward bound merchant-men. But being several times forced back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of *August*, 1707, before they got ninety-three leagues off the *Lizard*. About half an hour after two that afternoon, captain *Kirktown*, in the *Defiance*, who was in the rear of the fleet, made the signal of seeing six sail, which being also seen about three, right a-stern from the mast-head of the *Kent*. Sir *Thomas Hardy* brought too for the rear, that were a great way off, and spread very much, to come up with the body of the fleet, consisting in all of above two hundred sail<sup>d</sup>.

BETWEEN

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<sup>o</sup> This conduct of the French king, in the situation his affairs were then in, we must allow to be extremely prudent. He found, that fitting out great fleets was an expence he could not bear; that the allies were too strong for him at sea, and therefore it was requisite to employ ships in some other method, for his own service, and his subjects advantage, which put him upon lending his men of war to such merchants as were willing to fit them out for privateers; and the squadrons of *Forbin*, and *Guai-Trouin*, were equipped on this account.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Thomas's* orders were dated the 2d of *July*, 1707, and by them he was directed to convoy all the outward-bound ships that

BETWEEN three and four o'clock, fir *Thomas Hardy* perceiving, that the six sail came up with him a-pace, notwithstanding it was little wind, and thereby judging they might be seekers, made the signal for the ships that were to continue with him, to chase to windward, and also chased himself with them, both to prevent these six sail from taking some of the heavy sailors, and to try to come up with them, in case they were enemies. About five, the six sail were seen from the *Kent's* deck, making all the sail they could before the wind after the fleet. Soon after, they shortened sail, and brought to, to speak with one another; whereupon, fir *Thomas Hardy* believing them to be the *French* squadron, mentioned in his orders, made the signal for the *Lisbon* fleet to part, whilst he, with his own squadron continued to chase to windward, the enemy, who had formed themselves in a line of battle. About six, the six sail bore away, and stood to the eastward of him, and he, with his squadron, tacked after them, and continued the chase till near seven o'clock; but then considering that it was almost night, that the six sail were then hauled too,

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and

that were ready to sail, and see them safe about 120 leagues beyond the land's-end, and then to detach with them some men of war, under the command of captain Kirktown; and himself, with the rest of the ships under his command, to cruize in such station, or stations, as should be thought (upon advising with the several captains with him) the most proper, for meeting with, and protecting the homeward-bound Lisbon trade. This order further directed, that in case fir *Thomas Hardy*, should in his passage from Spithead into the soundings, get sight of the squadron of French ships (which had been lately seen off the Lizard) he was forthwith to detach captain Kirktown from him on his voyage to Lisbon, as before directed. And he, with the rest of the ships under his command, to give chase to, and use his utmost endeavours to come up with, and take and destroy the said ships of the enemy; but if he found that he could not come up with them, he was to cruize in the soundings, as before directed.

and almost in the wind's eye, he saw no probability of coming up with, or keeping sight of them, it being little wind; and, therefore, he made the signal for the captains with him, to advise with their according to his orders. The result of this consultation (which was signed by fourteen captains) was, that sir *Thomas Hardy* should leave off chase; and, least the enemy, supposed to be *Guai Trouin's* squadron, of whose strength he was informed by a letter from the *Admiralty*, dated the 8th of *July*, 1707, should pass by him in the night, and fall upon the trade, which could not be protected by the convoys directed to be left with them; all the captains unanimously agreed, that it was for her majesty's service, to bear away, and keep company with the *Lisbon* fleet, till they got 120 leagues at least from the land's end, according to his royal highness's order. Sir *Thomas Hardy* complied with their advice, and saw all the fleet safe as far as he was directed. But, upon the complaint of some merchants surmising that sir *Thomas Hardy* had not chased the six sail of *French* men of war, a court-martial was ordered to examine his conduct therein. This court, having sifted every circumstance of this affair, and heard the principal officers of the squadron upon their oaths, declared their opinion to be, that sir *Thomas Hardy* had complied with his royal highness the lord high-admiral's orders, both with regard to the chasing the enemy, and also the protecting the trade; and accordingly, the court did acquit the said sir *Thomas Hardy*, from the charge brought against him. There never was, perhaps, a more just sentence than this, or pronounced upon fuller evidence, and yet sir *Thomas Hardy* had his conduct canvassed afterwards in every place where it was possible to call it in question; which, in spite of all the prejudices that prevailed at that time, turned very much

to his advantage; for he not only escaped all censure, but continued to be employed, and acquired greater honour from the clearing up this charge, than he could have done by barely convoying the fleet, if no such accident had happened<sup>e</sup>.

TOWARDS the latter end of *April*, a large fleet of ships bound for *Portugal*, and the *West-Indies*, and making in all, a fleet of fifty-five sail, had a convoy appointed them, consisting of three men of war, the *Royal Oak*, of 76 guns, captain *Baron Wylde*, commander and commodore; the *Grafton*, of 70 guns, captain *Edward Acton*; the *Hampton-Court*, of 70 guns, captain *George Clements*. They sailed on the first of *May*, from the *Downs*, and fell in, on the second, with the *Durkirk* squadron, commanded by *M. Forbin*, consisting of ten men of war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five  
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<sup>e</sup> The president of this council of war, was sir John Leake, knt. vice-admiral of the white. It was held on board her majesty's ship the *Albemarle*, October 10, 1707, in *Portsmouth* harbour; and the captains who, with the president, signed his acquittal, were, *Hovenden*, *Walker*, *Henry Lumley*, *Stephen Martin*, *T. Meads*, *Henry Gore*, *Charles Stewart*, *J. Paul*. After this, the proceedings were laid before the queen in council, where all was heard over again, but nothing appeared which could any way impeach the honour of sir *Thomas Hardy*, or the officers who acquitted him; however, to oblige the merchants, the sentence was transmitted to the admiralty, and there it was examined before his Royal Highness the lord high admiral, and the following flag-officers, admiral *Churchill*, sir *Stafford Fairborne*, sir *John Leake*, sir *George Byng*, sir *John Norris*, and sir *James Wisliart*, who all approved the sentence of the court-martial, and gave their opinion under their hands. One would have imagined, that here the thing must have ended, but it did not; for as soon as the house of commons sat, a motion was made, that sir *Thomas Hardy* should attend; which he did, and gave so clear an account of his conduct, that the very members who had promised to support the complaint, desired it might be dismissed.



of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely two hours and a half; but then, captain *Atton* being killed, and his ship taken, and the *Hampton-Court* soon after sharing the same fate, after having sunk the *Salisbury*, then in the hands of the *French*, by her side; the commodore thought proper to shift for himself as well as he could, which it was not very easy for him to do, as he was immediately after attacked by three of the largest *French* men of war, and had eleven foot water in his hold. He disengaged himself, notwithstanding, and with great difficulty, ran on shore near *Dungenesse*, from whence he soon got off, and brought his ship into the *Downs*. But while the men of war were thus engaged, the lightest of the enemies frigates, and their privateers, took one and twenty of our merchant ships, and carried them, with the two men of war, into *Dunkirk*. The most extraordinary thing that happened in this engagement, was the conduct of a midshipman, on board the *Hampton-Court*, who, while the enemy were employed in plundering the ship, conveyed captain *Clements*, who was mortally wounded in the belly, into the long-boat, into which himself, and seven of the sailors crept through the port-holes, and concealed themselves, as well as they could, under the thouls. The enemy in the mean time, driving with the flood, when they thought themselves at a sufficient distance, they fell to their oars, and had the good fortune to get into *Rye* harbour on the third of *May*<sup>6</sup>. This affair made a very great noise, the merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the admiralty to have acquainted commodore *Wylde*, that the *Dunkirk* Squadron

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<sup>6</sup> See the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup> 4329.

squadron was at sea ; which, in all probability, might have enabled him to have escaped this misfortune <sup>z</sup>.

THE *French*, according to their usual custom, magnified this success of theirs excessively ; for they asserted, that besides the three men of war, there was a frigate of forty guns sent to strengthen the convoy, and that the fleet of merchant-men consisted of fourscore sail, of which they took twenty-two, and made 1200 prisoners. In *Forbin's* memoirs, we have some very extraordinary circumstances ; such as, that he engaged the commodore himself, and killed him with a musket-shot through a port-hole, while he was giving his orders sword in hand, between decks, and afterwards made himself master of his ship ; in which, as we have seen, there is not one word of truth : and all that can be said in excuse of the *French* relation is, that *M. Forbin* mistook the *Hampton-Court* for the commodore. All the *French* relations, however, do us the justice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory cost them very dear. The *French* king, as soon as he had advice of this engagement, promoted *M. Forbin* to the rank of chef d'escarde, and gave him likewise the title of count <sup>h</sup>, which he soon after

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<sup>z</sup> These facts depend upon the representations made by the merchants to parliament, in the ensuing session, and the answer to that representation, by the council of the lord high admiral, in his royal highness's name. It is, I think, not a little improbable, that the admiralty should have any treacherous design ; but, there is nothing more likely, than that some under officers of that board, might send copies of letters, orders for convoys, and such like papers, at the hazard of their necks ; as the very same year Gregg did from the secretary's office, for which he suffered at Tyburn, and people very unjustly aspersed his master.

<sup>h</sup> *Histoire militaire*, tom. v. p. 68. P. Daniel, p. 244. *Forbin's* memoirs. In some of these relations, the number of prisoners is com-

after merited by an extraordinary exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

THE *Russia* fleet being this year very numerous, and very richly laden, fir *Benjamin Ayloff* being then governor, and some other principal merchants, applied themselves to the admiralty, in order to know what convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the apprehensions they were under, from the *Dunkirk* squadron; they were told, that they should have one fourth, and two fifth rates, with which they were very much dissatisfied. To make them in some measure easy, fir *William Whetstone* had orders to convoy them beyond the islands of *Shetland*. Accordingly the fleet, consisting of about fifty merchant-men, sailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his instructions directed, by admiral *Whetstone*, who left them about three weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their voyage, under their proper convoy. Sometime after, captain *Haddock*, who commanded, made a signal of his seeing eleven sail of the enemies ships, which some of the fleet not regarding, but trusting to their good sailing, fifteen of them fell into the enemies hand, off the island of *Kildine*, on the coast of *Lapland*, on the 11th of *July*; and the rest of the fleet, consisting of about forty ships, with their convoy of three men of war, by the favour of a hard gale, and a thick fog, got into *Arch-Angel*<sup>1</sup>. The accounts we have  
of

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computed at 1100, and the value of the prizes at 5,000,000 liv. that is about 250,000 l. sterling; which is a little incredible, considering they took so few ships: but, as the French, had nothing to console them for their mighty losses, but these little advantages at sea, we need not at all wonder, that they took so much pains to magnify them.

<sup>1</sup> One captain *Nenyon* master, commander of the ship *Nenyon* and *Benjamin*, made oath before the house of lords, that, on or  
about

of this affair, are remarkably dark, and embarrassed, which were calculated, probably, to justify the conduct of the prince's council, and admiral *Whetstone*, who were much complained of; but the *French* accounts are clearer, though a little exaggerated.

ACCORDING to them, *M. Forbin*, sailed again from *Dunkirk*, on the last of *May*, with the same Squadron; and on the 11th of *July*, perceiving the *English* fleet, he immediately fell in with them, took nineteen sail; but being too far from any port of *France*, to think of carrying them in with safety, he first unloaded, and then burnt them. In the memoirs which go under his name, the matter is carried still farther; for he asserts, that he took twenty, of which he burnt fifteen. That, afterwards, he took four more, and when they got into the harbour of *Kildine*, he likewise took four, and burnt eighteen; but he agrees, that soon after, he destroyed all his prizes, and computes the value of the goods he preserved, to 1,200,000 livres. I suspect there is some confusion and mistake in these accounts, because I find, that on the 1st of *August* following, he destroyed the *Dutch* homeward-bound fleet from *Archangel*; and as father *Daniel* computes the ships taken, and burnt, in both enterprizes, at forty sail, I am inclined to think him near

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about the 9th day of *July*, 1707, his ship, with eleven or twelve others, were unfortunately taken in their voyage to *Archangel*, by the chevalier *Forbin's* Squadron, consisting of seven *French* ships of war; that his ship was the first taken, and he was immediately carried on board *Forbin*, who demanded of him, what number of ships for convoy the *English*, bound for *Archangel*, had with them. He answered, twelve sail: to which *Forbin* replied, he spake what was false; for there were only three ships of war, convoy to the *English* fleet: *Forbin* then declaring, that he knew admiral *Whetstone* with his Squadron, came no farther than

er the truth, than any of the rest <sup>k</sup>. On the return of the *Dunkirk* squadron, count *Forbin* received orders to join that which had been fitted out from *Brest*, under the command of *M. du Guai Trouin*, which he accordingly did, on the 8th of *October*.

In the latter end of *August*, there was a great fleet ready for *Lisbon*, having on board provisions, military stores, and upwards of a thousand horses, for the king of *Portugal's* service. The merchants were extremely uneasy on the head of a convoy. They observed, that so many ships had been taken in performing the voyage to *Portugal*, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the *Portuguese* to send their orders for corn even against their will into *Holland*; for this reason, they earnestly insisted, that such a convoy might be given them, upon this occasion, as might effectually secure so great a fleet (for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchant-men) and thereby recover our credit at *Lisbon*; and, in consequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great measure diverted into other hands for the two last years. These representations, were by no means pleasing to the admiralty, where admiral *Churchill*, the duke of *Marlborough's* brother, commonly

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the isle of *Shetland*, and then returned back again. This made a great noise, and the more so, because admiral *Whetstone* was a man not well beloved, and people were very desirous of fixing an imputation upon him, in order to get him laid aside; but it does not appear, that in this instance they carried their point.

<sup>k</sup> *Histoire militaire*, tom. v. p. 467. *P. Daniel*, p. 245. During the whole war, the maritime powers suffered excessively, in the *Baltick*, where, almost every year, the *Dunkirk* squadron made many prizes; and this at last, determined the Dutch to keep a constant force in those seas, as long as the weather would permit, rightly judging, that no expence could be too great for the protection of their trade, and preserving their reputation as a maritime power.

commonly expressed the sense of his royal highness's council, and thereby drew on himself the merchants displeasure in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and as strong a convoy, as could possibly be provided for them; yet it so fell out, that it was the 24th of *September* before this convoy was ready to sail. It consisted of *The Cumberland*, captain *Richard Edwards*, of eighty guns; the *Devonshire*, of the same force; *The Royal Oak*, of seventy-six; *The Chester* and *Ruby*, each of fifty guns. But to say the truth, *The Chester* and *Ruby* were, properly speaking, the convoy; for the other three ships were only to see the ships fifty leagues beyond *Scilly*. The fleet did not sail till the 9th of *October*. and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of count *Forbin* and *M. du Guai Trouin*, off the *Lizard*. The *French* were at least twelve sail of line-of-battle ships. The convoy disposed themselves in a line, and thereby gave the merchants ships an opportunity of escaping. *M. du Guai* attacked *The Cumberland*, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; *The Devonshire* defended herself, for a long time, against seven, and 'till evening against five *French* ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men, escaped; *The Royal Oak*, made a vigorous resistance, and having set the *French* ship which attacked her, and was commanded by *M. de Bearnois*, on fire, got safe into *Kinsale* harbour; the count *de Forbin* took *The Chester*, and *Messieurs de Courserat* and *de Nesmond* took the *Ruby*. As for the *Lisbon* fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the *French* made a prodigious boasting of the

the men of war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal, and though in effect the convoy did all that could be expected from them, by securing the merchants at their own expence<sup>1</sup>.

It is certain, that misfortunes like these, are great enough in themselves; and, therefore, there is no need of exaggerating them, either at the time they happen, or in such works as are written on subjects which oblige their authors to transmit accounts of them to posterity. Yet, something of this sort there seems to be, in the following passage from bishop *Burnet*, which I transcribe in his own words, and at large, that I may not be suspected of partiality. “ A convoy of five ships of the line of battle, “ was sent to *Portugal*, to guard a great fleet of merchant-ships, and they were ordered to sail, as if it had “ been by concert, at a time when a squadron from *Dunkirk* had joined another from *Brest*, and lay in the way “ waiting for them. Some advertisements were brought “ to the admiralty of this conjunction; but they were “ not believed. When the *French* set upon them, the “ convoy did their part very gallantly, though the enemy “ were three to one; one of the ships was blown up, “ three of them were taken so that only one of them escaped, much shattered. But they had fought so long, “ that most of the merchant-men had time to get away, “ and sailed on, not being pursued, and so got safe to *Lisbon*”. In order to demonstrate the absolute injustice of this suggestion, I shall only observe, that it appears from all the *French* writers, that the junction of the *Dunkirk* and

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<sup>1</sup> See the history of Europe, for the year 1707. Oldmixon, Burchet, annals of queen Anne, &c.

and *Brest* Squadron, happened in the afternoon of the 8th; that the *Lisbon* fleet sailed from *Plymouth* on the 9th, and that the engagement happened on the 10th, before noon; so, that intelligence could be given to the admiralty of the junction of the *French* Squadrons time enough to have prevented this unlucky accident, is a thing, that, to every candid reader, even at this distance of time, must appear perfectly incredible <sup>m</sup>.

BUT in the midst of so many discouragements, the nation was not altogether deprived of good fortune, even in these little disputes; for at the very close of the year, captain *Haddock*, in her majesty's ship, *The Ludlow-Castle*, got sight, off the long sand, of two frigates, which proved to be *The Nightingale*, and *Squirrel*, formerly her majesty's ships, but taken by the *French*, and now fitted out from *Dunkirk*, as privateers, and each of them having as many men as *The Ludlow-Castle*. They both lay by, till he came within gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven at night, he came up with *The Nightingale*, and took her, and as soon as the captain of the *Squirrel* perceived it, he ran away. The captain of the *Nightingale* was one *Thomas Smith*, who had formerly commanded a sloop in her majesty's service, and was broke at a court-martial, for irregular practices: captain *Haddock*, who died lately an admiral, and who commanded the Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, immediately before the last war, carried in his prize to *Hull*, from whence he thought fit to send up all the *English* who were

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<sup>m</sup> The marquis de Quincy, father Daniel, and M. Forbin, in his memoirs, all agree to these dates; so that it is impossible they should be wrong: and it is, consequently, as impossible, that our prelate's suspicion should be right.



on board *The Nightingale*, viz. captain *Thomas Smith*, who commanded the ship; *Charles Aislaby*, lieutenant; mr. *Harwood*, who acted as a midshipman; an *Irish* priest, and an *English* sailor, who were immediately committed close prisoners for high-treason, and a prosecution by the attorney-general directed against them <sup>a</sup>.

ABOUT the same time, arrived the welcome news of our success in *Newfoundland*, where captain *John Underdown*, commander of her majesty's ship *The Falkland*, having received advice on the 25th of *July*, that the enemy had many ships employed on the fishery, in several harbours to the northward, our commanders of ships, merchants, and inhabitants, petitioned him to endeavour the destroying of them, and by that means to encourage, and protect, the *British* trade in those places. In pursuance of which representations, on the 26th of *July*, captain *Underdown* set sail from *St. John's*, having taken major *Lloyd*, who desired to be employed in the expedition, with twenty of his company, on board *The Falkland*, and twenty more of the same company, on board *The Nonfuch*. On the 27th, they came before *Bonavis*, and finding there no appearance of an enemy, the commodore ordered captain *Hughes* upon that station, to sail with him. On the 2d of *August*, they stood into the bay of *Blanche*, till they came off *Fleur-de lis* harbour. Major *Lloyd* was immediately sent into the harbour in the commodore's pinnace, and the  
lieutenant

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<sup>a</sup> The making examples of these sort of men, is a thing of absolute necessity in time of war; and I very much doubt, whether it is not a false kind of pity, ever to let them escape. This *Smith*, and one captain *Rigby*, who fled from hence for an infamous crime, did us prodigious mischief, by their serving the *French*, during that war; and yet, when *Rigby* was taken, he was suffered to escape.

lieutenant of *The Falkland*, in the pinnace belonging to *The Nonsuch*, in order to make what discoveries they were able. They found there were several stages, and other necessaries for the fishery, to which they set fire, and afterwards they returned without any loss sustained on board the men of war. By six the next morning, they doubled the cape, and saw a ship, which, upon the brisk exchange of a few shot, struck; the commodore sent his boats aboard, and found her to be of *St. Malo*, carrying about three hundred and sixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called *The duke of Orleans*. In another arm of the bay, named *Equillette*, was a larger ship; but the place being rocky, and the water shallow, neither *The Falkland*, or *Nonsuch*, could come near her; whereupon, the *Medway's Prize* was ordered to go as close in as she could, with safety; and at the same time, captain *Carlson*, major *Lloyd*, and the lieutenant of *The Falkland*, in boats well manned, and armed, were directed to land upon the island, under which she lay. This was executed with so good effect, that the enemy, after having fired several broadsides, being no longer able to keep the deck, against our small shot from the shore, struck. This ship was of the force of twenty guns, and fourscore men, belonging also to *St. Malo*. Having here received information, that about three leagues to the northward in *La Couche*, there were two ships, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-six, both of *St. Malo*; the commodore gave captain *Hughes* directions to burn the last prize, and afterwards to join him at *La Couche*, himself in the *Falkland* with the *Nonsuch*, making the best of their way thither. The fifth in the afternoon, they came into *La Couche*, where they found the two ships in readiness for sailing,

sailing. The enemy fired several broadsides at them, which as soon as our men of war returned, they set their ships on fire, and left them, going over to the next harbour, called *Carouse*, in which, the commodore had received intelligence, there were four ships. He immediately weighed, and stood for that harbour, and about eight o'clock at night, was joined by the *Medway's Prize*; but there being very little wind at S. W. and much difficulty in getting out, it was about six the next morning before he got off the harbour's mouth. The commodore sent in his boat, but found the enemy had escaped, having by the advantage of little wind, and the great number of men and boats, cut and towed out. The *British* ships stood to the northward, and saw several vessels, to which they gave chase; about five in the afternoon, they came off the harbour of *St. Julian*, where they discovered a ship, and having lost sight of the vessels they had pursued, stood in for the harbour, and came to an anchor in twenty-six fathom water. The place where the ship was hauled in, being very narrow, and shoally, the commodore ordered the *Medway's Prize* to go as near as possibly she could. The enemy fired two guns, but it was not thought fit to attack her till the morning. Accordingly, the sixth of *August*, at four of the clock, captain *Carlson*, major *Lloyd*, and lieutenant *Eagle*, went in, with all their boats well manned and armed, and immediately landing, drove the enemy from their posts, who were likewise on shore. Our men took their boats, and went aboard their ship, where they found the enemy had laid several trains of powder, in order to blow her up; which being seasonably discovered, she was preserved, and by noon, they towed her out to sea. But the *British* pilots being unacquainted with the coast, and the commodore thinking

thinking it not proper to go farther to the northward, it was resolved to sail back to *Caroufe*, and there remain till they were joined by the *Duke of Orleans Prize*, which was left at *Grand Canarie*, with a lieutenant, and sixty men. In the way to *Caroufe*, it was thought fit to look into *Petit Maistre*, where they destroyed great numbers of boats and stages, with vast quantities of fish and oil; about seven at night, they came to an anchor in *Caroufe* harbour, and moored. On the 12th and 13th it blew a hard gale at S. W. Having destroyed the fishery at *Petit Maistre*, and the *Duke of Orleans Prize* being come to *La Couche*, on the 14th, by four in the morning, they weighed and stood out to sea, taking her with them, and steered for *St. John's* harbour, where the *Falkland* and *Nonfuch*, with the two prizes, arrived the 17th of the same month, having before given the *Madway's Prize* orders to sail to *Trinity*.

WE ought, now, according to the method that has been generally observed, to speak somewhat of the proceedings in the *West-Indies*; but, as what was done there this year, is so strictly connected with what happened in the following, that it is scarce possible to divide them, without destroying the perspicuity of both relations; I shall, defer saying any thing of the events that fell out in that part of the world, till I come to speak of them in

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The damage the enemy received, was as follows. Two ships taken, one of thirty guns, and 110 men; and another of twenty guns, and 100 men; one ship taken and burnt, of twenty guns and 80 men. Two ships burnt by the enemy, one of thirty-two, and another of twenty-six guns; 228 fishing-boats burnt; 479 boats and shallows, that were not employed in the fishery this season, burnt; 23 stages burnt; 23 train vats burnt; 77,280 quintals of fish destroyed; 1568 hogheads of train-oil destroyed.

their proper place ; that is, after having accounted for the naval proceedings in the succeeding year. I the rather incline to make this small breach in my usual method, because I am under a necessity of speaking more largely than in other places, of what was done in parliament this year, in reference to the navy, for this weighty reason, *viz.* that the strict enquiries made by both houses into matters of such consequence, not only demonstrate the vigour of our constitution at that time, but afford, perhaps, the very best precedents for reviving such enquiries, that are to be met with in our history.

THE *first* parliament of GREAT-BRITAIN, met upon the 23<sup>d</sup> of *October*, when the eyes not only of this kingdom, but of all *Europe*, was fixed upon them. The earliest thing they did, was, to make choice of *John Smith, Esq.* for their speaker ; and the next, in the house of commons was, to vote an address of thanks to the queen, for her most gracious speech made to them on the sixth of *November*, to which day they had adjourned. In the house of lords it went otherwise ; instead of their usual address, their lordships proceeded to a direct consideration of the state of the kingdom, in which, very warm debates arose, in regard to the navy, especially. As to this, it was affirmed, “ That the lord high admiral’s name was abused by such as were entrusted with  
“ the management of his authority ; that the council of  
“ his royal highness studied nothing but how to render  
“ their places profitable to themselves and their creatures,  
“ though at the expence of the nation ; that it was visible,  
“ their own haughtiness, together with the treachery,  
“ corruption, and carelessness of their dependants, were  
“ the true sources of those mischiefs which beset our  
“ mer-

“ merchants, and discredited the most glorious reign in  
 “ the *British* annals. But, though reason and experience  
 “ ought to have convinced these men of their own inca-  
 “ pacity, yet they had with a brutish obstinacy, persisted  
 “ in the pursuit of their own measures, haughtily reject-  
 “ ing the advice of the merchants, when offered in time,  
 “ and saucily contemning their complaints, when suffe-  
 “ rers by the very errors they had predicted”. This  
 produced the appointing of a committee, in which this  
 matter might be resumed, upon the 19th of *December*,  
 at which her majesty was present. The sheriffs of *Lon-  
 don*, who were *Benjamin Green*, esq; and sir *Charles  
 Peers*, knt. presented a petition, signed by two hundred of  
 the most eminent merchants of the city of *London*, set-  
 ting forth the great losses they had lately sustained at sea  
 for want of convoys and cruizers; and praying that  
 some remedy might be speedily applied, that the trade of  
 the nation might not be entirely destroyed<sup>1</sup>.

THE house went as heartily into this matter, as the  
 sufferers could desire, and appointed the 26th to hear the  
 merchants further, in a grand committee, where they  
 were permitted to make a regular charge, and encouraged  
 to exhibit their evidence. In the course of this enquiry,  
 it fully appeared to their lordships, that many ships of

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war

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, Oldmixon, Annals of queen Anne, Chandler's De-  
 bates, Compleat History of Europe for 1707, and 1708, &c.

<sup>2</sup> It is easy to discern, from the scope of this petition, and the  
 support it met with, that public spirit flourished during this  
 reign. It was not pretended, that any respect due to the crown,  
 should protect such as were bad servants; or, that attacking  
 them, was offending majesty. It was not said, that exposing  
 them, reflected on his royal highness, or that in a time of war  
 we ought to be silent on such subjects: but it was said, advance,  
 and then make good the charge, we will procure you justice.

war were not fitted out to sea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay. That convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants, and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets; were put to great charges, and, where, they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruizers were not ordered to proper stations in the channel; and, when convoys were appointed, and ready to put to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them till the enemies privateer squadrons were laid in their way, and with superior force prepared to fall on them; which had often happened. Many advertisements, by which these misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty; but had not only been neglected by them, but those who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. To carry these things as far as possible, they caused an exact report to be drawn of their proceedings; sent it to the admiralty-office; received the best answer that could be given from thence; heard the merchants by way of reply to this, digested the whole into a second report, and together with an address suitable to a matter of such mighty consequence, laid it before her majesty on the first of *March* 1707, and expressed themselves thereupon, in terms it would be extremely injurious to deprive the reader of the pleasure of reading, considering the strict connection it has with the subject of this work, the true spirit of patriotism that appears therein, and the excellent example afforded thereby; and therefore I have placed it at the bottom of the page. Her majesty

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<sup>r</sup> I shall cite here only their lordship's conclusion, after setting forth the grievances complained of by the merchants, the answer by the admiralty, and the merchants replication.

“ May

majesty received this address very graciously, and promised to pay all the regard thereto, that the nature of the thing, and the respect due to the advice of the hereditary council of her kingdoms deserved.

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**THE**

“ May it please your majesty.

“ We having thus performed, what we take ourselves to be indispensibly obliged to, cannot doubt but it will be graciously accepted by your majesty, as coming from most dutiful subjects, who sincerely wish they may never have occasion hereafter to make addresses to your majesty, but to congratulate your successes, or to return humble acknowledgments for the blessings of your reign.

“ We beseech your majesty to believe, that none of your subjects do exceed us in true respect to his royal highness the lord high admiral. His great personal virtues require it, and his near relation to your majesty makes it our duty. And as we do not mean that any thing in this address should in the least reflect upon him; so we are very well assured his royal highness will never suffer other persons to protect themselves under his name, from a just pursuit of such faults or neglects, as immediately tend to the ruin of trade, and the destruction of Britain.

“ There cannot be a plainer proof, that some persons employed by the lord high admiral, have made the worst use imaginable of the trust he honours them with, than in their presuming to lay such an answer before the house of lords in his name.

“ For (not to take notice of the many things which in the second report have been already laid before your majesty) throughout the whole paper, there is not the least hopes given, that for the future any better care shall be taken of the trade; on the contrary, the whole turn of the answer seems to be intended, for excoosing the complaints of the merchants, rather than pitying their losses. We are sure, nothing can be more remote from the goodness and compassion of the lord high admiral's temper, and the tender regard he has always shewn for your majesty's subjects.

“ May



THE house of commons also, went into a grand committee on the affairs of the navy, of which *sir Richard Onslow* was chairman; they heard with great attentions, all the merchants had to say, and carefully examined all the evidence they could produce; and though there were some people who endeavoured to stop the mouths of the merchants, when they ran out into invidious characters of the officers, by whom they thought themselves wronged, yet the majority of the house, were inclined to hear their sentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, such complaints as appeared to be well founded; and with this view their lordships on the 7th of *February*, addressed the queen to lay aside captain *Ker*; and on the 26th of the same

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“ May it please your majesty.

“ It is a most undoubted maxim, that the honour, security, and wealth of this kingdom, does depend upon the protection, and encouragement of trade, and the improving, and right managing its naval strength. Other nations, who were formerly great and powerful at sea, have by negligence, and mismanagement, lost their trade, and have seen their maritime power entirely ruin'd. Therefore, we do in the most earnest manner, beseech your majesty, that the sea affairs may always be your first, and most peculiar care. We humbly hope, that it shall be your majesty's chief and constant instruction, to all who shall have the honour to be employed in your councils; and in the administration of affairs, that they be continually intent and watchful, in what concerns the trade, and fleet; and that every one of them may be made to know, it is his particular charge to take care that the seamen be encouraged, the trade protected, discipline restored, and a new spirit and vigour put into the whole administration of the navy”.

“ The house of lords, in their address, inform her majesty, that a complaint had been lodged before them, by *mr. Thomas Wood*, in behalf of himself: and divers other *Jamaica* merchants, against captain *William Ker*, late commander of a squadron

same month, the house of commons presented an address  
of

dron of her majesty's ships at that island, for refusing to grant convoys for their ships to the Spanish coast of America; and in particular, that the said mr. Thomas Wood had offered to the said captain Ker, the sum of six hundred pounds as a gratuity, if he would order one of her majesty's men of war, under his command, to go as convoy to the Neptune sloop, and Martha galley, loaden with woollen, and other goods of her majesty's subjects. That the said captain Ker, at that time, seemed pleased with the proposal, and said, the Windsor should be the ship; and ordered mr. Wood to make what dispatch he could, in getting the galley and sloop ready. On which encouragement, he got them ready to sail, and bought three hundred negroes to put on board them, and then acquainted captain Ker therewith, and with the great charge he was at in maintaining the negroes, and his fear of sickness. Captain Ker then said, he feared he could not spare a man of war; but the next day sent mr. Tudor Trevor, captain of the Windsor, to acquaint mr. Wood, that captain Ker said, he thought mr. Wood could not have offered less than two thousand, or at least fifteen hundred pounds. Whereupon mr. Wood declared, the sum was so great, that the trade could not bear it, and so the sloop and galley proceeded on the voyage without convoy; and in their return, the sloop loaded with great wealth, being pursued by French privateers, and having no convoy, and crowding too much sail to get from the enemy, was unhappily overfet and lost. The said mr. Thomas Wood also made another complaint, that upon a further application to the said mr. Ker, for a convoy for three sloops, bound for the said Spanish coasts, he promised to give, The Experiment man of war, commanded by captain Bowler, as a convoy; for which the said mr. Wood agreed to give eight hundred pounds; four hundred pounds, part whereof, was paid the said Bowler, and the other four hundred pounds was made payable by note to one mr. Herbert, for the use of mr. Ker, which note was sent in a letter to mr. Ker, and by him put into mr. Herbert's hands. And, besides that, as a further encouragement for allowing the said convoy, mr. Ker had an adventure of fifteen hundred pounds in the said sloops, without advancing any money. To this complaint mr. Ker put in his answer, and both parties were fully heard by themselves, and their witnesses; and upon the whole matter, the house came to this following resolution, "That the said complaint of the said mr. Wood, against the said captain Ker, as well in relation to the Neptune and Martha galley, as also in relation to the other three sloops, that went under the convoy of The Experiment man of war

of the same nature, against the same person. These warm proceedings had a proper effect; they convinced such as sat at the admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat *British* merchants with contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the officers to know, that having friends at the board, or being tried, where no evidence could reach them, would not always secure them from punishment. On the complaint of the merchants, however, against sir *Thomas Hardy*, though prosecuted with great heat, both  
houses

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“ war, hath been fully made out, and proved to the satisfaction  
“ of this house.”

“ The queen gave only a general answer to this address, but did not say positively that she would comply with it.

“ On the 26th of February, upon the report of sir Richard Onslow, from the committee of the whole house, the commons came to three resolutions against commodore Ker; to which they added a fourth, viz. “ That an humble address be presented to her  
“ majesty, laying before her the said resolutions, and humbly desiring, that her majesty will be pleased not to employ the said  
“ captain Ker in her majesty’s service for the future.” This address having been presented to the queen. Ten days after, her majesty declared, that she would comply with it.

“ Upon a fair computation, made about this time, of the loss of ships at sea, since the beginning of this war, it was found, that the loss the French had sustained in their shipping, far exceeded that of Great Britain, since we had only thirty men of war taken, or destroyed, and one thousand one hundred forty-six merchant-ships taken, of which three hundred were retaken. Whereas, we had either taken or destroyed, eighty of their ships of war, and taken or burnt one thousand three hundred forty-six of their merchant-men, including those destroyed in the West Indies. By way of supplement to this list, it may not be amiss to take notice, that it appeared from the lord high-admiral’s answer to the report of the house of peers, there were one hundred seventy-five of the enemies privateers taken, as also the re-captures by her majesty’s ships of war, from the 4th of May 1702, to the 1st of December 1707, were one hundred twenty-eight; which, amounted, by appraisement, to above the sum of 82,975 *l.* and the re-captures by privateers, within that time, to 38,054 *l.* both which sums amount to 121,030 *l.* exclusive of customs.

houses concurred to vindicate him, which was sufficient to encourage the officers of the navy to do their duty; since, where they could prove they had done this, it was most clear, they ran no hazard; but, if pursued by clamour, were sure to come off with reputation <sup>w</sup>.

As the season for action was now coming on, the lord high-admiral made the following promotion: sir *John Leake* was declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; Sir *George Byng*, admiral of the blue; sir *John Jennings*, vice-admiral of the red; sir *John Norris*, vice-admiral of the white; the lord *Dursley*, vice-admiral of the blue; sir *Edward Whitaker*, rear-admiral of the Red; and *John Baker*, esq; rear-admiral of the white. Some alterations were likewise made in his royal highness's council <sup>x</sup>. An act passed for regulating convoys, and cruizers; and a further term of fourteen

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<sup>w</sup> Upon a complaint to the house of lords, of a master of a Canary ship, that sir Thomas Hardy had refused to convoy him from Plymouth, their lordships ordered sir Thomas to attend the house, who directed him to attend the committee. The latter took occasion to examine, likewise, the papers relating to his trial; and after they had read them, the next day, sir Thomas Hardy, with two merchants, and the master of the Canary ship, were called in before their lordships; sir Thomas having shewed his orders, to warrant his refusal of convoy, he was ordered to withdraw; and soon after, captain Philips, deputy-usher of the black-rod, came out to sir Thomas, and told him, that their lordships found he had fully justified himself, and done his duty in every respect; and therefore, that he was discharged from any further attendance upon that committee.

<sup>x</sup> Henry Sait John, esq; afterwards lord viscount Bolingbroke, having resigned the office of secretary of war, Robert Walpole, esq; afterwards earl of Orford, and then one of the prince's council, succeeded him; and in the month of April following, the earl of Weemes, a nobleman of Scotland, and sir John Leake, were added to his royal highness's council, in order to oblige both nations.

fourteen years and a half was granted to the *East-India* company, in consideration of their advancing 1,200,000*l.* for the public service, there being granted in the whole, for the year 1708, no less than 5,933,657*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* a supply unheard of in former times, and for a great part of which we stand indebted to this day. Of this, upwards of 2,300,000*l.* were intended for the service of the fleet, and great things were expected, especially, since all parts of the island seemed heartily united in one interest; and the carrying on the war, humbling *France*, and exalting the house of *Austria*, were every where considered, as the great objects of our care<sup>7</sup>; as being essentially necessary to the welfare of the nation.

BUT, before our projects were thoroughly adjusted, the *French* actually played off one of theirs; which put us into great confusion, and had like to have had much worse consequences. This was, the attempt upon *Scotland*, in favour of the *Chevalier de St. George*; which, was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleased to give the person, whom the queen soon after distinguished by the name of the *Pretender*. The design is said to have been carried on with great secrecy; but this must be understood only of the *French* court; for it was sufficiently known, and talked of in *Scotland*, long before it was undertaken. I do not think, that so idle an expedition demands in a work of this nature, a very critical explanation, and therefore, I shall content myself with saying, that it ought to be reckoned amongst the number of those affronts, of which the *French* have never been sparing to this nation, and was chiefly de-  
signed

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<sup>7</sup> Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, 1708, annals of queen Anne, Chandler's debates, Pointer's chronol. history.

signed to shew how much, in spite of all the power of the allies, *Louis XIV.* was able to alarm and distract us. The troops, intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the *marquis de Gace*, afterwards stiled the *marshal de Mansignon*. The fleet consisted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the count *de Forbin*, who is said to have disliked the design, because, very probably, he knew the bottom of it; for it is very certain, the *French* never intended to land, and refused the *Chevalier* to set him on shore, though he would have gone with his own servants. The true scheme of the *French* king was, to create a diversion, and if possible, raise a rebellion in *Scotland*, that by means of trials and executions, the queen and her ministry might be sufficiently embarrassed at home, and have the less leisure to prosecute their views abroad; and from these motives, he ordered his ministers in all foreign courts, to talk in very magnificent terms, of the succours he gave to the king of *England*, as he thought fit to call him, that on the rebound, they might make the louder noise in *Britain*, and induce us to believe our danger the greater, and more inevitable <sup>2</sup>.

In this respect, the *French* politics had their effect; for, on general *Cadogan's* sending over an express, disclosing the whole design, the queen, by Mr. secretary *Boyle*, acquainted the house of commons therewith, on the fourth of *March*, and received a very loyal address from them, as well as from the lords; but the apprehensions expressed here, and in *Holland*, had such an effect upon

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<sup>2</sup> *Histoire militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. v. p. 478. *Lamberti* tom. iv. p. 379. *Memoires de Forbin*, which appear, from this part of them, to be spurious.

upon the monied interest, that it occasioned a prodigious run upon the bank, and disturbed our foreign remittances so much, that all thinking people were at this time convinced of the great risk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while heavily loaded with debts at home. Our public securities fell surprizingly, and things would have fallen into downright confusion, if the fright had not been quickly over. This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with incredible diligence, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four men of war, with which, sir *George Byng*, and lord *Dursley*, sailed for the *French* coast, on the 27th of *February*; without diminishing the convoy of the *Lisbon* fleet; which, when we had time to consider it, appeared a prodigious thing, and sufficiently convinced the *French*, that a real invasion was not at all their business<sup>a</sup>. On sir *George Byng's* anchoring before *Gravelin*, the *French* officers laid aside their embarkation; but upon express orders from court, were obliged to resume it; and, on the sixth of *March*, actually sailed out of *Dunkirk*; but being taken short by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage

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<sup>a</sup> The run upon the bank so much alarmed the exchequer, that all ways and means possible were thought of, to put an immediate stop to it; in order to which, the lord high treasurer, not only allowed six, instead of three, per cent, for all the money circulating by their bills, but also supplied them with large sums of money out of his private fortune, as the dukes of *Marlborough*, *Newcastle*, *Somerset*, and other noblemen also did; which, with the calling in of 20 per cent. upon their capital, brought all things right again sooner than it could have been expected. On the 20th of *March* the house of commons came to a resolution, that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy, or lessen, the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and was an enemy to her majesty and her kingdom.

voyage for *Scotland*. Sir *George Byng* pursued them with a fleet of forty ships of the line, besides frigates, and fire-ships. He afterwards detached rear-admiral *Baker*, with a small squadron, to convoy the troops that were sent from *Ostend*, and prosecuted his expedition with the rest. On the 13th of *March*, the *French* were discovered in the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a N. E. course, as if they intended to have gone to *St. Andrews*. Sir *George Byng* pursued them, and took the *Salisbury*, an *English* prize, then in their service, with several persons of great quality on board; and finding it was altogether impossible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to *Leith*, where he continued till he received advice of count *Forbin's* getting back to *Dunkirk*, and then proceeded to the *Downs*, pursuant to the orders he received from the ministry, from whence he soon came to *London*, where he was most graciously received by the queen his sovereign, and by his royal highness prince *George* of *Denmark* <sup>b</sup>.

ONE would have imagined, that this surprising success, must have satisfied every body; and that, after defeating so extraordinary a scheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were in an instant, there should have been a universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral, by all ranks and degrees of people. Yet, this was so far from falling out, that sir *George Byng* had scarce set

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<sup>b</sup> The *Salisbury* prize was a very considerable thing, if we consider the number of persons taken on board. For, besides lord *Griffin*, lord *Clermont*, *Charles Middleton*, esq; and *Francis Wauchope*, esq; who had all followed the fortunes of king *James*; there were likewise several land and sea-officers, in the *French* service, of very great distinction, five companies of the regiment of *Bearn*, and all the ships company consisting of 300 men.



his foot in *London*, before it was whispered, that the parliament would enquire into his conduct; which took rise from a very foolish persuasion, that having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship as well as the *Salisbury*. The truth of the matter was, that the *French* having amused the *Jacobites* in *Scotland*, with a proposal about besieging the castle of *Edinburgh*, sir *George Byng* was particularly instructed, by all means, to prevent that, by hindering the *French* from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and by doing it, answered the end for which he was sent. But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another, *viz.* that sir *George* was hindered from taking the *French* fleet, by his ships being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the house of commons, and an address to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ships that went on the expedition with sir *Georg Byng*, and when the same were cleaned. That done, they resolved the thanks of the house should be given to the prince, as lord high admiral, for his great care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet under sir *George Byng*, was enabled, so happily, to prevent the intended invasion. This was a very wise, and well-concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falshood of these reports, and at the same time, gave great satisfaction to the queen, and her royal consort, the prince of *Denmark*, who had both testified an unusual concern in relation to the report of the house of lords, which they conceived affected his royal highness's character, as lord high admiral; and therefore, to give this message of thanks a better grace, and

and make it more acceptable, the utmost care was taken in the choice of those who were appointed to carry it. Thus ended this affair of the invasion, which made so much noise at that time, and which has been handed down in so many different lights to posterity. An affair, indeed, which speaks the true policy of *France*, and shews how artfully she can serve her own ends, and with how great readiness she betrays, and gives up to destruction, such as are fools enough to trust her. But, through the wisdom of the *British* ministry, joined to the cunning of some of the nobility of *Scotland*, who were taken into custody upon this occasion, and who, it is generally thought, gave such lights, as enabled the government to take these effectual methods; the latter part of the *French* scheme proved as abortive as the first; all the prisoners being soon after set at liberty, and every thing being done to satisfy and quiet the people of that country.

THE great point the ministry had in view this year, was, to put the affairs of his catholic majesty into better order, and to repair, if it was possible, the unlucky consequences of the fatal battle of *Almanza*. Sir *John Leake*, who commanded the grand fleet, was so early at sea, that on the 27th of *March* he arrived at *Lisbon*; having, in his way thither, seen the merchant ships bound to *Virginia*, and the *Canaries*, with their respective convoys,

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well

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The names of the persons appointed to carry his royal highness the message, were, sir *Richard Callow*, Mr. *Secretary Boyle*, Mr. *Compton*, Mr. *Scobel*, colonel *Byrely*, lord *William Paulet*, the earl of *Hertford*, Mr. *Heysham*, admiral *Churchill*, Mr. *Bromley*, sir *Godfrey Copley*, sir *Thomas Hanmer*, sir *Thomas Lyttelton*, sir *David Dalrymple*, Mr. *Montgomery*, Mr. *Morrison*, Mr. *Brewer*, sir *John Swinton*, sir *John Erskine*, Mr. *Halden*, Mr. *Cockburne*, sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Wortley*.

well into the sea, and taken care for the security of others designed to the ports of *Portugal*. Here he found the ships that had been left with captain *Hickes*, which were fourteen of the third rate, besides small frigates, and bomb-vessels; and at a council of war it was resolved, that, as soon as the transports were ready to receive the horse on board, the fleet should proceed to *Vado*, and that such of the ships of war as could not be got ready by that time, should follow to *Barcelona*, where there would be order left how they should farther proceed. But, as for the *Dutch* ships, they were all separated in bad weather, between *England* and *Lisbon*. It was also determined, at the desire of the king of *Portugal*, to appoint the *Warspight*, *Rupert*, and *Triton*, to cruize off of the *Tercera*, or *Azores* islands, for the security of his majesty's fleet, expected from *Brazil*; nor was there care wanted to guard the *Streights* mouth, lest otherwise our trade should suffer by the enemies cruizers or privateers. The procuring transport-ships, and putting them in a condition for receiving the horse, took up a considerable time; but on the 23d of *April*, the admiral was ready to sail with as many as could carry fifteen hundred, with one second rate, twelve third rates, two fourths, a fire-ship, bomb-vessels, &c. together with twelve ships of the line of battle of the *States-General*; and, upon advice from colonel *Elliot*, governor of *Gibraltar*, and from other hands, that some *French* ships of war were seen cruizing off the *Streights* mouth; one third, and one fourth rate, and another of the *Dutch* ships of war, were appointed to strengthen those before ordered to ply up and down in that station <sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>d</sup> There was an absolute necessity of sending so strong a fleet to the relief of the king of Spain, for otherwise, he must have been

THE admiral sailed from the river of *Lisbon*, on the 28th of *April*, and in his passage up the *Streights*, he, on the 11th of *May*, being about twelve leagues from *Alicant*, had sight of several vessels, which he took for fishing-boats. But he had a better account of them the next day, for having detached before, some light frigates from *Barcelona*, to give notice of the approach of his fleet, one of them had the good luck to take a *French* frigate of twenty-four guns, and thereby obtained an account of the convoy that was expected. Upon this, the captains of our frigates made the necessary dispositions for intercepting them. The next day, the *French* convoy appeared in sight, consisting of three men of war, one of forty-four, another of forty, and the third of thirty-two guns, with ninety settees and tartanes laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the duke of *Orlean's* army, and bound for *Peniscola*, near the mouth of the *Ebro*. The *British* frigates bore down immediately upon the enemy's men of war, and these abandoning their barks, and endeavouring to make their escape, came in view of the confederate fleet, which, seeing seven men of war, concluded they were enemies, and thereupon the admiral made a signal to give them chase. But, as the great ships

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could

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been obliged to quit that kingdom. The enemy had no less than three armies in the field, under the command of the duke of *Orleans*, the duke of *Noailles*, and the *marquis de Bay*; while king *Charles* was in a manner shut up in his city of *Barcelona*, and had no hopes of being delivered, but by our fleets transporting the *German* troops, that lay ready for his service in *Italy*. Yet, very soon after the arrival of *sir John Leake* in these seas, his affairs began to mend, and he had a considerable army in the field under the command of count *Staremberg*. *Burchet*, *Burnet*, *Oldmixon*, *Annals of queen Anne*, compleat history of Europe, for 1708.

could not follow them near the coast, the *French* made their escape in the night. The vice-admiral of the white, who sailed on the left with his division, perceiving the barks near the coast, sent his long-boats, and small ships, and took several of them. The next morning they saw some of them dispersed, which were likewise taken by the long-boats: and some barks of *Catalonia*, coming out of their harbours at the same time, to have a share in the booty; sixty-nine of them were taken, and the rest dispersed.

ON the 15th of *May*, the admiral arrived at *Barcelona*, where he was joined by several of our ships, and complimented by the king of *Spain*, on his late success; his catholic majesty took this opportunity of desiring a squadron might be left under his direction at *Barcelona*; while the fleet crossed to *Italy*, in order to bring over the reinforcements he expected, and the queen of *Spain*, who, it was thought, was by this time arrived at *Genoa*. He signified also his desire, that the provisions lately taken, might be laid up in his magazines, which were but indifferently furnished; that care might be taken for reducing

*Sardinia*

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\* This might have proved an affair very considerable in its consequences, if the duke of Orleans, who commanded the army of King Philip, had not been one of the first generals of the age; but he foreseeing that this accident might happen, had provided against it, by ordering a great quantity of oats and beans, which had been laid up for the use of the cavalry, to be employed in making bread, till his army could be better supplied. This capture, however, proved of the utmost service to King Charles, as it enabled his army, after it was once formed, to take the field some weeks sooner than it could otherwise have done: and the readiness with which the admiral caused the cargoes of his prizes to be sent to the king's magazines, sufficiently proves the public spirit of Sir John Leake, and the great concern he had for this service.

*Sardinia* as soon as possible, and that, whenever the service would permit, such dispositions might be made, as would contribute to the conquest of *Sicily*, which kingdom he judged might be recovered by the forces that were then under count *Daun*, and the care of the then vice-roy of *Naples*. As to the provisions, the admiral ordered they should be disposed of, as the king required; but with respect to his other demands, the admiral thought it necessary to call a council of war, to determine which should be executed, since it appeared absolutely impracticable to undertake them all. At this council were present, besides himself, sir *John Norris*, sir *Edward Whitaker*, sir *Thomas Hardy*, and two of the *English* captains; as also baron *Wassenaer*, and two of the *Dutch*. It was there after mature deliberation, determined to leave with the king two third rates, one fourth, and one fifth rate of ours, and two ships of the *States-General*; and with the rest of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to the port of *Vado*, in order to the transporting the horse and foot from thence to *Barcelona*, as also her majesty the queen of *Spain*, if she should be ready when the fleet arrived <sup>f</sup>.

THE admiral sailed in pursuance of this resolution, and on the 29th of *May* safely anchored before *Vado*; but

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finding

<sup>f</sup> The great reason that his catholic majesty was so desirous of having a squadron to cruize on the coast of *Catalonia*, was the apprehensions he was then under, that the French would attempt to send a new convoy of provisions from *Provence*, and *Languedoc*, into *Spain*. Besides, during the absence of the fleet, his affairs were in such a distressed condition, that it was absolutely necessary he should have always a naval force in the neighbourhood of *Barcelona*, to secure his person, in case of any unforeseen accident; and these were the reasons that determined the admiral, and the council of war, to comply with his majesty's requests to the utmost of their power.

finding nothing in readiness, he went to wait on the queen of *Spain* at *Milan*, where he arrived the 18th of *June*, and was received with all possible marks of respect and esteem. Upon his pressing instances, her majesty consented to set out immediately for *Genoa*, where she arrived on the first of *July*, embarked on the second, and arrived happily at *Mataro* on the 14th <sup>2</sup>. After having conducted the queen, with all imaginable respect, to *Barcelona*, the admiral thought next of the reduction of *Sardinia*, which he performed almost as soon as he arrived. He appeared before *Cagliari* on the first of *August*, and having summoned it, the marquis of *Jamaica*, who commanded there for king *Philip*, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. Upon this, the admiral ordered the place to be bombarded all that night, and the next morning major-general *Wills* landed, about 1800 men, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking the city; but, the *Spanish* governor believing himself now at the last extremity, saved them any further trouble by coming to a speedy capitulation. The reduction of this island, was of equal advantage to the common cause, and to that of king *Charles*; for it gave great security to our navigation, and enabled his catholic majesty to supply himself

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<sup>2</sup> As it was certainly known, that king *Philip's* confort contributed not a little to fix the Spaniards firmly to the king her husband's interest; it was resolved the year before, to fix upon a wife for king *Charles*, and accordingly, the princess *Elizabeth* Christiana of *Wolfenbittel*, was chosen. She is still living, and is now stiled the empress Dowager, and is mother to the empress queen of *Hungary*. Before her marriage, her imperial majesty was a protestant, nor did she change her religion, till she had advised with the *Lutheran* clergy, who declared, that she might hope for salvation in the church of *Rome*.

himself from thence, as often as he had occasion, with corn and other provisions <sup>h</sup>.

THE admiral had scarce completed the conquest of this island, before his assistance was required for the reducing another; and therefore sailing from *Cagliari* the 18th of *August*, he arrived before *Port-Mabon* on the 25th; but not finding lieutenant-general *Stanhope* (afterwards earl *Stanhope*, and secretary of state) he sent two ships of the third rate, to *Majorca*, to hasten the embarkation of those which were to be furnished from that island. These returned the 1st of *September* with some settees, laden with military stores for the army; nor was it more than two days, before the *Milford*, and three *Dutch* ships of war, arrived with the lieutenant-general, being followed by five third rates, convoy to fifteen transports, that had on board them the land-forces; whereupon, a council of war was held of the sea-officers, and it was resolved, that the ships which were to return to *Great Britain*, should leave behind them, to assist in the attempt, all the marine soldiers, above the middle compliment of each of them, and that the squadron of *English* and *Dutch*, designed to be continued abroad with sir *Edward Whitaker*, should remain  
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<sup>h</sup> This island lies to the north of *Corfica*, from which it is divided by a small and shallow arm of the sea. It has on the east, the sea of *Sicily*; on the west, the mediterranean; on the south, the coast of *Afric*, from which it is not distant above fifty leagues. It is divided into two parts by the rivers *Credo*, and *Lirio*, and is extremely fruitful in corn, oil, honey, and all the necessaries of life. As soon as the English fleet appeared, the clergy declared unanimously for king *Charles*; and the admiral had the satisfaction of seeing the new vice-roy he carried over, established in the peaceable possession of his government in the space of a week, and without the loss of so much as a man. The reader will find the capitulations at large in the complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 261.



at *Port-Mahon*, to assist with their marines and seamen in the reduction of that place, so long as the lieutenant-general should desire it; due regard being had to the season of the year, the time their provisions might last, and the transporting from *Naples* to *Barcelona*, four thousand of the emperor's troops for the service of his catholic majesty. It was also resolved, that the *English* ships should spare the forces as much bread as they could, and both they and the *Dutch*, all their cannon-shot, except what might be necessary for their own defence; and that, when every thing should be landed, which was necessary for the siege, the admiral should proceed to *England*, with one second rate, and six thirds of ours, and eight *Dutch* ships of the line; but some time after this, he sent home two *English*, and two *Dutch* ships of war, with the empty transports of both nations, in order to their being discharged. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that, by the end of *October*, the place surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of about a thousand men, marched out, and were afterwards transported on board our vessels, some to *France*, and others to *Spain*, according to the articles of the capitulation<sup>1</sup>.

BEFORE this conquest of *Port-Mahon*, *Port Fenelli* which had beneath it a harbour no less considerable, tho' less noted than *Port-Mahon* had submitted to the obedience  
of

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<sup>1</sup> The troops under the command of general Stanhope, consisted of no more than two thousand six hundred men, which were landed at *Port Mahon*, on the 14th of *October*. They were not able to batter the place till the 28th, and two days after, it surrendered; about fifty men were killed and wounded in the siege, and among the former, captain Stanhope, of the *Milford*, brother to the general, a young gentleman of great hopes, and who had distinguished himself remarkably upon this occasion.

of king *Charles*. This service, was owing to captain *Butler*, and captain *Fairburns*, who battered that fort, with the two ships under their command, till they obliged it to surrender. The place was naturally strong, and was, besides, tolerably fortified; having four bastions, and twelve pieces of brass cannon: yet, it cost but four hours time, and the loss of six men killed, and twelve wounded. They found in the garrison, a hundred cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all things necessary for a good defence. Some little time after, the general sent a detachment of about a hundred *Spaniards*, with three hundred, or more, of the marquis *Pisaro's* regiment to *Citadella*, the chief town of the island on the west side thereof. Sir *Edward Whitaker*, dispatched two ships of war thither; which place put them to no great trouble, for the garrison immediately surrendering, were made prisoners of war, consisting of a hundred *French*, and as many *Spaniards*. Being thus possessed of this important island, we had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which, during the war, was exceedingly useful to us in the cleaning and refitting such of our ships, as were employed in the *Mediterranean*; and not only magazines of stores were lodged there for that purpose, but such officers appointed to reside on the place, as were judged requisite, and a vast expence saved thereby to the nation<sup>k</sup>.

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\* The reduction of the island of *minorca*, was so considerable a service, that all imaginable pains were taken, to make the british nation sensible thereof, by giving an exact relation of that whole proceeding, in the *Gazette*; and after general *Stanhope* had transmitted an account of the conquest of the whole island, the earl of *Sunderland*, then principal secretary of State, wrote the following letter to his excellency upon that subject.

S I R,

BUT, it is now time we should return to the fleet, which, as we observed, sailed under the command of sir *John Leake* for *England*, the sixth of *September*. His excellency, on his arrival at *Gibraltar*, being there informed that four *French* men of war had taken some of our merchant-ships, running as they called it, without convoy, near cape *Spartel*, and carried them into *Cadiz*; he thought proper to leave a small squadron, consisting of two third rates, one fourth, and a fifth, to cruize in that station, in order to prevent such accidents for the future, and then pursued his voyage to *England*, where he arrived safely at *St. Helens*, on the 19th of *October*<sup>1</sup>, having met in the soundings with the squadron cruising there under the command of lord *Dursley*, afterwards earl of *Berkley*, and for some time at the head of the admiralty.

Sir *Edward Whitaker* had now the sole command of the squadron left for the *Mediterranean* service, and was consequently

“ S I R,

“ I received on Monday the favour of yours, of the 30th of  
 “ September, N. S. by captain *Moyser*, with the welcome news  
 “ of your taking *Port-Mahon*; which though it came at the same  
 “ time as the news of taking of *Lisle*, yet was not all lessened  
 “ by it: every body looking upon our being in possession of  
 “ *Port-Mahon*, as of the last consequence to the carrying on the  
 “ war in *Spain*; besides, the other advantages, if we are wise, we  
 “ may reap from it, both in war and peace. I cannot express  
 “ to you the sense the queen, and every body here, have of  
 “ your zeal and conduct, in this affair, to which this very im-  
 “ portant success is so much owing. I heartily condole with you  
 “ for the loss of your brother, which, indeed, is a public loss to  
 “ us all, he was so deserving a young man. I must not omit  
 “ telling you, the queen does entirely approve of your leaving an  
 “ English garrison in *Port-Mahon*, for the reasons you mention,  
 “ though some of them must be kept secret. Her majesty doth  
 “ approve also of the governor you have named, &c.”

*Burchet*, *Burnet*, *Oldmixon*, *London-Gazette*, No. 4481.

consequently exposed to all the difficulties which usually happen to officers under different orders. On the one side, he was bound to regulate his conduct by the instructions left him by sir *John Leake*; on the other, he was continually sollicitated by king *Charles*, to undertake this, or that expedition, for his service. The chief thing the imperial court had at this time in view, was, the reduction of *Sicily*, an enterprize not to be undertaken, but in conjunction with our fleet; and, as it afterwards proved, not then neither; for when sir *Edward* had disposed every thing in the best manner possible, for the supporting this design, the vice-roy of *Naples* declared, there were such discontents in that kingdom, as would not allow him to send any troops from thence; but, if sir *Edward Whitaker* would furnish him with a small squadron, he was ready to undertake the reduction of the places on the coast of *Tuscany*, which belonged to the crown of *Spain*. In compliance with this request, the *Defiance*, and the *York*, with the terrible bomb-vessel, were sent into the road of *Piombino*; but, the *Germans*, as usual, were so backward in their preparations, that it was necessary to continue a month longer in those seas; to very little purpose, at least with respect to either of the designs before-mentioned: but, in regard to a dispute that then subsisted between his holiness and the imperial court, and which had almost risen into a war, it had a better effect; for our chasing some of the pope's galleys, and threatening to bombard *Civitta Vecchia*, contributed not a little to bring down the Pontiff's haughty stomach, and inclined him to an accommodation upon terms acceptable to the imperial court. All this time, sir *Edward Whitaker* was at *Leghorn*, attending the motions of the *German* troops, where, he unexpectedly received a letter from king *Charles III.* of a very extraordinary

ordinary nature. His majesty acquainted him therein, that the enemy had not only besieged the city of *Denia*, in *Valencia*, but had threatned also to attack *Alicant*, in which they were to be supported by a *French* fleet of fifteen ships of the line. For these reasons, and to prevent his being surrounded in *Catalonia*, his majesty earnestly entreated him not to pass the *Streights*, as by sir *John Leake's* instructions he was required to do, but to remain upon the coast of *Spain*; assuring him, if he did otherwise, he would charge upon him all the misfortunes that might happen to his affairs. General *Stanhope* also wrote much to the same purpose; upon which, it was resolved in a council of war, to proceed immediately to *Vado*, to take on board there, a reinforcement of *German* foot, for the service of king *Charles*, and then sail directly for *Barcelona*<sup>m</sup>.

IN pursuance of this design, sir *Edward Whitaker* left *Leghorn* on the 27th of *November*, and having executed it very successfully, arrived safely at *Barcelona*. There, the king acquainted him by letter, that, according to what had  
been

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<sup>m</sup> The affairs of king Philip continued to prosper, after the battle of *Almanza*, on all sides. The duke of *Orleans*, commanded the best part of the year, and after making himself master of *Tortosa*, had certainly carried his conquests farther, if the *French* court had not thought fit to recall him; the reasons of which extraordinary step, have been somewhat differently reported. It is, on the one hand, alledged, that the princess of *Ursins*, who at that time entirely governed king Philip, fell into a correspondence with the enemies of the duke of *Orleans* at the *French* court, and by a multitude of intrigues, rendered him odious to his uncle, *Lewis XIV.* On the other hand, it is as confidently affirmed, that his royal highness held a secret correspondence with the allies, and had actually formed a project for supplanting king Philip. Whatever his political Schemes might be, he certainly shewed himself an able general, since, by keeping count *Starenberg* employed in *Catalonia*, he gave the *Chevalier d'Asfeldt* time to conquer *Valencia*.

been agreed on, at a council of war held in his royal presence, the most considerable service the Squadron under his command could do, at that juncture, was to return to *Italy*, and convoy the troops from thence designed for *Catalania*; but withal, recommended to him not only the convoying the transports, with corn from *Majorca*, and their being afterwards sent to *Sardinia*, for a further supply, and for horses to mount their cavalry, but that, when he should be on the coast of *Italy*, he would appoint such ships as cardinal *Grimani* might desire, to secure the passage of the *Pharo* of *Messina*, which might conduce to the more speedy accommodation of affairs that were negotiating at *Rome*. Hereupon, it was agreed, that the *Dutch* ships should proceed directly to *Majorca*, and convoy the transports to *Barcelona*, and from thence to *Cagliari*, as soon as they should be unladen, while the rest of the Squadron made the best of their way to *Leghorn*, where arriving, they met with very bad weather; but had advice, that matters were accommodated at *Rome*, the pope having owned *Charles III.* king of *Spain*; and from the marquis *de Pris*, that three thousand effective men should be ready to embark at *Naples*, as soon as they arrived there. These negotiations took up the remaining part

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The pope had all along shewn a great inclination to favour the French interest, and the emperor having differed with him about their temporal rights, the pope began to raise troops, and to behave as if he intended to dispute the point after the manner of sovereigns; but the German troops entering the ecclesiastical state, and living there at discretion, and the English fleet threatening his coasts, he was constrained, much against his will, and after struggling against it to the utmost of his power, to acknowledge king *Charles*, and to submit, in every other respect, to the terms prescribed by the emperor. About the same time, fe-

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of the winter, and therefore, here we are to put an end to our account of *fir Edward Whitaker's* Squadron, the proceedings of which, we shall resume, when we come to speak of the naval transactions of the ensuing year.

THE Squadron appointed to cruize in the *Soundings*, was commanded this year by lord *Dursley*, who was very fortunate in protecting our trade, but not altogether so happy in chasing the *French* ships that appeared from time to time upon our coast, which was owing to the foulness of his ships, and to the cleanness of theirs. In the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken, to make a descent on, or at least to alarm, the coast of *France*; and *fir George Byng*, as admiral, and lord *Dursley*, as vice-admiral of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose, and lieutenant-general *Erle*, had the command of the land-forces. Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true design of which, was disturbing the *French* naval armaments on their coasts, and obliging the *French* court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which necessarily occasioned the diminishing of their army in *Flanders*. On the 27th of *July*, the fleet, with the transports, having the troops on board, which were intended for the descent, sailed from *Spithead*, and came the next day to an anchor off *Deal*. The 29th, they stood over to the coast of *Picardy*, as well to alarm, as to amuse the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The 1st of *August*

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veral of the fortresses on the coast of *Tuscany* were reduced by the countenance of our fleet; and something, probably, had been attempted in *Sicily*, but that king *Philip* sent over thither count *Mahoni*, an experienced officer, with a seasonable reinforcement of three thousand men.

gust the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of *Boulogne*, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they stood in pretty nigh the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy. The fourth they weighed; but anchored again about noon in the bay of *Estaples*. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have countenanced, being laid aside, an express brought new orders from *England*, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The seventh, they stood over again to the coast of *England*, and, being joined by more transports in *Dover-Road*, arrived the eleventh in the bay of *La Hogue*. The twelfth, they designed to have landed; but upon viewing the coast, they found so many troops brought together, to oppose a descent, and so many forts and batteries on shore, that it was deemed impracticable. The fourteenth, the fleet sailed again, to the westward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before *Cherbourg*, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day, the lord *Dursey*, in the *Oxford*, with six other men of war, and frigates, sailed to the westward, to cruize in the *Landings*. The seventeenth, the rest of the fleet returned to the bay of *La Hogue*; but the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, sir *George Byng* returned to *Spithead* on the twenty-eighth<sup>o</sup>.

VOL. IV.

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<sup>o</sup> Mr. Secretary Barchet takes not the least notice of this expedition, though we have a very large account of it in the *Gazettes*, No. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, &c. The French historians, likewise, magnify the great advantage they obtained, by repelling this invasion. After thus alarming the French coast, and creating



WHEN the Squadron under lord *Dursley*, had been victualled, and refitted, at *Plymouth*, he sailed from thence on the 28th of *September*, with five ships of war, and was joined the next day by *The Hampshire*, which had taken a small *French* privateer. His lordship took another himself, of twenty-four guns, belonging to *St. Malo*, which had done a great deal of mischief. On the 7th of *November*, his lordship returned to *Plymouth*, and soon after, *The Hampshire* brought in a privateer of sixteen guns, and a rich merchantman bound to the *West-Indies*; *The Salisbury*, likewise brought in two prizes, and through the great vigilance of this noble commander, the whole coast was very thoroughly protected. In the middle of *December*, his lordship having cleaned his ship, put to sea again with his Squadron, and on the 29th, saw two ships which chased him; but when they came near, they bore away, and then his lordship returned the complement, by chasing them with all the sail he could make, and at last came within gun-shot, when their commander lightened them, by throwing many things over board, and so they escaped; which gave great concern to his lordship, the one being a sixty, the other a fifty-gun ship: So, that after a short cruize, he returned with his Squadron to *Plymouth*, without being able to make any other prize than a *French* fishing-vessel, from the banks of *Newfoundland*. This indefatigable diligence of his lordship, though it was not attended with any extraordinary success, gave great satisfaction to the

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creating the enemy inexpressible trouble, the duke of Marlborough desired, that this body of troops might be landed at Ostend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d of September, at so critical a juncture, that it is thought, if they had not arrived as they did, the city of Lisse could scarce have been taken.

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the merchants, as it hindered the *French* privateers from venturing near our coasts, as they had done for many years before, to the inexpressible damage of our trade, as well as to the prejudice of our reputation, as a maritime power. It was, therefore, justly resolved, to give his lordship an extraordinary mark of her majesty's favour, by promoting him to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and though this was somewhat retarded, by the death of his royal highness the lord high-admiral, yet it took place in the spring of the succeeding year <sup>F</sup>.

BEFORE we part with this subject, in order to account, as we have promised to do, for what happened this year in the *West-Indies*, it is requisite to speak of the passage of the queen of *Portugal*, on board our fleet to *Lisbon*. Her majesty was stiled, before her marriage, the arch-dutchess *Mary-Ann* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Leopold*, and sister to the emperor *Joseph*. This marriage was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cause, and was therefore very grateful to our court, who readily offered to send her majesty to *Lisbon* on board a *British* squadron. In the beginning of the month of *September*, she set out for *Holland*, where rear-admiral *Baker* attended, with a small squadron, to bring her over; which he accordingly did, on the 25th of that month, and landed her at *Portsmouth*, where she staid some days, at the house of *Thomas Ridge*, esq; and the queen, being then at *Windsor*, sent instantly the duke of *Grafton*, to compliment her ma-

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<sup>F</sup> What I have here advanced, is on all hands allowed, and even by bishop Burnet himself, who confesses, that much greater care was taken of our trade, and the *French* privateers were more effectually restrained, than in any year since the war began. Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, for the year 1708. Annals of queen Anne, &c.

jeſty on her part, as his royal highneſs the prince of *Denmark* did the lord *Delawar*. On the 6th of *October*, about three in the afternoon, the queen of *Portugal* went on board *The Royal Anne*, where her majeſty was received by ſir *George Byng*, and on her going off, the governor ſaluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning, at ſeven o'clock, the fleet weighed, and put to ſea, when all the cannon of the town were again diſcharged. Sir *George Byng* proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a quick and eaſy paſſage, brought her majeſty ſafely into the river of *Liſbon*, on the 16th of the ſame month. The king, with ſeveral magnificent barges, went on board *The Royal Anne* to welcome the queen; and returning from thence, their majeſties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal-arch, from whence they proceeded through a vaſt crowd of people, to the royal chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction, and heard *Te Deum* ſung. His majeſty conducted the queen to her apartment, and they ſupped in public with the infants. There were great rejoicings upon this occaſion, and fire-works and illuminations for three nights together. The queen having generouſly expreſſed her great ſatisfaction as to the entertainment ſhe had received, during her ſtay in *England*; undoubtedly the king was very liberal in his magnificent preſents to the admiral, and others that conducted her. The arrival of the queen was attended with ſome other circumſtances, which increaſed the joy of the people; for on the 12th, four ſhips from *Braxil*, came into the river, and reported, that the reſt of that ſo long expected fleet, were near the coaſt. Several other ſhips came in afterwards, ſo that, out of about a hundred ſail, there were but thirty or forty wanting, which were detain-  
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ed by contrary winds. The cargo was rich, and there was a good quantity of gold in specie aboard <sup>9</sup>.

SIR *George*, the very next day after his arrival, had intelligence, that some *French* ships, of considerable force, had been seen upon the coast, which were supposed to be waiting for the rest of the homeward-bound *Brazil* fleet. Upon this, he immediately sailed in quest of them, though without success, except, that the news of his being at sea, forced them to retire, and thereby secured the safe arrival in port, of the remaining thirty-four ships, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of *November*, sir *George* received orders to proceed to *Port-Mahon*, to winter there, and to leave sir *John Jennings* at *Lisbon*, with a small squadron. But, before he left that river, he received the queen's orders to wear the union-flag in the *Mediterranean*. He sailed on the 27th of *December*, with six ships of the line, two fireships, and three store-ships or tenders, leaving orders with sir *John Jennings*, to appoint the first ships he should have clean, to guard the mouth of the *Streights*; and having sent two third rates, two fourths, and a fifth a-head of him, to *Alicant*, to assure the governor of the castle there of his assistance; he arrived himself about the height of cape *Palos* the 3d of *January*, when standing in for *Alicant*, the wind came off from the land so fresh, at N.

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<sup>9</sup> Colonel Godfrey, who had married the duke of Marlborough's sister, was sent to Portsmouth, to defray the expences of the queen of Portugal's household, while she continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all that time. Her majesty, in testimony of her grateful sense of the honours paid her by our court, made a present to the duke of Grafton of a diamond ring worth twelve thousand crowns, and gave admiral Byng her picture, set with diamonds, to a very great value. Her passage was remarkably happy, as she was not above ten days at sea.

N. W. that he could not fetch the bay, so that he bore away to *Port-Mahon*; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the 5th, the wind came to the north, and N. N. E. blowing extream hard, with much snow; and the next day it was so very tempestuous, that it separated most of the squadron, forcing him almost as high as *Sardinia*; but on the 12th, he got into *Port-Mahon*, where he found most of the squadron <sup>r</sup>.

WHEN we last mentioned the exploits of the *English* navy in *America*, we gave an account of the arrival there of sir *John Jennings*, who commanded in those parts from *October* 1706, to *January* 1707, without having it in his power to perform any thing very remarkable. He was succeeded in his command by commodore *Wager*, who arrived at *Jamaica* in the summer of the year 1707, and disposed all things in such a manner, that the designs of the enemy were rendered absolutely abortive; the several *English* settlements were thoroughly protected, and such convoys granted the merchants, as put the trade of that part of the world, into a much better condition than it had been since the breaking out of the war; all which was very honourably acknowledged by the planters and merchants <sup>s</sup>. In the beginning of the year 1708, that part of the world was much alarmed with the news of *M. du Casse's* arrival, with a *French* squadron of great force, and which, it was supposed, had some design upon the island  
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<sup>r</sup> Burchet, compleat history of Europe, Oldmixon, life of queen Anne, Pointer's chronol. history.

<sup>s</sup> The commodore was a man particularly agreeable to people in that part of the world, from his disinterested disposition, and from his desire to contribute in every respect to the protection of their trade, which he did not only without seeking, but even without accepting any gratifications, as the merchants themselves wrote over to the board of admiralty.

of *Jamaica*. This apprehension, however, soon blew over, upon the commodore's receiving certain intelligence, that *du Casse* was sailed for the *Havannah*, in order to convoy home the galleons. It is certain, that under his convoy, they might have been absolutely safe, since he had double the strength of the *English* fleet in those seas; and therefore, we may very well admire, that commodore *Wager* should ever form a design upon these treasure-ships, and much more, that he should succeed in it, in spite of all the vigilance and care of *M. du Casse*, at once, the most able, and most active sea-officer in the *French* service †.

SUCH as knew the disposition of the late sir *Charles Wager*, will readily acquit me of flattery, when I venture to give this character of him: that he was an officer who valued his reputation as much, and his fortune as little, as any man that ever was in the *British* service. Avarice, therefore, had no share in this project of his, which was grounded only in a desire of doing his duty, and restoring the reputation of the *British* arms, which had not been a little sunk in that part of the world, especially by the covetousness and cowardly proceedings of some of our commanders. The commodore understood perfectly the rout of the Galleons: He knew, that they were to sail from *Porto-Bello*, to *Carthagena*, and from thence to the *Havannah*, and, as he was very sensible, that it was to no purpose to attempt them after they had joined *du Casse*, he was resolved to try, if it was not possible to intercept them in their passage from *Porto-Bello*, to *Carthagena*. With this view he sent captain *Humphrey Pudner*, in *The Se-*  
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† *Histoire militaire*, tom. vi. p. 124.

verno, to watch the enemies motions, in *Porto-Bello*, from whom he received advice, on the 23<sup>d</sup> of *May*, that on the 19<sup>th</sup> the galleons were sailed. The commodore had then with him, *The Expedition, Kingston, Portland,* and *Vulture* fire-ship, and cruized to the 27<sup>th</sup>, in expectation of the galleons, but not meeting with them, the commodore began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coast, and were gone for the *Havannah* <sup>u</sup>.

ON the 28<sup>th</sup> of *May*, about noon, the galleons, in all seventeen sail, were discerned, from his top-mast head, and at the same time they discovered him; but despising so small a force, resolved to proceed. He chased them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the *Baru*, a small island which lay in their passage to *Carthage*, resolved to dispute the matter there, and stretching therefore to the northward with an easy sail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, in the centre, the vice-admiral, with the same pennant at the fore-top-mast-head in the rear, and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizon-top-mast-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ships between them. Of the seventeen, two were sloops, and one

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<sup>u</sup> This was an affair of prodigious consequence; for, first, the galleons had not returned to Europe for several years, and consequently were extravagantly rich. This very squadron, that was attacked by commodore Wager, had on board forty-eight millions of pieces of eight. The Spaniards and French depended entirely upon this supply, their cash and credit being absolutely worn out, so that their mint-bills were at thirty and forty per cent, discount. It was for these reasons, that care was taken to send so strong a French squadron into the West-Indies, and under the command too, of an officer, who, besides his high reputation in every other respect, was the best acquainted, of any man, with those seas,

one a brigantine, which stood in for the land, two others of them were *French* ships, which running away, had no share in the action; the rest *Spaniards*. The commodore instantly made his disposition, he resolved to attack the admiral himself, gave instructions to captain *Simon Bridges*, who commanded *The Kingston*, to engage the vice-admiral, and send his boat to *The Portland*, commanded by captain *Eaward Windsor*, with orders to attack the rear-admiral, and as there was no immediate occasion for the fire-ship, she plied to the windward \*.

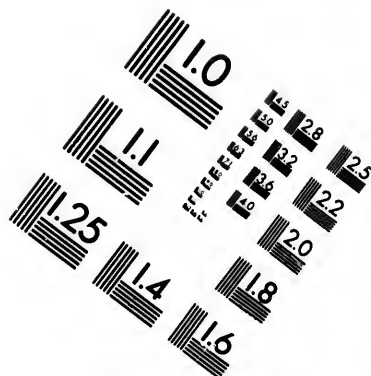
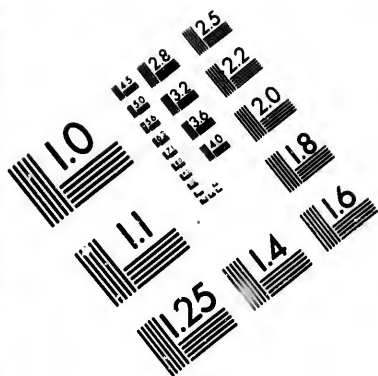
THE sun was just setting, when commodore *Wager* came up with the admiral, and then beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time (it being dark) she blew up, not without great danger to *The Expedition*, from the Splinters and planks which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blast. Hereupon, the commodore put abroad his signal lights, for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue fight of some of the enemies ships; but finding after this accident, they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broadside, at least many guns into her stern, which did so much damage, that it seemed to disable her from making sail, and being then to leeward, he tacking on the *Spaniard*, got to windward of him, and *The Kingston* and *Portland* (which had, by reason of the darkness

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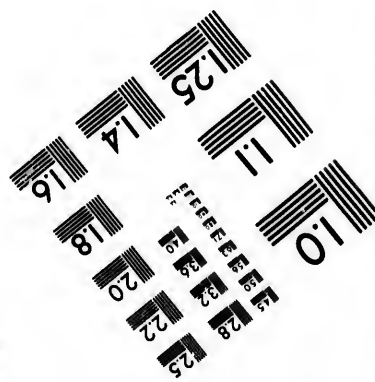
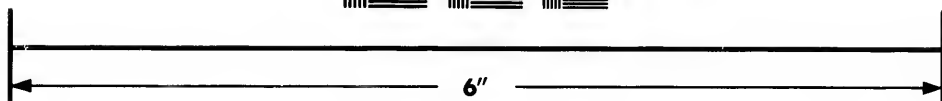
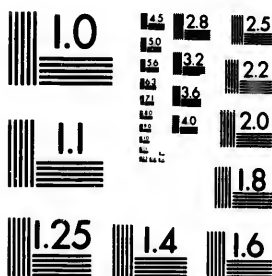
\* Commodore *Wager*, was wont to say, in private conversation, that a man, who would not fight for a galleon, would fight for nothing; and probably, it was in a full persuasion of this, that he attempted so numerqus a Squadron with so small a force.







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darkness of the night, or the blowing up of the *Spanish* admiral, which made it very thick thereabouts, lost sight of the other ships) following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship, he sent his boats to bring to him, the chief officers, and before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on his weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying, then with their heads to the north, the wind being at N. E. an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for *The Kingston* and *Portland* to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than three hundred *Spanish* prisoners on board his own ship \*.

ON *Sunday* the 30th, the wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, *The Kingston* and *Portland* had left off chase; but he made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fire-ship still continuing with him, and he having lain by sometime, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when *The Kingston* and *Portland* joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased, was the vice-admiral; to which, as they said, they came so near, as to fire their broadsides into her; but were so far advanced towards the *Salmadinas*, a shoal off *Carthagena*, that they were forced to tack, and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneasiness, and determined him to call the captains of  
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\* Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon. Compleat history of Europe, for 1708; annals of queen Anne; Pointer's chronol. hist. &c.

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these ships to account; but, in the mean time, he sent them orders to take, or destroy a galleon of forty guns, which he understood, by a *Swedish* ship that had been trading at *Baru*, had taken shelter in that island. She was just coming out of port, as *The Kingston* and *Portland* appeared; upon which, her crew ran her a-shore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be got out of her, as our captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of *June*, the commodore finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the *Spanish* prisoners a-shore, according to their request, on the island of *Baru*, and then proceed for *Jamaica*; which he performed accordingly, and the *Spanish* rear-admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful sense of the commodore's civility <sup>y</sup>.

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<sup>y</sup> According to the account given to the commodore by these prisoners, of the strength and value of the squadron, and which seem to deserve more credit than any others, the admiral called the *St. Joseph*, carried sixty-four guns, and had six-hundred men, of whom, seventeen only were saved, and had on board about seven millions in gold and silver; the vice-admiral mounted sixty-four guns, and had between four and five-hundred men, with about six millions; the rear-admiral mounted forty-four guns, but carried eleven more in her hold, and had only thirteen chests of pieces of eight, and fourteen sows of silver; the rest of the galleons were for the most part loaded with cocos, It is very remarkable, that in all the action, the commodore had but two men killed, and nine wounded. I shall take this opportunity of adding a succinct account, of a gallant exploit performed by an English officer, a little before the taking the galleons. Captain Coleby, commander of a privateer sloop, of about one hundred men, meeting with fourteen sail of brigantines and sloops, laden with valuable goods, going from the galleons at *Porto-Bello*, to *Panama*, under convoy of a guard-sloop, bravely fought the guard-sloop, and took her, and six more. The Spaniards offered the captain one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight for the ransom of the sloop, which he refused.

ON the 8th of *July*, *The Expedition, Kingston*, and *Vulture* fire-ship, brought the prize safe into *Port-Royal* harbour, where the commodore soon after arrived. He found, at his return, the new act of parliament for the distribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the sailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered captain *Long* to deliver up near thirty thousand pounds worth of silver, and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to satisfy the sailors of the uprightness of his intentions. He likewise took care to dispatch proper intelligence to *England*, that ships might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons that had escaped; and on the 23d of *July*, he held a court-martial on the two captains, who had done their duty so indifferently in the late engagement <sup>z</sup>.

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<sup>z</sup> In the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 4476, we have the following account of the proceedings of this court-martial.

At a court-martial held on board her majesty's ship, *Expedition*, at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, the 23d of *July*, 1708.

## P R E S E N T,

*Charles Wager*, esq; commander in chief of a squadron of her majesty's ships in the *West-Indies*, PRESIDENT.

Captain *Barrow Harris*, of *The Assistance*; captain *Tudor Trevor*, of *The Windsor*; captain *Humphrey Pudner*, of *The Severne*; captain *Steven Hutchins*, of *The Scarborough*; captain *Henry Long*, of *The Expedition*; captain *Abraham Tudor*, of *The Dolphin*.

All duly sworn according to an act of parliament.

Captain *Simon Bridges*, commander of her majesty's ship *The Kingston*, was tried for not having performed his duty, in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of *Carthagena*, in  
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A few days after, the commodore received a commission, appointing him rear-admiral of the blue, which bore date before his taking of the galleon; and therefore, as *mr. Lediard* very justly observes, ought not to be considered as a reward for that action; in which light, however, many other writers have placed it. Captain *John Edwards* arriving at *Jamaica*, with *The Monmouth*, a third rate; *The*

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New Spain, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of May last; and it did appear by evidence upon oath, that the said captain *Simon Bridges*, through misconduct, did not use his utmost endeavours to engage, and take the enemy, on the 28th of May last, at night; and that he did, too negligently, pursue the chase of the Spanish vice-admiral, the 29th and 30th; and, that he left off chase, when within gun shot of the said ship, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and bearing near the shoal, called *Salmadinas*, though the pilot offered to carry the ship within the said shoal, after the said vice-admiral; but no want of personal courage being alledged against him, this court does only find him guilty of the breach of part of the 12th, and part of the 14th articles of war, and for the said offence, do dismiss him, the said captain *Simon Bridges*, from being captain of her majesty's ship, *Kingston*.

Captain *Edward Windsor*, commander of her majesty's ship *The Portland*, being tried for not doing his duty, in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of *Carthage*, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May last; it did appear, by evidence upon oath, that the said captain *Edward Windsor* was slack in his duty, by not bearing so near the enemy, as to keep sight of some of them, when they were engaged on the 28th at night; that upon chasing the enemy, next day, by signal from the commodore, he left off chase, and bore down to *The Kingston*, in the evening, when he ought not to have done so; and that on the 30th, when *The Kingston* and *Portland* chased the vice-admiral of the galleons, near the *Salmadinas*, he shortned sail before he came up with the said ship, so far as he might have done; but it appears, that he was led into these mistakes through want of judgment, and having too great a regard to captain *Bridges*, of *The Kingston*, as a senior officer. This court having duly considered the whole matter, do find him guilty of the breach of some part of the 12th, and part of the 14th articles of war; and for the said offence, do dismiss him, the said captain *Edward Windsor*, from being captain of her majesty's ship, *Portland*.

*The Jersey*, a fourth; and *The Roebuck*, a fifth rate, brought the rear-admiral orders, to send home with him, *The Expedition*, *Windsor*, *Assistance*, *Dolphin*, *Dunkirk's Prize*, and *Vulture* fire-ship, with which he complied; and by the latter end of *September*, they all sailed for *England*, the *Dunkirk's Prize* excepted, which frigate, not being in a condition to be trusted home in the winter, the rear-admiral sent her out on a short cruize, with *The Monmouth* (the ship in which he was to hoist his flag) under the command of his first lieutenant, and *The Expedition*, captain *Purvis*, and they brought in two *French* merchant-ships, one of one hundred, the other of one hundred and fifty tuns, loaden with wine, brandy and other goods, from *Rochelle*, to *Petit Guavas*; but cruizing soon after, on the northside of *Hispaniola*, *The Dunkirk's Prize* chased a *French* ship, until she ran on shore near *Port Francoise*, and following her too near, the pilot not being well-acquainted, she struck upon a ledge of rocks, where, being a very weak ship, she soon bulged; captain *Purvis*, with some of his men, got upon a small key, or uninhabited island, within shot of the *French* ship; and though she had fourteen guns, and sixty men, and fired smartly upon them, yet having his own boats, with a canoe he had taken, and having made a stage, from whence he was ready to attack them, the *French* demanded quarter, and surrendered the ship, upon agreement, that her commander and men should be put on shore; and with this ship, captain *Purvis* arrived at *Jamaica*, with all his company, except twenty-one, who refused to assist in the attempt, believing it altogether impossible to succeed therein \*.

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\* Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, the life of queen Anne, &c.

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UPON intelligence sent the rear-admiral from the admiralty, that *M. du Guai Trouin*, was sailed with a strong squadron, which it was believed might be intended to execute some design upon the island of *Jamaica*, a council of war was held on the 1st of *December*, 1708, where were present, besides rear-admiral *Wager*, captain *Trevor*, of *The Kingston*; captain *Pudner*, of *The Severn*; captain *Hutchins*, of *The Portland*; captain *Vernon*, of *The Jersey*; captain *Charles Hardy*, of *The Roebuck*; and it being judged, that, if they made such an attempt, it would be against the harbour of *Port-Royal*; it was determined, that all her majesty's ships there, except such as it might be necessary to send windward, for intelligence, or on any other extraordinary occasion, should be drawn up in a line, at the entrance of the said harbour, so as that, with the assistance of the fort, they might in the best manner possible defend it, and most annoy the enemy. The 18th of *January*, another council of war was called, and since the letter of advice before-mentioned was dated, almost six months before, it was considered, whether the squadron should be kept any longer together, since the enemies ships had not appeared; in which it was at length determined, they ought to be employed on necessary services. Thus we have brought the proceedings in the *West-Indies*, down to the close of this year, and, according to the method hitherto pursued, we are now to return home, and to give an account of such remarkable events there, as have relation to the affairs of the navy <sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> The French writers themselves own, that affairs went very ill in this part of the world; and bishop Burnet, who is usually hard enough upon the miscarriages at sea, has nothing to say as to this year's conduct. But that we did not take so many of the galleons as was expected; yet he lays this at the right door, I mean at that of the captains who were broke by the court-martial.

ON the 27th of *October*, a court-martial was held on board *The Royal Anne*, at *Spithead*, for the trials of captain *Richard Edwards*, of *The Cumberland*; captain *John Balchen*, of *The Chester*; and captain *Baron Wild*, of *The Royal Oak*; the two first for losing their ships, and the last for breaking the line, disobeying orders, and neglect of duty. After a strict examination of witnesses, and free liberty given to the persons accused to make their defence, and to produce whatever testimonies were in their power, captain *Edwards* was most honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty, in every respect, both as captain and commodore; and captain *John Balchen* was also acquitted; but captain *Baron Wild* being found guilty of neglect of duty, and disobeying orders, was not only cashiered, but declared incapable of ever serving in the royal navy<sup>c</sup>.

ON the 28th of *October*, died his royal highness *George* prince of *Denmark*, lord high admiral of *England*, and her *British* majesty's consort, at *Kenington*, of an asthma. He was born in 1653; married her majesty the 28th of *July*, 1683; and on the 13th of *November*, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of *Westminster*, at ten in the evening. At this hour, the ordnance on the platform, and on board all the ships in the harbour of *Portsmouth*, were fired, a minute after each other, which lasted for some hours; and the next morning the union flag was hoisted again, which had been taken down on the news of his royal highness's death. Her majesty was pleased to keep the admiralty in her own hands, for about three weeks; and on the 25th of *November*, she appointed *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke*, lord high admiral of *Great Britain* and

<sup>c</sup> Annals of queen Anne, Lediard's naval history.

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and *Ireland*, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation<sup>d</sup>.

THE new parliament meeting on the 18th of *November*, and having chosen sir *Richard Onslow*, Bart. for their speaker, the lord high chancellor, in a speech from the throne, recommended a provision for the navy, and especially for the building of new ships, and fortifying our ports. On the sixth of *December*, the house of commons addressed, for an account of the number of men, that might be wanting to man her majesty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promised, and upon its being laid before the house, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the same number of men, with the same allowance, and the same sum for the ordinary use of the navy, as had been given the year before; but soon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to enquire into the number of ships employed as cruizers and convoys; as also to discover the true reasons of the great increase of the

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<sup>d</sup> Bishop Burnet gives this account of the matter. " In the end of October, George prince of Denmark died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and some months married to the queen: he was asthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for some time he was considered as a dying man, but the last year of his life he seemed to recover to a better state of health. The queen had been, during the whole course of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife; and in all his illness, which lasted some years, she would never leave his bed, but sometimes sat up half the night in the bed by him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on, very deservedly, as a pattern in this respect. This prince had shewed himself brave in war, both in Denmark and Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle: he had made a good progress in mathematics: he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well express; for he spoke acquired languages ill, and ungracefully".

navy-debt; and on their report, they came to a resolution on the 24th of *March*, that an address be presented to her majesty, to desire that she would be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the house, an account of all sums of money granted, or voted, since her majesty's accession to the crown, and how far the same had proved deficient. At the same time, they ordered the commissioners of the navy to lay before them the causes of the increase of the debt of the navy. But, to this address, it seems, the ministry did not think fit her majesty should give any answer; so the affair dropped for that time<sup>e</sup>. It is certain, that this conduct of the court gave great offence; yet the commons were so hearty in the prosecution of the war, that with their usual liberality, they gave for the service of the year 1709, no less a sum than 6,457,830 *l*.

THERE were also in this session, some other things done for promoting trade and the plantations, such as a grant of 103,203 *l*. for the relief of the inhabitants of *St. Nevis*, and *St. Christophers*, and a vote in favour of the trade to *Africa*; but the most remarkable was, the joint address of both houses, that her majesty would be pleased not to conclude any peace with the *French* king, unless he consented to demolish the fortifications and harbour of *Dunkirk*; which point being accordingly insisted upon in the conferences at the *Hague*, with *M. de Torci*, for settling the preliminaries of a general peace; and that minister shewing greater reluctance to consent to this, than to any other of the articles, alledging, that his master bought,

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<sup>e</sup> Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe for the year 1709. Annals of queen Anne, &c.

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bought, and paid for this town and port, besides laying out immense sums upon it since; which so provoked prince *Eugene*, that he could not help telling the *French* ministers, with great warmth, that he wondered they should spend so many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generosity of a princess, who, having it in her power to prescribe them harder terms, and force them to deliver that, with what other places she pleased, and revive other pretensions of the crown of *England*, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation<sup>1</sup>. This had such an effect, that the point was immediately given up, and the following article makes the seventeenth of the preliminaries they agreed on.

“ His most christian majesty promises, to cause all  
 “ the fortifications of the town of *Dunkirk*, the harbour,  
 “ and *Rysbanck*, and others depending on the same,  
 “ without any exception, to be demolished at his own  
 “ charges; so that one half of the fortifications be de-  
 “ molished, and one half of the harbour filled up with-  
 “ in two months, and the other half of the said fortifica-  
 “ tions razed, and the other half of the said harbour filled  
 “ up in two other months, the whole to the satisfaction  
 “ of the queen of *Great-Britain*, and the lords of the  
 “ *States-General* of the *United Provinces*; and it shall  
 “ never be allowed to re-establish the said fortifications,  
 “ or render the harbour navigable, directly or indirectly<sup>2</sup>”.

I HAVE taken notice of this, in order to shew how unanimous all parties in this nation have ever been, as to

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their

<sup>1</sup> Compleat history of Europe for the year 1709, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> These articles may be found in all the general collections; particularly in the compleat history of Europe, before-mentioned, p. 145.

their sentiments on this head; for it was lord *Somers* who moved this affair in the upper house; and this, therefore, ought to be considered as a direct proof of the disposition of the whig-ministry, as the inserting a like clause in the treaty of *Utrecht*, plainly shews the sense of tory-ministers; whence I conclude, that there must be a total revolution of parties in this country, before there can arise a set of men capable of weakening this part of our security, in any respect, by consenting to, or even conniving at the restoring this port, so fatal to the commerce of the two maritime powers. To these points, I shall add the enquiry into the conduct of the ministry in the late invasion, which was justified by the resolutions of the house of commons, and the diligence of the admiralty commended <sup>h</sup>.

BEFORE we proceed to the operations of the year 1709, it may not be amiss to take notice of a great naval promotion made by her majesty, though it comes a little out of time; and for this reason, because, otherwise it might be omitted, though one of the noblest testimonies of her majesty's concern and regard for such of her subjects as had served with extraordinary diligence and activity at sea; for the post of rear-admiral of *Great-Britain* having been vacant since the death of sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, her majesty, of her mere grace and favour, without the interposition of any of her ministers, bestowed it on sir *John Leake*, with this remarkable compliment, *That she was put in mind of it by the voice of the people* <sup>i</sup>.

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<sup>h</sup> Barnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, Annals of queen Anne, Chandler's debates, &c.

<sup>i</sup> See the London-Gazette, N<sup>o</sup> 4481, and the memoirs of sir John Leake.

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EARLY in the spring, lord *Dursley*, who commanded in the *Soundings*, was at sea with his squadron, and took several prizes from the *French*; and on the 22d of *February*, his lordship having only with him the *Kent*, *Plymouth*, *Monk*, and *Litchfield*, fell in with eleven sail, twelve leagues from *Scilly*. This happened about three in the morning, and their lights being seen, his lordship made the signal for wearing, which was obeyed, though not without danger of falling amongst the enemy; for this proved to be *M. du Guai Trouin's* squadron. However, through the darkness of the weather, his lordship missed them; and then stretching away for *Plymouth*, captain *Stuart* of the *Dartmouth*, whom his lordship had sent in, a little before with a prize, informed him, that he had been chased by nine large ships off the *Lizard*, and that they were the same, in his judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged captain *Tollet*, in his passage from *Ireland*<sup>k</sup>. This affair having made a great noise, and doing much honour to the bravery of our *English* officers, I shall give a particular account of it from the captain's own papers.

ON the 25th of *February*, captain *Tollet*, in the *Assurance*, of 70 guns, with the *Sunderland* of 60, *Hampshire* and *Anglesea* of 50 guns, each sailed from *Cork*, and being joined by the *Assistance*, a fifty gun ship, likewise with the trade from *Kinsale*, continued his voyage for *England*. On the second of *March*, about five in the morning, being then eight leagues S. S. W. off the *Lizard*, he saw four sail standing after him. About seven, they came

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<sup>k</sup> Burchet, compleat history of Europe, annals of queen Anne life of queen Anne, &c.

within random shot; whereupon, he made the signal for drawing into a line of battle, and another for the merchant-men to bear away for their security; some of them, with the *Anglesea* and the *Sunderland*, having before lost company. About eight, the enemy bore down in a line, and when they were come within musket-shot, they hoisted *French* colours. The *French* commodore, who was in a ship of 70 guns or upwards, came ranging along the larboard-side of the *Assurance*, and fell aboard her, so that they engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, for the space of almost half an hour; during which, the *Frenchman* plied captain *Tollet* so warmly with small shot, that they cut off most of his marines and seamen, that were quartered on deck. They then put off, and fell on board again on the lee-side of the *Assurance*, first ranging on her bow, and then on her quarter, while she fired her upper deck, and part of her lower deck guns, with such vigour, that she obliged the enemy to sheer off, and stand away a-head towards the merchant-men. The three other ships, which were of forty or fifty guns, then came ranging along the *Assurance*, firing several broad-sides into her, and after that, bore away as the former. The damage she received was very great; her sides were shot through and through in a great many places; her shrouds and back-stays cut to pieces, as likewise her main and false-stay; which, if not timely seen, had occasioned the loss of her mast. Her fore-sail and foretop-sail were torn to pieces; her best bower cut away; one of the flukes of the spare-anchor shot off, and her small bower, by the enemies boarding, drove through her bow. All possible dispatch was made in fitting her rigging, which, with the bending of a new fore-sail, and foretop-sail, took up some time.

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After which, the ships of war all bore down to secure what merchant-ships they could, expecting to have engaged the enemy again: but they declined it. The captain of the *Assurance*, who had been four months sick, and had been carried upon deck in a chair, was wounded: the first lieutenant was shot in the leg, which he got dressed, and then returned to his charge upon deck: the second lieutenant was killed; as were several *French* officers, whom they brought from *Ireland*: but more of the latter were wounded. In the whole, the *Assurance* had five and twenty killed, and three and fifty wounded, and some of these died of their wounds; for the enemy making their chief attempt on her, she had been severely treated, the *Hampshire* had only two killed, and eleven wounded: the *Assistance*, eight killed, and one and twenty wounded, among the latter was captain *Tudor*, her commander, who died afterwards of his wounds<sup>1</sup>. *M. du Guai Trouin*, who commanded the *French* squadron, had abundance of men killed and wounded, and took only five merchant-men, which it was believed he sent into *Brest*. In the memoirs, which go under his name, it is acknowledged,

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knowledge,

<sup>1</sup> It is amazing, that Mr. secretary Burchet should commit so gross a mistake as he has done, with respect to the dates in this engagement. He tells us, p. 723, that captain Tollet sailed from Cork on the 25th of April; and immediately after, he informs us, that the engagement happened on the 6th; but he does not tell us of what month, though from the former account, it must have been May. Mr. Lediard saw, and corrected this mistake; but without bringing us any authority, though he happens to be right in his conjecture. We do not, however, trust to that method. In the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup> 4521, is a letter from on board the *Assurance*, with an account of this transaction, dated in Hamoze, March 3<sup>d</sup>, and therein, the engagement is expressly said to have happened the day before.

knownedged, that our officers did their duty extremely well; that not only his own ship was very roughly handled by captain *Tollet*, but also, that the *Amazon*, and the *Glory*, that were with him, met the like reception from the *Hampshire* and the *Affistance*. As to the five prizes, he says, that two of them were sent to *St. Malo's*, one got into *Calais*, and the other two foundered on the *English* coast <sup>m</sup>.

*LORD Dursley*, on the 20th of *March*, ordered three ships to cruize off *Brest*, to gain intelligence, and in the mean time, the *Salisbury* took a *French West-India* ship, richly laden; but the most valuable part of her effects were immediately taken out, because she proved so leaky, that it was suspected she might founder at sea. On the 29th, his lordship had orders to see the *Lisbon* fleet of merchant-men safe into the sea; but his lordship having received certain intelligence, that *M. du Guai Trouin*, was then cruizing at the distance of about thirty-five leagues from *Scilly*, his lordship proposed to leave the trade and transports, under the protection of some *Dutch* men of war, that were expected from *Portsmouth*, and resolved to go himself in search of the enemy; but these *Dutch* ships of war not arriving in time, his lordship thought it better to comply with his orders; and having seen the *Lisbon* fleet as far as he was directed, he had scarce parted from them, on the 9th of *April*, before he discovered the *Achilles*, commanded by *M. du Guai Trouin*, and the *Glory*,

<sup>m</sup> *Memoirs de monsieur Guai Trouin*. The *French* journals of those times, acknowledge the same thing, and own, that their ships were very roughly treated; and that, if our squadron had been stronger, it would have been difficult for them to escape.

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*Glory*, who the day before, had taken the *Bristol* man of war, a fifty gun ship; his lordship immediately gave them chace, recovered the *Bristol*, which, by a shot in her bread-room, sunk soon afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were saved. The *Achilles* much shattered, escaped by her swift sailing, but the *Le Gloire*, a *French* man of war of 44 guns and 312 men was taken; his lordship having about seventy men killed and wounded in the action. On the 26th of *April*, two small ships were taken, and on the seventh of *May*, a privateer carrying fourteen guns, and one hundred men; but the provisions through all the ships then growing very short, his lordship found it necessary to return to *Plymouth* on the 13th, with his squadron, which consisted at that time of one third, and seven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majesty's ship the *Sweepstakes*, of 32 guns, had been taken by two *French* privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate<sup>n</sup>.

To ballance this piece of ill news, there arrived about the same time advice, that four *French* men of war had attacked some *New England* ships, laden with masts, under the convoy of captain *Walter Ryddel*, in the *Falmouth*, a ship of fifty guns, about twenty-four leagues from *Scilly*. This happened on the 18th of *May*; and  
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<sup>n</sup> London Gazette, No. 4531. All our public accounts call the french man of war taken in this engagement, *le Gloire*; but it appears from the french writers, that the true name of it was, *le Glorieux*. In the account published by the admiralty, it appears, that the *Bristol*, captain *Gore*, was taken in her passage from *Plymouth* to *Lisbon*, after a very warm dispute, in which, she had seventy men killed and wounded. The french man of war, was taken, by captain *Thomas Matthews*, in the last war, admiral and commander in chief in the *Mediterranean*.

the *French* commodore, a sixty gun ship, attempting to board the *Falmouth*; captain *Ryddel* saved him the trouble, by filling his head-sails, and laying her on board under her boltsprit, directly athwart her *Hawser*, and at the same time raked her fore and aft, with his cannon. The enemy continued in this posture about an hour and half, during which time, he entered many men, but they were repulsed. However, the number of men on board her being much greater than those in the *Falmouth*, it occasioned various turns: but, at length, he thought fit to retire, having first cut all the lariards of the *Falmouth's* fore and mizon-shrouds, believing it might prevent her following to rescue the convoys, which the enemy stood after. Notwithstanding this, captain *Ryddel* made sail after him with such diligence, as enabled him, notwithstanding the bad condition he was in to preserve them all, and to bring them safe into *Plymouth*. In this action the *Falmouth* had thirteen men killed, and fifty-six wounded. The captain himself was wounded in the right leg, and had several others hurt; and the second lieutenant, and Mr. *Lawson*, a volunteer, were shot through the body; the *Falmouth* had twenty thousand pounds *New-England* money on board her at the time of the engagement.

ON the very same day, application being made to his excellency *Thomas* earl of *Wharton*, then lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, signifying, that two *French* privateers had entered *Bantry-Bay*, and surprized the *Ruth*, of *London*, a *West-India* ship, supposed to be worth 25,000 *l.* at least;

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° See the *London Gazette*, No. 4545. Compleat history of Europe, Burchet, Annals of queen Anne: but all these accounts are taken from that in the *Gazette*.

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his lordship ordered captain *Camock*, in the *Speedwell*, then in the harbour of *Kinsale*, to proceed immediately in quest of the said privateers and their prize. He accordingly sailed directly for *Beer-Haven*, at the very entrance of which, he met one of the privateers, and the prize, making the best of their way to *France*. The prize was immediately retaken, on board which, the captain put his lieutenant, with forty men, and then continued the chace all night; but finding the privateer had given him the slip, he the next morning entered *Bantry-Bay*, and took the other privateer, with thirty men on board, most of them *Irish*, whom he sent to the prison of *Cork*, in order to their being tried for high treason<sup>p</sup>. Three weeks afterwards, the same alert officer had the good luck to surprize a *French* privateer of twelve guns and ninety men, on the very point of taking three merchant-men, richly laden, all of whom he brought safe into the port of *Londonderry*<sup>q</sup>.

It is now time to return to the proceedings of sir *George Byng*, whom we left in the harbour of *Port-Mahon*; where he was extremely distressed for want of naval stores, which were on board the *Arrogant*, a ship that had been missing from his arrival in that harbour, in quest of which he detached ships to *Majorca*, and *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*; and at the same time dispatched orders to sir *Edward Whitaker*, who was still on the coast of *Italy*, to join him with his squadron, in case the emperor's troops, that were designed for *Catalonia*, were not as yet ready.

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<sup>p</sup> See London Gazette, No. 4544. Pointer's chronological history, compleat history of Europe.

<sup>q</sup> See the London Gazette, No. 4556.

All the month of *February*, 1709, was spent in tedious expectations; but at last, about the middle of *March*, sir *Edward Whitaker* arrived with about 3500 men, in transports under his convoy, to the great joy of sir *George Byng* and general *Stanhope*, who had long waited for these forces, in order to attempt something for the relief of *Alicant*, then besieged by an army of 12,000 men, and for the safety of which, king *Charles* had expressed unusual concern. As this city and castle had been taken, as we before have shewn, by the remarkable valour of the *British* seamen; as the present siege of it was one of the most remarkable actions in this age; and as the attempt made for its relief, cannot well be understood without it; I shall take the liberty of giving a succinct account of the whole affair, from the time the place was invested, to its surrender.

*ALICANT* is a city and port commanded by a strong castle, standing on a rock, at a small distance from the sea, and about sixty-eight miles south from the capital city of *Valencia*. There was in it, a pretty good garrison, under the command of major-general *Richards*; which made an obstinate defence against a very numerous army of the enemy, with a very large train of heavy artillery, and excellently supplied with ammunition. At last, the city being absolutely untenable, the garrison resolved to retire into the castle, which had hitherto been esteemed impregnable. They sunk three cisterns in the solid rock, and then, with incredible labour, filled them with water. The troops that retired into it, were fir

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\* Burchet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, annals of queen Anne, &c.

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*Charles Hotham's* regiment, and that of colonel *Sibourg*, generally called the *French* regiment, because it was composed of refugees. After some progress made in this second siege, the *French* saw that it was impossible to do any great matter in the usual way, and therefore, contrary to all expectation, resolved upon a work, excessively laborious, and in all outward appearance, impracticable; which was that of mining through the solid rock, in order to blow up the castle and its garrison into the air together. At first, major-general *Sibourg*, and all the officers in the place, looked upon the enemies scheme as a thing utterly impossible to be accomplished, and were secretly well pleased with their undertaking, in hopes it would give time for our fleet to come to their relief; yet, this did not hinder them from doing all that lay in their power, to incommode the workmen, and, at last, to countermine them<sup>s</sup>.

THE besiegers, however, wrought so incessantly, and brought such numbers of peasants to assist them in their labours, that they having, in about twelve weeks time, finished the works thought proper for this service, by very experienced engineers, and charged them with 1,500 barrels of powder, several large beams, iron bars and crows, and other utensils of destruction, summoned the castle to surrender, *March 20th*, most solemnly assuring a safe and honourable convoy to *Barcelona*, with bag and baggage for every person in it, if they submitted within three days, and prevented the ruin of the castle; but threatened otherwise, no mercy should be shewn, if any might  
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<sup>s</sup> Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, annals of queen Anne, Pointer's chronological history.

accidentally escape the blow: and, to demonstrate the reality of their design, they desired the garrison might depute three, or more engineers, with other gentlemen of competent skill, to view their works, and make a faithful report of what they saw. Accordingly, two field-officers went to the mine, and were allowed the liberty of making what scrutiny they pleased: upon which, they told the governor, that if their judgment failed them not, the explosion would carry up the whole castle to the easternmost battery, unless it took vent in their own counter-mine, or vein; but at least, they conceived it would carry away the sea-battery, the lodging-rooms in the castle-close, some of the chambers cut for soldiers barracks, and, they very much feared, might affect the great cistern<sup>t</sup>.

A grand council of war was called upon this; the *French* message delivered, and the engineers made their report; the besieged acknowledged their want of water; but believing the fleet might be sensible of their distress, and consequently under some concern for their relief, their unanimous resolution was, to commit themselves to the providence of God, and, whatever fate attended them, to stand the springing of the mine. The *French* were extremely concerned at this answer, and the second night of the three allowed, sent to divert them from what they called inexcusable obstinacy, offering the same honourable articles as before, upon that late compliance; but these still were rejected by the besieged. The fatal third night approaching,

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<sup>t</sup> Taubman's memoirs of the British fleets and squadrons in the Mediterranean, life of queen Anne, compleat history of Europe for the year 1709. History of the late war.

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proaching, and no fleet seen, the *French* sent their last summons, and withal, an assurance, that their mine was primed, and should be sprung by six o'clock the next morning; and though, as they saw all hope and prospect of relief was vain, yet there was room for mercy still, and the terms already proposed, was in their power to accept. The besieged persisted in their adherence to the result of their first council, and the *French* met their usual answer again; therefore, as a prologue to their intended tragedy, they ordered all the inhabitants of that quarter, to withdraw from their houses before five o'clock the ensuing morning. The beleaged, in the mean time, kept a general guard, devoting themselves to their meditations. The major-general, colonel *Sibourg*, and lieutenant colonel *Thornicroft*, of sir *Charles Hotham's* regiment, sat together in the governor's usual lodging room; other officers cantoned themselves as their tempers inclined them to pass the melancholy night <sup>u</sup>.

AT length, day appearing, the governor was informed, that the inhabitants were flying in crowds to the westernmost part of the town. The governor, attended by the above-mentioned gentlemen, and about five or six other officers, went to the west-battery, to inform himself better. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, lieutenant-colonel *Thornicroft* desired him to remove, as being unable to do any service there; he and colonel *Sibourg* both answered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel

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<sup>u</sup> *Mercure historique et politique* for 1709, vol. i. p. 472. Taubman, Oldmixon, &c.

colonel remained, because his superiors did, and other officers imitated the same example: but the hour of five being now considerably past, the corporals guard cried out, that the train was fired, observing some smোক from the lighted matches, and other combustible matter near it, from whence the fame ascended to the centinels above. The governor and field-officers were urged to retreat; but refused. The mine at last blew up; the rock opened and shut; the whole mountain felt the convulsion; the governor and field-officers with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyss; the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cleft, who lived many hours in that afflicting posture. About thirty-six centinels and women, were swallowed in different quarters, whose dying groans were heard, some of them after the fourth mournful day. Many houses of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the castle suffered much; but, that it wears any form at all, was owing to the vent which the explosion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine. After the loss of the chief officers, the government fell of course to lieutenant-colonel *Dalbeume*, of *Sibourgh's* regiment, who drew out a detachment of the whole garrison, and with it, made a desperate sally, to shew how little he was moved at their thunder. The bombs from the castle played on the town more violently, and the shot galled every corner of their streets; which resentment they continued till the arrival of our fleet, which they had expected so long.

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\* This major-general Richards, though an Englishman, was an officer in the king of Spain's service, and of the romish religion;

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ON the fifth of *April*, about eight o'clock in the morning, fir *Edward Whitaker's* squadron arrived and attempted the relief of the castle; his ships were the *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Essex*, *York*, and *Dunkirk*. The last went within the line, as drawing less water than the other, in three and a half fathom; then laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind having been fresh the night before, and an unhappy swell rolling in from the eastward at eleven, the great ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, making out of cannon-shot. The *Dunkirk*, having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut between one and two, fell fast a-stern, lying exposed to the enemy's shot, bombs, and carcasses, till three in the afternoon, at which time, by winding the right way, she got off. The weather continuing very bad till the seventh, and it not being known what extremities the garrison might be under, and the enemy encreasing considerably in strength, the general sent a flag of truce a-shore, with proposals for surrendering the castle; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, the admiral (fir *George Byng*) proceeded with the troops towards *Barcelona*, having detached some ships to cruize for the *Turkey* fleet; others, with transports for corn, to *Barbary*; and the *Suffolk*, *Humber*, and *Ipswich*, which he left to clean at *Port-Mahon*, were under orders to proceed to *Genoa* and *Final*, for transporting the *German*

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I

troops

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gion; there perished, besides the officers mentioned in the text, five captains; three lieutenants, forty-two soldiers, all the miners, and about thirty peasants.

troops from those places to *Catalonia*. In his way to *Barcelona*, he landed general *Stanhope*, with the troops at *Terragona*, and returning with the garrison of the castle of *Alicant*, to *Port-Mahon*, joined some other ships to those he first intended for *Genoa* and *Final*, and sent them thither under the command of sir *Edward Whitaker*; but directed him first to proceed to *Leghorn*, for a supply of provisions, which was at this time, very much wanted. The few ships he had with him at *Port-Mahon*, he was cleaning as fast as possible, that so they might cruize against the enemy, who had taken the *Faulcon*, a ship of thirty-two guns, off cape *de Gat*, in her passage to *Lisbon*, from whence he had ordered sir *John Jennings* to join him, with the ships under his command, who was off *Gibraltar* the 21st of *May*, with sixteen men of war, *English* and *Dutch*, and about forty transports, laden with corn, as also provisions and stores for the fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and arrived at *Port-Mahon*, the 28th; from whence he guarded the corn-ships to *Barcelona*, and was joined the eighth of *June* by sir *George Byng*, with the rest of the *English* and *Dutch* men of war; and there sir *Edward Whitaker* arrived with his squadron from *Italy*, and above two thousand recruits for the army in *Catalonia*. A council of war being held, it was determined, that since the king of *Spain*, as the posture of his affairs then stood, could not come to any resolution relating to the fleets assisting in the reduction of those parts of *Spain*, still in the possession of the enemy, the admiral should sail to a station ten leagues south of cape *Toulon*, not only for intercepting the enemy's trade, but to alarm them all that might be; but since it was necessary, that a squadron should be on the coast of *Portugal*, sir *John Jennings* was sent thither with

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SIR *George Byng* arrived before *Toulon* the 24th of *June*, in which harbour he saw only eight ships rigged, and one large man of war, on the careen, the rest being disarmed; which satisfied him, that the informations he had formerly received, were true; that the enemy did not intend, in fact was not able, to bring out any fleet that year; but were resolved to content themselves with sending abroad small squadrons to protect their corn-fleets. After having thus insulted *Toulon*, he in a short time returned to *Barcelona* road, where he found most of the ships arrived from the services upon which he had sent them; and some of them, particularly the *Centurion*, and *Dunkirk*, had been so fortunate as to make a great many prizes. The court of *Spain* was, at the instance of cardinal *Grimani*, very desirous to have the reduction of *Sicily* attempted, and was informed, by general *Stanhope*, that it was her majesty's pleasure, part of the fleet should assist in the design upon *Cadix*; but the *Dutch* ships having been separated in bad weather, and ours being too few to answer these and many other services the court proposed, he suspended for some time the coming to any resolution, being every day in expectation of the ships of the *States-General*. But at length that the service might not suffer through delay, the admiral formed a disposition of her majesty's ships, and appointed sir *Edward Whitaker* for the service of *Sicily*, while he himself designed to proceed on the other, with general *Stanhope*. The 26th of *July*, the

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\* *Histoire Militaire*, tom. vi. p. 253. Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of queen Anne, &c.

court of *Spain* having notice of the enemies penetrating into the *Lampourdan*, with intention, as they apprehended, to besiege *Girone*; and there being a want of ships to protect the coasts of *Catalonia*, and hinder the enemies having supplies by sea, as also a squadron to bring over the prizes laden with corn, from *Porto Farina*, which they were in great want of in that principality, and some ships to go to *Italy*, for money, to subsist the troops; the court seemed to lay aside the design on *Sicily*, and the admiral sent five ships for the vessels laden with corn<sup>y</sup>, which have been before mentioned.

THE warmth, impatience and irresolution of the court at *Barcelona*, obliged the admirals to drop both these great designs; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even for what themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring something new to be done for them, without ever considering, that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehension that the enemy would attack *Girone*, the *English* ships were desired to intercept their provisions. Soon after, they were distressed for want of provisions themselves, and then the most necessary thing that could be done, was, to send for the prizes laden with corn from *Porto Farina*. By that time this was resolved on, money grew scarce, and then his catholic majesty hoped, that the *English* ships would go and fetch it immediately from *Italy*. The manner in which these demands were made, and the apprehensions the officers were under, of complaints being sent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; so  
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<sup>y</sup> Burchet, Taubman, Oldmixon, history of Europe, annals of queen Anne, Pointer's chronological history, &c.

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that of necessity, the expedition against *Sicily* was laid aside. Our admirals, however, still flattered themselves that something might be done at *Cadiz*, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, besides, highly discontented with the *French* government<sup>2</sup>.

On the 27th of *July*, the *Dutch* squadron arrived from *Leghorn*, upon which, sir *George Byng* called a council of war, and laid before them the queen's orders, the desires of his catholick majesty, and the project formed by themselves for attempting *Cadiz*; but the commander in chief of the *Dutch* ships excused himself from taking any share in it; declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of *August*, which disabled him from undertaking any service beyond the 20th of that month. It was then agreed, that sir *George Byng* should proceed to *Cadiz*, and the *Dutch* ships be employed in other services; which, however, could not be executed; and, therefore, sir *George Byng* resolved to return to *England*, where he safely arrived, on the 25th of *September*, leaving sir *Edward Whitaker*, with a pretty strong squadron in the *Mediterranean*, where, in the *Bay of Roses*, he discovered the grand convoy, intended for the *French* forces in the *Lampourdan*, which consisted of forty large vessels, laden with corn, and other provisions, of which he took thirty, and

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<sup>2</sup> It was a great misfortune to king Charles, that he had no body about him capable of giving him good advice, or of considering what was fit to be undertaken in the situation his affairs were in. This single mistake of grasping at every thing, when scarce any thing was in his power, proved the ruin of all his undertakings; though, as this history fully shews, our sea-officers did for him all he could expect, and more a great deal than the Officers of any other nation would have done, as is evident from *The impartial inquiry into the management of the war with Spain*, and all the histories of those times.

hindered the rest from putting to sea; by which the enemy was greatly distressed, and king *Charles's* army so happily supplied with provisions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwise they could not have done<sup>a</sup>; and having thus attended our fleets in the *Mediterranean*, as long as they were employed in any considerable service; we shall now return to the exploits performed in the *Soundings*, by lord *Dursley*, with the squadron under his command.

SIR *George Byng*, in his return from the *Mediterranean*, having obtained an exact account of the strength, station and designs of *M. du Guai Trouin*, sent an account of it to the lord high admiral, who, immediately dispatched it to the lord *Dursley*, who was just returned from cruizing for a corn-fleet, which the *French* expected from the *Baltick*. His lord's instructions were, to give the enemy all the disturbance he could, and to take particular care of the *West-India* trade, the intercepting of which was principally designed by *M. du Guai Trouin*. On the 8th of *October*, his lordship sailed from *Plymouth*, with one third rate, and two fourths, having before detached captain *Vincent* with six ships, to secure the *West-India* fleet; and soon after, his lordship joined that detachment, by which, he effectually prevented the *French* from succeeding in their design. On the last of *October*, his lordship being then

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<sup>a</sup> I find this put in a much stronger light by some Dutch writers, who tell us, that admiral Whitaker, with fifteen sail of men of war, entered the bay of *Roses*, and destroyed fifty French ships, laden with corn. They add, that the admiral was inclined to assist his catholic majesty, in reducing *Roses*, which would have left the enemy without a sea-port in *Catalonia*; but his advice was not followed, which was much to the prejudice of king *Charles's* affairs,

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off *Sicily*, took a large *French* ship from *Guadalupe*<sup>b</sup>, and a small privateer. Three weeks after, he met with the *Barbadoes*-fleet, and having sufficiently strengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of *Brest*, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further service. While his lordship was thus employed, there happened, in the latter end of *November*, such an accident to one of the ships of his squadron, as very well deserves our notice. Captain *Hughes*, in the *Winchester*, chased a ship which proved to be a *Dutch* privateer, whose commander being required to strike, he, instead of paying that respect due to the flag of *England*, fired both great and small shot into him; but being answered in the same manner, after an obstinate dispute (though it was very well known the *Winchester* was an *English* ship of war) the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the *Dutch* seamen<sup>c</sup>.

His Lordship being then vice-admiral of the red, detached, on the 9th of *December*, captain *Hartnol*, in the *Restauration*, with four other ships, to cruize fifteen or twenty leagues west of *Scilly*, in order to protect some *East-India* ships, and their convoys, from *Ireland*; and, on the 2d of *January*, was going from *Plymouth*, with seven clean frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to

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proceed

<sup>b</sup> According to some accounts, this was a very considerable prize; no less than a ship of forty guns, with a Cargo worth an hundred thousand pounds. Indeed, this lord took so many, and so rich prizes, that I do not wonder some of our writers grew weary of setting them down; for I observe, that sometimes active officers are not the greatest favourites.

<sup>c</sup> I cannot find any account of this in the *Dutch* writers, and I must confess, I wonder that Mr. Burchet gave it a place in his history. This, however, is certain, that the behaviour of the captain was not only right in itself, but so agreeable likewise to lord Dursley, that soon after he hoisted his flag on board the *Winchester*.

proceed part of the way with sir *John Norris*, towards *Lisbon*; his lordship, after complying with this order, remained in his appointed station till he was forced from it by foul weather; which, however, gave him an opportunity of taking a *French* privateer of twenty guns, and retaking the *St. Peter of Dublin*, a rich ship, of which the enemy had made themselves masters, off *Cape Clear*. His lordship, considering that the *East-India* trade were not yet arrived from *Ireland*, appointed three ships of his squadron, to see them safe from thence. On the 21st of *February*, the *Kent* brought into *Plymouth* a small privateer, and a *French* merchant-ship; as the *Restauration* and *August* did the next day four more, which were bound from *Nantz* to *Martinico*; and not many days after, his lordship appointed the *Restauration*, and *August*, to see two *East-India* ships well into the sea; but, by contrary winds they were forced back again. The 10th of *March* the *Montague*, took a privateer of ten guns, and his lordship having seen the *East-India* ships, and those bound to the isle of *May*, a hundred and fifty leagues from *Scilly*, returned to *Plymouth* the 9th of *May*: seven days after which, the *Lyon*, *Colchester*, and *Litchfield* brought in four prizes, two of them privateers, the others merchant-ships; when his lordship leaving the squadron, came to town, after having acquired as much reputation as it was possible for an officer to do in that difficult station<sup>d</sup>, and where many had lost the credit they had toiled for many years.

BEFORE I proceed to the events in the *West-Indies*, I shall

<sup>d</sup> Burchet says, That he obtained leave of the lord high admiral to come to town: but that could not be; for the lord high admiral was removed in the beginning of November, and this was in the March following. I mention it only to shew the inaccuracy of that writer, in things with which he ought to have been best acquainted.

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shall take notice of some accidents that happened in our naval affairs, and which seem to have escaped the attention of most, if not all our historians. In the first place, I am to observe, that in the latter end of *June*, her majesty's ship the *Fowey*, of thirty-two guns, was taken in the *Mediterranean*, by two *French* men of war, of greater strength<sup>e</sup>. On the 23d of *September*, captain *Hanway*, in her majesty's ship the *Plymouth*, of sixty guns arrived at *Plymouth*, with a *French* man of war, which he had taken on the twentieth. Captain *Hanway* was bound to *Plymouth*, in order to repair some damages he had received; and about seven leagues, N. W. by N. from the *Deadman*, he saw this ship, and chased her two hours, before he came up with her; as soon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great vigour, and after a sharp action, which lasted above an hour, he obliged her to surrender. The *French* ship was called *L'Adriad*, had been fitted out from *Dunkirk*, commanded by the *Sieur Jacques Casbard*, having forty guns mounted (but had Ports for forty-eight) and two hundred and sixty men on board; several of the men belonging to the *Plymouth* being sick on shore, captain *Hanway*, could make use of no more guns in this action, than the enemy's ship had mounted. The captain of the *French* vessel, with fourteen other officers and seamen, were killed in the engagement, and sixty wounded; of the *Plymouth's* company, the captain of a company of marines, on board, and seven men were killed, and sixteen wounded<sup>f</sup>. In the latter

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<sup>e</sup> Pointer's Chronological History, vol. ii. p. 648. See Taubman's History, before cited. As for the French historians, they either say nothing of this matter, or they have multiplied this into three ships, and have given the credit of taking them to captain de l'Aigle, in the Phoenix.

<sup>f</sup> See the London-Gazette, No. 4593.

ter end of the month of *October*, the *West-India* fleet, being about one hundred and fifty leagues off the *Lizard*, met with a violent storm, by which they were separated from five ships of war, appointed for their convoy; the *Newcastle*, which was one of them, being so shattered, that she lost her mainmast, and with much difficulty got to *Falmouth*; soon after, the *Hampshire* and the *Gloucester* were attacked by the squadron of *M. du Guai Trouin*, and made a gallant defence, notwithstanding the great inequality of force; which, however, gave the ships under their convoy, an opportunity to escape. At last, after seven hours fight, the *Gloucester*, a sixty gun ship, and just rebuilt, was taken; but the *Hampshire* obliged the enemy to sheer off, and in a very shattered condition, got into *Baltimore*<sup>e</sup>. On *Christmas-Day*, the *Solebay* man of war, with eight merchant-ships under her convoy, bound to *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, were unfortunately lost upon *Boston-Knock*, and only two boats full of men saved, out of all the ships<sup>h</sup>. From these disagreeable Accidents, let us now return to the conduct of admiral *Wager*, in the *West-Indies*.

As this admiral had been always extremely careful of the trade in that part of the world, so, in the spring of the year 1709, he sent captain *Hutchins*, in the *Portland*, to protect the trading floops that were going to *Porto Bello*. All the latter part of the month of *April*, captain *Hutchins* lay in the *Rafimentos*; from whence, he descried

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<sup>e</sup> Pointer's Chronological history, vol. ii. p. 649. Father Daniel places the loss of this ship, which, he says, carried seventy-two pieces of cannon, and four hundred fifty men, on the 6th of Nov. N. S. but all our naval historians, are quite silent about it, though, I think, the captain's defence does us much more honour than the loss of a sixty gun ship can discredit.

<sup>h</sup> Remarkable accidents at sea, p. 35.

four large ships, two of fifty, and two of thirty guns, in the harbours of *Porto-bello*. The two largest, as he was informed by the private traders, were the *Coventry*, a fourth rate, taken from us by the *French*, and the *Minion*, both from *Guinea*. On the first of *May* he had intelligence that they sailed the evening before; upon which, he stood to the northward till the third, when he gained sight of them, about eight in the morning. At noon, he discovered their hulls very plain, and they being to windward, bore down to him, firing some guns as they passed by; soon after which, they wore, as if they designed to engage in the evening, but did not. It was little wind, and about six o'clock he tacked upon them, and keeping fight all night, near eight in the morning he came up within pistol-shot of the *Minion*, but was obliged to fight her to leeward, because he could not possibly carry out his lee guns, though the ships of the enemy did. The *Coventry* after he had been warmly engaged, got on his lee bow, and firing very smartly at his masts, did them no little damage; but he being not willing to be diverted from the *Minion*, ply'd her very smartly, nor could she get from him, untill they shot his main topfail yard in two, when both of them shot a-head, he creeping after them as fast as possible in that crippled condition; in the mean while, splicing his rigging, bending new sails, and repairing other damages in the best manner he could.

## ABOUT

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Mr. Burchet, as Mr. Lediard well observes, has made a great mistake in the date of this action, which he has placed thirteen months before it happened; but he gives us no authority for his correction; I have before me, the captain's own account, published in the *London-Gazette*, No. 4547, which has enabled me to set all the dates right, that are every one wrong in Burchet's history.

ABOUT four in the morning a boat was perceived going from the *Minion* to the *Coventry*, so that he believed he had much disabled the former, and that by the frequent passing of the boat between them, she was sending the best part of her loading on board the other. By ten at night he had completed all his work, and the next morning was ready for a second encounter; but it proving little wind, he could not come up with them until the 6th, when before seven in the morning, he was close in with the *Coventry*, which ship hauled up her main sail, and lay by for him. Coming nearer to her, it was observed, she had many small-shot men, so that he durst not clap her on board as he had designed; but plied her with his guns; in the mean time, he received but little damage from the *Minion*. Between eleven and twelve, he brought the *Coventry's* main-mast by the board, and then her fire was much lessened; however, continuing to do what they could, at half an hour past twelve, she struck; the first captain being killed, the second wounded, and a great slaughter made among the men, many of them being those who belonged to the *Minion*; whereas, of ours, there were but nine killed, and twelve wounded, most of whom recovered, and in the prize, there were about twenty thousand pieces of eight, great part whereof were found among the *French* Seamen<sup>k</sup>.

REAR-admiral *Wager*, upon the pressing solicitation of the merchants, sent the *Severn* and *Scarborough* to *England*, to convoy home the trade, because they were but weekly manned, and according to the orders he had from the

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<sup>k</sup> See a large account of this engagement in the *London-Gazette*, No. 4547. *Compleat history of Europe for the year 1709.* *Painter's Chronological history.*

the lord high admiral, when any ships under his command were so reduced by sickness, as to have no more men on board than were necessary to navigate the ship, these ships were to be sent home; and the reason of this was, that by an act of parliament, which passed soon after commodore *Ker's* affair, our admirals were absolutely restrained from pressing men on any account in the *West-Indies*; so that in truth, there was nothing left for an admiral to do in such a case, but to send home ships that were of no further use. All the time the rear-admiral continued in this station, he took care to keep a sufficient number of ships to cruize upon the enemy, and to protect our trade, which they did, with all the success that could be wished or expected<sup>1</sup>. But in the autumn, our admiral was ordered home; and accordingly, he left the command of the few men of war that were stationed on the coast of *Jamaica*, under the command of captain *Tudor Trevor*, who was soon after relieved by captain *Span*. As for the rear-admiral, he had a safe and speedy voyage home, where, he was received, on his coming from *St. Helens*, in the month of *November*, with all the respect imaginable; the letters from the *West-Indies*, having, contrary to custom, done the greatest honour to the vigilance of our navy in those

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<sup>1</sup> The rear-admiral having appointed the *Portland* to see some merchant ships through the windward passage, she returned with a French prize, taken near Cape St Nicholas, worth about six thousand pounds. Captain *Vernon*, also in the *Jersey*, took in January, a Spanish sloop laden with Tobacco, and re-took from two French sloops, a Guinea ship with four hundred Negroes. Captain *Hardy* of the *Roebuck*, brought in a brigantine, partly laden with Indigo, taken in at *Petit Guaves*, which he met on the north-side of *Hispaniola*, as she was going from thence to *Port de Paix*, or *Port François*; her master pretended he belonged to *Curacao*, and produced a paper from the Dutch governor there, empowering him to trade any where in the *West-Indies*.

those parts while under his direction; which is a clear confutation of a modern maxim at a certain board, that it is impossible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad<sup>m</sup>.

BEFORE I close this account of our affairs in *America*, it is necessary I should say something of a misfortune that befell us in *Newfoundland*; and the rather, because none of our historians have been particular about it, for which reason, I am obliged to take what I have to relate, entirely upon the credit of a *French* writer. The *Sieur de Saint-ovide*, the king's lieutenant at *Placentia*, took the fort of *St. John*, on the east-side of *Newfoundland*, by scalade, in which action the governor was wounded, and made prisoner, as were the soldiers of the garrison, consisting of about a hundred men. This, my author says, happened on the 1st of *January*, 1709, and the next day informs us, that the fort at the mouth of the harbour, built on a rock, and extremely well fortified, surrendered also, and the garrison, consisting of sixty men, were made prisoners of war. This affair must have been attended with very bad consequences for the present; but, as we shall see, these were not only remedied in the succeeding year, but the *French* settlements in their turn, were in a manner totally destroyed<sup>n</sup>. But, it is now time for us to return home, and to conclude the history of this year, with a  
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<sup>m</sup> Burchet, History of Jamaica, compleat history of Europe for the year 1709, Pointer, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Journal Historique de Louis XIV. per Pere Daniel, p. 256, 257. He informs us, that there were vast quantities of artillery and ammunition found in these two forts, which I think a little improbable; but that our settlements were in a great measure ruined, seems to be confirmed, by several of our own political pamphlets, published this year.

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short account of the alterations made with respect to the management of naval affairs.

THE earl of *Pembroke*, finding the care of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had discharged his office of lord high admiral to the general content of all parties, very prudently and virtuously resolved to lay it down. A great deal of pains were taken to divert his lordship from this resolution, but to no purpose; he thought the business might be better done by one who had greater experience in maritime affairs; and thereupon, this high office was offered to that gallant sea officer the famous earl of *Orford*, who absolutely refused it, though he was willing to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. Her majesty, therefore, in the beginning of the month of *November*, thought proper to direct a commission, whereby, she constituted and appointed *Edward* earl of *Orford*, *John Leake*, *George Byng*, *George Dodington*, and *Paul Methuen*, Esqrs. commissioners, for executing the office of lord high admiral of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, in the room of the earl of *Pembroke*, on whom, the queen bestowed a yearly pension of three thousand pounds *per Annum*, payable out of the revenue of the post-office, in consideration of his eminent services\*. Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion, *viz.* On the 12th of *November*, 1709, her majesty being pleased to appoint, a gentleman, who had been long laid aside, *viz.* *Matthew Aylmer*, esq; admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; the lord *Dursley*, vice-admiral; and *Charles Wager*, esq; rear-admiral

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\* See Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, life of queen Anne, Pointer's chronological history.

miral of the red. Sir *John Jennings*, admiral; sir *Edward Whitaker*, vice-admiral of the white. And, sir *John Norris* admiral; and *John Baker*, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue<sup>p</sup>.

THE parliament met, and the queen laid before them the proceedings of the last year, and directed an account of the expences of the government both civil and military, to be sent them from the respective officers. The Business of doctor *Sacheverel*, took up the best part of the session; but it happened luckily, that the supplies were first granted, amounting in the whole, to six millions one hundred eighty-four thousand one hundred sixty-six pounds; seven shillings, in order to the raising of which, a lottery was established of one million five hundred thousand pounds of which, six hundred thousand pounds was subscribed, on the 20th of *January*, being the first day the books were opened, and all the rest in less than six weeks<sup>q</sup>. This was sufficient to shew the strength of public credit at that time, as also the disposition of the commons, to continue the war till the ends of it were answered; but, after *Sacheverel's* trial, it was soon perceived, that this ardour began to abate, which we find attributed by our historians, to many different causes. The chief however seems to have been the

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<sup>p</sup> Compleat history of Europe, for 1709, Pointer's chronological history.

<sup>q</sup> History of Europe for 1701, Pointer's chronological history. These immense grants of parliament, struck the French prodigiously; for while their credit was low, or in a manner quite gone, ours was in its Zenith. And without question, if ever our credit should fail, either in respect to money, or the reputation of our government, the french will gain as great an ascendancy over us, as we then had over them; this we mention as a point worthy of strict consideration here, because in France it is but too well understood already.

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the management of the *French* king, who, by publishing to all the world the mighty offers of peace that he had made to the allies, and dressing up in the strongest colours, the hard conditions which the allies would have imposed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impossible, and calculated rather to prevent, than promote the re-establishment of the tranquillity of *Europe*. By these representations, he raised great compassion among the neutral powers, excited divisions among the allies, and caused great Jealousies and heart-burnings, both here and in *Holland*. This did not hinder our ministry from pursuing their former schemes, and endeavouring to restore a martial spirit, by the success of their designs on all sides; and as they had hitherto found their conduct most liable to be attacked on the subject of the war in *Spain*, they took all imaginable care to issue very early, the sums granted for that service, which amounted to about a million; but, it was resolved, since there was no immediate occasion for great fleets in the *Mediterranean*, to recall sir *Edward Whitaker*, and to leave admiral *Baker*, with a small squadron to protect the trade, and obey the orders of king *Charles III.*<sup>r</sup>.

VOL. IV.

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MATTHEW

<sup>r</sup> As I have been hitherto very particular in relation to the war in *Spain*, which we certainly carried on with great vigour, though under infinite disadvantages, I shall here lay before the reader at once, the several sums granted for this service.

	L.	S.	D.
In 1703	215,692	2	0
1704	320,481	11	0
1705	476,727	15	10
1706	726,740	15	10
1707	998,322	11	10
1708	1,248,956	12	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1709	1,217,083	0	4
1710	1,276,039	16	2
	6,486,040	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

*MATTHEW Aylmer*, esq; admiral of the fleet, being in the *Soundings* with a considerable force, saw all the several fleets of outward-bound merchant-men, safe into the sea, and having sent them forward on their respective voyages, upon the 27th of *July*, he remained cruising for two days afterwards, about sixty-eight leagues S. W. by W. from the *Lizard*. On the 29th at noon, he discovered thirteen sail, N. E. of him. He ordered *The Kent*, *Assurance*, and *York*, to chase a-head, and followed with the rest of the ships under his command; but the weather proving hazey, he could not discover next morning more than one merchant ship. He received advice, however, before noon, that *The Assurance* had made prize of one of the enemies vessels, upon which he immediately sent his boat to bring the master of her on board him; which was accordingly done\*.

*THIS Frenchman* informed the admiral, that the ships he had seen the day before, were fourteen merchant-men, bound for the banks of *Newfoundland*, and *Martinico*, under convoy of *The Superbe*, a *French* man of war of 56 guns, and *The Concord* of 30: that the former, having seen them into the sea, was to cruize in the *Soundings*; and the latter to proceed to *Guinea*; and that on their perceiving the *English* fleet, *The Concord* bore away with the merchant-men under her convoy. Soon after this, *The Kent*, commanded by captain *Robert Johnson*, came up with, and engaged *The Superbe*, for the space of an hour, when she struck; in which action, captain *Johnson* behaved like a gallant officer, and an experienced seaman; for,

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\* Burchet's naval history, compleat history of Europe for the year 1710, life of queen Anne, &c.

as he attacked the *French* ship without waiting for other ships, so was she taken by him without any assistance, although she had a greater number of men than *The Kent*. Both of them were very much shattered in the fight; but so good a Sailor was *The Superbe*, that, had she not been three months off the ground, she would in all probability have escaped. This ship had taken several valuable prizes from us before, and our cruizers had often chased her without success; but falling thus into our possession, she was registered in the *British* navy, being a very beautiful vessel, and not above eighteen months old.

SIR Edward Whitaker, was at *Port-Mahon* with his Squadron, when he received the order before-mentioned, and sailing from thence on the 27th of *March*, he arrived at *Lisbon* on the 4th of *April*, with three ships of the third rate, where he made some stay, in order to take the home-ward-bound merchant-men under his protection; and then sailing on the 29th of that month, he arrived safely on the first of *June* with our own, and the *Dutch* and *Portugal* fleet, and their convoys, in our channel. As for vice-admiral *Baker*, having conducted the transports to the several ports to which they were bound, he in his return to *Barcelona*, got sight, off the *Faro of Messina*, of four large ships with several settees, under their convoy; this was on the 2d of *May*, and he chased them with all the diligence possible. The next morning, captain *Masters*, in *The Fame*, came up with, and took one of the ships, and soon after captain *Cleveland*, in *The Suffolk*, took another, called *Le Galliard*, of fifty-six guns; but the remaining two, which

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were

were gallees, escaped, with most of the settees. The vice-admiral, having seen the transports safe into *Barcelona*, and having received advice, that sir *John Norris*, with a squadron under his command, was at *Terragona*, and that he was come to command in the *Mediterranean*; resolved to join him as soon as possible, in order to execute any orders he brought with him from *England*: or to contribute as far as in his power lay, to the support of king *Charles's* affairs, which were now in a more flourishing condition than they had been for some years past. We will take notice next of admiral *Norris's* instructions, and of what, in pursuance of them, he performed during the time he commanded in these parts <sup>u</sup>.

THE grand fleet designed for this year's service in the *Mediterranean*, sail'd from *Plymouth* on the 12th of *January*, under the command of sir *John Norris*, who having seen *The Virginia*, and other merchant-men bound to the *West-Indies*, safe into the sea, arrived at *Port-Mahon* on the 13th of *March*, where he was joined by sir *Edward Whitaker*, and a *Dutch* rear-admiral. Immediately after his arrival, he detached three *English* and two *Dutch* men of war, with the public money, recruits, and ammunition, to *Barcelona*, in order to receive his *Catholic* majesty's commands. While the admiral remained here, he had the mortification of hearing that two of our men of war had been taken by the *French*; with this alleviating circumstance, however, that both officers and men had behaved bravely, and that the misfortune was entirely owing to a superior force <sup>v</sup>. Not long after, he received

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<sup>u</sup> Burchet, compleat history of Europe, for the year 1710.

<sup>v</sup> These two ships were *The Pembroke* of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain *Rumsey*, and *The Falcon* of thirty-two

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more welcome intelligence, viz. that two of our ships had taken a *French* man of war of sixty guns, call'd *The Moor*, a very fine ship, and which was afterwards registered in the list of our royal navy \*. After making the necessary dispositions for the many services that were required from the fleet, sir *John* sailed on the 7th of *April*, from *Port-Mahon*, and arrived on the 11th at *Barcelona*. There he was informed by the king of *Spain*, that the enemy had a design, either upon *Sardinia* or *Naples*, and that the duke de *Tursis*, a *Genoese* nobleman, who commanded a fleet of galleys for the service of king *Philip*, was

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guns, commanded by captain *Constable*. They were cruizing to the southward of *Nice*, when on the 29th of *December*, they discovered five sail of ships, which they took to be part of sir *Edward Whitaker's* squadron. However, they stood towards them; but perceiving they had *French* colours, and two of them standing in for *Autibes*, they made the signal appointed by sir *Edward Whitaker*, which was answered by the enemy, two of their ships hoisted *English* colours, and the third *Dutch*, and immediately bore down upon them. Our captains were not, however, deceived; but stood on their guard, and when they discovered them to be very large ships, made all the sail from them they could; but they having a brisk gale, and our ships but little wind, *The Toulouse* a seventy gun ship, came up with, and attacked *The Pembroke*, and in less than half an hour the other two, one carrying sixty-six guns, and the other fifty, attacked her likewise, and, having taken her, pursued, came up with, and took *The Falcon*. Captain *Rumsey* was killed in the engagement, in which he lost one hundred and forty men, her mizen-mast was brought by the board, and all her rigging torn to pieces, before the officers agreed to surrender. Captain *Constable*, in the *Falcon*, had a shot through his shoulder, and yet he never stirred from his post, or consented to strike his ensign, till he had but sixteen sound men left out of his crew.

\* This ship was an excellent sailer, and had done a great deal of mischief to our trade. Captain *Thomas Long* in the *Breda*, a stout seventy gun ship came up with her, about forty leagues S. W. by W. of cape *Roxent*, and in a short and brisk dispute, her commander was killed. Soon after, *The Warspight*, captain *Josias Crow*, came under her quarter, and was ready to lay her on board; and then she struck.

at sea, in order to execute this enterprize. His majesty likewise informed him, that he was in great want of the *German* succours, that were promised him from *Italy*. The admiral resolv'd to do his best towards answering both these demands of his catholick majesty, and having first landed the viceroy in *Sardinia*, where he found all things quiet, he proceeded to the coast of *Italy*, in order to embark the succours before-mentioned. On the 6th of *May*, sir *John Norris* arriv'd at *Leghorn*, and having there provided for the security of our *Levant* trade, which was much disturbed by monsieur *de L'Aigle*; he sail'd from thence to *Vado Bay*, where, while the *Germans* were embarking, he had intelligence, that the *Italian* gallies had actually taken on board a body of upwards of two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of *Sardinia* <sup>7</sup>.

UPON this, sir *John Norris* call'd a council of war, and in pursuance of the resolutions taken there, he, on the first of *June*, detach'd four men of war to convoy the transports to *Barcelona*; he likewise detach'd five *English*, and four *Dutch* men of war, to cruize in the height of *Toulon*, for a convoy which the *French* expected from the *Levant*. The same day he sail'd with the rest of the confederate fleet, with two imperial regiments, to go to the assistance of *Sardinia*, upon certain advice, that the duke *de Turvis* was sail'd with his gallies, and, as we observ'd before, some land-forces on board, to invade that island. The 2d, they came before *La Bastida* in *Corfica*, and saw a little *French* merchant-ship coming from the *Archipelago*, which, upon the approach of our fleet, retir'd under the  
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<sup>7</sup> Burchet, compleat history of Europe, 1710, annals of queen Anne.



cannon of that place; upon this, admiral *Norris* sent some boats which brought away the ship, but the men made their escape on shore. A bark coming from the shore, brought the admiral advice, that the duke *de Turfis* having continued some days at *Porto Vecchio*, was sailed to *Bonifacio*, with a design to execute his intended enterprize against *Sardinia*; whereupon, they sailed again; on the 5th, came into the bay of *Terra Nova*, in *Sardinia*, wherein they found four tartanes of the enemy, which had landed there four hundred men, and sixty officers, under the command of the count *de Castillo*. They took the same day in the evening those four ships, and understanding by the prisoners, that the count, with his forces, was but two miles off upon that shore, the admirals resolved to land some forces to attack them; which was done the next day. They marched directly to *Terra Nova*, where the enemy were posted; but the count *de Castillo*, seeing it was in vain for him to offer any resistance, surrendered at discretion; so that they took four hundred and fifty soldiers prisoners, with sixty-three officers, and several persons of quality, natives of *Sardinia*; who, being disaffected to the *German* government, had joined the enemy, or had gone with the count *de Castillo* in this expedition, in hopes that their interest would occasion an insurrection in favour of king *Philip V.* \*

THEIR enterprize having succeeded beyond expectation, and there being no danger of any rebellion on that side, the troops returned on board, the 7th, and the admirals resolved to go in quest of the duke *de Turfis*, who, according to the report of the prisoners, was sailed to another

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\* Burchet, compleat history of Europe, &c.

bay, on the opposite side of the island, to land the rest of his forces. On the 8th, they came, by favour of a fresh gale, into the canal of *Bonifacio*, where they were informed by a *Neapolitan* felucca, that the duke *de Turfis* was sailed the night before from thence, with intention to retire into the gulph of *Ajazzia* in *Corfica*; whereupon, they made all the sail they could, in hopes of coming up with him in that bay; but in the morning, of the 9th, when they came into the same, they were informed that the duke *de Turfis*, foreseeing they would pursue him, was sailed thence the night before, with his galleys, having left in this gulph, eight large barks, with five hundred soldiers on board, and the greatest part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, in hopes that they would not take them in a neutral place. But sir *John Norris* thought fit to seize them, and signified to the republic of *Genoa*, that the queen of *Great Britain* his mistress, could not but express on all occasions the highest resentment against them, for having permitted the duke *de Turfis*, one of their subjects, to make, in their dominions, such an armament designed against one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of *Spain* her ally; and that, looking upon their permission, or connivance, as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The *Genoese* governor, to whom these representations were made, answered with as much submission as could be expected; promised that he would not supply the duke *de Turfis*, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested, that the admiral would not land any troops upon the island. The admiral having considered his request, and being sensible that it would be to very little or no purpose to attempt following the enemy into the mountains, thought proper to grant it, and thereupon proceeded immediately for *Bar-*

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*celona*, where he arrived on the 18th of *June*; and, the king of *Spain* desiring that part of the troops might be landed in *Valencia*, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at *Terragona*, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for vice-admiral *Baker* to follow; which orders, as I have already shewn, he punctually obeyed<sup>a</sup>.

THE inhabitants of the *Cevennes* having given the king of *France* a great deal of Disturbance, and having numbers of their countrymen in foreign service, it was proposed to the *British* ministry, that, notwithstanding the miscarriage of former attempts, something should be again undertaken in their favour; and to enforce this advice, it was observed, that the *Camisars*, then in arms, were within fifteen leagues of *Montpellier*, and that it was possible to land our troops at *Port Cette*, within a single league of that city. Upon this, the ministry themselves, conceiving such an expedition might disconcert the enemies designs in *Spain*, or at least facilitate king *Charles's* enterprizes in *Catalonia*, resolved to send a gentleman to *Spain*, thoroughly instructed as to the whole of this affair, with orders to propose it to general *Stanhope*, and sir *John Norris*, upon whose approbation, and the consent of the king of *Spain*, the design was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then on the coast of *Catalonia*. It must be allowed, that this project was very well formed, and according to the best informations that I have been able to obtain, if our troops had actually fixed themselves for three days at *Cette*, we might, with the assistance of the duke of *Savoy*, have given the *French* king more trouble, than he had ever met  
with

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<sup>a</sup> Burchet, annals of queen Anne, history of the last war.

with from any of our projects during the war. For his own subjects, then in arms against him, were a bold, daring, hardy people, and with a very little encouragement from us, would have formed an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, to whom all the *French* exiles, in every part of *Europe*, would have resorted; and, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not easy to conceive, what consequences this affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have spread <sup>b</sup>.

ON the arrival of this gentleman from *England*, general *Stanhope*, who was a very enterprizing officer, eagerly embraced the scheme, and prevailed upon king *Charles*, to permit a body of troops, though indeed it was but a very small one, to embark on board the fleet. This resolution being taken, was communicated to sir *John Norris*, who on the 6th of *July*, held a great council of war, in which it was resolved, to send an express to the duke of *Savoy*, and to embark the forces immediately, that an affair of such importance might not suffer by delay. The command of these troops, which consisted of no more than the regiment of colonel *Stanhope*, and three hundred men from *Port-Mahon*, were commanded by major-general *Seissan*, a native of *Languedoc*, and a very good officer. The fleet sailed from *Barcelona* on the 9th, and arrived before *Cette* on the 19th. The next morning, by break of day, the troops, which were but seven hundred men, and who had landed the evening before, without any opposition, marched directly towards the town. Sir *John Norris* appointed some ships to batter the fort at the mole-head,

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<sup>b</sup> *Bur-et, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe for the year 1710, annals of queen Anne, Pointer's chronological history.*

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head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and soon after, both town and fort surrendered; as in the evening of the next day, did the town of *Agde*; so that now we had firm footing in the enemy's country: and this expedition had a more promising appearance than any that had been hitherto undertaken against *France*; our only misfortune was, that there were so few men spared for so important a design<sup>c</sup>.

On the 17th, major-general *Seiffan* received advice, that the duke of *Roquelaure* was advancing with 400 dragoons, and 4000 militia, to ford the lake, and repossess *Cette*; upon which, the major-general thought proper to leave a hundred and forty men to secure the bridge of *Agde*, and marched with the rest of the forces, to oppose the enemy; writing at the same time to the admirals *Norris* and *Sommelsdyke*, to desire them to send all the boats of the fleet, with as many men as they could spare, into the *Etang*, or *Lake*, to attack the enemy in their passage through the same; which was done accordingly. The duke of *Roquelaure*, seeing his design prevented by these precautions, returned to *Mezi*, and the admirals and general detached a major, with a hundred and fifty men, to reinforce the detachment left to secure the bridge of *Agde*; but, at the same time advice came, that this important post had been abandoned upon a false alarm. Nevertheless, it was resolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to *Agde* with shallows by sea, in order to regain that post; but the very moment that this was to be executed, a strong wind happened to come quite contrary, which obliged them

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<sup>c</sup> Oldmixon, Burnet, Political state for the year 1710, Complete history of Europe for the same year.

them to abandon that design, and direct all their care to secure *Cette*. In short, the duke *de Noailles* arrived at *Agde*, the same day that they were to return thither, They began then, to think of the defence of the mountain of *Cette*, and posted there the few troops they had in the vineyards, surrounded with a slight wall; but with orders to retire, yet not before the arrival of the enemy. The officer, who commanded fifty men, did not rightly apprehend this order, or else he was surprized; for scarce had a few *French* dragoons fired upon our men, before they surrendered to them at discretion. The other troops retired in disorder, though the necessary dispositions had been made to support them in their retreat, and the several officers did all that could be expected from their courage and experience to rally the troops. While these were re-embarking, on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort, with fifty men to guard the same. It was not accessible, but on the side of the mole, and was defended by two pieces of cannon in the place that leads to it; and besides, the enemy had no boats. The shallops were just by the fort the whole morning; but admiral *Norris* had no sooner put off to go on board his ship, but the enemy sent word to the captain, that if he did not immediately surrender the fort, he must expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and surrendered at discretion, even before the troops were re-embarked. The duke *de Roquelaure* sent them back the captain who had so ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher who had been released before; but the captain was set ashore again, and told, that since he had been so complaisant to *M. de Roquelaure*, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was  
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but reasonable he should be near the duke's person; and treated according to his merit <sup>d</sup>.

THUS ended an expedition, from which much was expected, and which had no other good effect, except obliging the enemy to recall a considerable body of their troops from *Roussillon*, in which the duke de *Noailles* made a very remarkable march, of which the *French* have boasted excessively. Sir *John Norris* having re-embarked the forces, sailed on the 19th, and shewed himself off *Toulon* and *Marseilles*; some days after, he stood into the road of *Hieres*, where he discovered a *French* fly-boat, carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of *Port Croix*; upon which he instantly detached some *English* and *Dutch* frigates, under the command of captain *Stepney*, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This was performed with great vigour, and in a short time the ship was abandoned, and the lowest of the three forts; upon this, our boats rowed hastily to board the vessel, into which

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<sup>d</sup> Father Daniel gives us a very pompous account of this business: the allies, says he, appeared before port de Cette, with twenty five men of war, and immediately made themselves masters of the place. The duke de Roquelaure, who commanded in Languedoc, had but three troops of horse, and therefore he sent directly to the duke de Noailles for assistance, who, in the space of three days, brought 900 horse, and 1000 grenadiers into the neighbourhood of Agde; from whence they forced the enemy to retire immediately, with the loss of three or four hundred men. He confesses, however, that it was an affair of great consequence, since, if the English had become masters of that port, they would have been able to support the rebels in France, which must have brought the greatest miseries upon that kingdom. The most extraordinary thing he tells us, is, that the French lost only one grenadier, and a few horses: but even this was too much for other French writers to own, and therefore, they leave out the horses, and tell us, that the grenadier killed himself, his piece going off as it was flung at his back.

which our men had scarce entered, before the ship, by a train laid for that purpose by the enemy, was blown up, and thirty-five of our people either killed or wounded. This misfortune was soon followed by another; for, our ships that were cruizing off *Toulon*, being distressed for water, sailed to an adjacent island for a supply, and in the mean time a great corn fleet, for which they were waiting, took that opportunity to enter the port of *Toulon*. On the 14th of *August*, sir *John Norris* returned to *Port-Mahon*, where he received the welcome news of the great victory of *Sarragossa*. He then expected to have sailed on an expedition for the service of his catholic majesty; but was disappointed, partly through some delay made by the troops in embarking, and partly by the haste the *Dutch* were in to return home; so that, finding it impracticable to do any further service for the present, he ordered most of his ships to be cleaned; which being performed, he sailed on the 30th of *October* from *Port-Mahon*, and on the 6th of *November* he took three *French* ships from *Newfoundland*. After this, he secured the *Turkey* fleet, and then attempted to annoy the enemy in the bay of *Roses*, where he met with such a storm, as drove the *Resolution* on shore, on the coast of *Catalonia* near to *Barcelona*, where she was lost, notwithstanding all imaginable care to prevent it, and the rest of the fleet was forced into the harbour of *Port-Mahon*.

His catholic majesty's affairs had now taken a new and unfavourable turn, and therefore, his majesty wrote in very pressing terms to sir *John Norris*, in order to engage him

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<sup>e</sup> Barchet, Burnet, Lediard, Oldmixon, Annals of queen Anne, &c.



him to sail over to the *Italian* coast, to bring with the utmost expedition, such troops as could be spared from thence for his service. Sir *John* sailed from *Barcelona*, and arrived on the 19th of *March* in the bay of *Vado*; on the 22d following, the *Severne*, *Lion* and *Lime*, made the signal of seeing four ships; upon which, the admiral ordered the *Nassau* and *Exeter* to give them chace, and upon hearing a great firing of guns, detached the *Dartmouth* and *Winchelsea* to their assistance. On the 27th, the *Severne* and *Lime* came into the road, and captain *Pudner*, who commanded the former, gave sir *John Norris* an account, that in conjunction with the *Lion* and *Lime*, he had the day before, engaged four *French* ships, from sixty to forty guns, for above two hours, and then the *French* crouded all the sail they could, and made away; the *Severne* being disabled, returned with the *Lime* into *Vado* road; but captain *Galfridus Walpole*, who commanded the *Lion*, continued the chace, though he had his right arm shot away, about forty men killed and wounded, and his ship much torn by the enemy's shot. The *Exeter*, commanded by captain *Raymond*, came up with one of the *Frenchmen*, and after a brisk engagement of above two hours, took her; but he was so disabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the *Pembroke*, which had been taken from us a year before, that was, while in our service, a sixty gun ship; but at this time, she mounted no more than fifty. Sir *John* having given the necessary directions for embarking the troops on board an hundred and twenty transports, in order to escort them to *Barcelona*, received advice, while he was waiting for a wind, that sir *John Jennings* was arrived at *Port-Mahon*, in order to command in the *Mediterranean*. We have already, contrary to our usual method, carried this part of the history

story beyond the bounds of the year 1710, which was occasioned by a desire of preserving perspicuity; which otherwise could not have been so well done; and, for the same reason, we shall proceed with sir *John Norris's* conduct, though it will carry us almost to the close of the year 1711: which, however, is better than breaking the thread of the narration, to resume it again at a great distance of time; and this too, when all that can be said about it, will fall within a very narrow compass<sup>f</sup>.

He sailed from *Vado* for *Port-Mahon*, in *April*; but was forced by a storm into the road of *Araiso*, where, with great difficulty, he procured forage for the horses, and where he lay wind-bound till the fourth of *May*, and then proceeded to *Barcelona*, arrived there, and landed the troops on the eighth, where, having consulted with the duke of *Argyle*, and taken care to send a strong squadron to *Genoa* for the public money, he thought next of proceeding home with the *Turkey* trade; and with that view, ordered captain *Cornwall* to escort them to *Gibraltar*, or *Lisbon*, and there wait for his arrival. This being performed, he followed them as soon as the king of *Spain's* affairs would permit; and sailing with them under his convoy from *Lisbon* on the 15th of *September*, he arrived with them off the isle of *Wight*, the eighth of *October*, 1711, with four ships of the third rate, seven of the fourth, three of the fifth, two bomb-vessels, two store-ships, and an hospital-ship; and from thence held on his course to the *Downs*, leaving the command of the fleet that continued in the *Mediterranean*, to sir *John Jennings*, of whose proceedings we shall speak in their proper place;

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<sup>f</sup> Burchet, Compleat history of Europe, Pierre Daniel:

place; but, at present, it is requisite that we should give an account, as we promised, of the expedition set on foot for restoring our affairs in *Newfoundland* \*.

THE check we had received the year before, had given the ministry great disquiet. They found themselves at this juncture, in a very ticklish situation, and were, therefore, under a kind of necessity of providing against any new clamours, which they were sensible would be set up, in case the *French* were not effectually rooted out in a place which so nearly affected our merchants, and upon which, their commerce with *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, so much depended. In order, therefore, to provide in the best manner possible for so important an undertaking, they made choice of two officers of great worth and experience, one to command the squadron, the other the land-forces that were to be put on board it. The former of these, was captain *George Martin*, and the latter, colonel *Francis Nicholson*, who was sent to *Boston*, in *New-England*, in order to provide every thing necessary for the expedition, and to draw together such forces as could be spared from that colony, so, as that they might be able to embark as soon as the squadron should arrive. This squadron consisted of the *Dragon*, a fifty gun ship, commanded by captain *George Martin*; the *Falmouth*, of fifty guns, by captain *Walter Rydel*; the *Leostaff*, of thirty two guns, by captain *George Gordon*; the *Fewersham*, of thirty-six guns, by captain *Robert Paslon*, and the *Star* bomb-ketch, by captain *Thomas Rothfort*; to which, was afterwards added, the *Chester*, a fifty gun ship, command-

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\* Burchet, compleat history of Europe for the year 1711. Campaign in Spain, under the duke of Argyll, Annals of Queen Anne, &c.

ed by captain *Thomas Matthews*. Captain *Martin* arriving in *New-England*, found all things properly adjusted for the execution of this enterprize against the *French* settlement, without delay; in consequence of which, he proceeded from *Nantasket-Road* the 18th of *September*, with the *Dragon*, *Falmouth*, *Leostaff*, *Feversham*, and *Star* bomb-vessel, the *Provence* gally, two hospital-ships, thirty-one transports, and two thousand land-forces, having sent the *Chester* before, to endeavour to intercept any supplies which the enemy might attempt to send to *Port-Royal*; and on the 24th in the afternoon, he anchored at the entrance of the harbour. A council of war was called, and, pursuant to what was agreed, the small embarkations and boats were gotten ready to receive the men, and put them on shore <sup>b</sup>.

THINGS being in this situation, on the 25th of *September*, about six in the morning, colonel *Vetch*, and colonel *Reading*, with fifty men each, together with Mr. *Forbes*, the engineer, went on shore to view the ground for landing the troops; and soon after colonel *Nicholson* himself, with a body of men actually landed; the enemy firing at the boats in which they were, from their cannon,

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<sup>b</sup> This expedition, which was one of the most fortunate that we had undertaken in this part of the world, owed its success in a great measure to the conduct of colonel Francis Nicholson, who maintained a perfect agreement with commodore Martin, and the rest of the sea officers, who, on their part, omitted nothing that was demanded for the use of the troops, and supported them very cordially upon all occasions, with their boats and men. Another thing that contributed not a little to this happy event was, the troops being seasoned that were sent upon this expedition, and having officers well acquainted, not only with their duty, but with the climate, and situation of places; which in affairs of this nature, are circumstances of the utmost consequence.

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non, and mortars, but with no great success. Colonel *Vatch*, with five hundred on the north-side, so lined the shore, as that he protected the landing of the cannon, ammunition and stores, and the mortar being fixed on board the bomb-vessel, she driving up with the tide of flood, within cannon-shot of the fort, both that day and the next, bombarded the enemy therein; which did in a great measure induce them to capitulate, sooner than otherwise they would have done: not but that they were very much galled in the attempts made on them; and the warm fire from the artillery on shore; but the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the bomb-vessel was not able to throw any shells, by reason of hard gales of wind. At a council of war, held on the first of *October*, two letters, which were received from monsieur *Sabercase*, directed to colonel *Nicholson*, were taken into consideration, together with the answers, which he had made thereunto; and the preliminaries being agreed on; the governor marching out of the fort, with the garrison<sup>1</sup>; our troops took possession

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<sup>1</sup> This capitulation, is worth the reader's notice, in as much as it contains the terms upon which we were put in possession of the province of *Arcadia*, as the French call it, or; as we style it; the province of *Nova Scotia*. The articles were;

1. That the garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying.
2. That there shall be a sufficient number of ships and provisions to transport the said garrison to *Rochel*, or *Rochfort*, by the shortest passage; where they shall be furnished with passports for their return.
3. That I colonel *Nicholson*, may take out six guns; and two mortars, such as I shall think fit.
4. That the officers shall carry out all their effects of what sort soever; except they do agree to the selling of them; the payment of which to be bona fide.

5. That

of it soon after, with drums beating, and colours flying; where hoisting the union flag, they, in honour of her majesty, called the place *Annapolis-Royal*; and a sufficient number of men being left therein, the ships and troops proceeded

5. That the inhabitants, within cannon-shot of the fort of Port-Royal, shall remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle and furniture, during two years, in case they are not desirous to go before: they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her sacred majesty of Great-Britain.

6. That a vessel be provided for the privateers belonging to the islands of America, for their transportation thither.

7. That those that are desirous to go for Placentia, in Newfoundland, shall have leave by the nearest passage.

8. That the Canadians, or those that are desirous to go thither; may, during the space of one year.

9. That the effects, ornaments, utensils of the chappel, and hospital, shall be delivered to the almoner.

10. I promise to deliver the fort of Port-Royal into the hands of Francis Nicholson, Esq; for the queen of Great-Britain, &c. within three days after the ratification of this present treaty; with all the effects belonging to the king, as guns, mortars, bombs, balls, powder, and all other small arms.

11. I will discover, upon my faith, all the mines, fougasses, and casemates.

12. All the articles of this present treaty shall be executed upon good faith, without difficulty, and signed by each other at her majesty of Great-Britain's camp, before Port-Royal fort, the second day of October, in the 9th year of her majesty's reign, *Annoque Domini, 1710.*

FRANCIS NICHOLSON,

SUBERCASE.

Memorandum. The general declared, that within cannon-shot of Port-Royal, in the fifth article aforesaid, is to be understood, three English miles round the fort, to be henceforward called *Annapolis-Royal*; and the inhabitants within the said three miles, to have the benefit of that article. Which persons, male and female, comprehended in the said article, according to a list of their names given in to the general by Mr. Allen, amount to four hundred and eighty one persons.

proceeded to *New-England*, as soon as all things necessary were settled; from whence, captain *Martin* departed, not long after, in order to put in execution the remaining part of his instructions, and prepare for his return to *England*.

THESE were not all the misfortunes that befell the *French* in this part of the world, for our men of war and privateers, took this year, near fifty of their ships. The *Portland* and the *Valeur*, took, in their passage to *Newfoundland*, two very rich prizes, value thirty thousand pounds. But not long after, the *Valeur* was surprized in harbour, and taken by the *French*, and in the month of *August*, captain *John Aldred* in the *Rochester*, captain *Humphry Pudner* in the *Severn*, and captain *George Purvis* in the *Portland*, visited all the *French* harbours on the north side of *Newfoundland*, and in a manner totally destroyed them. Of all these transactions, however, the accurate sather *Daniel* says not one word; and indeed, as to the latter part of this relation, Mr. *Burchet* is silent also, though it was certainly of very great consequence to the trade and interest of *Great-Britain*.\*

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\* An account of the execution done by this Squadron.

Harbours Names.	French Ships Names.	Men	Guns	Tons	
La Couche,	La Comtesse d'Evereux	75	16	200	Taken.
Ditto,	La Couronne	70	14	200	Burnt.
Carouze,	Le Marquis du Bay	20	28	400	Taken.
Ditto,	Le Compte de Bonrepos	120	23	400	Burnt.
Ditto,	L'Aigle Noire	70	12	200	Taken.
Petit Maître,	François Maire	80	18	250	Ditto.
Great St. Julian,	François de la Paix	120	30	400	Ditto.
Little St. Julian,	St. Pierre	90	20	290	Escaped.
Ditto,	_____	30	12	---	Ditto.

WE are now to return home, in order to take notice of what happened here, relating to the affairs of the navy; and as these are commonly influenced by a total change in the ministry, it may not be amiss to observe, that, in the beginning of the month of *August*, the earl of *Godolphin* was removed from being lord high treasurer, and that office was put into commission<sup>1</sup>. This great change, was quickly followed by others of the same nature; for about six weeks after, *Edward* earl of *Orford*, having resigned his place of first lord commissioner of the admiralty, the queen appointed sir *John Leake*, sir *George Byng*, *George Doddington*, esq; *Paul Methuen*, esq; and *John Aislaby*, esq; lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of *Great-Britain*. But this commission did not continue long in this situation, for in the month of *December*, sir *James Wisbart*, and *George Clarke*, esq; were appointed lords commissioners of the admiralty, in the room of *George Doddington*, and *Paul Methuen*, esqrs; <sup>m</sup>. The new parliament met on the 25th of *November*, and on the 27th, the commons chose *William Bromley*, esq; of *Worcestershire*, for their Speaker. The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very warm terms, and the commons, in their address, promised her majesty to take proper care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of *December*, they

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All the fish, oyl, staves, yatts, boats, fishing-tackle, &c. of the abovementioned ships, fell into our hands, and were either taken or destroyed by us. And the two ships which escaped, left even their anchors, and cables, and some of their sails behind.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe for the year 1710, Annals of queen Anne, life of queen Anne.

<sup>m</sup> Pointer's chronological history, Salmon, Continuation of Rapin, life of queen Anne.



they voted 40,000 men for the sea-service, for the year 1711, and 120,000*l.* for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of *February*, they voted that the sum of 5,130,539*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* be granted for payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land forces to *Michaelmas* 1710, exclusive of the register-office; and on the 20th of the said month, they resolved, that 103,303*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of *Nevis*, and *St. Christopher's*, who were sufferers by the *French* invasion, and who have settled, or shall re-settle their plantations in the said islands<sup>a</sup>. I do not well know, whether I ought to add, as an instance of the care of parliament in respect to our commerce, that this year an act was passed for incorporating a company to carry on a trade to the *South-Seas*. While these regulations were making by the legislature, her majesty took care to provide for action; and in consequence thereof, appointed sir *John Leake* rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*, to be admiral and commander in chief of her fleet, in the room of *Matthew Aylmer*, esq; at the same time, she appointed sir *Thomas Hardy* rear-admiral of the blue; and some time after, sir *George Byng* was made admiral of the white. These necessary circumstances premised, we may now proceed to the naval operations of the next year<sup>b</sup>.

THE grand fleet, under the command of sir *John Leake*, had very little to do. It was intended for the defence of our coast, and for keeping the enemy in awe, which was

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<sup>a</sup> Votes of the house of commons, Chandler's debates, complete history of Europe for 1710 and 1711, life of queen Anne, Pointer.

<sup>b</sup> Oldmixon, continuation of Rapin, annals of queen Anne, Pointer, Salmon's Chron. historian.

very effectually performed; for the *French* king, from the many misfortunes he had met with, was utterly incapable of equipping any capital ships; and therefore, contenting himself with sending out, as he had done some years past, small squadrons to annoy our trade, he seemed no longer to look on *France* as a maritime power. Sir *Thomas Hardy*, rear-admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, two fifths, and two sixths, to block up the port of *Dunkirk*. On the 21st of *May*, he arrived before that port, into which he forced two privateers of twenty guns each, and a dogger which carried eight; and this, notwithstanding the enemy's fire from the platform at the pier-head. While he was in this situation, he discovered in the basin four sixty gun ships, and two smaller vessels, all unrigged, and had certain information, of a small squadron that was fitting there for the sea: after which, he cruised as carefully as he could, as well for that, as for the convoy from *Bretagne*; but both, notwithstanding all his vigilance escaped him. On the 27th of *June*, an *English* man of war, called the *Advice*, commanded by *Kenneth* lord *Duffus*, was attacked in *Yarmouth-Roads* by several *French* privateers. His lordship engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ship, which was a fourth rate of forty-six guns, till all his sails were torn to pieces, not a brace or bowling left, the shrouds cut away, two thirds of his men killed and wounded, and his lordship had five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ship, with great triumph into *Dunkirk*, where, they most inhumanly stripped both officers and private men of their wearing apparel, and, but for the kindness of the inhabitants

tants of *Dunkirk*, had left them in a manner naked<sup>p</sup>. Such was the brutal behaviour of these barbarous plunderers, and to such we must remain exposed, if that infamous nest of pyrates, destroyed for the common safety of mankind, should ever, through the weakness of our councils, be settled or fortified again.

ON the 8th of *August*, sir *Thomas Hardy* being in *Yarmouth-Roads*, with his Squadron, received orders to proceed as far northwards as the islands of *Orkney*, in order to secure the *Russia* trade, and to send some ships, that were with him, to the *Downs*; the admiralty having received certain intelligence, that *M. Saus*, a *French* Officer, had actually got to sea from *Dunkirk*, with four large ships, viz. one of fifty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty-six, and one of twenty-four: in pursuance of these orders, sir *Thomas* saw the *Russia* Fleet, which was remarkably rich that year, as far as *Schelland*; and then, sending them forward, with a proper convoy, he returned to the *Downs*, where he received orders to proceed westward, in quest of *M. du Casse*. While our ships were thus employed, a misfortune befel us upon our own coast; for *M. de Saus*, with his privateers, fell in with our *Virginia* fleet, which consisted of twenty-two sail, two of which were forced a-shore, four escaped, and all the rest were taken. As soon as the news of this was carried to *England*, orders were sent to pursue the *French* Squadron, and to prevent their getting back to *Dunkirk*; but the sieur *Saus* found means to rid himself of these attendants though they were once within sight of him, and carried

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<sup>p</sup> Burchet, Lediard, compleat history of Europe for 1711. But the facts related in the text, are taken chiefly from the London-Gazette, No. 4872.

fix of his prizes into *Dunkirk*, leaving the rest at *Bologna*, *Calais*, and other ports on the coast<sup>1</sup>. Our cruizers and privateers, in some measure, repaired this misfortune, by the depredations they committed on the coasts of *France*, from whence they brought a great number of small prizes, which, if they did not turn much to our benefit, were, however, a great prejudice to *France*, since most of them were laden with corn, and other provisions, of which at that juncture the people were in great need. But it is now time to return to the proceedings of our squadrons in the *Mediterranean*, where, as we have before shewn, *John Jennings* commanded in chief, with a numerous fleet, of whose designs we shall now speak particularly, as they were the last that were formed during this war, in those parts.

THE affairs of king *Charles* had suffered so severely, since the battle lost at *Villa Viciosa*, that even his best friends almost despaired of retrieving them. It was, however, resolved to send thither a large naval force, to assist in whatever measures might be thought proper, either for restoring his hopes, or for the safety of his person. The duke of *Argyll*, commanded the *English* troops, with circumstances equally honourable to himself, and shameful to those who suffered so many brave men to fall under such misfortunes. The army was but thin; and well it might be so, since general *S'anhope* had been besieged, and taken, with eight battalions, and as many squadrons, a few months before in *Bribuega*. But this was not all; the regiments, thin as they were, were ragged and starving, having no credit, but what his grace procured for them, who  
soon

<sup>1</sup> Burchet, Journal Historique de Louis XIV. p. 273.

soon brought things into better order, and his little army under good discipline. In short, he appeared there, what he appeared every where, not only a brave man and an active officer; not barely a great general, or an able statesman, but a friend to mankind, and a lover of his country. He fed the hungry, he clothed the naked, he stopped desertion, not by severities, but by convincing his soldiers that they could be used no where so well; inso-much, that when sir *John Jennings* arrived at *Barcelona* with his fleet, in the latter end of *March*, he found things on the mending hand. After performing some few necessary

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Bishop Burnet, indeed, has given a very different account of this matter. "The business of Spain had been so much pressed from the throne, and so much insisted on all this session, and the commons had given 1,500,000*l.* for that service, (a sum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding session) so that it was expected, matters would have been carried there, in another manner than formerly. The duke of Argyll, was sent to command the queen's troops there, and he seemed full of heat; but all our hopes failed. The duke of Vendome's army was in so ill a condition, that if Staremberg had been supported, he promised himself great advantages. It does not yet appear, what made this to fail, for the parliament has not yet taken this into examination. It is certain, the duke of Argyll did nothing; neither he nor his troops, were once named, during the whole campaign. He wrote over very heavy complaints, that he was not supported, by the failing of the remittances that he expected: but what ground there was for that, does not yet appear; for, though he afterwards came over, he was very silent, and seemed in a good understanding with the ministers" — The last words of this amazing piece of history sufficiently explain it. The duke of Argyll agreed with that ministry, with whom the prelate could not agree. He complained of the condition in which he found the troops, which was owing to the avarice of some low instruments of the old ministry, and he made no complaints against the new, because he was sensible they supplied him, as well as they were able: but he differed from them afterwards, when he saw just cause

cessary services, it was resolved, that the fleet should cruize off *Toulon*, in order to intercept the supplies which the enemy expected from *Languedoc*, and their corn-fleet from the *Levant*. While he was in this station, he received orders from *England*, to return immediately to the coast of *Catalonia*, that he might be ready to carry the king of *Spain* to *Genoa* or where else he should desire. His majesty, by the death of his brother the emperor *Joseph*, being lately become sole heir of all the dominions of the house of *Austria*. He was likewise directed to afford all the assistance possible, to the kingdom of *Naples*, in case any commotion should happen there at this juncture; and accordingly, he repaired to *Barcelona*, to consult his majesty, and the duke of *Argyll*, as to the properest method of executing these orders, having first detached two men of war of the third, one of the fourth, and one of the fifth rate, to cruize on the coast of *Naples*, with orders to assist the subjects of the house of *Austria* if any attempts should be made for reducing the garrisons of *Orbitello*, or *Piombino* \*.

On his arrival there, he found the king not at all inclined to quit *Catalonia*, till such time as he had advice of his being elected emperor, in which he was promised all the assistance that could be afforded him by the high allies; and on the other hand, he found his majesty equally unwilling to part with his fleet, upon which all his hopes depended. Sir *John Jennings* contented himself, therefore

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cause for it; and indeed, through his whole life, he was particularly remarkable for keeping up a spirit worthy of his birth, quality, and worthy of that most illustrious title, by which the greatest patriots in Scotland had through a long series of years been distinguished.

\* Burchet, compleat history of Europe, for the year 1711, annals of queen Anne, life of queen Anne.

therefore, with sailing from *Barcelona*, on the 13th of *July*, for *Port-Mahon*, where he arrived on the 18th, having first of all promised the king of *Spain* to return as soon as the ships were refitted, and he had taken in a proper supply of provisions, which began to grow very scarce; and this promise he exactly performed by the twenty-sixth when we find him again in the road of *Barcelona*, with one second, five thirds, and one fourth rate, besides seven *Dutch* men of war, under the command of vice-admiral *Peiterson*, having ten other ships, most of the line, abroad on necessary services. When these had joined him, he took the king of *Spain* on board having then a fleet of twenty-four ships of war, and landed him in ten days time at *Genoa*; from whence, the admiral sailed to *Leghorn*, being in great want of cables and other stores, in order to procure such as the place would afford; and while he was there, two of our captains brought in two rich prizes from the *Levant*. His excellency continued in that port to the 2d of *November*, when he sailed for *Vado-Bay*, and having embarked the forces that were ready to proceed for *Catalonia*, he sent them under the protection of five men war, and two fire-ships to *Barcelona*, under the command of captain *Swanton*, with whose squadron, and three *Dutch* ships of war, the admiral sailed as far westward as cape *Roses*; and was then to repair to *Port-Mahon*, where captain *Swanton* was ordered to join him as soon as he had seen the transports in safety, that the admiral might be able to make a detachment for protecting the coasts of *Portugal*; as also some ships to cruize in the *Streights-mouth*, for the security of our trade. When the admiral had made the island of *Minorca*, the wind blew excessively hard from the north-east, which obliged him to come to an anchor on the north-side of the

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the island, where most of the ships sails blew away from their yards; but he got, however, the next day into *Port-Mabon*. On his arrival, he was informed by the captains of two ships he found there, that they had heard a great firing of guns all the night before; upon which, he sent the *Chatham* and *Winchelsea*, the next morning, to see what they could discover; who soon brought an account, that the *Dutch* vice-admiral, with his squadron, was in the *Offing*, together with four ships of ours<sup>1</sup>.

THESE ships of ours, were the *Hampton-Court*, commanded by captain *Migbells*, the *Sterling-Castle*, the *Nottingham*, the *Charles Galley*, and the *Lynn*, which came from the coast of *Catalonia*, and in their passage, had fallen in with two *French* men of war, the *Thoulouse*, and the *Trident*, each of fifty guns, and four hundred men. The *Hampton-Court* came up with the first of them, and engaged her two hours, to whose commander, by the time the *Sterling-Castle* was within musquet-shot (which was about ten at night) she struck; but by the advantage of little winds, the *Trident* got away with her oars. The *Hampton-Court's* masts being much wounded in the fight, they, by the violence of the weather, came next day all by the board, so that she was towed into port by the *Sterling-Castle*. The first captain of the *Thoulouse*, was *M. Grand Pre*, and the second captain one *Rigby*, an *Englishman*, who had formerly bore command in our fleet. From the former of them, the admiral accepted his parole of honour, for six months; but the latter, he detained, although *M. Grand Pre* assured him he was naturalized in  
*France*,

<sup>1</sup> Burchet, Lediard, compleat history of Europe for the year 1711. Annals of queen Anne, life of queen Anne, &c.

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France, and was become a roman catholick; but some way or other he found means to escape, and it was believed, he got on board a ship bound for *Genoa*, which lay in the harbour of *Mabon*<sup>u</sup>. About the same time, the *Restoration*, a ship of seventy guns, was lost on the backside of the *Mallora*, off *Leghorn*, but all her officers and men were saved; nor fared it better with a *settee*, that had on board to the value of four thousand crowns, which she was bringing from one of the ports of *Corsica*<sup>v</sup>.

THE *French* having at present no fleet in the *Mediterranean*, the admiral was at liberty to employ his ships in such a manner, as might best answer the purpose of protecting *Catalonia*, and incommoding the enemy; which he accordingly did, till towards the end of the year, he received advice, that the *French* were busy at *Toulon*, in fitting out a considerable force, which was to put to sea in the spring, of which, the admiral took all the care he could, to be particularly informed, and at last received a certain account, that this squadron was to consist of eleven or twelve ships, of which, eight were of the line, and three or four were frigates; that they were to proceed first to  
*Cadix*,

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<sup>u</sup> I have not been able to recover any further particulars as to these captures, though I have taken all the pains I could, to enquire after them. This *Rigby* had made himself very infamous before he left England, having been long in *Newgate*, and having received sentence for a most scandalous crime at the *Old Bailey*. Yet he was preferred in France for his skill in the marine, and might after this misfortune, he e passed his time with ease at least, if not reputation; but his expences were so large, that, as I have been informed, he brought upon himself the just reward of a life so wickedly spent; and is, therefore, a fit warning to all such renegado's as prefer the increase of their private fortune, to the honour or welfare of their country.

<sup>v</sup> *Burchet*, history of Europe for the year 1712, memoirs of the war in Spain, annals of queen Anne, &c.

*Cadiz*, and from thence to the *West-Indies*. Upon this, the admiral, on the 21st of *February*, held a council of war, in which, upon a strict examination, it was found, that the ships under his command, could not put to sea till supplied with provisions from *Italy*; and therefore, a frigate was dispatched to vice-admiral *Baker*, then at *Lisbon*, with this intelligence, that he might strengthen the convoy of the store-ships and victuallers, sent from thence, and at the same time, it was resolved, that as soon as the *English* and *Dutch* ships arrived from *Italy*, the admiral should cruize between *Port-Mahon* and cape *de Gatt*; not only for the protection of the convoy, but in order to intercept the enemy. This great supply of provisions, and naval stores, arriving safe at *Port-Mahon*, and the admiral having intelligence from all sides, of the great naval preparations of the enemy, it was determined in a council of war; held on the 11th of *March*, to put to sea with one second, three thirds, two fifth rates, and two fire-ships of ours, and nine ships of the *States-General*, and to cruize ten or twelve leagues from cape *Toulon*, untill more certain advice of the enemy could be had. Captain *Walpole* in the *Lion*, joining the fleet from *Genoa*, and informing them, that he had seen in his passage nine tall ships to the N. W. of the island of *Minorca*; it was resolved, in a council of war held on the 23d of *March*, to proceed to the southward of *Majorca*, and *Iwica*, in order to intercept the enemy, if it was possible, between that and cape *St. Martin*, in their passage down the *Streights*. Obtaining, however, no further intelligence, he came to an anchor on the 1st of *April*, off the island of *Formentara*, from whence he sent two clean ships to look into the bays of *Denea Xabea*, and *Altea*, as also into *Alicant-Road*; and, in case they brought him no advice, it was determined to  
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sail immediately to *Barcelona*. This was accordingly done, and on his arrival there, and hearing nothing of the *French*, he sent a clean frigate to the harbour of *Toulon*, to discover what they were doing there, with a resolution, upon the return of that ship, to proceed to *Port Mahon*, there to re-victual, and then to stand over to the *Italian* coast; in order to bring from thence a new supply of troops to *Catalonia* \*.

WE are now to proceed to what was done this year in the *West-Indies*; where, when we spoke last of affairs in those parts, we left commodore *Littleton* with a strong squadron under his command. This gentleman was extremely well qualified for this station. He had all the abilities and experience that could be wished for in a sea officer, and yet was as ready to ask, and receive advice, as if he had neither. On his first arrival in those parts, which was in the month of *November*, 1710, he took all the care that was possible, to obtain proper intelligence of the motions of the galleons; which were still at *Carthagena*; and at the same time, he neglected nothing, that the merchants thought requisite, either for the security of their trade, in those parts, or for the safe convoy of such ships, as from time to time were sent home; so that during his stay at *Jamaica*, there were few or no complaints, but every body studied to mind his own business; and to discharge, when called upon, his duty in the public service. The desire of taking the galleons, was what principally occupied the thoughts of the commodore, and as he was frequently perplexed with false intelligence, he stationed *The Nonsuch* and *The Roebuck*, on the *Spanish* coast, giving or-

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\* Burchet, compleat history of Europe for the year 1712, life of queen Anne, memoirs of the war in Spain, &c.

ders to captain *Hardy*, who commanded the former, to dispatch *The Roebuck* to *Jamaica*, with any certain intelligence he could obtain, either as to the time, when it was proposed the galleons should sail, or the strength of the convoy that was to accompany them. These orders were faithfully executed, though very little intelligence, except, that the galleons had as yet no convoy, could for many months be procured. In *May 1711*, the commodore received an account from the masters of some vessels from *Madera*, that *M. du Cassé*, with a squadron under his command, had been seen from that island. Soon after, a *Spanish* sloop was taken, in which was a letter from the governor of *Carthage*, expressing his hopes, that *M. du Cassé* would shortly arrive with seven sail of stout ships, in order to convoy the galleons. Upon this, the commodore immediately sent an advice-boat to recall *The Nonfuch*, and, in the mean time, began to prepare for an expedition, resolving not to lose this opportunity of attacking the *French* squadron, and having a chance for making prize of some of the galleons<sup>7</sup>.

*THE Jersey*, commanded by captain *Vernon*, was then cruising to the windward of *Jamaica*, and having taken a *French* ship belonging to the port of *Brest*, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men, he carried her into *Jamaica*, on the 23d of *May*. The captain of this vessel informed the commodore, that he had been trading on the coast of *New Spain*, from whence, proceeding to *Port Lewis* in *Hispaniola*, where he put on shore the money he had taken, and was sailing from thence to *Petit*

*Guavas*

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<sup>7</sup> Burchet, compleat history of Europe for the year 1711, life of queen Anne, &c.

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*Guavas*, in order to take in there a cargo for *France*, when he fell into the hands of captain *Vernon*. He added, that he sailed from *Port Lewis* on the 20th, in company with *M. du Cassé*, who was gone for *Carthagena*, and that his squadron consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty, one of fifty, one of twenty-four, and one of twenty; but captain *Hardy* arriving on the 27th, assured Mr. *Littleton*, that two ships of the *French* squadron, one of which was *The Gloucester*, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us, and another of forty-four, arrived at *Carthagena*, ten days before, and waited for *M. du Cassé*, who designed, as soon as the galleons could be ready, to sail with them for the *Havannah*, and from thence to *Cadix*. Upon this, captain *Vernon* was sent over to the coast of *New Spain*; and returning on the 4th of *July*, reported, that on the 28th of *June*, he had looked into the port of *Carthagena*, where he saw twelve ships, six rigged, and six unrigged, and five sloops; the six ships that were rigged, he informed the commodore, were *The St. Michal*, of seventy-four guns; *The Hercules* of sixty; *The Griffin* of fifty; two small frigates, and the vice-admiral of the galleons, which carried sixty guns: and that of the ships that were unrigged, there were two at the upper end of the harbour, preparing for sea, one of which he believed to be *The Minion* of fifty guns, and another of forty, the rest to be trading vessels<sup>2</sup>.

UPON the 15th of *July*, the commodore sailed with one third rate, four fourth rates, and a sloop<sup>3</sup>, for *Car-*

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*thagena*;

<sup>2</sup> Burchet, history of Jamaica, annals of queen Anne, complete history of Europe for the year 1711; Pointer, &c.

<sup>3</sup> The commodore hoisted his broad penant in *The Defiance*; and the ships that sailed with him, were *The Salisbury*, *Salisbury-Prize*, *Jersey*, *Nonfuch*, and *Jamaica-Sloop*. In their passage, the

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*Salisbury*;

*thagena*; and arriving on the coast of *New Spain* on the 26th, he discovered five ships to the leeward, which he chased into *Boca Chica*, at the entrance of *Carthagena* harbour. Upon this, he stood off to sea the greatest part of the night; but stretching into the shore next morning, chased four ships, and about six, came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a *Spanish* merchant ship; and as *M. du Cassé* had taken most of the money out of the galleon, having some suspicion of the commanding officer on board her; so was this very *Carrack* the same, which had escaped from *mr. Wager*, as hath been before related; and coming from *Carthagena*, in company with some *French* ships of war, it happened she was separated from them, and believing our ships to be those with *M. du Cassé* (as her commander said) lay by the greatest part of the day, and when *mr. Littleton* came near, hoisted *Spanish* colours, and a flag at the foretop mast-head, so that between five and six at night *The Salisbury-Prize*, commanded by captain *Robert Harland*, engaged her; soon after which, *The Salisbury* commanded by captain *Francis Hosier*, did the same. The commodore being within pistol-shot, was just going to fire into her when they struck their colours; and *The Jersey*, going after one of the merchant-ships, took her; but *The Nonsuch* chasing the other, she escaped in the night. The vice-admiral of the galleons, being wounded by a small shot, died soon after. *M. du Cassé* had taken most of the money out of the galleon, except what was found in some boxes which belonged to private persons. She had sixty brass guns mounted, and three

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*Salisbury Prize* sprung her main-mast, which occasioned some delay, till it could be secured, and then they proceeded; captain *Vernon*, in *The Jersey*, having been sent, while the rest of the squadron lay by, to look into *Carthagena*.

three hundred and twenty-five men; and the ship which *The Jersey* took, was a vessel belonging to the merchants, of about four hundred tons, and twenty-six guns, laden for the most part with cocoa and wool. The prisoners, by the description given to them of the ships which were seen by the commodore, the day he came off of *Carthagena*, assured him, they were those with *M. du Casse*, and that he had been out of *Carthagena* but two days, being separated from the *Spanish* vice-admiral, and nine merchant ships, the day after he came out; and since mr. *Littleton* was well assured that he intended to touch at the *Havannah*, it was determined to cruize a little to leeward of *Point Pedro Shoals*, as the most proper place for intercepting, untill such time as further intelligence could be gained from captain *Hook*, of *The Jamaica* sloop, who was sent over to the coast with some *Spanish* prisoners <sup>b</sup>.

ABOUT this time, the *French* formed a design of attacking the *Leeward-Islands*, and this, with the natural strength of their own colonies; for which purpose, they assembled in the month of *May* and *June*, about two thousand men in *Martinico*; these they embarked on board the following vessels, *viz.* a large ship, of thirty-six guns, a hag boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant-ships, and nine privateer sloops. They put to sea on the 10th of *June*, with an intent to land on the island of *Antigua*; but they were scarce clear of their own island, before they met with her majesty's ship *The Newcastle*, commanded by captain *Bourq*,

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<sup>b</sup> This account is taken from the commodore's letter, dated on board *The Defiance*, in Port-Royal harbour, August 13. 1711. He says, in the same letter, that he had but one man killed, and six wounded in the engagement; and though neither he, nor any of our historians, insist much on the value of this capture, yet a Dutch writer informs us, that the two prizes, with the effects on board them, were worth one hundred thousand pounds.

who attacked them so briskly, that, notwithstanding it was a calm, and they lay in such a manner, as that it was impossible for him to bring his broadside to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the *French* lost sixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquish their design, and to take the opportunity of the first little breeze that sprung up, to return into one of the ports of their own islands. Unwilling, however, absolutely to abandon their design, they refitted their vessels, and beat up for volunteers, and on the 16th, landed near fifteen hundred men on the island of *Montserrat*; they debarked these troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the adjacent country, but being informed that captain *Bourn* sailed from thence that very day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in such a hurry, that they left fifteen or twenty of their men behind them, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the island, and so ended this project, through the courage and conduct of this worthy commander. The *French*, however, did not escape totally unchastised for this mischief, for captain *Lisle*, in her majesty's ship *The Diamond*, having notice of their situation, and suspecting that some of their transports would very soon put to sea, he kept cruising, together with *The Panther*, and another of her majesty's ships, at a small distance from the coast, and in a short time, took three of them, besides other prizes, so that the enemy were effectually cured of their inclination to make descents for this year.

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\* See captain Bourn's letter, dated from Carlisle-bay, in Barbadoes, July 17, 1711, and two letters from captain Lisle, the first dated July 22, and the second July 30, 1711; the former from Antigua, and the latter from St. Christopher's, in the London-Gazette, No. 4906.

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To return now to commodore *Littleton*, who having sent away the homeward-bound trade in the month of *August*, under the convoy of *The Nonfuch*, returned again to his cruizing station in the latter end of the same month. He had not been long at sea, before the captain of *The Medway's Prize*, whom he had sent to *Blewfields-Bay*, in *Jamaica*, brought him advice, that the master of a trading-vessel had lately made oath before lord *Archibald Hamilton*, then governor of *Jamaica*, that eighteen *French* men of war, having a large number of transports with soldiers under their convoy, arrived lately at *Martinico*, from whence, it was believed, they would very speedily sail to make an attempt upon *Jamaica*. This intelligence induced the commodore to sail instantly back to the island, where the governor assured him, there was not a word of truth in the story. This accident, however, had a very ill effect, since, at that very instant *M. du Cassé* with his squadron, got safe into the *Havanna*, which he could not possibly have done, if the commodore had kept his station. It may be believed, this disappointment gave him infinite disturbance, but it did not, however, hinder his cruizing for some time off the *Havanna*, in hopes of repairing this disaster; in which he did not succeed. Upon his return to *Jamaica*, he found *The Thetis*, a *French* man of war, lately taken, arrived from *New-England*; and soon after, captain *Lestock*, in *The Weymouth*, from the same place, with a small privateer, which he had taken on the coast of *Porto Rico*, in his passage. There were, at this time, many merchant-ships ready to sail home, with whom, the commodore sent *The Anglesea*, *Fowey* and *Scarborough*; the last-mentioned ship had been taken from the *French* by the two former, upon the coast of *Guinea*, where, not long before, the *French* had taken her from us. Thus

ended the operations of this naval campaign for this year, in the *West-Indies*<sup>d</sup>: But, before we leave *America*, it is necessary, that we should enter into a circumstantial account of that famous expedition against the *French* settlements in *Canada*, which makes so great a figure in the *French* histories, and on which we find so many reflections made in our own; the subject, indeed, is both intricate and unpleasant, but withal, it is extremely necessary to set it in a clear light; since, notwithstanding its miscarriage, through a concurrence of unforeseen, as well as unlucky accidents, it was certainly one of the best intended, and very far from being one of the worst contrived designs that was set on foot during this war; and therefore, we hope, the reader will not think an impartial relation of the whole affair unworthy of his attention.

THE disturbance given us by the *French* in *North-America*, and the apprehensions our colonies were under, from the strength of their settlements in *Canada*, have been so often mentioned, that I think I need not insist upon them here: I shall content myself, therefore, with observing, that the earl of *Godolphin* had often expressed a desire of attempting something of consequence in this part of the world, that might exalt our own character, and humble the haughtiness of the enemy. Sir *Hovenden Walker* informs us, that he was consulted by that great minister, in reference to this design; yet I very much doubt, whether the whole of it was then communicated to him, since it is very certain, that neither he, nor general *Hill*, were to have been employed in the expedition, as it was then intended;

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<sup>d</sup> Burchet, history of Jamaica, compleat history of Europe for the year 1711. Annals of queen Anne, &c.

tended; but sir *Thomas Hardy* was to have commanded the fleet, and the land-forces were to have been under general *Maccartsney*. It has been remarked by bishop *Burnet*, and some other writers, that the whole of this design was concerted without any application to, or consent of parliament; and this, that prelate says, was the more inexcusable, because it was contrived and carried into execution, at a time when the parliament was sitting<sup>e</sup>. The Force of this objection, I must confess, I do not see; for <sup>the</sup> expeditions of such a nature, with all the estimates of expences necessary for rendering them effectual, were to be laid before the parliament, before they could be undertaken, I think it must be obvious to every intelligent reader, that this would afford such an opportunity of opposing designs of this nature at home, and making all the world acquainted with them abroad, that it would be afterwards seldom adviseable to execute them. But there is another remark made by mr. *Burchet*, which appears to have a better foundation.

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<sup>e</sup> The bishop's account runs thus: " an expedition was designed by sea, for taking Quebec and Placentia, and for that end, five thousand men were brought from Flanders. Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a strong squadron of men of war ordered to secure the transport fleet; they were furnished from hence with provisions, only for three months; but they designed to take in a second supply at New-England. A commissioner of the victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them to be sent out so ill furnished, for they had stores lying on their hands for a full supply"—Mr. Oldmixon, writes with less resentment; he attributes this project originally to governor Nicholson, and I believe with truth; he says, the four Indian Chiefs, who were brought over hither, and presented to the queen, solicited it strongly; and in fine, that it had been certainly a very good project, if it had fallen into good hands. But, he insinuates, that it was made a job; the contrary of which, I think, will appear by the citation in the next note.

He says, that this design was industriously concealed from the lords of the admiralty, as long as it was possible, and that at last, they were trusted only with the executive part, and not at all with the direction; for otherwise, he thinks it must have been impossible that such large ships should have been ordered for an expedition into the river of St. *Lawrence*, which was well known to their lordships, to be so hazardous a navigation, and for which, therefore, ships of such a burthen, were altogether unfit'. This remark,

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' How far the following account of this matter, taken from a letter of mr. secretary St. John's, to sir Hovenden Walker, dated April 17, 1711, will obviate even this objection, I must leave to the reader; with this observation, however, that if the sentiments contained in it were not sincere, the writer must have been the greatest dissembler in the world.—“ The Humber and Devonshire, will proceed with you, of those which are ordered to cruise in the Soundings, it will not, I doubt, be possible for you to be joined by any. The lords of the admiralty, you find, look on these additional ships, as given you for the expedition, and it is fit they should do so; but when you are got far enough into the sea, you are to send back two of the ten sail, and if you find any of the eight first, appointed to compose your squadron, not fit for the voyage, as The Torbay is reported not to be, you may, in such case, send home the ship which is unfit, taking which you shall like best of the two additional ships in lieu of her. The messenger who brings this packet, is ordered to stay till dispatched back again by mr. Hill and yourself. I must tell you, that I find her majesty extremely impatient to hear you are sailed, and concerned least you should lose the advantage of this easterly wind. I hope, therefore, by the return of the messenger, you will inform me exactly when you shall be ready to proceed. I have nothing more to add, but to recommend all possible expedition to you, upon which, morally and probably speaking, your success entirely depends. That you may have a prosperous voyage, and be, together with mr. Hill, the instruments of doing so much honour, and bringing so much advantage to your country, as are proposed by the attempt you are ordered to make, is the hearty prayers of,

“ SIR, Your, &amp;c.”

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I say, has greater weight with me, because, it plainly proves, that how right soever the intention of a ministry may be, in endeavouring to preserve an absolute secrecy as to designs of this sort; yet, in case of any miscarriage, their conduct will be always liable to great imputations, where they avoid communicating their councils to such branches of the administration, as seem to have a right to regulate and direct them.

IN respect to this design upon *Quebec*, it seems to have been principally under the direction of the lord viscount *Bolingbroke*, then mr. secretary *St. John*, by whose interest, I suppose, sir *Hovenden Walker*, rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to command in chief, and general *Hill*, who was brother to lady *Masbam*, was appointed commander of about five thousand land-forces, that were to be employed in this design. As it was the first, and indeed the only great undertaking of the new ministry, I cannot believe, but that they were in earnest, and really in hopes of raising their reputation, by giving an extraordinary blow to the *French* power in those parts; which I conceive must evidently appear, if we consider the great force employed for this purpose, and which will be best made known to the reader, by giving him sir *Hovenden Walker's* line of battle, as we find it in the appendix to his own account.

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
<i>Torbay,</i>	Captain <i>Moody,</i>	500	80
<i>Monmouth,</i>	<i>Mitchell,</i>	400	70
<i>Sunderland,</i>	<i>Gore,</i>	365	60
<i>Diamond,</i>	<i>Liste,</i>	190	40
<i>Devonshire,</i>	<i>Arris,</i>	520	80
			<i>Edgar,</i>

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Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
<i>Edgar</i> , Sir <i>Hovenden Walker</i> ,	} Captain <i>Soans</i> ,	440	70
<i>Humber</i> ,			
<i>Montague</i> ,	<i>Culliford</i> ,	520	80
<i>Kingston</i> ,	<i>Walton</i> ,	365	60
<i>Swiftsure</i> ,	<i>Winder</i> ,	365	60
<i>Dunkirk</i> ,	<i>Cooper</i> ,	400	70
	<i>Butler</i> ,	365	60

TOGETHER, with *The Bedford Galley* frigate, *Basilisk*, and *Granada* bombs, with *The Experiment*, the bombs tender.

THERE were besides, thirty-three transports, with the regiments of brigadier *Hill*, colonel *Windrefs*, colonel *Cloyton*, colonel *Kane*, lieutenant general *Seymour*, colonel *Disney*, colonel *Kirk*, and a battalion of marines, under the command of colonel *Charles Churchill*, making in all, upwards of five thousand men, and eight transports and tenders belonging to the train.

THE instructions given by her majesty to sir *Hovenden Walker*, required him, as soon as the general and troops were embarked, to proceed to *Boston* directly, without touching at any place whatsoever; and, if he judged it convenient, he was to detach in his passage, a ship of war with the artillery, stores, cloaths, and other necessaries, to *New York*; but, if he found this inexpedient, he was to send them from *Boston*. On his arrival at that place, he was to take the *Leopard* and *Saphire* under his command, and in case the general thought it necessary, he was to assist him in exchanging the garrison of *Annapolis Royal*, and in tran-

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\* See the appendix to sir *Hovenden Walker*'s full account of the late expedition to *Canada*, p. 188,—191.

transporting the old garrison, with stores back to *New England*. He was, when at *Boston*, to take under his care, all transport vessels, ketches, hoys, boats, and other necessaries provided in *New England*; and as soon as the forces from hence, and those raised there, should be on board, he was to sail with them all into the river of *St. Lawrence*, up to *Quebec*, in order to attack that place; and being arrived, to make a proper disposition of the ships for that purpose, as well of such as might be fit to employ before the town, as others, upon consulting with the general, to pass that place, and proceed up the river towards the lake, not only to prevent any communication with *Quebec*, but to protect the canoes, and boats, with the forces from *New York*; to which end, he was empowered to convert some of the small vessels sent from hence, or *New England*, into frigates, suitable to the navigation of the upper part of the river, and to man and arm them accordingly. At *New England*, or elsewhere, he was to assist the general with vessels and boats proper for landing the forces, and embarking them again, but more especially upon his arrival at *Quebec*, or for transporting them from place to place. He was also ordered, to send to the general such marine soldiers, as should be on board the squadron, when he should demand the same, which he was to have the chief command of while employed on shore; besides which, he was to assist him with such a number of seamen, gunners, guns, ammunition, and other stores, from the ships as he should demand for the land service, which seamen were to assist in drawing and mounting the cannon, or otherwise as should be found necessary. He was strictly required to lose no time in proceeding to *New England*, and from thence, to the river of *St. Lawrence*; nor in putting in execution the ser-

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vice of *Quebec*: but that on his part, all expedition should be used in the reduction of the place, and of the country of *Canada*, or *New France*, and in the seasonable return of the squadron and transports <sup>b</sup>.

He was further instructed; which shews, that this design had been thoroughly considered, in case of success, to leave such a naval force as he thought proper in the river of *St. Lawrence*, and to make use of any of the enemy's ships that might be taken, to bring into *Europe* such governors, regular troops, religious persons, or others, whom the general, by his instructions was directed to send away from *Canada*, with whatever necessaries for their transportation he should think requisite. These services being taken care of, he was to take on board the general, if he should think fit to return, and such of the forces as should not be found necessary to leave in *Canada*; and if the season of the year would permit, he was to proceed to attack *Placentia*, in *Newfoundland*, in such a manner as general *Hill* should direct; and this service being over, he was to order such ships of war as did not properly belong to his squadron, to their several stations, directing the masters of the transports, which he should have no further occasion for, to go and seek freight, either upon the continent of *America*, or in the islands, in order to ease the public of the charge of them, and for the benefit of the *British* commerce <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> See the instructions at large, in the before-mentioned Appendix, p. 166.

<sup>1</sup> Besides these instructions, the admiral was furnished with copies of those sent to the respective governors of Massachusetts-Bay, and New Hampshire; the additional instructions sent to the governor of New York, as well as those to Francis Nicholson, esq;



On the 29th of *April*, 1711, *sir Hovenden Walker* sailed with the men of war and transports under his command; but coming off the *Start* the 1st of *May*, a westerly wind obliged him to put into *Plymouth* <sup>k</sup>; from whence,  
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esq; and the governors of Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Providence, and Pensilvania, that he might be convinced, the administration had taken all the care in their power, that he might not fail for want of proper assistance, or be in any doubt as to what was, or was not in the power, of such persons, as he in the course of his expedition might have occasion to apply to; which, without doubt was very useful, and highly proper in his circumstances.

<sup>k</sup> As I have all along endeavoured to treat every subject that fell in my way as impartially as possible, so I think it my duty to give the reader here a letter from lord Bolingbroke to the admiral, which I think evidently proves, that minister had this design as much at heart, as any man in his station could have.

“ S I R,

“ The wind being come about to the south, I take it for granted, that this letter will find you at Plymouth, or at Torbay, the usual bane of our maritime expeditions. You must allow me to tell you, that the queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay at Portsmouth; and, if the Devonshire could not be refitted sooner, you ought rather to have left her behind, than delay your sailing. If the transports were the occasion of this misfortune, the commissioners, or masters of them are to blame, and should be complained of. I take it for granted, if you continue any time wind-bound, that you will be stopt for good and all; that the whole expence and trouble will be thrown away; and that we shall make as little of our fleet this year, as we have done in former summers. In case providence will carry us forward in spite of our teeth; I hope the last delay will be a warning to you, and that you will improve to-day, instead of depending upon to-morrow. If any thing is to be ordered, or done here, let me know by express, and there shall be as much expedition used, as I wish there had been at Portsmouth. I have sent to Coleby, to go wherever you are driven back, that this part of the service may have the due care taken of it.

“ Whitehall,  
“ May 1, 1711.

“ I am S I R, &c.”

he failed again in two day's time, and continued his voyage very happily towards *New England*, where he arrived on the 24th of *June*, without any other accident, than that of two of his captains disobeying his orders, *viz.* captain *Soans* of the *Edgar*, and captain *Butler* in the *Dunkirk*; they had both chased without signal, and left the fleet, notwithstanding the strict injunction of the admiral, grounded on his instructions to the contrary. As captain *Soans* had joined the fleet again the next day, he was only mulct'd three months pay; but captain *Butler*, having never been seen by the fleet, till their arrival at *Nantasket* near *Boston*; was discharged and dismissed from his command<sup>1</sup>. The admiral was far from meeting in *New England*, with that hearty zeal for the service which he expected, for being obliged to take up a great quantity of provisions for the service of the fleet and transports, he found the utmost difficulty therein, as appears very clearly from the authentic papers inserted, or annexed by way of appendix to his account. From these it appears, that the person who was depended upon for that service, not only refused it, but endeavoured to serve his private interest, at the expence of the public, by buying up great quantities on his own account, in order to vend them again to whoever should undertake to supply the fleet; so that by the slowness of the colony, and the avarice of this particular person, the whole expedition was ruined. The admiral and general did all that was in their power, by memorials and  
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<sup>1</sup> The sentences of these court marshals are in the appendix to sir Hovenden Walker's account; where in that of capt. Thomas Butler it is said, that he separated from the fleet on the 28th of May, in order to chase a small ship which he took, and applied the produce for his own private advantage, by which he was guilty of a positive breach both of orders and discipline.

felicitations, to remedy this inconvenience; but to little, or no purpose, since the Inhabitants were extremely sensible of their own interest, and deaf to every thing else. General *Nicholson* came to *Boston*, and gave all the assistance that was in his power, and so did some other public-spirited persons, without which, it had been impossible for the fleet and forces to have proceeded at all; and as it was, they found it impracticable to leave *Boston* before the 30th of *July*, when with a few pilots on board, who professed their own ignorance, and went against their will, sir *Hovenden Walker* sailed for *Quebec* <sup>m</sup>.

ON the 11<sup>th</sup> of *August* he reached the *Bird-Islands*, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from *cape Anne*, and having sent the *Chester*, *Leopard* and *Saphire*, to cruize between *Placentia* and *cape Breton*, on an island opposite to *Newfoundland*, expecting their joining him in his passage to *Quebec*, the former of which ships had taken, and sent into *Boston* before he sailed thence, a ship of about one hundred and twenty tons, and ten guns; that had seventy men on board, whereof thirty were soldiers for the garrison of *Quebec*. The *Leiwisloff*, *Feversham*, *Enterprize* and *Triton's Prize*, all small frigates which were stationed at *New York* and *Virginia*, he ordered to join him off of *cape Breton*, being empowered by her majesty's orders so to do, if he should find it necessary; and this he the rather did, because of the use they might be to him in his proceeding up the river to *Quebec*, which navigation most of the people with whom he had spoken, represented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly

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<sup>m</sup> See sir *Hovenden Walker's* account. *Burchet*, complete history of Europe for the year 1711. *Annals* of queen Anne, &c.

judged the *Humber* and *Devonshire*, which mounted 80 guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which reason, he sent them home, and shifted his flag on board the *Edgar*, a ship of 70 guns, general *Hill* removing into the *Windsor*, which carried ten less; but since, he had information that a ship of 60 guns, and another of 30, were expected from *France* very suddenly, he ordered the aforesaid ships, *Humber* and *Devonshire*, to cruize on the opening of the bay of *St. Lawrence*, until the last of *August*, and then to pursue their voyage home. He had very fair weather until he got into the bay, when it became changeable; sometimes thick and foggy, and other while calm and little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of *August*, when he was off of *Gaspé* bay, near the entrance of the river *Canada*, it blew fresh at N. W. and for fear the transports should be separated, and blown to leeward, he anchored in the bay, where staying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a *French* ship that was fishing, not being able to bring her off<sup>n</sup>.

ON the 20th of *August*, the wind veering westerly, the admiral had hopes of gaining a passage, but the next day in the afternoon, it proved foggy, and continued so all night, and the day following, with very little wind till towards evening, when there was an extream thick fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impossible to steer any course with safety, having neither sight of lands nor soundings, or anchorage. He by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both *English* and *French*, who were the best in the fleet, made  
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<sup>n</sup> Sir Hovenden's account, p. 121.

the signal for the ships to bring to with their heads southward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that posture, they should not come near the north shore, but rather have driven with the stream in the mid channel; but on the contrary, as they lay with their heads southward, and the winds easterly, in two hours time he found himself on the north shore among the rocks and islands, at least, fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been lost; the men escaping the danger with the utmost difficulty, but eight transport-ships were cast away, and almost nine hundred officers, soldiers and seamen perished°. The *French* pilot (who, as it was said, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command) informed him, that when it happens to be so foggy as to prevent the sight of the land, it is impossible to judge of the currents, or to steer by any course; for that he himself had lost two ships, and been another time cast away upon the north shore, when he judged himself near the south; insomuch, that it was extream difficult to procure

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° The admiral has published the following account of the ships and men that were lost by this unlucky accident.

Ships Names. Transports.	Men		Regiment.
	lost.	saved.	
Isabella Anne Katherine,	192	7 or 8	Colonel Wendresse,
Smepna Merchant	200	30	—————Kaine,
Samuel and Anne	142	7 or 8	Lieut. Gen. Seymour,
Natnaniel and Elizabeth	10	188	—————Ditto,
Marlborough	130	30	Colonel Clayton,
Chatham	60	40	—————Widdresse,
Colchester	150	180	Lieut. Gen. Seymour,
Content, Victualler		15	
	884	499	

men in *France*, to proceed on so dangerous a navigation, since almost every year they suffered shipwreck <sup>P</sup>.

SIR *Hovenden Walker* plied two days after this with fresh gales at W. and S. in order to save what men and stores he could, and on the 25th of *August*, by the advice and consent of the general, he called a council of war, consisting of all the sea-officers, wherein great debates arose, most of the captains being rather inclined to censure the admiral's conduct, in not calling a council of war before he left *Boston*, than to give him any reason to grow fond of councils of war, by the advice they gave him in this. Sir *Hovenden* told them plainly, that if he had acted amiss in what they mentioned, he was to answer for it in another place, and that the nature of the service, and the circumstances they were in, required them to confine their deliberations to another matter; and therefore, in order to cut short these unnecessary debates, he would propose the single question, proper for their present consideration; which was, whether they thought it practicable to get up to *Quebec* or not? upon which they came unanimously to the following resolution, (*viz.*)

“ That, by reason of the ignorance of the pilots, it was  
 “ wholly impracticable to go up the river of *St. Lawrence*,  
 “ with the men of war and transports, as far as *Quebec*;  
 “ as also the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, as

“ by

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<sup>P</sup> Sir *Hovenden* himself, gives Mr. *Burchet* this account, in a letter, sent him express by captain *Cook*, of the *Leopard*, dated from on board the *Edgar* in *Spanish River bay*, Sept. 12. 1711. And indeed, all the *French* writers who pretend to give us a description of *Canada*, and the river of *St. Lawrence*, confirm it; so that, without question, the truth of this report may be relied on.

“ by fatal experience was found <sup>1</sup>”. Upon this, the *Sapphire* was sent to *Boston*, with an account of the misfortune, and the *Montague* to find out the *Humber* and *Devonshire*, and to stop all ships bound up to *Quebec*; and the *Leopard* being left with some sloops and brigantines, to take any men from the shore that might be saved, and to endeavour to weigh some anchors left behind, he proceeded to *Spanish River*, in the island of *Breton*, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the state of the army and fleet, and to settle matters for their further proceedings; but all the ships did not join till the 7th of *September* <sup>2</sup>.

THE admiral being very sensible of the reproaches that would be cast upon him, if, after failing in his attempt on *Quebec*, he should return home without so much as attempting *Placentia*, communicated his thoughts upon this subject, very freely to the general, and some land-officers, intimating, at the same time, some doubt, whether his instructions would warrant such a conduct, without receiving fresh orders from *England*. General *Hill* agreed with him in the main, that it was a great misfortune to the nation, and very unlucky for themselves, that hitherto they had met with so little success in this expedition; but was quite of a different opinion, as to

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<sup>1</sup> This resolution was not taken upon any hasty resentment of the late accident; but after mature deliberation, and very strict examination of every pilot on board, who all of them agreed in confessing their ignorance; and even colonel *Vetch*, who declared himself the best pilot for that river, now desired to be excused from meddling with sea-affairs, and said, he could not take charge so much as of a single ship.

<sup>2</sup> See sir *Hovenden Walker's* account, p. 134. *Burchet's* complete history of *Europe* for the year 1711, life of queen *Anne*.

the return of the fleet and forces to *England*, which he judged to be absolutely in the admiral's power; however, he advised him to call a second council of war, and to be determined by the opinion of the sea and land-officers, to which the admiral readily agreed; and accordingly he made a signal for a general council of war of sea and land-officers, on *Saturday* the 8th of *September*, in *Spanish-River Road*; and in this council, it was unanimously determined, that any attempt upon *Placentia*, considering the lateness of the season, and their circumstances, was utterly impracticable\*. The admiral had now nothing more

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\* As this resolution absolutely decided the whole business; as it contains the reasons upon which the officers concerned, proceeded; and as it fully proves the innocence of the admiral, and the general, in this affair, the whole of which it sets in a full and clear light; I think it necessary to transcribe it, and them, with the names of the officers present at this council.

The twenty-first article of her majesty's instructions to the general, for attacking *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, in his return from *Canada*, together with the tenth article of the admiral's instructions, to the same purpose, being severally read to the council of war; as also, a letter from colonel *Dudley*, governor of *New-England*, to the admiral, touching the lateness of the preparation of provisions, now making in that colony for the supply of the troops, if they had wintered at *Quebec*; all which being maturely considered, and debated, the question was put as follows, viz. The state of provisions for the ships of war, and land-forces, being considered, which provisions not amounting to above ten weeks, at short allowance, computing it from the 12th of this instant, *September*, as appears by the agent victuallers signed account thereof, and allowing it to be all good, and to hold but to that time, the said 12th of *September*, being the soonest we can sail from thence; and there being no hopes of any supply from *New-England*, before the beginning of *November* next, at soonest, as appears by the advice received in the aforesaid letter from the governor of *New-England*, and the opinion of two of the members of the council of war, who knew that country, together with the uncertainty of any provisions coming to us at *Newfoundland*,



more to do, than to provide the best he could for his safe return home, and for the due distribution of ships and forces to their respective stations and garrisons throughout *North America*, which he seems to have performed with all the care and diligence imaginable; and it appears, that in the whole course of his command, he preserved a perfect understanding with the land-officers, and gave all the assistance that was either desired, or could be expected, to the several governors of our settlements in that part of the world. In his voyage home, he met with no accidents, that either retarded his passage, or added to the misfortunes he had already met with; but arrived safely at *St. Helens*, on the 9th of *October* 1711, with the fleet and transports under his command. On the 13th, the soldiers having all had their quarters assigned them, and the transports being directed to the several ports, where the regiments were to embark, the admiral, having had

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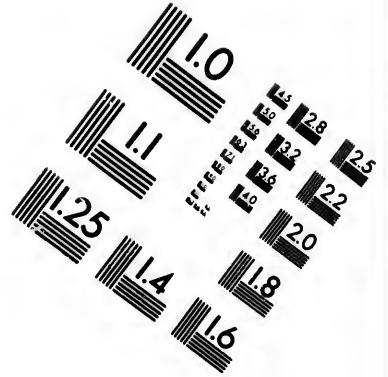
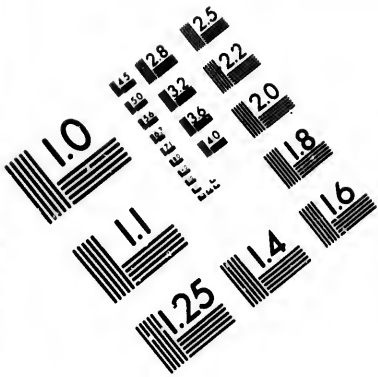
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foundland, by reason the season of the year is so far advanced, which makes the navigation of that coast so dangerous: the council of war is unanimously of opinion, that the attempt for reducing *Placentia*, under the circumstances and difficulties above-mentioned, is at this time altogether impracticable, and that it is for her majesty's service, that the Squadron and transports with the British troops, do forthwith return to Great-Britain, and the forces raised in New-England to that colony.

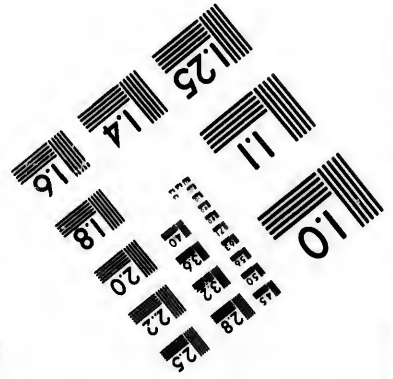
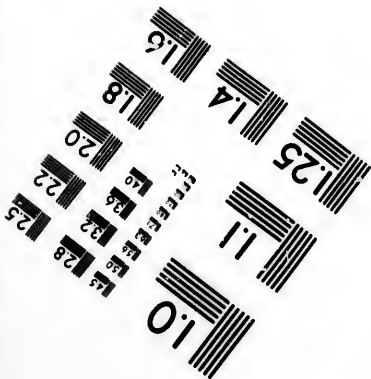
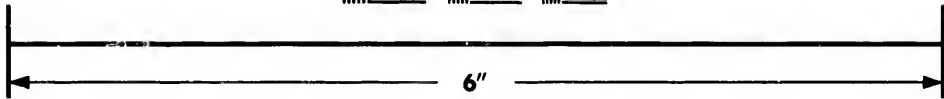
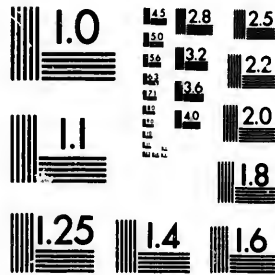
Hovenden Walker,  
Joseph Soanes,  
John Mitchell,  
R. Arris,  
G. Walton,  
Henry Gore,  
G. Paddon,  
John Winder,  
John Cockburn,  
James Cook,

J. Hill,  
Charles Churchill,  
William Windrett,  
M. Kempenfelt,  
Jasper Clayton,  
P. Kirk,  
H. Disney,  
Richard Kane,  
Samuel Vetch,  
Sha. Walton,





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leave for that purpose, set out for *London*. On the 15th, the admiral's ship, in which he had hoisted his flag, the *Edgar*, a third rate, of 70 guns, blew up at *Spithead*, by which, several hundred seamen were lost, with all sir *Hovenden Walker's* furniture, stores, and public papers, books, draughts, journals, charts, &c. with all the officers original demands, supplies, and receipts; which was certainly a very great misfortune to him, and such a one, as did by no means deserve to be heightened by any groundless or malicious reflections; which, however, were not spared upon that melancholy occasion. That very evening, sir *Hovenden* waited upon secretary *St. John*, who expressed an extraordinary concern, on the miscarriage of the expedition. On the 19th, the admiral was introduced to the queen at *Windſor*, by the duke of *Shrewsbury*; when her majesty received him very kindly, gave him her hand to kiss, and told him, she was glad to see him<sup>†</sup>.

THE reflections made by Mr. secretary *Burchet*, upon this expedition, are so extraordinary, and so out of his usual way of writing, that I cannot help laying them before the reader with a few remarks. “ Thus ended, says he, an expedition so chargeable to the nation, and from which no advantage could reasonably be expected, considering how unadvisedly it was set on foot, by those who nursed it upon false suggestions and representations. Besides, it occasioned our drawing from our army in *Flanders*, under the command of his grace the duke of *Marlborough*, at least, six thousand men; where, instead

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<sup>†</sup> See sir *Hovenden Walker's* account, p. 155, 156. *Burchet's Naval History*, p. 781. *Pointer's chronological history*, vol. ii. p. 685.

“stead of beating up and down at sea, they might, under his auspicious conduct, have done their country service. Nay, there may be added to the misfortunes abroad, an unlucky accident which happened even at their return on our own coast; for a ship of the Squadron called the *Edgar* of 70 guns, had not been many days at an anchor at *Spithead*, ere (by what cause is unknown) she blew up, and all the men which were on board her perished”<sup>u</sup>.

THE first part of this observation is taken from *Mr. Hovenden Walker's* letter; but whereas he says plainly, that as the scheme was contrived by the people of *New England*, so it was ruined through their ill conduct; yet as it stands with *Mr. Bute*, it looks rather like a reflection on the administration. The design itself was undoubtedly good; it was thought of before; it was attempted soon after the revolution. All thinking men in *North America*, saw not only the expediency, but the necessity of it, and that in fact, the thing stood thus; we must either use our superiority for the destruction of the *French*, or expect destruction from them, when through our neglect, and their own diligence they become superior

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<sup>u</sup> See his *Naval History*, p. 781. What seems to have drawn so much resentment upon this gentleman, was, his being considered as a favourite of this administration. At the change of the ministry, he was superintendant at *Plymouth*, and was promoted to the vacant flag in the month of *March*, 1711, as he tells us himself, out of regard to seniority. In the month of *April*, he was knighted, and appointed commander in chief of this expedition, in which his conduct appeared so little blameable to her majesty, and her council, that, as we shall see hereafter, he was again appointed commander in chief in the *West-Indies*, in order to relieve commodore *Littleton*, and discharged his trust then with great reputation.

to us. It was, therefore, no objection at all, either to the administration, or to admiral *Walker*, that their thoughts were so much bent on a matter of so high consequence to the commerce and navigation of *Great-Britain*; especially at such a juncture, when, if we had succeeded in our design, the possession of *Canada* must have been yielded to us by a peace. The short victualling of the fleet, which some have interpreted as a proof, that the ministry were not in earnest, was in fact, an evidence of the contrary; for, if they had intended to make a shew only, they would most certainly have victualled the fleet for the whole voyage. But then, this would have discovered the design, long before they failed; and it is most certain, that by following the contrary-method, the secret was very well kept. In the next place, it is no less certain, that sir *Hovenden* arrived in *Boston* in very good time; and if the people of *New-England*, instead of that backwardness, which they expressed, and which, as appears from some intercepted letters, was in part occasioned by the intreaques of some *French* agents among them; I say, if, instead of this backwardness, they had shewn that zeal, that from their duty to their mother-country, their own warm professions, and the interest they had in the execution of this design, might well have been expected, the scheme could not have failed. So that upon the whole, there is not the least ground for saying that the land troops were worse employed under the command of general *Hill*, than they would have been in *Flanders*, under the duke of *Marlborough*. I say, there is no ground for affirming this, unless it can be supposed, that the *Dutch* barrier is actually and *bona fide*, of greater consequence to this nation, than our own colonies and commerce, and I must

must for my own part confess, that I can never be much prepossessed in favour of a writer of *naval history*, who would insinuate such things to his reader. Yet all he says of this sort, is a very trifle. when compared with that most injurious suggestion, as to the blowing up of the *Edgar* <sup>w</sup>, which was the highest misfortune to the admiral, and therefore it is barbarous in the last degree, to impute it to him as a disgrace; nay, the very turn given to it, is as silly, as it is malicious; for if the loss of the *Edgar* had been a thing contrived, it might in all probability have been discovered; whereas, being purely accidental, and all the men in her being blown up, it was simply impossible the cause of this accident should ever be known. Another party-writer has treated this expedition as severely, but with more wit, spirit and decency, than the secretary; and to shew my impartiality, I have inserted his reflections at the bottom of the page <sup>x</sup>. Happy  
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<sup>w</sup> The blowing up of the *Edgar*, on the 15th of October, was certainly a very dreadful accident; since, besides her crew, there were forty or fifty people from Portsmouth and Gosport, who went to see their friends. The commission-officers had the good fortune to be on shore. What made it still the worse was, that our seamen had a notion of its being very ominous, because it was the oldest ship in the navy; and some went so far as to affirm, that it was actually the ship in which king *Edgar* sailed, some part of the old vessel being constantly preserved every time that she had been rebuilt, so that these were all ingredients towards magnifying the disasters of the *Canada* expedition; and I much wonder that this tradition did not find a place in Mr. *Burchet's* history.

<sup>x</sup> The author referred to in the text, was then a reverend divine, and afterwards a right revd. prelate of our church, who, in a treatise, intitled, the allies and the late ministry defended against France, p. 58. writes thus, "It was plain, by the account given of the expedition, that it was not meerly an accident,



would it be for us, if less of party, and more of public spirit, appeared in our historians; if the design of every expedition was impartially represented, and justice done to such commanders as did their best to serve the nation, and were disappointed by accidents, that they could not either foresee, or avoid.

WE are now to return home, and to consider what passed in parliament, and else where, relating to the subject of this work; and in the first place, we are to observe, that as the parliament sat very late in the summer, so great pains were taken to discover as many oversights in the conduct of the late ministry, and that in as many branches of the public business, as it was possible. Amongst these, the commons, on the 4th of *June, 1711*, thought fit to introduce the affairs of the fleet in the following terms. “ With regard to the debt of the navy, “ we find that one great discouragement and burden, “ which that part of the service has lain under, has been  
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“ dent, or any treachery, that was the cause of the miscarriage; but a complication of many difficulties. For first, continues he, we are told, that the river St. Lawrence is navigable only at one time of the year. We let that slip; but if we had nick'd the time, we could not have sailed up that river, without very able pilots. We had none: if we had taken the proper time, and been provided with good pilots, none but ships of a certain burthen can go up the river; all our men of war were too big. But if time, and pilots, and ships had been the most proper for the enterprize, we should have had provisions for more months, than we had weeks to subsist the fleet and troops during the winter. And what is more, if we had gone in the proper time; if we had had good pilots, if we had carried proper ships, and had lain in sufficient provisions, its said the enemy were so well provided for a defence, that our forces were not sufficient; tho' both troops and officers were so good, that nothing would have been wanted on their side”.

“ from a liberty that has been used of diverting several  
“ sums issued to that service, and transferring them to  
“ other purposes, for which they were not intended; par-  
“ ticularly, that the sum of six hundred, and six thousand,  
“ eight hundred and six pounds, seven shillings and seven  
“ pence, belonging to the navy, has been paid for provi-  
“ sions supplied to land-forces sent to *Spain* and *Portugal*,  
“ and for the garrison of *Gibraltar*; for which no de-  
“ ductions have been made from the pay of those forces,  
“ nor any part of that sum re-assigned to the victualling,  
“ notwithstanding, the several acts of parliament provi-  
“ ded, and the many letters writ, and representations  
“ made in the treasury in that behalf. This unjustifiable  
“ proceeding has been a discouragement to the seamen,  
“ occasioned the paying extravagant rates upon contracts,  
“ and has very much contributed to sink the credit of  
“ the navy.”

“ T o this we may add, the many notorious embezzle-  
“ ments, and scandalous abuses, which appear to have  
“ been practised, as well as in the management of your  
“ majesty's brewhouse, as in the contracts for furnishing  
“ the navy with beer. We have already presumed to  
“ address your majesty, that several persons, whom we  
“ discovered to have been guilty of those frauds, should  
“ be prosecuted at law for their offences, and we entirely  
“ rely upon your majesty's most gracious assurance, that  
“ those prosecutions shall be effectually carried on: but we  
“ must also, upon this occasion, beg leave, further to re-  
“ present to your majesty, that the commissioners ap-  
“ pointed to take care of the victualling your majesty's  
“ navy, have been guilty of great negligence, and remissness  
“ in their duty: for the instructions which go along with  
“ that

“ that commission, are so well adapted to the preventing  
 “ those very abuses which have been committed, that no-  
 “ thing but a notorious mismanagement in that office,  
 “ and an inexcusable neglect in pursuing those instructi-  
 “ ons, could have given way to the great loss the public  
 “ has sustained in that part of the service, &c.” To this,  
 the queen was pleased to give the following very gracious  
 answer. “ *Gentlemen*, this representation gives me fresh  
 “ assurances of your zeal for my service, and for the true  
 “ interest of your country. It contains many particu-  
 “ lars. I will take them all into serious consideration,  
 “ and give the necessary directions to redress the grievan-  
 “ ces you complain of. Be assured, that your advice, up-  
 “ on all occasions, has the greatest weight with me”<sup>z</sup>.

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<sup>y</sup> Some of our political writers have imagined, that all this was the mere effects of party resentment, and contrivance of the new ministry, to misrepresent the old, as the reader may find at large, in the history written by Mr. Oldmixon, who takes a great deal of pains to shew, that these censures were absolutely groundless; but bishop Burnet, who had no less respect for the old ministry, and as great opportunities of knowing the truth of things as Mr. Oldmixon, gives us quite another account of the matter, which it may not be amiss to give the reader in his own words. “ Harley, says he, in the house of commons, led them to enquire into some abuses in the victualling the navy: they had been publickly practised for many years, some have said, ever since the restoration. The abuse was visible, but connived at, that several expences might be answered that way: some have said, that the captains tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet, a member of the house, who was a whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the house; and a prosecution was ordered against him: but the abuse goes on still, as avowedly as ever. Here was a shew of zeal, and a seeming discovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation was deceived”.

<sup>z</sup> Chandler's debates, compleat history of Europe for the year 1711. Life of queen Anne, &c.

THE change of the ministry, and the change of measures, made it extremely requisite to countenance in the highest degree whatever had the appearance either of public frugality, or encouraging our navigation, commerce, and influence abroad, such an influence, I mean, as might be beneficial to our trade; and with a view to these, the commons followed their representation upon the 7th of the same month, with the following resolutions to address the queen, “ To appoint persons to enquire into  
“ the number and quality of the forces in her majesty’s  
“ pay in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and to examine the state of  
“ the payments, and accounts relating to the said forces,  
“ and to the garrisons and fortifications of *Gibraltar* and  
“ *Port-Mahon*; and also the accounts of the agent-victu-  
“ allers, and commissioners of stores in those parts”. They also resolved to present two other; one, “ That  
“ she would be pleased to take such measures as her ma-  
“ jesty should judge most proper, for supporting the settle-  
“ ments in *Africa*, and preserving the *African* trade, till  
“ some other provision be made by parliament for the  
“ same; and that her majesty would take into considera-  
“ tion, the nature of that trade, and how it might be best  
“ carried on for the service of the kingdom”. The  
“ other, “ That an account be laid before this house the  
“ beginning of next session of parliament, of the distribu-  
“ tion intended to be made of the debentures directed to  
“ be delivered by the commissioners of trade and planta-  
“ tions, for the relief of the sufferers in the islands of  
“ *Nevis* and *St. Christopher’s*, and the re-settlements made  
“ there by the said sufferers”. The business of the na-  
tion having been thus sufficiently provided for, the queen  
thought

thought proper, on the 12th of the same month of *June*, to put an end to the session by a prorogation<sup>a</sup>:

IN the recess of parliament, the new ministry was completed, and they had time to form and regulate their designs. *Robert Harley*, esq; who was then at the head of it, had a little before the rising of the houses, been created earl of *Oxford*, and earl *Mortimer*, and had the staff of lord high treasurer delivered to him, in order to give the greater lustre to his ministry, and *Charles Benson*, esq; was constituted chancellor and under-treasurer of the *Exchequer*. A new commission was granted for the board of trade and plantations, at the head of which, was *Charles* earl of *Winchelsea*, and the lord keeper *Harcourt*, was raised to the degree of a baron of this realm. Such other promotions were made, as best suited with the designs of the new ministry, who, towards the end of the year, shewed plainly their inclination to a peace; which, however, they were forced to manage with very great caution. Neither was it without much anxiety, that they considered the approach of the next session of parliament, early in the month of *December*, as indeed they had good reason, since it was known, before the meeting of the houses, that the lords would represent against the making any peace, by which *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were left to the house of *Bourbon*<sup>b</sup>.

ON the 7th of *December*, the queen opened the session with a speech, in which she spoke much of peace; of the improvement of commerce; of easing the people; of reforming

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<sup>a</sup> Burnet, Oldmixon, Annals of queen Anne, complete history of Europe for 1711, Pointer, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Complete history of Europe, Life of queen Anne, Pointer, &c.

forming abuses; of maintaining the poor; and, in short, of every thing that was proper to conciliate the minds of moderate people, who were not so solicitous about parties, as desirous of seeing their country happy. The house of lords entered, however, upon the measures that were expected; but the commons complied more readily with the inclinations of the court: and as soon as the estimates were laid before them, came to a resolution, that 40,000 seamen, including 8000 marines, should be employed for the sea-service, and that 180,000 pounds should be granted for the ordinary of the navy. They likewise granted all that was required for the service of the war, and made provisions for raising the mighty sum given for the services of that year, and which amounted to no less than 6,656,967 pounds, very early, and with a remarkable cheerfulness; so that it looked as if the ministry were determined to make a peace sword in hand, and to take no step that might possibly encourage the enemy to think we would lay down our arms; till all the ends of the grand alliance were effectually answered. Sir *John Leake* was now at the head of the admiralty, and in that quality managed the business of the board, in the house of commons; and as the season for action advanced, he received a commission to command again in the channel, as he had done the year before; and the command of the squadron in the *Soundings*; was left to sir *Thomas Hardy*, whose proceedings we shall next resume as a proper introduction to the operations of the year 1712. The rather, because the grand fleet did little more this year than convoy a body of troops, commanded by lieutenant-general *Hill*, who were sent to take possession of *Dunkirk*; which service ended, they returned into the *Downs*; but, as to sir *Thomas Hardy*, he continued to act effectually, and to take all

the care that was in his power, to distress the enemy in their naval concerns, till his power, in this respect, was superseded by the conclusion of the peace <sup>c</sup>.

EARLY in the spring, he had intelligence of the return of *M. du Cassé*, from *America*, for whom he cruized with the utmost diligence, during the whole month of *February*; but with little or no success, except picking up now and then some small *French* vessels. He watched with the same assiduity for *M. du Guai Trouin*; but was again disappointed. In the beginning of the month of *August*, sir *Thomas* chased six ships, and a tartan. One of them immediately hoisted a broad white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, shortened sail, and made a signal for the line of battle; and then tacked, and stood towards him, upon a supposition, as it was afterwards owned, that our ships were privateers, from *Flushing*, with two prizes; but when they came nearer, and found their mistake, they kept their wind, and did all they could to make their escape, our ships pursuing them with the utmost diligence. About five in the afternoon, the admiral came up with the biggest of them, which was *The Griffin*, a king's ship, but then in the service of the merchant. It was commanded by the *Chevalier D' Aire*, knight of the order of *St. Lewis*, who shortened sail immediately, brought too, and sent some of his officers on board our flag, to inform him, that he was bound with bale goods for *La Vera Cruz*, and that before he sailed from *Brest*, he had received letters from *Paris*, importing, that in a few days, he might have had the queen of *England's* pass; but that his friends advised him

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<sup>c</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, continuation of Rapin, complete hist. of Europe, &c.

him not to lose a wind, in order to wait for it; but sir *Thomas* told the lieutenant, that if they had no pass, he should look on the ship as a good prize; and accordingly, sent his own lieutenant to take possession of her, himself, with the other ships of his squadron, continuing the chase. About eleven at night, *The Windsor* engaged *The St. Esprit*, a ship of thirty-six guns, and one hundred seventy-five men, laden with bale goods for *Cadiz*, and about an hour after, she blew up, just as the captain had given orders to strike; but the captain, with about thirty-five men, were saved by our boats. *The Berwick* took the *Adventure*, of *Havre de Grace*, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for *Newfoundland*; but the master producing the queen's pass, she had leave to continue her voyage. The same ship took also *The Incomparable*, of sixteen guns, bound for *Martinico*; and *The Ruby* man of war likewise took a small *French* ship of twelve guns, which was also called *The Ruby*, bound for *St. Domingo*; so, that of this *French* squadron, only one ship of eight guns, and the tartan, escaped. *The Griffin* was certainly a good prize; but our ministers were so very desirous of obliging their new friends, that after a long suit, in order to obtain the condemnation of the said vessel, sir *Thomas Hardy*, and the rest of the captors, were obliged to accept of a sum of money, far short of the value of the ship and cargo, which has been justly considered as a hardship upon these brave men <sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>d</sup> Burchet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, compleat history of Europe for the year 1712, and the political treatises of that year. In these last-mentioned pieces, this affair is very warmly treated. The truth seems to have been, that at this juncture, the English and French ministry stood in need of each others indulgence, and therefore, we need not wonder at a transaction of this sort, common enough in all governments, under circumstances of the like nature.



VICE-admiral *Baker* was, in the beginning of this year, at *Lisbon*, with a considerable squadron of our ships, from whence he sailed on the 8th of *February*, in order to cruize off cape *St. Maries*. He had not been long in that station, before he ran a large *Spanish* ship of sixty guns on shore, upon the *Portuguese* coast, the wind being at that time so high, that they durst not venture near her. The inhabitants of the country, however, went on board and plundered her; the cargo consisting of sugar, cocoa, snuff, hides; and twenty thousand pieces of eight. The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the king of *Portugal*, setting forth his right to her, and demanding that the effects taken in this clandestine manner, should be delivered up; but they were so effectually secreted, that it was not in the power of the court to give him any redress<sup>e</sup>. On his return to *Lisbon*, he found orders from *England*, to cruize with five ships of war, for the security of the homeward-bound *Brazil* fleet, on which service the court of *Portugal* desired he might proceed by the 9th of *April*, and that two frigates might be sent with their outward-bound *East-India* fleet as far as the *Maderas*. The vice-admiral was very willing to comply with this; but the difficulty was, how to do it without departing from his orders, since he had directions from the lords of the admiralty, to send two ships to cruize in the streights mouth; however, he had hopes, that the *Dutch* commander in chief, would have taken care of  
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<sup>e</sup> All applications of any kind were very indifferently received at this court, from the beginning of the war, to the end of it; which occasioned many reflections at home upon the old ministry, who did all they could to disguise these mischiefs, which were on the contrary rendered as public as possible, in order to serve their own purposes by the new.

this *East-India* fleet. On the 1st of *April*, arrived a convoy with provisions and stores from *England*, which determined him, since the *Dutch* had disappointed the *Portuguese* in their expectations, to send a fourth rate frigate with the *East-India* ships as far as the western islands, and to cruize himself for the *Brazil* fleet, in such a station, as that he might be easily joined by the before-mentioned ship; and at the same time he dispatch'd captain *Maurice*, with a small squadron to cruize in the streights mouth. He continued cruizing about the western islands for several months, under great apprehensions, that the *French* squadron under the command of *M. Cassard*, was bound for the *Brazils*; till at last, the provisions on board his squadron, being reduced to five weeks at short allowance, it was necessary for him to think of returning to *Portugal*; but being still apprehensive that, if the *Brazil* fleet sailed before the *French* squadron, the latter would undoubtedly follow them to the *Terceras*, where they knew that fleet must refresh; he resolved to continue in his station as long as it was possible: in order to which, he engaged the *Portuguese* to furnish him with three weeks fresh provisions. On the 11th of *September*, being off the islands of *Tercera*, he met with a *Portuguese* frigate, which informed him, that he had left the fleet but three days before, and that he believed they would be that day in the road of *Angra*, the chief town in the island of *Tercera*. Soon after he had this advice, a violent storm arose, which very much shattered the ships, and drove him so far, that he could not fetch the island again; and judging that it must also have the same effect on the *Brazil* fleet, he made an easy sail towards *Lisbon*, in order to pick up such as should be straggling from their convoys; but had no sight or intelligence of them, till he came off of the rock, when he

found they arrived the very day before he made the land; and as the cessation of arms was soon after concluded, the squadron of ships under his command was called home <sup>f</sup>.

SIR *John Jennings* at this time commanded the grand fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and in the month of *May*, joined the *Dutch* vice-admiral with the transports, having on board six thousand five hundred men, which were put on shore in two days time; and his imperial majesty and count *Staremberg*, pressing the necessity of carrying the cavalry over from *Italy*, it was resolved the admiral should return

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<sup>f</sup> The author of the conduct of the allies, that is, the late celebrated doctor *Switt*, criticises upon those articles in the grand alliance, by which we were bound to take so much care of the concerns of this prince, very freely—By two articles of that treaty (says he) “ Besides the honour of being convoys, and guards in ordinary, to the Portuguese ships and coasts, we are to guess the enemies thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal’s word, whenever he hath a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemies forces are, his Portuguese majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion, and may send our fleets whenever he pleases upon his errands, to some of the furthest parts of the world, or keeping them attending upon his own coasts, till he think fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the king, but to his vice-roys, admirals and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invasion, which I believe is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation. In the defensive alliance with this crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care in almost the same words, is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts, and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States, are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals”.

return to *Vado*, from whence he sailed with the transports on the 27th of *July*, and arrived at *Barcelona* on the 7th of *August*, where, soon after, he received the queen's orders for a suspension of arms, both by sea and land. and a letter from the lord viscount *Belingbroke*, directing him to suffer a great *French* corn fleet to pass unmolested, every ship of which, he must otherwise have taken; from this time, though the admiral was no longer concerned in military operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, since he transported the empress with her retinue, from *Barcelona* to *Genoa*, escorted thirty thousand men at two embarkations, from *Catalonia* to *Naples*, and afterwards carried over the duke and dutchess of *Savoy*, from *Villa Franca* to their new kingdom of *Sicily*; which, though done in the succeeding year, I mention in this place, that I may not be obliged to return into the *Mediterranean*, meerly to speak of matters of parade <sup>2</sup>.

WE are next, according to the method hitherto constantly pursued, to return to the *West-Indies*, where we left commodore *Littleton*, with a small squadron, protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy as much as his strength would permit; but the government having certain intelligence, that the *French* were sending a considerable force into that part of the world, in order to disturb our trade, and perhaps to attack some of the leeward-islands; the court thought it necessary to send an officer of rank, with a considerable squadron thither, for which service they made choice of sir *Hovenden Walker*, which shews, that the administration did not conceive he had brought any stain upon them by his conduct in the *Canada* expedition.

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<sup>2</sup> Burchet, Eurnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, for 1712 and 1713, annals of queen Anne, &c.

He received his commission in the beginning of the month of *April*, and on the 28th of the same month, he sailed from *St. Helens*, with about an hundred merchant-ships under his convoy. He parted on the 4th of *May*, being then fourteen leagues from cape *Finisterre*, with the *Litchfield* and *South-Sea-Castle*, and *The Trade* bound to *Portugal*; and arriving at the *Maderas* with *The Monmouth*, a third rate, *The August* and *Centurion*, fourth rates, *The Scarborough* and *Roebuck*, fifth rates, and a frigate of twenty guns; it was determined to leave the *Barbadoes* trade there, under their proper convoy, consisting of *The Woolwich*, *Swallow* and *Lime*: but that fleet taking in their wine sooner than usual, sailed with the squadron on the 28th of the same month, for the *West-Indies*. On the 24th of *June*, admiral *Walker* arrived at *Antegoa*, where the governor was more apprehensive of an insurrection amongst the inhabitants, than of an invasion from the *French*; and indeed, things were at that time, in a very unsettled condition in the *Leeward-Islands*, where the governor, colonel *Douglas*, was upon almost as bad terms with the people, as his predecessor, colonel *Parke*, whom they murdered for his tyrannical behaviour. Admiral *Walker* promised the governor, that if any thing like an insurrection happened, he would send him any assistance he should require, from *Jamaica*; but advised him: to treat the people with lenity, and to consider, that though he was sent over with instructions to prosecute such as were concerned in destroying the late governor, yet this was to be done in a legal manner, and with due regard to the liberty of the subject, and the monstrous provocations they had received, before they had proceeded to extremities, not justifiable indeed, but at the same time, not altogether inexcusable. But this governor, who was so careful of his own

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own safety, gave him not the least intelligence, that a *French* squadron was expected in those parts; though, if he had taken any pains to be properly informed, he might have known that the *French* at *Martinico* expected, at this very time, the arrival of *M. Cassard*, with nine men of war. Sir *Hovenden Walker* sailing from thence, arrived safely at *Jamaica*, on the 6th of *July*, where having made the necessary dispositions for sending home the *Trade*, and stationing properly the ships under his command, he received, when he least expected it, the news, by an advice boat of an attempt made by the *French* upon *Antegoa* and *Montserrat* <sup>b</sup>.

THIS expedition of monsieur *Cassard*, deserves to be particularly taken notice of. He sailed from *Toulon*, with a stout squadron of the king's ships, and is said to have had general instructions to annoy their enemies. As there was, even at this time, a negotiation carrying on between the *British* and *French* ministers, it is surprizing, that the latter did not give him orders to forbear attacking our colonies, till such time as he received intelligence from *France*, the neglect of which occasioned great murmuring in *England*, and might have retarded the peace, if the news had arrived before it was so far advanced <sup>c</sup>. *M. Cassard* sailed first to the island *St. Jago*, which is the capital of the

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<sup>b</sup> Burchet, *British empire in America*. Compleat history of Europe. Annals of queen Anne; and if the reader is inclined to enquire particularly into the affair of colonel Parkes, mr. French's history of that transaction, and the answer to it.

<sup>c</sup> I have been informed, by some who were very well acquainted with the politics of the French Court, that this expedition was projected in revenge of that undertaken against *Quebec*, of which the French have quite different notions from those that prevailed here; and with reason, since, however it was executed,

the islands of *Cape de Verd*, of which he made himself master without much difficulty; and having blown up the fort and carried off whatever he could meet with, continued his voyage for the *West-Indies*, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of *July*; and having drawn together in *Martinico* upwards of three thousand men, he had thoughts of attacking *Antegoa*; but finding it very difficult to land there, he fell upon *Montserrat*, where he met with a very feeble resistance; the inhabitants retiring into the heart of the island, where in the mountains they had a fortress almost inaccessible. The *French* continued upon the place some days, doing all the mischief possible; but having information that several of our ships were coming to the relief of the island, they abandoned it, though not till they had in a manner totally destroyed all the settlements in it\*. Some mischief they did to our trade on the coast of *Antegoa*, but finding themselves very much disliked by such as wished well to peace, they resolved to give over cruising upon the *English*; upon which they prepared every thing necessary for a longer voyage, and then stood over to the continent, where they attacked the *Dutch* settlement of *Surinam*, and obliged the inhabitants to pay them eight hundred thousand pieces of eight by way of contribution, this was in the month of *October*; and

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it was unquestionably well contrived, especially, as the authors of it, had even then a peace in their heads, by which they would without doubt have got any conquest that might have been made by that fleet effectually secured. But the French probably designed a general interruption of the commerce of the allies, in order to bring them sooner to a peace; for as the reader sees in the text *M. Caffard*, did not attack us alone, but the Portuguese also, and the Dutch.

\* *Histoire Militaire, journal historique de Lewis XIV. mémoires historiques, &c.*

and in the mean time captain *Archibald Hamilton* in her majesty's ship the *Woolwich*, having received an account at *Antegoa* of the cessation of arms; and that the *French* had, notwithstanding, carried several prizes into *Martimico*; he sent a ship thither to demand them of Mr. *Pheypeaux*, general of the *French* islands, who ordered all of them to be restored, and such goods as had been taken out of them, put on board again<sup>1</sup>.

*SIR Hovenden Walker*, in the mean time, remained at *Jamaica*, where he gave the necessary orders for the security of the trade, for cruizing on the *French* coast, and for protecting the private commerce of the inhabitants, with the *Spaniards* at *Porto Bello*, *St. Domingo*, and other places. While he was thus employed, there happened in the night of the 29th of *August* a hurricane, much more violent than any that had been felt for many years in the island: it began about nine at night, and continued raging with the utmost vehemence till twelve. The lightning in the mean time covered the earth, in continued gleams of sulphurous fire, the wind blowing all the time, not only with prodigious force, but with a horrid noise. In the morning a most dreadful prospect appeared, many houses blown flat upon the ground, most of the rest stript and laid open; trees torn up by the roots; the west-end of the church ruined by the fall of its walls; the governor's house dismantled, and scarce a dwelling in the island remaining untouched. Several people were drowned on the shore in the tempest, the sea forcing the boats and canoes a great way upon land at *Spanish town*, and washed

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<sup>1</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe for the year 1712. History of the last war, life of queen Anne, &c.



ed away the houses; so that, what with the wind and the water, there was not above two standing, and few or none of the ships of war, but were either driven a-shore, lost their masts, or were otherwise disabled. The hospital was blow down to the ground; and several of the sick people killed; and on the first of *September*, a third rate, the *Monmouth*, which had been on the coast of *Hispaniola*, came in with jury-masts, having lost her proper masts in the violence of the weather, and another if her main-mast had not given way, must (as her commander believed) have instantly over-set. It required some time to repair the damages which her majesty's ships sustained by this unfortunate accident; and, while this was doing, a very great desertion happened among our sailors, owing chiefly to the arts and intrigues of the captains of privateers, who made no scruple of preferring their private advantage, to the security of commerce, and the welfare of their country. By that time the disputes which these transactions occasioned were tolerably composed, sir *Hovenden Walker* received an order from the lords of the admiralty to return home, after having first proclaimed the cessation of arms, which he accordingly did, and after a prosperous voyage arrived in *Dover* road on the 26th of *May*, 1713<sup>m</sup>.

WE are now arrived at the period of the naval operations in this war, and our next business will be to give an account of what advantages were gained, and of what advantages might have been gained by the succeeding peace. It will however be proper, previous to this, to observe, that the administration had some disputes with their old friends, and their new ones in relation to the  
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<sup>m</sup> Burchet, Oldmixon, history of Europe, Pointer's chronological history, annals of queen Anne, history of the last war, &c.

affairs of commerce, before the peace was concluded<sup>a</sup>. In the first place, it was thought a little hard that the *Dutch*, throughout the whole course of this long and expensive war,

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<sup>a</sup> It will appear in the next note, that we thought ourselves much injured by the manner in which the Dutch conducted the war at sea. Here, therefore, from the Author of the conduct of the allies, I will take notice of some complaints that were made of another nature, with a view to have it understood, that the carrying on the war was a thing now no longer practicable. By the grand alliance between the Empire, England and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *avis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportion which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner. The emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine: Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and we forty thousand. In the winter 1702, which was the next year, the duke of Marlborough proposed the raising of ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed, the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended, and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and states, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, further additional taxes were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply, the Dutch gradually lessened their proportion, although the parliament addressed the queen, that the states might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps, as they did by keeping up the number of regiments; but sinking a fifth part of the men and money: so that at length things were just inverted, and in all new levies, we contributed a third more than the Dutch; who at first, were obliged to the same proportion more than us. Besides, the more towns we conquered for the states, the worse condition we were in towards reducing the common enemy, and consequently of  
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war, should not have furnished their quota of ships and men in any one year; and this notwithstanding repeated expostulations with the *States-General* upon this subject<sup>e</sup>.

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putting an end to the war. For they made use of employing the troops of their quota, towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it was taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us; by which all garrisons were particularly excluded. This at length arrived by several steps to such a height, that there were not the last year in the field, so many forces under the duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintained for that service; nor had been for some years past.

• This parliamentary representation was made on the 4th of March, 1712, and the paragraphs particularly referred to in the text, are these that follow.

“ For obtaining the ends specified in the grand alliance, the  
 “ three confederated powers engaged to assist each other with  
 “ their whole force, according to such proportions as should be  
 “ specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for  
 “ that purpose. We do not find that any such convention was  
 “ ever ratified; but it appears, that there was an agreement con-  
 “ cluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be  
 “ binding upon each party respectively, and according to which,  
 “ the proportions of Great Britain were from the beginning re-  
 “ gulated and founded. The terms of that agreement were:  
 “ that, for the service at land, his imperial majesty should fur-  
 “ nish ninety thousand men; the king of Great Britain forty  
 “ thousand, and the states general, one hundred and two thou-  
 “ sand, of which, there were forty-two thousand intended to  
 “ supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against the  
 “ common enemy in the field; and with regard to the operations  
 “ of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly  
 “ by Great Britain and the states general, the quota of ships to  
 “ be furnished for that service, being five eights on the part of  
 “ Great Britain, and three eights on the part of the states ge-  
 “ neral.

“ Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which  
 “ time the whole yearly expence of it to *England*, amounted to  
 “ three millions, seven hundred and six thousand, four hundred  
 “ ninety four pounds. A very great charge it was then thought  
 “ by your majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they  
 “ had enjoyed, from the burthen of the former war; but yet a  
 “ very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which

“ hath

With this grievance the nation was acquainted, and expressed no small resentment thereat, notwithstanding the pains taken by the friends of the *Dutch*, to persuade them of the contrary. To say the truth, the matter was carried very high on both sides; for the house of commons having represented these omissions in our allies, as indubitable matters of fact, in order to justify the measures that were taking towards a peace, it was but natural for the states, who were averse to that peace, to reply, as they did, to this accusation; which, however, instead of satisfying, provoked the house of commons to such a degree, that upon the printing of the answer they gave here. they declared, that this was a breach of privilege, and the paper itself, a scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel; for which, the printer was put in prison, which prevented the

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“ hath since been laid upon them; for it appears, by estimates  
 “ given into your commons, that the sums necessary to carry on  
 “ the service of this present year, in the same manner it was  
 “ performed the last year, amount to more than six millions, nine  
 “ hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides interest for the pub-  
 “ lic debt, and the deficiencies accruing the last year; which two  
 “ articles require one million, one hundred and forty-three thou-  
 “ sand pounds more; so that the whole demand upon your com-  
 “ mons, are risen to more than eight millions for the present an-  
 “ nual supply. We know your majesty's tender regard for the  
 “ welfare of your people, will make it uneasy to you to hear of  
 “ so great a pressure, as this upon them; and as we are assured, it  
 “ will fully convince your majesty of the necessity of our present  
 “ enquiry, so we beg leave to represent to you, from what causes,  
 “ and by what steps this immense charge appears to have grown  
 “ upon us.

“ The service at sea, as it has been very large and extensive  
 “ in itself, so it hath been carried on through the whole course  
 “ of the war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to your ma-  
 “ jesty, and your kingdom; for the necessity of affairs requiring  
 “ that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for  
 “ maintaining a superiority in the mediterranean, as for opposing  
 “ any

the publishing the remainder of the states representation<sup>p</sup>; this, was looked upon as a very strange procedure, and which

“ any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of West France. Your majesty’s example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships, for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the States General to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your majesty hath furnished, sometimes no less than two thirds, and generally more than half of their quota. From hence your majesty has been obliged for the preventing disappointments, in the most pressing service, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor hath the single encrease of such a charge, been the only ill consequence that attended it; for by this means the debt of the navy hath been enhanced; so that the discounts arising from the credit of it, have affected all other parts of the service. From the same cause your majesty’s ships of war have been forced in greater numbers, to continue in remote seas, and at unreasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the british navy. This also hath been the occasion that your majesty hath been straitned in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been exposed for want of a sufficient number of cruizers to guard them, and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West-Indies, from whence they received those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expences of this war.”

<sup>p</sup> The States General, by their memorial presented to the queen, April 3, 1712, observe, that the grand alliance only specifies, that all the contracting parties shall prosecute this war with their whole force; and therefore, if the States have exerted the utmost of their force, they have fulfilled their engagements; but they insist further, that the ships furnished for the north sea, had been left out, notwithstanding those ships were for the joint service; and they alledge further, that the number of ships which the States were to employ, ought to be regulated, not by the number actually put into commission by England, but by the number that was fit and reasonable for England to put into commission, or at least by the number proposed to the States, upon settling the annual quota’s for the war. As the States had the paper drawn up by order of the lords of the admiralty, and signed by

which seemed calculated rather to give credit to that representation, than to refute it; which; however, might have been easily done; for that we really bore a greater proportion of expence in this respect, during the war, than we ought to have done, is a thing very certain; but it is the fault of all administrations, to be rather inclined to such short answers as may be given by acts of power, than to those that might be furnish'd by the exercise of reason; and for this, they are justly punished, by being often thought tyrannical in those acts, the justice of which might be easily defended. In this case, however, the nation concurred in opinion with their representatives, and things went on, upon a supposition that this charge against the *Dutch* was fully made out; which encouraged the

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by Mr. secretary Burchet, containing an account of the English and Dutch ships fitted out during the war; so they likewise thought proper to add another account of their own, which they professed themselves able to make good from authentic vouchers; and as we cannot transcribe all these papers at large, we shall content ourselves with making an abstract of both accounts, in which the first column consists of the year; the second of the English men of war; the third of the ships of the states-general, according to Mr. Burchet's account; and the fourth of the same ships according to their own. This paper having been printed in past, in the *Daily-courant* of Monday, April 7, 1712. The house of commons came thereupon to the resolution mentioned in the Text, and committed Mr. Samuel Buckley for printing it, who remained in custody during the remainder of the session.

1702	74	33	55
1703	79	22	50
1704	74	18	56
1705	79	20	56
1706	78	15	54
1707	72	27	49
1708	69	25	53
1709	60	11	50
1710	62	13	43
1711	59	12	40

friends of the ministry, to attack the rest of our allies, particularly the emperor, on the same subject: but, as these alterations have no immediate concern with the proper business of this work, I shall not insist upon them, but leave them with this remark: that in all future alliances, our ministers ought to be careful, not only in making the best terms they can for the nation, but also in seeing those terms punctually fulfilled, since it is impossible, especially under our present circumstances, for the nation to see with patience, such acts of indulgence towards foreigners, at their expence, when it is visible, that with all their industry, the inhabitants of *Great Britain*, are scarce able to support the necessary charges of their government, joined to that vast expence which their generous concern for the ballance of power in *Europe*, and the liberty of their neighbours hath brought upon them<sup>1</sup>.

THE difference with the *French* court was occasioned chiefly from M. *Cassard's* expedition in the *West-Indies*, as we have before hinted. The *French* ministry, who knew the importance of being well at that time with the people of *Great Britain*, absolutely disclaimed that commander;

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<sup>1</sup> The best use that can be made of history, is to correct in our times, the errors committed in those of our ancestors, and certainly there are, among these, none which better deserve our attention, than the conduct our ministers have pursued, when we have been engaged in confederacy with our neighbours. A confederacy implies a joint concern, and if, while this subsists, the whole, or the great part of the expence is thrown upon any one of the allied powers; it argues injustice in the rest, and weakness in such as are intrusted with the concerns of the injured power. There is actually no more public spirit in a minister, loading clandestinely his countrymen with more than they ought to pay, than there is charity in a great man's steward, who relieves the poor out of his master's estate, while his creditors remain unsatisfied.

mander; insisting, that he had only general instructions, that he had misapplied them, and that proper satisfaction should be given. On the other hand, the *British* ministry were too far advanced in their pacific measures, to think of retreating, and so were content with these excuses, without insisting on the punishment of this officer; which, if what the *French* court said, was true, he certainly deserved. The first great step to the peace, was, getting *Dunkirk* put into our hands, which was represented as a thing impossible; and with the promise of which, the *French*, only amused us. On the 11th of *July*, however, arrived an express, with the news, that a few days before, the town, citadel, *Rybank*, and all the fortifications of that important place, were delivered up to brigadier *Hill*, whom her majesty appointed governor and commander in chief. Her majesty, thenceforward, treated openly with the *French* court, though always under a promise that due care should be taken of the allies; and for this, the ministry pleaded many things in their own justification. For, first, they alledged, that since the king of *Spain* was become emperor, it was no longer expedient to insist upon his having the whole dominions of the *Spanish* monarchy: they insisted next, that if it had been expedient, the thing was impracticable, the nation having found, by experience, that it was impossible to carry on the war in *Spain* to any purpose: and indeed, this had been long a point out of dispute, one of the warmest partisans of the house of *Austria*, having freely declared as much, a good while before, in a debate in the house of lords, but added, at the same time, though it was impracticable, a vote that no peace could be made, if *Spain* and the *Indies* were left to the house of *Bourbon*, was expedient at that juncture, and yet upon this expedient vote, all the clamours was raised



afterwards. They said further, that the nation was unable to carry on the war longer, especially in the manner in which it had been carried on; and that therefore, how much soever we might hate our enemies, it was necessary to make a peace, if we had any regard to ourselves. They added, besides, that they intended to make a peace on the plan of the general alliance, every article of which, they said, had been broke through, by subsequent agreements, during the course of the war; so that they pretended to have the cause of liberty, and the ballance of power, more at heart, than those who were for carrying on the war. On the 19th of *August*, 1712, an instrument for a suspension of arms was signed at *Paris*, by the lord viscount *Bolingbroke*, and the marquiss *de Torcy*, for four months; and in consequence of this, the necessary measures were taken for compleating the peace: king *Philip* of *Spain*, summoned a cortez, or general assembly of the states of his kingdom, before whom, and with whose consent, he made a renunciation to the crown of *France*, the queen having before appointed lord *Lexington* to be present at that ceremony. The negotiations at *Utrecht*, however, went on very slowly, notwithstanding the pains taken by the earl of *Strafford*, and doctor *Robinson*, bishop of *Bristol*, her majesty's plenipotentiaries, and the great activity of the *French* ministers, who were the marshal *d'Uxelles*, a very able statesman, of whom prince *Eugene* said, with great spirit upon this occasion, that he was the only

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The connection necessary in the text, obliges me to mention here, that about the latter end of August, her majesty appointed the earl of *Strafford*, sir *John Leake*, sir *George Byng*, knights, sir *William Drake*, bart. *John Aislabic*, esq; sir *James Withert*, knight, and *George Clarke*, Esq; to be commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain.

only *French* marshal he was afraid; the famous *Abbi de Polignac*, afterwards cardinal by the same title, the ablest head in *France*; and *M. Mesnager*, now raised to the title of count *de St. John*, who was entrusted with the first negotiations: and for this reason it was found necessary to renew the suspension of arms for four months longer. At last, when the great influence of the queen was discerned, by her procuring the kingdom of *Sicily* for her cousin the duke of *Savoy*, which was the queen's own act, the allies, most of them, thought fit to comply, and accept the terms she had stipulated for them, though with a visible reluctance. The emperor only remained firm to his first resolution, and made the necessary dispositions for carrying on the war alone; consenting, however, to evacuate *Catalonia*, and to accept of a neutrality for *Italy*, under the guaranty of her *Britanick* majesty. On the 19th of *January*, 1712-13, the new treaty of barrier and succession was signed by the ministers of *Great Britain*, and of the *States General*, whereby the latter obtained a mighty accession of territories, and a very great encrease of power. On the 1st of *March*, the instruments relating to *Catalonia*, and *Italy*, were executed; and on the 4th of the same month, the duke of *Berry*, and the duke of *Orleans*, renounced their right to the crown of *Spain*, in the parliament of *Paris*. These preliminaries being thus settled, the great work advanced more briskly, and by the end of the month, it was brought to its conclusion\*.

ON the first of *April*, 1713, the famous treaty of *Utrecht* was signed, as some would have us believe, in a clandestine

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\* Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, life of queen Anne, Poirter's chronological history.

time manner. The truth was, that, to prevent disputes and protests, which might have furnished matter for dangerous pursuits in *England*, it was resolved to sign the treaty privately at the house of the bishop of *Bristol*, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference; which being a thing frequent, during that congress, rendered the matter less suspected. The earl of *Strafford*, and the bishop of *Bristol*, signed first; then the ministers of the duke of *Savoy*, declared king of *Sicily* by that treaty; those of the king of *Portugal* after them; then the plenipotentiaries of the king of *Prussia*, and those of the *States-General* last of all. The whole was over about two in the morning, occasioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were signed; and when the business was over, the respective ministers withdrew to their own places of residence, without any noise, or without directing any public rejoicings, as might have been expected upon such an occasion. I am the more particular in these circumstances, because some historians have represented them as matters of great importance. To speak impartially, I think there is very little, if any thing, in them; for in most separate peaces, the same thing has been done, particularly in that of *Nimiguen*; and I could name other, perhaps later examples of a like conduct, so that upon the whole, this ought to be considered, rather as a misfortune, than a fault. I shall not pretend to insist, that all was obtained by the treaty of *Utrecht*, that might have been obtained from *France*, after so long, and so successful a war; but undoubtedly there was much obtained, add more might have been obtained, if it had not been for the disturbance given to the ministers at home, since, whatever people may suggest, all parties are alike friends to *France*, who thwart public measures, from a  
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pure spirit of opposition. The *Tories* had embarrassed the *Whigs* in their administration, during the last years of the war; and the *Whigs*, in return, were resolved to make the *Tories* as uneasy as possible. In their project of making a peace, both parties were in their turns gainers by this manner of acting; but both were gainers at the expense of the nation; and, therefore, they have no reason, they have no right to reproach each other.

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† The earl of Oxford, in the close of his answer to the articles of impeachment, gives a very full and clear account of the motives to the said peace upon his own knowledge; and as they are hid in such a piece, to which few readers resort for satisfaction in matters of this nature, I thought it might not be amiss, to make this subject the clearer, to afford them a place at the bottom of the page. As to the peace in general, he, (the said earl) thinks he has very good reason to say, That the queen had nothing more at heart, than to procure so great a blessing for her people; and that, when it was obtained, she had this satisfaction in herself; that she had taken the most proper methods to justify her conduct, both towards her allies, and towards her own subjects. For, upon a review of her majesty's whole proceeding, in relation to war and peace, he believes it will appear, and hath in part appeared, by the answer of the said earl to the said articles, that, as her majesty entered further into the war than she was obliged by any treaties subsisting at the time of her accession to the throne, so she contributed more men and money towards the carrying it on afterwards, than she was engaged to provide by any subsequent treaties. That her earnest desires of peace being twice frustrated, when such conditions might have been obtained, as would have fully answered all the ends for which war was at first declared: That all our successes and victories ending in the annual increase of the charge of England, without any further assistance from our allies, and her kingdom being exhausted to such a degree (notwithstanding the great advantages obtained by her arms) that she was not able to continue the war upon the foot it then stood, one year longer, whilst her allies refused to continue it upon those equal conditions, to which they were by treaties obliged: she was at last constrained, in compassion to her people, to hearken to the overtures of peace, then made her from France, without relying further

I HAVE said, there was much obtained by the treaty of *Utrecht*; it is requisite that I should make this good, because, for many years, the contrary has been taken for granted; and I dare say, there are many thousands of people in *England*, who think we lost much, and none of our allies got any thing by that peace. The true standard for adjusting this, must be the ends of the war; for as no war can be just, in which the aggressors know not for what they fight, so no peace can be a bad one, by which

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further on the vain hopes of gaining more advantageous terms, by protracting the war a year longer. She had carried it on for sometime under that prospect, without reaping the benefits proposed, even at junctures that seemed most favourable to her demands, and to the pretensions of her allies. She had, indeed, by that means, raised the glory of her arms; but she could not think this a sufficient recompence for the encreasing miseries of her people, and therefore resolved to lay hold of this opportunity, then offered to her, of ending the war with a peace, if it might be obtained upon terms every way just, safe, and honourable; and those who were then employed in her majesty's councils, thought themselves obliged to second her good intentions in this case, and to obey her commands with all readiness. The said earl presumes, on this occasion, to mention to your lordships, the saying of as wise a man, and as great a general, as the last age produced, the duke of Parma, when France was in a far lower condition than now, being almost equally divided between two contending parties, and Spain was at the height of its glory, and he himself at the head of a Spanish army, supported one of those parties after Paris itself had been besieged by the other; it was his opinion (and the advice he gave to his majesty the king of Spain was grounded upon it) "That if France were to be got only by reducing its towns, the world would sooner be at an end than such a war." The queen seemed at this time, with better reason, to frame the like judgment, and it was therefore her pleasure, and a great instance (as the said earl conceives) of her wisdom and goodness, to think of securing a peace, while she appeared able to carry on the war, her armies being full and numerous, and before the exhausted condition of her kingdoms, and the impossibility on her side, of maintaining so disproportioned an expence, was discovered by her enemies

which the ends of the war are obtained. In the first place, we fought against *France* to settle our selves; that crown had never explicitly acknowledged our government here at home. We fought next, for settling the ballance of power in *Europe*, by obtaining a reasonable satisfaction for the claims of the house of *Austria* to *Spain* and the *Indies*. Another motive to the war was, the securing a barrier to the *Dutch*, and an adequate recompence to the rest of our allies, for the injuries they had received from *France*. Let us see now, what was obtained by the treaty of *Utrecht*, upon these several heads. In the first place, the title of queen *Anne* was acknowledged in the strongest and most explicit terms; the settlement of the succession in the illustrious house of *Hanover*, was likewise owned, and the person who claimed before the queen, and to defeat whose pretensions, the act of settlement was made, was excluded the dominions of *France*, and his most christian majesty promised never to admit him again, though he had owned him over and over; and he likewise promised never to assist or protect him, or any of his adherents. As to the second, a reasonable satisfaction was obtained for the emperor, though he refused to accept it; and the most solemn renunciations of the two branches of the house of *Bourbon*, are inserted in the body of the treaty itself, in order, as far as the thing was possible, to secure all *Europe* against the apprehensions of seeing the crowns of *France* and *Spain* devolve upon one prince; and, to obviate another objection as to the commerce of *New Spain*, it is expressly provided, that the *French* should enjoy no privilege of navigation thither, beyond what had been enjoyed under the kings of *Spain*, of the *Austrian* line. In regard to our allies, it is plain, that the duke of *Savoy*, who indeed well deserved it, ha-  
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ving steadily adhered to the alliance in times of the deepest distress, had full satisfaction given him, and in such a manner too, as had a visible tendency to the properly fixing the ballance of power; and the kings of *Portugal*, *Prussia*, and the *States*, were likewise satisfied. I know it may be said, that there was a force upon the latter; but I know people are very unfit judges in their own cause, and that the *States* got by this treaty, not only such a barrier, as seemed reasonable to us, but as good a one as the emperor thought fit for them, after all our successes, and when the allies were upon the best terms with each other. To say then, that the treaty of *Utrecht* did nothing, and that all our expences, and all our victories in that long war, were absolutely thrown away, is much beyond the truth; but that a better treaty might have been made, I shall not dispute, because I think there is no arguing about possibilities<sup>u</sup>.

BEFORE I part with this treaty, however, I must observe, that it was very extraordinary in one respect; it procured us much greater advantages, I mean the people  
of

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<sup>u</sup> The account bishop Burnet has given us, will be sufficient to clear up to the reader, the satisfaction secured to the princes and states engaged with us in the war. "As for the allies, says he, Portugal and Savoy were satisfied; the emperor was to have the dutchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; and Sardinia, with the same title, was to be given to the elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses; the states were to deliver up Lisle, and the little places about it: and besides the places of which they were possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburgh, Ypres, and Newport; the king of Prussia was to have the upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and the other estates, which the family had in Franche Comte". This was all I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our treaty; the emperor was to have time to the first of June to declare his accepting of it.

of Great-Britain, as a trading nation, than any treaty I know of, before or since; and upon these, I must particularly insist, because they are immediately within my province. We have seen, that *Dunkirk* was long before put into our hands; let us now see, what was to become of it; and because this is a point that has been since, and may be hereafter, attended with warm disputes, I think it necessary to transcribe the ninth article of the treaty, by which this great point, (great indeed, if we consider either the humbling *Franco*, or securing our selves) was effectually settled. Thus it runs. “ The most christian  
“ king shall take care, that all the fortifications of the  
“ city of *Dunkirk* be razed; that the harbour be filled  
“ up; and that the sluices, or moles, which serve to  
“ cleanse the harbour, be levelled, and that at the said  
“ king’s own expence, within the space of five months  
“ after the conditions of peace are concluded and signed;  
“ that is to say, the fortifications towards the sea, within  
“ the space of two months; and those towards the land,  
“ together with the said banks, within three months; on  
“ this express condition also, that the said fortifications,  
“ harbour, moles, or sluices, be never repaired again”.  
The demolition of this place was of prodigious importance; it lies but thirteen leagues from the south *Foreland*, and any easterly wind, which carried our ships down the channel, brings out those at *Dunkirk*, to meet and intercept them; which, during the two last wars, made it often suspected, that the *French* had intelligence, either from our admiralty, or secretary’s office; though very probable without foundation, since the very situation of the place furnished the enemy with advantages; enough for the east end of the channel, which is so much exposed to *Dunkirk*, is but seven leagues broad, and gives them



an opportunity of seeing our ships from side to side. It clearly appears from hence, that six parts in nine of our trade from the port of *London*, is freed from most of the hazards in the last war; and though part of this must be exposed when it passes through the chops, or western entrance of the channel, yet it must be considered, that it was liable also to this before, so that no new inconvenience is created: and besides, this is only the south trade; such ships as go to *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, or the north, are absolutely free. Besides all this, the demolition of *Dunkirk*, is an irretrievable blow to the *French* naval power, and even to their trade, especially to the *West-Indies*; so that a clearer proof could not be of our superior force, and of their distress, than the submission of *France* to this article. It is true, they endeavoured to shift off, and afterwards to mitigate the execution of it; but in vain. The queen insisted upon *Dunkirk's* being demolished effectually, according to the letter, and it was demolished as effectually as could be desired; whether ever it shall be restored, so as to become, as in times past, a terror to the *English* nation, depends upon ourselves and future administrations <sup>v</sup>.

By the 10th and 11th articles, the countries comprised in the charter of the *Hudson's-Bay* company, of which, the *French* had got possession, partly in the time of peace, and partly in that of war, were to be restored; and not only restored, but his most christian majesty farther stipulated, that whatever had been taken in time of peace,

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<sup>v</sup> Burnet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe for the year 1713, life of queen Anne, Continuation of Rapin's history, the importance of *Dunkirk* considered, *French* faith in the demolition of *Dunkirk*, and many other pamphlets upon the same subject, published in those times.

peace, or whatever injuries had been done to the *Hudson's-Bay* company, before the commencement of the war, should be fairly examined, and full satisfaction made. The like is stipulated, with respect to the depredations, by *M. Cassard*, in the *Leeward* islands, after the negotiations for peace were begun. By the 12th article, the island of *St. Christophers*, and the whole country of *Nova Scotia*, are yielded up to the queen of *Great Britain*, as by the 13th article, is the whole country of *Newfoundland*; but the island of *Cape Breton*, is by the same article given up to *France*; which has been represented as a monstrous piece of complaisance; though there seems to be great reason to believe, it was much less owing to the inclination of the *English* ministers, than to their inability of standing out any longer against the opposition carried on at home; and for this reason it is made one of the charges against the earl of *Oxford*, in the 13th article of his impeachment, wherein it was affirmed, that *Cape Breton* was part of *Nova Scotia*; and the earl in his answer to that article asserts, that he had gone no farther than king *William* had gone in the treaty of *Ryswick*. But, however we might fail as to the point of *Cape Breton*, yet undoubtedly we acquired more by the treaty of *Utrecht*, than by any of our former treaties; I mean at the expence of the *French*, who at the time this treaty was signed, were actually in possession of *Placentia* in *Newfoundland* \*.

BUT,

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\* The earl of Oxford even after he was impeached, thought he had a right to value himself upon this treaty: and therefore in his answer, after having taken notice of the difficulties to which we were reduced by the war, he proceeds to speak in the following terms, of the advantages accruing from the treaty of Utrecht.

BUT, besides these mighty advantages, there were others still more considerable (the demolition of *Dunkirk* only excepted) procured from the crown of *Spain*; for by the 10th article, the full and entire property of the town and castle of *Gibraltar*, with all things thereto belonging,

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Utrecht. At this juncture the queen entered upon a negotiation of peace, with circumstances of great honour to herself: France applying to her first on this account, previously owning her title, and acknowledging the right of the protestant succession, two chief grounds upon which the declaration of the last war was built. As to the allies, it was conducted in the same manner as all treaties of peace, in confederacies, have ever been, and according to the known laws of nations in such cases, the first motion and the several steps to it, as fast as they ripened into proposals fit for consideration, being without delay communicated to the states general. By the terms of this peace, as all reasonable satisfaction and security, due to any of the allies by treaty, were obtained for them by the queen, and their just pretensions effectually supported, so larger advantages were actually procured for Great-Britain in particular, than ever had been demanded before in any treaty or negotiation, between this and any other foreign state. The said earl craves leave on this occasion, to appeal to your lordships, whether all the ends for which the war was entered into, have not by this treaty been fully attained? Whether it does not appear by the best of proofs, experience, that the kingdoms of France and Spain, are, by the conventions of this treaty, most effectually separated? And whether any other expedient could have been so successful to this purpose, as that whereby it is now happily brought about? Whether the ballance of power in Europe be not now upon a better foot, than it has been for an hundred years past? Whether the advantages that have accrued to Great Britain by this treaty do not appear, and have not appeared in the security of the protestant succession, and in his majesty's peaceable accession to the throne, with the universal applause of his subjects; in the addition made to our wealth in the great quantities of bullion lately coined at the mint; by the vast increase of shipping employed since the peace, in the fishery and in merchandize, and by the remarkable rise of the customs upon import, and of our manufacture, and the growth of our country upon export? For the proof of which particulars, he refers himself to those offices and books, wherein an authentic account of them is contained.

## Of Queen A N N E.

longing, are given up to the crown of *Great Britain*, in propriety to be held, and enjoyed absolutely, with all manner of right for ever, without any exception, or impediment whatsoever. By the 11th article, his catholic majesty doth in like manner, for himself, his heirs, and successors, yield to the crown of *England*, the whole island of *Minorca*, transferring to the said crown for ever, all right, and the most absolute dominion over the said island, and in particular over the town, castle, and fortifications of *Port-Mahon*. All that *Spain* reserves to its self, being no more than the right of pre-emption, in case the crown of *Great-Britain* shall at any time think fit to alienate or dispose of the said fortress of *Gibraltar*, or island of *Minorca*. By the 13th and 15th articles, the *Affiento* treaty is confirmed as fully, effectually, and authentically, as if the same had been repeated word for word in the said treaty, which was signed at *Utrecht*, on the 2d of *July*, O. S. by the bishop of *Bristol*, then lord privy seal, and the earl of *Strafford*, her majesty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke *de Ossuna*, and the marquis *de Monteleon*, plenipotentiaries from his catholic majesty.

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As to this treaty with Spain, the earl of Oxford, in his answer to the impeachment, let us into a *fact* of very great import; for, says he, As for the matters concerted previously with France, for the particular interest of *England*, without the original intervention of *Holland*, the States were so far from protesting against her majesty's measures, and condemning her conduct in this respect, that their minister proffered several times in their name, to have led the way in the most difficult part of the whole negotiation, and to have done his utmost to facilitate the conclusion of it, provided his masters might have a share in the *Affiento* Contract, and trade to the Spanish West-Indies, one of those advantages which France had discovered its willingness should be allowed, previously, and entirely to *England*.

THE *Affiento* has since made so great a figure in our histories, and there will be such frequent occasion to mention it in the subsequent part of this work (as that contract is the basis of the *South-Sea* trade) that I find myself under a necessity, as well for the sake of order and perspicuity, as for the performance of what I promised, to enter into a full and regular account of all the steps taken for erecting and establishing this great company, which was one of the most signal performances of the *Oxford* ministry. The earl of *Godolphin*, and his friends, had been peculiarly happy in the conduct of public affairs, and the maintenance of public credit, so long as the opposition given them did not rise so high, as to hinder their carrying public points in the house of commons, but after they once found themselves in that situation, their difficulties grew upon them daily, so that they were forced to contract debts in the public service, exclusive of such as were contracted by, and provided for annually by parliament. At first these debts were seldom mentioned, some of them being pretty old, and others incurred by deficiencies, and the application of funds to other services than they were originally designed for. The drawing these debts out of obscurity, and declaring them unprovided for, was one of the first acts of the new ministry<sup>2</sup>.

Their

<sup>2</sup> The Debts declared by the statute, are as follow.

Debt to the navy, old, new and deficient	— —	5,130,539
Debt to the ordnance	— —	154,324
Debt to transport-service	— —	424,791
Old army-debentures of last war	— — —	1,018,656
Deficient tallies 8 Guliel	— —	12,024
Provision for the navy, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1710	—	378,859

Carried over 7,119,193

Their next care was, to form the proprietors of these debts into a company, which, they conceived, would be as much dependent upon them, as the *Bank*, or *East-India* company had been on the former ministry. But the business was, to find out a proper pretence for erecting such a new company; and this was very happily found, and very dexterously applied. It was always matter of wonder to the greatest part of this nation, why the war was not pushed in the *West-Indies*; especially, since there was a clause in the grand alliance, whereby we were entitled to hold whatever we could conquer in those parts. Some political reasons, however, restrained the vigour of our arms in that particular; and this, though the old ministry were very little to blame in it, made the great topic of public clamour. When a thing is once made the theme of common discourse, many lights come to be struck out in relation to it, that were not thought of before; and this was the case here: some merchants of *Bristol* taking this matter into consideration, began to apprehend, that, however the ministry might be bound, private persons were not obliged to let slip advantages of this nature; and therefore, they resolved to fit out two ships for the *South Seas*, upon their private account; which they did; and these ships returning in the year 1711, after having made many rich prizes, the wealth of the *South Seas*

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came

	Brought over	7,119,193
Subsidies to the Dutchy of Hanover, 1696	—	85,000
Interest on ditto, from Christmas 1710 and 1711	—	9,375
Loans on customs, &c. 8 Annæ	—	1,256,542
Interest on ditto	—	74,876
Interest on the whole, from Lady day to Christmas, 1711	—	386,325
To the year's service 1711	—	500,000
Add, for odd shillings and pence	—	3

£. 9,471,325

came to make a great noise. This determined the new ministry to join an ample security for the debts hitherto unprovided for, with the prospect of the trade to the *South Seas*, and by this means, fix their whole design at once. Upon this plan, they made some proposals to the monied people, who having been long attached to the former administration, treated the whole as chimerical, and a project that could never be brought to bear. I mention this circumstance, only to shew how little dependence should be placed on the resolution of men who are known to be governed by nothing but their interests; for, notwithstanding their slighting the proposal when it was first made, lord *Oxford*, and his friends, carried on this scheme with success<sup>a</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> As the business of this voyage to the South Seas very nearly concerns the subject of this work, it may not be amiss to take notice, as concisely as possible, of the most remarkable circumstances attending this affair. The ships fitted out upon this occasion, were, the duke of thirty guns, and 170 men, commanded by captain Woods Rogers; and the dutchess, of twenty-six guns, 150 men, under the command of captain Stephen Courtney. The famous captain Dampier, whose voyages have made him known throughout Europe, was on board one of these vessels, as pilot; they sailed from Bristol on the 1st of August, 1708, and having happily passed the streights of Magellan, they not only took several ships in the South Seas, but several towns also upon the coast; and on the 22d of December, 1709, they met with the Acapulco ship, that is, the lesser of the two ships which sail annually from the East-Indies to Mexico; she was of the burthen of 400 ton, and carried twenty guns, and as many pattararoes. The action lasted about half an hour, and the value of the prize was about 2,000,000 pieces of eight; the larger Acapulco ship fell also in their way, which they attacked two days successively; but, as she was of 900 ton burthen, and had 600 men on board, they found it impossible to take her, which made them determine to return by the East-Indies; captain Dover being appointed commander of the Acapulco ship, with which they arrived safely in the downs, on the 2d of October, 1711.

In the first place, they took care to give a very plausible account to the world, of the nature of this undertaking; and, which shewed their political dexterity, they made the very contempt, which was at first expressed for their design, subservient to its promotion; for they gave out, that the last ministry having been careless of the nation's interest in this respect, were desirous of covering their reputation, by representing that as impracticable, which they had never attempted. They took notice, likewise, of its having been always thought the surest way of distressing the *Spaniards*; and, to demonstrate this, they printed a proposal of the like nature, which was made in parliament, so long ago as in the year 1624. They further observed, that this was prosecuting the war against the *French* too, who carried on a mighty trade in the *South Seas*, and were actually making settlements there. This took off the edge from every argument that could be offered, as to the impossibility of the design; for all who talked in that stile, were considered now as enemies to the *English* nation, and persons absolutely in a foreign interest. To give the thing the highest gloss, and to fix the nation in a full opinion of the great profit that might be made by this trade, care was taken to circulate a notion in *Holland*, about the time that sir *Hovenden Walker* undertook his expedition against *Canada*, that the true intent of that armament was against *Peru*: This had the designed effect; the *Dutch* took umbrage at it, and expressed loudly enough their dissatisfaction at our entering on any such views. This answered the end proposed, and begot an extraordinary concurrence in the new scheme here. The debts unprovided for, were next liquidated at 9,471,321*l.* on which, an annuity at the rate of 6*l.* per cent. was granted until the principal was paid, which



amounted to 568,279*l.* The company were incorporated for carrying on a trade to the *South Seas*; and by their charter, there was invested in them, and their successors, the sole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of *America*, from the river *Oroonoco*, to the southermost part of *Terra del Fuego*, and on the west side thereof, from the said southermost part of *Terra del Fuego*, through the *South Sea*, to the northermost part of *America*, and into, and from all the countries, islands, and places within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to *Spain*, or which shall hereafter be found out, or discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of *America*, on the said West side thereof, except the kingdom of *Brazil*, and such other places on the east-side of *America*, as are now in the possession of the king of *Portugal*, and the country of *Surinam*, in the possession of the *States General*. And to give the thing the greater sanction, the said company, and none else, were to trade within the said limits; and if any other person shall trade to the *South Seas*, they shall forfeit the ship and goods, and double their value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the prosecutor; and the remaining half to the use of the company. And it is also provided that the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover, and erect within the said limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual rent of one ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prize, by the ships of the said company, and the company may seize by force of arms, all other *British* ships, trading in those seas. The stock of this corporation was to arise from the subscription of these public debts, and the sum of 8,279*l.* was granted for the charges of management; and as trade could not be carried on  
without

without money, so the governor and directors of the new company, had power by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten *per Cent.* for the prosecution of this trade<sup>b</sup>:

THE lord high treasurer *Oxford*, than whom no minister had cleaner hands, or a sounder head, saw, with great satisfaction, the *South Sea* company's stock subscribed, by the very people who had treated his project as a chimera. He knew, much better than they, how far it was chimerical; he knew, that no advantageous trade could be carried on, according to the scheme of the charter; but when the charter was granted, it was too early for him to discover what he really meant by trade to the *South Seas*. In the year 1713, the *Affiento* treaty, or, agreement between king *Philip* of *Spain*, and the *Guinea* company in *France*, for the furnishing negroes to the *West Indies*, determined; and the lord treasurer had an agent of his in *Spain*, who took notice of it to the duke *d'Osuna*, hinting also that the granting this to the *English*, might prove a means towards bringing about a peace; inasmuch, as it was one of the principal points proposed by the private treaty between *Great Britain* and king *Charles*, the proposal was eagerly embraced; because it not only had a tendency to answer the great end of settling king *Philip's* title; but it also gave a handle to the *Spaniards* to rid themselves of the *French*, whose dealings in the *South Seas* had long given them great umbrage; and thus this wise and able minister brought about in *Spain*, what few had any thoughts of in *England*; and procured this to be

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offered

<sup>b</sup> See the act of parliament, the charter of the company, and a pamphlet entitled, *The true Design and Advantages of the South Sea Trade, &c.*

offered by king *Philip*, as a means of conciliating the interests of the two crowns, and renewing the old correspondence between the two nations. In consequence of this, a project, consisting of forty-two articles, was delivered to his catholic majesty, who, on the 26th of *March*, 1713, ratified them by his royal decree at *Madrid*; and these are the articles so solemnly confirmed in the treaty of peace before-mentioned, and which have been the basis of the trade carried on by the *South Sea* company; and which, if it has not, might certainly have been made extremely beneficial to this nation<sup>c</sup>

THIS *Assiento* contract stipulates, in the first place, that from the 1st of *May* 1713, to the 1st of *May* 1743, the company shall transport into the *Spanish West-Indies*, 144,000 negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, at the rate of 4800 negroes every year; that for each negro the *Assentists* shall pay 33 1-3 pieces of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the said *Assentists* shall advance his *Catholic* majesty 200,000 pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of 4000 negroes, his *Catholic* majesty giving them the duty on the other 800, to ballance their risk, and extraordinary expences; that his *Catholic* majesty, and the queen of *Great Britain* shall each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and shall be allowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the *Assentists*, upon oath, that during the space, neither the *French Guiney* company, or the subjects of any other crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and in case they should import them, they shall be considered

<sup>c</sup> See the *Assiento* treaty in the third volume of the collection of treaties, and the several pamphlets written that year in support of the ministry, and in justification of the peace.

sidered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them, with many other clauses for the security of this trade, which is not necessary for me here to mention. I shall content myself with observing, that the rights and privileges granted by this contract, were all by direction from the queen, properly assigned to the *South Sea* company; and though it might be, as I believe it was, true, that a little jobbing was practised in making the assignments, yet the whole was most advantageous to this nation; and if we have not reaped such benefits from this contract, as we might have done, we ought not to blame the treaty of *Utrecht*, but ourselves; for there is no serving any nation, after it is come to a certain height of corruption.

IT has been suggested, that, whatever benefits we might receive by this treaty, there were still much greater advantages, that might have been acquired, if we had not suffered them to slip through our fingers. I shall take some notice of these. In the first place, it has been said that we might at that time have made ourselves masters of the *Indies*, or at least of the trade of them. I do not see how this can be proved. For on the one hand, our open enemies were extremely strong there, so as not only to act upon the defensive, but even to attack, and that successfully too, the settlements of our allies, the *Portuguese*; and on the other hand, not the *Dutch* only, but all the confederates were extremely averse to our making conquests in the *West-Indies*; which, was the true and only reason why, under the earl of *Godolphin's* ministry, they were forborn. In time of war, therefore, it does not appear we were able to do much against the *Spaniards*, and against the *French*, we were still in a worse condition; for in the islands they were too strong for us, from their

having but few colonies, and those well peopled; and in *Canada*, they found the situation of the country and its climate, sufficiently defended them against all we could do. It was only in *Newfoundland*, that we had any prospect of making conquests; and there they gave us up *Placentia*, the only place they held. I have already mentioned the affair of *Cape Breton*, which some writers have called a mine of gold, given up by the treaty of *Utrecht* to the *French*; and the reason assigned for it, is this: that if that island had not been left to the *French*, we should have possessed the fishery in that part of the world without a rival; and might consequently have made what market of it we pleased. Yet, however palatable this reason may be at home, I am sure, nothing raises us so many enemies abroad; this notion of monopolizing trade, and shutting our neighbours out of it by force, has a very bad effect, and is the engine constantly made use of by the *French*, to prejudice our good allies the *Dutch* against us. I crave leave to add, that experience hath shewn the fact to be otherwise, than it was then represented; we were, till the present breaking out of the war with *Spain*, in possession of a very great trade in *Newfoundland*; and, whenever a definitive peace is made, care will no doubt be taken, that it shall be restored to us in its full extent, and then I conceive we shall have no great cause to murmur.

We find it also objected, that greater security was not obtained for us in the *Mediterranean*; where, they say, we should not only have had *Gibraltar*, but a territory round it. It were to be wished, they had given us a plan of this fortress, with the territory they expected, and then at the close of the last war, perhaps, it might have been obtained. But it is our misfortune, that even in points of such importance as these, we borrow our opinions, rather  
from

from the parties to which we attach ourselves, than from the nature of things themselves. For let it be remembered, that many of those who insisted with the utmost vehemence on this error, in the treaty of *Utrecht*, afterwards, when their scheme of politics were changed, were as warm in asserting, that *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* too, were of little or no use, and were actually inclined to give them up to *Spain*, not in consideration of any equivalent to be given to *Great Britain*, but in order to have such a peace made, as would suit the interest of our foreign allies. It is not, therefore, easy to discern through the mists of parties, what, in this respect, are the true interests of *Britain*. All that can be fairly said of this matter, lies in a narrow compass; the security of our trade in the *Mediterranean*, is well provided for, by our having in our possession, the very best haven in the *Mediterranean*, I mean that of *Port-Mahon*, the influence derived from which, when properly attended to, must always make us masters of those seas, and put it our power to give law to the *French*. If an *English* civil government were once established in the island of *Minorca*, and a town erected there, capable of becoming the centre of our trade in those parts, we should very soon see the worth of that island, and recover the best part of the trade we have lost. But military governments agree so little with the industry of a trading people, and are in themselves so repugnant to the genius of the *British* nation, that I do not at all wonder men of good sense of all parties, have secretly an inclination, that both *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, should be given up for the same reason that the patriots in king *Charles II.* reign, forced him to part with *Tangier*. But, be this as it will, we certainly have no right to cry down the treaty

of

of *Utrecht*, for furnishing us with advantages, which our own corruption will not allow us to keep.

To conclude this part of my subject, I must observe, that upon the close of the war, the *French* found themselves totally outed of all pretensions to the dominion of the sea. We have in part, demonstrated this, in the last volume; but, something more remains to be said here. Most of our conquests, indeed all of them that were of any use to us, were made by our fleets. Sir *George Rooke* took *Gibraltar*, and sir *John Leake* reduced *Minorca*; and it is also evident, that it was our fleet alone that supported king *Charles* in *Catalonia*, and kept the king of *Portugal* steady to the grand alliance; which, besides the advantages it brought to the common cause, secured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country; and all this, against the spirit, genius, and inclination of the king of *Portugal*, and their ministers, who were all, at that time, in the *French* interests in their hearts; from which, they had never departed, so much as in shew, if the most *Christian* king had been able to perform what we did; since, it is well known, that the *Portugueze* first offered themselves to, and contracted an alliance with, that monarch, and his grand-son of *Spain*. At the same time, our fleets prevented the *French* from so much as sailing on the *Mediterranean*, where they had made a figure in the last war, and kept many of the *Italian* states in awe. The very *Algerines*, and other piratical states of *Barbary*, contrary to their natural propensity to the *French*, were now obsequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the superiority of our flag. To speak the truth, the slackness of the *Dutch*, in sending ships to this part of the world, had in this respect, an effect happy enough for us, since it occasioned our being considered as the leading power  
by

by all, who had any concerns with us and them. Yet, it must be admitted, that in the course of this war, the *French* performed some extraordinary exploits in the attacking the fleets and colonies of us, and our allies, at which we need not wonder, since now; this was all they had in their power; and though it disturbed us a good deal, and brought them some profit, yet it was more a mark of their weakness, than of ours; for what greater, what more glorious argument of our naval force, than our sinking a great maritime power into a petty piratical state? Let us but consider the figure that *France* made at the beginning of the last war, and at the end of this. She had then her fleets as well as we; nay, she had sometimes better fleets; instead of waiting till she was attacked, or giving us the trouble to go and seek her squadrons at a distance, she spread the sea with her navy, and insulted us upon our own coasts; though we had *Spain* for us in all that war, yet it was thought extremely dangerous for us to winter in its ports; and every body knows, every body may see from this, and other histories, that, while we protected *Spain*, by our fleets, we were often in danger, for want of them, of being invaded by *France* at home. But, in this war, the enemy seldom appeared at sea, and always quitted it at our approach. Our naval empire commenced from the battle of *Malaga*; the extinction of the *French* force at sea, was in a manner completed by our enterprize on *Toulon*. They were from that time, incapable of any great expedition, and the only attempt of that kind they made, I mean the pityful one on *Scotland*, very fully shewed it. They stole from our fleet through the advantage of winds and tides; the apprehension of being overtaken, hindered them from landing, and their return, was a plain flight. In a word, to sum up all,

we



we had to deal in the first war with the fleets of *Brest* and *Toulon*, capable of disputing with us the dominion of the sea in our full strength; in this, if we could guard against the *Piccaroons* of *St. Maloes*, and *Dunkirk*, all was well; our merchant-men suffered sometimes; but our fleets and squadrons were always safe; nay, even in the trivial war, between single ships, we had the advantage, upon the whole, as appears by the admiralty's computation; which shews, not only the *French* suffered more than we, but, what I believe few people have observed, that they suffered a third more in this war, than they did in the last, notwithstanding the many sea-fights in that, and there being but a single one in this<sup>d</sup>.

THERE

<sup>d</sup> The truth of what is asserted in this paragraph, will appear at first sight, by comparing the two following lists, which shew the loss sustained by England and France, in this war, with those in vol. iii. p. 231, 232. where we have shewn what was lost on both sides in the last war, and from whence it is manifest, that the French lost 754 guns, and consequently 11,310 ton of shipping, more in this war than in that.

## A List of English ships lost, or taken, in queen ANNE's war.

Guns.	Number.	Guns.
80	2	160
70	4	280
60	2	120
50	8	400
48	1	48
40	2	80
36	1	36
32	4	128
30	1	30
28	1	28
24	11	264
22	1	22
Total 28		1596
		French

THERE happened no further naval armaments within the compass of this reign, except the sending a squadron into the *Mediterranean*, under the command of sir *James Wishart*; the design of it, without question, was to execute what remained to be executed of the peace; and, as his catholic majesty was, at that time, intent on the reduction of *Catalonia*, the *English* fleet rendered him some services; which, however, made a great noise at home; for, as the *Catalans* had been originally brought into the war by the persuasion of the queen's minister, and upon repeated promises of her majesty's constant support of them, it was thought not a little extraordinary, that the *English* fleet should

French ships lost, or taken.

Guns.	Number.	Guns.
100	4	400
90	8	720
86	8	688
74	1	74
70	3	210
64	1	64
56	1	56
54	4	216
50	2	100
48	1	48
40	1	40
36	2	72
34	1	34
32	1	32
30	2	60
28	1	28
24	8	192
20	3	60
Total		
	52	3094
	38	1596

The loss of the French } 18 ships. 1498 Guns.  
exceeds ours

should afford any countenance, much less assistance, to the enemies of that brave people, who still considered themselves as the allies of *Great Britain*. It is true; that many plausible things were offered in excuse of this conduct. It was said, that her majesty had done all that lay in her power, to procure for those people, the continuance of their ancient privileges; and that, though she had not absolutely succeeded in this, yet she had procured them an equivalent for their antient privileges; which was sharing those of *Castile*, and particularly that of being capable of having a concern in the trade to the *West-Indies*; from which, all other subjects of the crown of *Spain* are excluded. To this it was added, that it was in a great measure owing to the faults of the *Catalans* themselves, that her majesty's interposition did not succeed to the full; since, while she was applying in their favour, to king *Philip*, they actually declared war against him; which, put it out of her majesty's power to solicit for them any longer. It was likewise alledged, that the emperor might have stipulated conditions for them, under the guaranty of her majesty, in his provisional treaty for the evacuation of that province; so that, upon the whole, it ought to be understood, that whatever mercy these people received, flowed from the care taken of them by the queen; whereas, the many and great miseries they suffered, were absolutely the effects of their own perverseness and obstinacy.

BUT, that I may not appear an apologist, rather than an historian, I must speak my sentiments sincerely of this matter. The obligation that *Great Britain* was under, to protect these people, was very clear, and withal so strong, and so binding on the government, that it is impossible to conceive, how any ministers, and especially those

those who counter-signed the very instructions for giving such assurances to the *Catalans*, could believe it right, or could even imagine it excusable, not to secure them their privileges by the peace. As to their having this in their power, it appears to me a thing absolutely clear; for, when they first thought of the peace, they knew the engagements they were under to these people, and they ought to have taken care, that what had been promised them upon the public faith, should have been performed. Besides, it appears plainly by the treaty of peace with *Spain*, that our ministry had power enough to obtain the whole kingdom of *Sicily* for the duke of *Savoy*; and one cannot easily conceive, that people, who were able to do so much to oblige one ally, should not be able to obtain justice for another. The truth seems to have been, that the *Spanish* court were very desirous of carrying this point, and found a way to gain our minister, who was sent thither, before the formal conclusion of the treaty, to relax a little in this particular; which, perhaps, he did not consider, in the light that I do; and afterwards, it was impossible to recover, what had been once departed from. I am very far, however, from thinking, that all the ministers then about the queen, were culpable in this matter. I have reason to doubt, whether the lord treasurer *Oxford* came into that measure; and I have authority to say, that the late duke of *Buckinghamshire* was far from concurring in it, that he brought this matter twice upon the carpet in council, and exerted all his interest to have prevented the *Catalans* from being given up as they were. I am likewise assured, that whatever sir *James Wisbart* did, was from his own construction of his instructions, and not from any express directions contained in them. This, so far as I have been able to learn, is  
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the truth, and the whole truth without disguise or alleviation; and, if there was any minister, whose interest with the queen contributed in any degree to these poor people's misfortune, I freely own, that I think he departed in this respect from the duty he owed his mistress and his country.

I AM now to proceed from the general history of the naval operations in this reign, to the particular memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished under it; and as I have taken particular pains to be well informed as to their conduct and behaviour, so I shall deliver what has come to my hands, with the utmost impartiality; at the same time, I must express my deep regret, that many circumstances relating to the worthy men of whom I am to speak, are attended with more obscurity than I could wish, notwithstanding the recentness of the facts, and the obligation that public and private historians were under, to have preserved, as far as was in their power, whatever might have contributed to the honour of those brave men, who so gallantly exposed themselves for the advantage of their native country, and to whose courage and conduct we stand indebted for the many advantages this nation still enjoys, as well as for the force and reputation of our maritime power, which has extended itself to the most distant parts of the world, and, under this reign particularly, drew the highest respect to the *English* flag wherever it appeared. As it secured to us such a mighty accession of trade, that the shipping of this kingdom was increased near a third, in the short interval between the conclusion of the peace, and the death of the queen.

MEMOIRS of *vice-admiral* BENBOW.

AS fame ought constantly to attend on virtue, so, without doubt, it ought to follow, in a particular manner, that kind of virtue which is of greatest use to society; I mean, true, active, and well-conducted public spirit. This it was, that distinguished the gentleman of whom I am to speak, and that in an age, when public spirit was not only out of fashion, but out of countenance; when a man who professed to love his country, if known to have sense, was thought to be a hypocrite, and, if not known to have it, a Fool. Mr. *Benbow* was neither; he had a sincerity that was never questioned, and a knowledge of men and things, which always procured him credit, in whatever station he appeared. But there was this peculiar in his character, that he never procured any addition of fortune or honour to himself, but where some good resulted from it to his country; for this reason, I have, with great care, collected every circumstance, relating to his progress through life, from private hands; which I flatter myself will be so much the more agreeable to the public, from the want of pains in other writers, to celebrate the memory of this great man; which they have rather injured, by heaping together idle and ill-founded stories, and representing, as the rough behaviour of a tarr, that steady courage, and strict regard for discipline, which were not the foibles, as some people would insinuate, but the laudable qualities of this honest, gallant, and accomplished admiral\*.

VOL. IV.

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\* Amongst other worthy gentlemen to whom I stand indebted, for many particulars mentioned in these memoirs, I am especially bound

IT would, I think, be no reflection upon the merit of this worthy man, if he had really sprung, as some authors suggest he did, from a mean original: but the fact is otherwise. He was descended from the antient and honourable family of the *Benbow's*, in the county of *Salop*; which, though now sunk in point of riches and credit, is still remembered with honour, as it deserves to be, since the misfortunes of the family were not the effects of their follies and vices, but owing to their firmness and fortitude, and their unshaken adherence to the good old *English* principles of loyalty and patriotism. When the civil war broke out, king *Charles I.* relying strongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this county, repaired in person to *Shrewsbury*, entered that city on the 20th of *September*, 1642, and the same day made public declaration, that he did not carry on this war from a thirst of blood, or of conquest, or of power, but from a desire of preserving his own just rights, and those of his people, since he was determined, if God gave him success therein, to be as tender of the priviledges of parliament, as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration, the lords *Newport* and *Littleton*, with the greatest part of the gentry in the county, came in, and offered his majesty their service; among these, were *Thomas Benbow*, and *John Benbow*, esqrs. both men of estates, and both colonels in the king's service, of whose fortunes I am obliged to say somewhat, since the latter

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bound to mention the late worthy *Paul Calton*, esq; of an antient and honourable family in *Berkshire*, who married one of the daughters and coheiresses of vice-admiral *Benbow*, and into whose hands many of his father-in-law's papers came, after his decease.

was the father of our admiral, and there were many things worthy of being recorded, that befell them both <sup>b</sup>.

WHEN his majesty's affairs were thrown into absolute confusion, and he was traiterously murdered, such gentlemen as had served in his army, retired into the country, and lived as privately as they could. But, though their interests were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great measure ruined, yet their spirit remained unbroken, and they acted as cheerfully for the service of king *Charles II.* as if they had never suffered at all by serving his father; so much a better principle is *loyalty* than *corruption*. When, therefore, that prince marched from *Scotland*, towards *Worcester*, the two *Benbows*, amongst other gentlemen of the county of *Salop*, went to attend him; and after fighting bravely in the support of their sovereign, were both taken prisoners by the rebels. That unfortunate battle was fought *September 3, 1653*; and soon after, a court-martial was appointed to sit at *Chester*, wherein, colonel *Macworth* had the chair as president, and major-general *Mitton*, and other staunch friends to the cause, assisted; by whom, ten gentlemen of the first families in *England*, were illegally and barbarously sentenced to death, for barely corresponding with his majesty, and five of them were executed. They then proceeded to try sir *Timothy Fetherstonbough*, colonel *Thomas Benbow*, and the earl of *Derby*, for being in his service. They were all condemned, and in order to strike the greater terror in different

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parts

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<sup>b</sup> The earl of Clarendon gives a large account of this affair, in his history, and takes particular notice of the king's coining his plate there, which inclined many noblemen and gentlemen to bring in theirs, as also considerable sums of money. See the folio edition of his history, p 248. but, as for the king's speech, it may be found at large in Heath's Chronicle, p. 38, 39.



parts of the county, the earl of *Derby* was adjudged to suffer death on the 15th of *October*, at *Bolton*; sir *Timothy* to be beheaded on the 17th, at *Chester*; and colonel *Thomas Benbow* to be shot on the 19th, at *Shrewsbury*; all these sentences were severally put in execution; which, I think, sufficiently shews, that the *Benbows* were then, or had been lately, a very considerable family in *Shropshire*; for otherwise the colonel would hardly have been sent out of the world in so good company<sup>e</sup>.

As for colonel *John Benbow*, he made his escape, after a short imprisonment, and lived privately in his own country, till after the restoration, when he was far in years, and yet so much to seek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a small office belonging to the ordnance in the *Tower*, which just brought him an income sufficient to subsist himself and his family without danger of starving. In this situation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the first *Dutch war*, the king came to the *Tower* to examine the magazines. There, his majesty cast his eye on the good old colonel, who had now been distinguished by a fine head of grey hairs for twenty years. The king, whose memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at first sight, and immediately came up and embraced him. *My old friend, colonel Benbow, said he, what do you here?* I have, returned the colonel, a place of fourscore pounds a year, in which I serve your majesty as cheerfully, as if it brought me in four thousand. *Alas!* said the king, *is that all that could be found for an old friend at Worcester?* Colonel *Legg*, bring this gentleman to me tomorrow,

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<sup>e</sup> This is not mentioned in Clarendon's history, but is particularly taken notice of by sir Philip Warwick, dr. Bates, and other writers of those times, and in Heath's Chronicle, p. 302.

*morrow, and I will provide for him and his family, as it becomes me.* But, short as the time was, the colonel did not live to receive, or even to claim, the effects of this gracious promise; for the sense of the king's gratitude and goodness so overcame his spirits, that, sitting down on a bench, he there breathed his last, before the king was well out of the *Tower*. And thus, both brothers fell martyrs to the royal cause, one in grief, and the other in joy<sup>d</sup>.

WHEN we consider the circumstances of the father, it is impossible to be surprized at the poverty of his family, of the state of which, at the time of his decease, I am not able to give any distinct account; all that I have been able to learn, is, that his son *John* was bred to the sea; but that it was in so low a station as a waterman's boy, which some writers affirm, is, what I can hardly believe, because, even in King *Charles II's* reign, he was owner and commander of a ship called the *Panboty Frigate*, and made then as considerable a figure as any man concerned in the trade to the *Mediterranean*. He was always considered by the merchants, as a bold, brave, and active commander, one who took care of his seamen, and was, therefore, chearfully obeyed by them, though he always maintained strict discipline, with greater safety thers, than afterwards in the royal navy. This behaviour raised his reputation greatly, so that no man was better known, or better respected by the merchants upon the *Exchange*, than captain *Benbow*. It does not, however, appear, that he ever sought any preferment in that whole reign; neither is it likely he would have met with

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This particular I had from Mr. Calton, and it has been likewise confirmed to me by several other persons of credit.

it in the next, but from a remarkable accident, of which I shall give the reader the best account I can, because it gave rise to all his future fortunes, and is withal, as extraordinary a story in itself, as perhaps ever appeared in any history\*.

IN the year 1686, captain *Benbow*, in his own vessel *The Benbow Frigate*, was attacked in his passage to *Cadix* by a *Sally* rover, against whom he defended himself, tho' very unequal in the number of men, with the utmost bravery, till at last the *Moors* boarded him; but were quickly beat out of his ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads captain *Benbow* ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork-pickle. When he arrived at *Cadix*, he went a-shore, and ordered a negro servant to follow him, with the *Moors* heads in a sack. He had scarce landed, before the officers of the revenue enquired of his servant what he had in his sack? The captain answered, *salt provisions for his own use*. That may be, answered the officers; but we must insist upon seeing them. Captain *Benbow* alledged, that he was no stranger there; that he did not use to run goods, and pretended to take it very ill that he was suspected. The officers told him, that the magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the provision where he pleased; but that, otherwise, it was not in their power to grant any such dispensation. The captain consented to the proposal; and away they marched to the *Custom-House*, Mr. *Benbow* in the front, his man in the center, and the officers in the rear. The magistrates,

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\* See the compleat history of Europe for 1720, life of queen Anne, and Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts.

frates, when he came before them, treated captain *Benbow* with great civility; told him, they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but that, since he had refused to shew the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a sight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the shewing them could be of no great consequence one way or other. *I told you*, says the captain sternly, *they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down upon the table; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service.* The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the *Moors* heads, and no less astonished at the account of the captain's adventure, who, with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of barbarians. They sent an account of the whole matter to the court of *Madrid*, and *Charles II.* then king of *Spain*, was so much pleased with it, that he would needs see the *English* captain, who made a journey to court, where he was received with great testimonies of respect, and not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his catholic majesty was also pleased to write a letter in his behalf to king *James*, who, upon the captain's return, gave him a ship, which was his introduction to the royal navy<sup>f</sup>.

AFTER the revolution, he distinguished himself by several successful cruizes in the channel, where he was employed at the request of the merchants; and not only did his duty by protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy, but was also remarkably careful in examining the *French* ports, gaining intelligence, and forming schemes for disturbing

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sturbing

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<sup>f</sup> This I had from the before-mentioned Mr. Calton.

sturbing the *French* commerce, and securing our own. For this reason, he was commonly made choice of to command the squadrons employed in bombarding the *French* ports, of which we have given a large account in our third volume; and, therefore, it is altogether unnecessary to repeat those things here. I shall content myself, for this reason, with remarking, that he shewed no less courage than conduct upon such occasions, being always present in his boat, as well to encourage, as to instruct, the seamen and engineers, always enforcing his commands by his example.

THE diligence and activity of captain *Benbow*, could not fail of recommending him to the favour of so wise and good a prince as king *William*; to whose personal kindness, founded on a just sense of mr. *Benbow's* merit, he owed his being so early promoted to a flag; after which he was generally employed as the most experienced seaman in the navy, to watch the motions of the *French* at *Dunkirk*, and to prevent, as far as it was possible, the deprivations of *Dubart*; in which, he shewed such diligence, and did so great service, by preserving our merchant-ships, that he escaped the slightest censure, when libels flew about, against almost every other officer of rank in the whole fleet. The truth was, that the seamen generally considered rear-admiral *Benbow*, as their greatest patron; one, who not only us'd them well, while under his command, but was always ready to interpose in their favour, as far as his interest went, when they were ill-treated by others. There was, at that time, a warm dispute as to the expediency of preferring mere seamen, or, as they were

were then called, *tarpaulins*, or *gentlemen*, in the navy: admiral *Benbow* was consulted more than once by the king, upon that subject, and always gave it as his opinion, that it was best to employ both; that a seaman should never lose preferment for want of recommendation, or a gentleman obtain it, barely from that motive. He was also a great enemy to party-distinctions, and thought a man's merit ought to be judged from his actions at sea, rather than from the company he kept on shore; and for this reason, he lived upon good terms with the admirals of different parties, who were all of them ready to testify, upon any occasion, his courage and conduct<sup>a</sup>.

In the year 1697, he was sent with a small squadron before *Dunkirk*; where, he saved the *Virginia* and *West-India* fleet, from falling into the hands of the *French* privateers, for which he received the thanks of the merchants. He would likewise have succeeded in restraining *Dubart* from going out, if the *Dutch* rear-admiral *Vandergoes* had been in a condition to assist him, or if the lords of the admiralty had been inclined to have taken his advice; for, observing, in the beginning of *August*, that ten *French* frigates were hauled into the basin, to clean, he judged their design to be, what it really proved, to put to sea by the next spring-tide; and, therefore, as his ships were all foul, he wrote up to the board, to desire, that four of the best sailers might be ordered to *Sheerness* to clean, and that the others might come to the *Downs*, not only to take in

water,

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<sup>a</sup> I have these facts, not only from private authority, but also, from a multitude of political treatises, published under that reign; in which, as great freedom was used, so there is not the least reason to believe, that if our admiral had been guilty of any excesses in point of power, or any omissions in respect of duty, they would have been concealed.

water, which they very much wanted; but also to heel and scrub; which he judged might have been done, before the spring-tide gave the *French* an opportunity of getting over the bar; but this was not then thought advisable, though he afterwards received orders for it when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the *French* had an opportunity given them, of getting out with five clean ships; yet this, however, did not hinder the admiral from pursuing them, as well as he was able; and some ships of his squadron had the good luck to take a *Dunkirk* privateer of ten guns, and forty men, which had done a great deal of mischief. This was one of the last actions of the war, and the rear-admiral, soon after, received orders to return home with the squadron under his command<sup>1</sup>.

It is very well known, that after the peace of *Ryswick*, and even while the partition-treaties were negotiating, king *William* had formed a design of doing something very considerable in the *West-Indies*. This project had long occupied the king's thoughts, into which, it is said, it was first put by father *Hennepin*, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the world. The king had turned it several times in his mind; and, at last, took a settled resolution, that, if the *French* attempted to deceive him, as he had great reason to believe they would, something of consequence should be done in that part of the world. In the mean time, however, he thought fit to send a small squadron of three fourth rates into the *West-Indies*, under the command of rear-admiral *Benbow*, who had private instructions from the king, to make the best observations

<sup>1</sup> Burchet, Burnet, and our own history under the naval transactions of the year 1697.

observations he could, on the *Spanish* ports and settlements, but to keep as fair as possible with the governors, and to afford them any assistance, if they desired it. He was likewise instructed, to watch the galleons; for the king of *Spain*, *Charles II.* was then thought to be in a dying condition. Rear-admiral *Benbow* sailed in the month of *November*, 1698, and did not arrive in the *West-Indies* till the *February* following, where he found things in a very indifferent situation. Most of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm disputes with their governors; the forces, that should have been kept up in them for their defence, so reduced by sickness, detertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them. The admiral carried with him, colonel *Collingwood's* regiment, which he disposed of to the best advantage, in the *Leeward Islands*. He then addressed himself to execute his commission, and sailed for that purpose to *Carthagena*, where he met with a very indifferent reception from the governor, which he returned, by talking to him in a very plain stile, that forced him, though he had been wanting in civility, to make it up, in some measure, by doing justice; and in the same manner he proceeded with the governor of *Porto-Bello*, as I have shewn elsewhere; but still the great ends of his commission remained altogether unanswered, not through any fault of the admiral's, but for want of a sufficient force, either to engage the *Spaniards* to confide in him, or to perform any thing considerable, in case the *French* had sent a strong fleet into that part of the world, as it was then expected they would have done. This affair was complained of in parliament, where the smallness of the squadron, and the sending it so late, were very severely reflected upon; though, at the same time, great compliments were paid to  
admiral



admiral *Benbow's* courage, capacity, and integrity, by both parties; and when he returned home two years after, he brought with him authentic testimonies of his having done the merchants and planters all the services they could either expect or desire; so that he was received with the most cordial friendship by his majesty; who, as a mark of his royal favour, was graciously pleased to grant him an augmentation of arms, by adding to the *three bent Bows*, which he and his family already bore, as many *Arrows*.\*

THE whole system of affairs in *Europe*, was changed by that time admiral *Benbow* came back; the king had discovered the perfidy of the *French*, and saw himself under an absolute necessity, of entering upon a new war, while he was sensible the nation was but very little recovered from the fatigues of the last. One of his first cares was, to put the fleet into as good condition as it was possible, and to give the command of it to officers that might in all respects be depended upon; and to this disposition of the king's, Mr. *Benbow* owed his being declared vice-admiral of the blue. He was at that time cruising off *Dunkirk*, in order to prevent what was then much dreaded here, an invasion. There was, as yet, no war declared between the two crowns; but this was held to be no security

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\* Burchet, Burnet, Chandler's debates. It is certain, that the French had great advantages from the nature of their government, which enabled them to take much quicker measures for effecting their purposes, than we could do to oppose them; but, as this was in a great measure owing to over-sights and mismanagements in the former war, so it shews the necessity there is of strict and prudent enquiries, in order to obtain the confidence of this nation, which, whenever it is acquired, will be always found an over-balance even for the French power; whereas, if the people of England entertain any doubts of the manner in which their money is to be employed, it will often be found difficult, sometime or other, perhaps, impracticable, to make them part with it.

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security against *France*; and it was no sooner known, that they were fitting out a strong squadron at *Dunkirk*, than it was firmly believed to be intended to cover a descent. Vice-admiral *Benbow* satisfied the ministry, that there was no danger on his side; and then it was resolved, to prosecute without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to disappoint the *French* in their views, upon the *Spanish* succession; and to facilitate this, it was thought absolutely necessary to send, without delay, a strong squadron to the *West-Indies*. This squadron was to consist of two third rates, and eight fourths; which was as great a strength as could be at that time spared; and it was thought indispensibly requisite that it should be under the command of an officer, whose courage and conduct might be safely relied on, and whose experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this command; upon the right management of which, it was believed, the success of the war would in a great measure depend. Mr. *Benbow* was thought of by the ministry, as soon as the expedition was resolved; but the King would not hear of it. He said, that *Benbow* was in a manner just come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties; and that, therefore, it was but just some other officer should now take his turn. One or two were named, and consulted; but either their health, or their affairs were in such disorder, that they most earnestly desired to be excused: upon which, the King said merrily to some of his ministers, alluding to the dress and appearance of these gentlemen, *Well then, I find we must spare our Beaus, and send honest Benbow*. His Majesty, accordingly sent for him upon this occasion, and asked him, whether he was willing to go to the *West-Indies*, assuring him, if he was not, he would not take it amiss,

if

if he desired to be excused. Mr. *Benbow* answered bluntly, *That he did not understand such compliments; that he thought he had no right to choose his station; and that, if his majesty thought fit to send him to the East or West-Indies, or any where else, he would chearfully execute his orders, as became him.* Thus the matter was settled, in very few words, and the command of the *West-India* squadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our vice-admiral *Benbow*<sup>1</sup>.

To conceal the design of this squadron, but above all, to prevent the *French* from having any just notions of its force, sir *George Rooke*, then admiral of the fleet, had orders to convoy it as far as *Scilly*, and to send a strong squadron with it thence, to see it well into the sea; all which he punctually performed; so that admiral *Benbow* departed in the month of *September*, 1701. The world in general believing, that he was gone with sir *John Munden*, who commanded the squadron that accompanied him into the *Mediterranean*; and to render this still more credible, our minister at *Madrid*, was ordered to demand the free use of the *Spanish* ports; which, was accordingly performed. As soon as it was known in *England*, that vice-admiral *Benbow* was sailed with ten ships only for the *West-Indies*, and it was discovered, that the great armament at *Brest*, with which we were long amused, was intended for the same part of the world, a mighty clamour was raised here at home, as if he had been sent to be sacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet; whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence,  
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<sup>1</sup> Most of these particulars I had from persons of reputation, upon their own knowledge.

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and the vice-admiral had as considerable a squadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought possible to be spared. It is certain, that king *William* formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well, that *mr. Benbow* would execute, with the greatest spirit and punctuality, the instructions he had received; which, were to engage the *Spanish* governors, if possible, to disown king *Philip*; or, in case that could not be brought about, to make himself master of the galleons. In this design, it is very plain, that the admiral would have succeeded, notwithstanding the smallness of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no less certain, that the anxiety the vice-admiral was under, about the execution of his orders, was the principal reason for his maintaining so strict discipline, which proved unluckily the occasion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet, there is no reason to censure either the king's project, or the admiral's conduct; both were right in themselves, though neither was attended with the success it deserved<sup>m</sup>.

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<sup>m</sup> That I may not seem to speak altogether without book, I shall cite a passage from a pamphlet published in 1702, intituled, *The present condition of the English navy*, p. 24. "A new war I believe to be unavoidable; and we are much beholden to the last parliament, that we are not entered into it already, and so become the *Fight-alls*, the *Pay-alls*, and the *Lose-alls*, of Europe, as we have hitherto been. But, if we have a war managed as was the last, we had better spend a little money in booms and chains, to secure our ships in harbour, than to send them abroad to spend our money, lose our reputation, and not secure our trade. I cannot persuade myself, that the parliament of England will evermore send the native strength of their country abroad, in other people's quarrels, and be at the charge of levies, cloathing, arms, and transportations, to put their own liberties in danger at home, by a standing army, when they have done the business of our allies abroad. The  
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THE French knew too well the importance of the *Spanish West-Indies*, not to think of providing for their security, as soon as ever they resolved to accept the will of his catholic majesty, the late king *Charles II.* which it may be, was some time before his death, though, to save appearances, solemnly debated after the contents of the will were communicated by the privy council of *Spain.* The officer whom his most christian majesty made choice of to command the squadron which was first to be sent thither, was the famous *Mr. Du Casse*, governor of *St. Domingo.* He was to carry with him one hundred officers of all ranks, who were intended to discipline the *Spanish* militia in the kingdom of *Mexico*; but, before this could be done, it was thought necessary to send *M. Du Casse* to *Madrid* to ask the *Spanish* council leave, which took up some time; for though the *Spaniards* could not but be sensible

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“ men we lost, and the money we spent in the last war, as  
 “ also, how hard it was to get them disbanded, in opposition to  
 “ the interest of men that wanted to support their titles to  
 “ their illegal grants, and ill-gotten gains, is too fresh in our  
 “ memories, ever to bring ourselves under the like hardships. I  
 “ foresee, that the war will be now at sea, and we have but a  
 “ very ill omen of success from the last summer’s expedition of our  
 “ fleet. Our modern whigs in their legion-letters, and Kentish  
 “ petitions, exclaimed against the parliament, because they raised  
 “ no more money; but I hope these folk, if they have any  
 “ brains, or honesty, are now sensible of their groundless com-  
 “ plaint, when they find how little has been done; for what  
 “ was there raised? They gave 1,500,000 pounds for the fleet,  
 “ for this expedition; and, what has been the effect? The  
 “ whole fleet went to convoy *Benbow*, in his way to the *West-*  
 “ *Indies*, and, while they were gone, our modern whigs boasted  
 “ of their conduct, and built castles in the air, to hold the  
 “ money they should bring home in the *Spanish* galleons; but, in  
 “ a short time, we found them all at *Spichead*, except a few ships  
 “ that proceeded with *Benbow* to the *West-Indies*, where, if they  
 “ be not *Talmash’d*, they have good fortune.”

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sible in how wretched a situation their affairs in the *West-Indies* were, yet it was with great reluctance, that they gave way to this expedient, though a little reflection would have shewn them, that in reality they had no other choice to make; but, when once they had come to a resolution, that *M. Du Casse* should be sent, they were continually soliciting the *French* court to dispatch him immediately. The *French* councils, which were better conducted, had, as we suggested, foreseen these difficulties; and, therefore, had a squadron ready at *Brest*, consisting of five ships of the line, and several large vessels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the marquis *de Coetlogon*, in the month of *April*, 1701, sailed for the *Spanish West-Indies*; and on the 20th of *October*, the count *de Chateau-Renaud* sailed also with fourteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates, to meet the galleons, that were supposed to be already departed from the *Havannah*, under the escort of the marquis *de Coetlogon*; and after all this, *M. Du Casse* likewise sailed with his squadron; from whence, the *English* reader will easily see, that as admiral *Benbow* received no supplies, he was very like to be crushed by the superior power of the enemy, and that extraordinary diligence which was used to strengthen and support them<sup>a</sup>.

WHEN vice-admiral *Benbow* arrived first at *Jamaica*, which was at the close of the year 1701, he made such just and wise dispositions for securing our own trade, and

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<sup>a</sup> *Histoire Militaire*; P. Daniel, *hist. de Louis XIV.* and, in general, all the *French* historians, who are extremely careful to preserve distinct accounts, even of such schemes as have proved abortive; and in this, they are certainly right, because it secures their reputation with posterity, and shews, they did not fail from want of skill or attention, but from want of fortune.

annoying that of the enemy, that the *French* saw, with great amazement, all their schemes defeated; which they had been enabled to form, by their having much earlier intelligence than we, of the intended war; and, their own writers fairly admit, that even after the arrival of the marquis *de Coetlogon*, they were constrained to act only on the defensive; and found all the grand projects they had formed for attacking *Jamaica*, and the *Leward Islands*, intirely frustrated. The *Dutch* accounts, at the same time, from *Curacao*, said plainly, that, notwithstanding all the blustering of the *French*, vice-admiral *Benbow*, with a small *English* Squadron, remained master of those seas; nor did he fail to make use of this advantage, by taking many prizes, and by giving all imaginable countenance to the private trade carried on by the *English* on the *Spanish* coasts: but, in a few weeks time, the scene began to change; for the vice-admiral had first the news of M. *Chateau-Renaud's* arrival at *Martinico*, with a Squadron, much stronger than his own; and soon after, information that this Squadron had been joined by the marquis *de Coetlogon* from the *Havannah*, which alarmed the inhabitants of *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica* excessively, because we had no force capable of resisting this *French* fleet, in case their commanders were determined to act offensively.

In this uncertain situation things continued to the end of *April*, 1702, when the vice-admiral resolved, notwithstanding there was great want of men on board the Squadron, to put to sea, in order to cruize between *Jamaica* and *Hispaniola*; and accordingly he sailed on the 8th of *May*;

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° *Memoires Historiques*, pour 1702, complete history of Europe, London gazettes, &c.

May; but, before he was clear of the island of *Jamaica*, he met with rear-admiral *Whetstone*, with whom he returned to communicate to the government some orders received from *England*; having first sent the *Falmouth*, *Ruby*, and *Experiment*, to cruize off of *Petit Guavas*. He had advice, about the middle of *May*, that on the 17th of the preceeding month, there passed by *Camaganoto*, on *Terra Firma*, seventeen tall ships, which steered towards the west end of *Cuba*. These ships he judged to be part of M. *Chateau-Renaud's* squadron, and that they were bound to the *Havannah*, to offer their service for convoying home the *Flota*; but he had not strength to follow them, without subjecting the island to the insults of those ships which were at *Leogane*. Some little time after, the master of a *Spanish* sloop from *Cuba*, acquainted him, that M. *Chateau-Renaud* was at the *Havannah*, with twenty-six ships of war, waiting for the *Flota* from *La Vera Cruz*; and this was confirmed by the ships he had sent out, which, in their tour in those parts, had taken four prizes; one of them a ship mounted with no more than twenty-four, but capable of carrying forty guns. The vice admiral being likewise informed, by a sloop from *Petit Guavas*, that four ships, with provisions, were bound from thence to the *Havannah*, he sent three frigates to intercept them, between cape *St. Nicholas*, and cape *Mayze*, the very track leading thither; but they had not the expected success. The same Day, he detached rear-admiral *Whetstone* with two third rates, three fourths, and a fire-ship, to intercept M. *Du Casse*, who, he had heard, was expected at port *Lewis*, at the west end of *Hispaniola*, a little within the isle of *Ash*, with four ships of war, to settle the *Assiento* at *Carthagena*, and to destroy the trade of the *English* and *Dutch* for negroes, resolving to sail



himself, in five or six days, with the remainder of the squadron, in search of these *French* ships, in case the rear-admiral should miss them <sup>p.</sup>

I HAVE given so full and particular an account in the former volume of what happened on the admiral's failing to intercept *Du Casse*, that I shall confine myself here to such circumstances as are personal only. The scheme formed by admiral *Bendow* for the destruction of the *French* force in the *West-Indies*, and having a chance for the gallantry, shews him to have been a very able and judicious commander, and effectually disproves that idle calumny of his being a mere seaman. He saw, that the *French* officers were excessively embarrassed by the wayward conduct of the *Spaniards*, who would not take a single step out of their own road, though for their own service. He resolved to take advantage of this, and to attack the smallest of their squadrons, having before sent home such an account of the number and value of the *Spanish* ships, and of the strength of the *French* squadrons that were to escort them, as might enable the ministry to take proper measures for intercepting them, either in their passage from the *West-Indies*, or when it should be known that they were arrived in the European seas. When he had done this, he sailed from *Jamaica* on the 11th of *July*, with two third rates, six fourths, a fire-ship, bomb, tender and sloop, in hopes of meeting rear-admiral *Whetstone*; but missing him, he sailed not, however, first to give the utmost disturbance to the *French* settlements in *St. Domingo*, and then sailed in search of *Du Casse's* squadron, which

<sup>p</sup> Burchet, Burnet, complete history of Europe for the year 1702, in the appendix, Oldmixon, life of queen Anne, &c.

He came up with and engaged, on *Wednesday* the 19th of *August*, and fought him bravely for five days; which not only demonstrates the courage and conduct of this gallant seaman, but the fidelity and attachment of his own ship's company; since, it is impossible he could, in such circumstances, have maintained the engagement so long, if his inferior officers, and all the common seamen, had not been very affectionate. The *French* accounts, indeed, represent the whole affair to their own advantage; but *M. Du Casse*, who was a brave man, and withal the best judge of this matter, has put the thing out of dispute, by the following short letter, written by him immediately after his arrival at *Carthagena*; the original of which is still, or was very lately, in the hands of admiral *Benbow's* family<sup>a</sup>.

S I R,

I HAD little hopes, on Monday last, to have supped in your cabin: but it pleased God to order it otherwise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who desert you, hang them up; for, by —, they deserve it.

Yours,

DU CASSE.

THE first care the admiral had after his return to *Jamaica*, was, to provide for the officers who distinguished themselves in the late engagement; and next, to bring those to justice, who had so basely betrayed their trust; and in this he was so earnest, that perhaps he failed a little in

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<sup>a</sup> The copy of this letter I received from Mr. Calton, whose authority I have so often mentioned.

point of form, since, in order to their trial, he granted a commission, which it has been questioned, whether he might legally do; but he certainly acted from two very excusable reasons; the first was, that he found himself in no condition to preside in a court-martial, having been ill of a fever, which ensued upon cutting off his leg from the time of his coming a-shore; the other, that, in case he had been able to assist upon that occasion, he was desirous of declining it, from his having so great a personal interest in the affair. After the court-martial was over, the admiral lived near a month; for that court sat on the 6th of *October*, and the admiral died on the 4th of *November* following. He was all that time extremely sensible of his danger, and never entertained any flattering hopes of recovering. Yet, during that long illness, he supported his character as an *English* admiral, with the same firmness he had shewn during the engagement, giving all the necessary orders for protecting the trade, that could have been expected from him, if he had been in perfect health; and in the letters he wrote home to his lady, he discovered much greater anxiety for the interest of the nation, than for his private fortune, or the concerns of his family. The queen had so just a regard for the memory of this gallant man, that she spoke of his loss with great regret; and, as I have shewn in the former volume, would not suffer herself to be teased into an ill-timed act of mercy (though, like all her family, most tender in her own nature) towards those, who, through their cowardice, were sprinkled with his blood. His sister had, in his life-time, presented the admiral's picture to the corporation of *Shrewsbury*, who caused it to be hung up in their town-hall; where it still remains,

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remains, as a testimony of the regard his countrymen had for this worthy officer and true patriot †.

THE vice-admiral left behind him a numerous posterity of both sexes; but his sons dying, all of them without issue, his two surviving daughters became co-heiresses; and of these, the eldest married *Paul Calton, esq;* of *Milton*, near *Abington*, in the county of *Berks*, who is still living. *John Benbow*, one of his sons, claims some notice to be taken of him in a work of this nature, independant of his relation to his gallant father. He was bred to the sea, and went to the *East-Indies* in quality of fourth mate, on board the *Degrave*, captain *William Young*, commander, which ship passed through the *Downs* on *February 19, 1701*, when admiral *Benbow* lay there with his Squadron, ready to proceed to the *West-Indies*. The *Degrave* was a fine ship, of 700 tons, and carried fifty-two guns; she was bound for *Fort St. George*, in the *East-Indies*, where she safely arrived, and proceeded from thence to *Bengal*, where her captain and first mate died; by which means, the command devolved on the captain's son, who was second mate, and *Mr. John Benbow* became second mate. From *Bengall*, they sailed for the *Cape of Good Hope*; but, in going out of the river, the ship ran a-ground, and stuck fast; she floated again the next high tide, and put to sea with little or no damage, as they then imagined; but they very soon after found her so leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going; in this condition they sailed two months, before they reached the island of *St. Maurice*, inhabited by the *Dutch*,

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† Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, annals of queen Anne, &c.

who received them kindly, gave them all the assistance in their power, permitting them to set up a tent on shore, into which they brought most part of their cargo, having unladen their ship, in order to search for the leak; which, however, they could not find. After about a months stay at the island before-mentioned, and taking on board about fifty *Lascars*, or moorish seamen, they sailed directly for the *Cape of Good Hope*; they had then about one hundred and seventy hands on board, and, though the *Lascars* could not do much in point of navigation, they were however of great use, as they eased the *English* seamen from the labour of pumping. Yet, after all, it was fatal for them, that this rash resolution was taken, of putting to sea, before they stopped, or even discovered, the leak; for in a few days time it gained so much upon them, that, notwithstanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do, to keep the vessel above water, though they were still above six hundred leagues from their intended port<sup>a</sup>.

THE ship's company, believing that common danger put them all on an equality, represented to captain *Young*, that his design of proceeding to the *Cape*, was become impracticable; and that, therefore, the wisest thing he could do, was to make the nearest land, which was that of *Madagascar*, to the southward of which, they had sailed about an hundred leagues. The captain complied with their advice, and endeavoured to run the ship on shore; but

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<sup>a</sup> Most of this account is taken from the travels of Robert Drury; which book, so far as it relates to Mr. Benbow, is very exact, as I have been informed by this gentleman's relations, from whom also I had some other circumstances; which the reader will find interspersed through this remarkable history.

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but that was found impracticable likewise; so, that when they were within a quarter of a mile of the coast, they let go an anchor first, and then cut down all her masts and rigging, and threw their guns and goods over-board, in hopes of making the ship swim nearer; but this being found also impossible, and having already lost their long-boat and pinnace, they resolved to make a raft, which they did in the night; and the next morning, Mr. *Pratt*, their chief mate, with four men, went in a little boat on shore with a rope, by which they proposed to warp the raft. This boat was staved to pieces, before it reached the land; but the men escaped, and secured the rope, which brought the raft on shore, with the rest of the ship's company, except the captain, who remained last on board the ship, and did not leave her, till he found she began to break to pieces, and then he threw himself into the sea, and swam ashore. They were quickly made prisoners by the king of that part of the island, who carried them fifty miles up into the country, where they found one captain *Drummond*, and one captain *Stewart*, with a few of their ship's crew, in the same situation with themselves; and who soon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by assuring them that the king intended to make them serve him in his wars, and would never permit them to return to *Europe*; which struck them, as may be imagin'd, with the utmost consternation.

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\* This captain *Drummond* is the same I have mentioned, in my former volume, as [commander of the *Rising Sun*, a ship belonging to the Scotch East-India company; he came to trade at *Madagascar*, and while his ship lay at anchor, she was surprized by a pirate, who suffered the captain, with his friend captain *Stewart*, and a few hands, to go ashore in the long-boat, in the

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In this distress, the captains *Drummond*, *Stewart*, and *Young*, held a consultation, in conjunction with *mr. Pratt* and *mr. Benbow*, in which, captain *Drummond* proposed it, as the only expedient, by which they could possibly recover their liberty, to seize the black king, and march off with him prisoner into some other province of the island, where ships more frequently came. *Mr. Benbow* warmly espoused this proposal, and assisted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more ease than was expected; and the king, his son, and his queen, were made prisoners; but the queen was released by captain *Young*, out of mere pity. It is not very easy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, when between fifty and sixty white people, and not above half of these armed, carried off a black prince, out of the midst of his capital, and in the sight of some hundreds, nay, some thousands, of his subjects, better armed than themselves; who were, notwithstanding, restrained from firing upon them by captain *Young's* threatening immediately to kill their king

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territories of the same prince who made *mr. Benbow* prisoner. It was for the supposed murder of this captain *Drummond*, that one captain *Green*, a very honest English gentleman, his mate *mr. Mather*, and several other persons, were executed in Scotland, on the testimony of a black; and more had been executed, but for the care of the late worthy duke of *Argyll*, who interposed, out of pure generosity, and procured their pardons. I remember, while a boy, to have seen this captain *Green's* original journal in the custody of a merchant in *Edinburgh*, who did him all the service in his power, at the hazard of his own life; from which journal, it appeared, That they only met with captain *Drummond* at sea, as they were homeward bound, on board whose ship captain *Green* dined, and received from him a present of a Bible, which was made use of to corroborate the black's evidence; who, from a wicked spirit of revenge, perjured himself that he might murder his master.

king if they did. Afterwards, however, they mismanaged the thing strangely; for, upon a proposal made by the negroes to give them six guns for their king, it was agreed to give him up, upon a supposition that the blacks would then follow them no further; and this, notwithstanding, *mr. Benbow* warmly opposed it, and shewed them the mischievous consequences with which so wild a measure must be attended. The king being given up, the blacks still continued to follow them, though at a distance; at last it was agreed to give up the prince too, upon a supposition, that this would put an end to the pursuit; taking, however, three people, who, the blacks told them, were the principal men in their country, by way of hostages, of whom two soon made their escape; and then the blacks not only pursued them, but began to fire upon them, which hitherto they had not done. The weakness of their own conduct, and the wisdom of *mr. Benbow's* advice, was, by this time, visible to every body; and, as it now appeared clearly, that they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to dispose their little army in order of battle. Thirty-six armed men were divided into four bodies, commanded by the three captains and *mr. Benbow*; but, after an engagement that lasted from noon till six in the evening, it was agreed to treat. The negroes demanded their arms, and then promised to let them go; and, at the persuasion of captain *Young*, this wild proposition was accepted, tho' vigorously opposed by *mr. Benbow*; but when it came to be put in execution, the captains *Drummond* and *Stewart*<sup>u</sup>, with four or five of their crew, refused to deliver their arms,

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<sup>u</sup> The reader may, perhaps, be desirous of knowing what became of this captain *Drummond*, of which, nothing more can be



arms, and marched off unperceived in the night, accompanied by mr. *Benbow*, and got safe to *Port Dauphine*, while the rest were cruelly murdered, except one *Robert Drury*, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years old, whom they preserved and made a slave. As for mr. *Benbow*, after remaining several years amongst the negroes, where he lived after their manner, and went naked, he escaped on board a *Dutch* ship, the captain of which had been well acquainted with his father, and, for his sake, treated him with great kindness and respect \*.

THIS mr. *John Benbow*, lived many years after here in *England*, and composed a work, entitled, *A complete description of the south part of the island of Madagascar*; which was a very curious and accurate performance, and, therefore, often borrowed by his acquaintance; with some of whom it still remains; nor have the family, after the strictest search, been able to retrieve it. It would be certainly a kind present to the learned world, and, at the same time, an act of great justice to the memory of mr. *Benbow*, if any gentleman, in whose hands it now is, would

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be said; than what is found in the travels of *Drury*, who remained so many years upon the island. He informs us, that he saw captain *Drummond* once, several years after they parted; and that he was then at liberty, and lived as happily as it was possible for a man of his education to do in such a country; and he farther adds, that the year he came away, which was in 1716, he was informed, that captain *Drummond* had been killed by a negro; but without any particular circumstances.

\* I had this particular of mr. *Benbow*'s escape, in a *Dutch* ship, from several persons of mr. *Benbow*'s acquaintance, who had received it from his own mouth; for his escape was so wonderful, and attended with such surprizing circumstances, that many people had the curiosity to visit mr. *Benbow*, in order to hear it from himself, in which he very readily gratified them, though otherwise a man of much taciturnity.

*Vice-Admiral* BENBOW. 253

would publish it; because, it contains many things of a commercial, as well as historical and philosophical nature. I do not know whether, strictly speaking, so long an account of *Mr. Benbow's* misfortunes be reconcilable to a work of this nature; but as the recital of them cannot but be entertaining to the reader; and as so many remarkable facts might have been buried in oblivion, if I had not taken this occasion to preserve them, I hope, I shall at least stand excused, if not justified, for the liberty I have taken; and in this hope, I return to the thread of my history, and to the memoirs which occur next in order of time \*.

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\* As I have made great use of Drury's travels, I think it necessary to insert the following certificate, by captain William Mackett, whose reputation was so well established, both for understanding and probity, that nobody judged it possible for him to be either deceived himself, in a case of this nature, or capable of entering into a design of deceiving or amusing others; and, therefore, his certificate seems sufficient to establish this author's credit. It runs thus.

" This is to certify, That Robert Drury, fifteen years a slave  
" in Madagascar, now living in London, was redeemed from  
" thence, and brought into England, his native country, by  
" myself. I esteem him an honest, industrious man, of good  
" reputation, and do firmly believe, that the account he gives  
" of his strange and surprizing adventures, is genuine and au-  
" thentic.

" May 7, 1728.

" W. MACKETT."

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS of *sir* RALPH DELAVAL,  
*knt. vice-admiral of the red, and joint admiral and  
 commander in chief of the fleet.*

**I**T is a misfortune, which we must be content to deplore, without hopes of redress, since it is a misfortune flowing from liberty, that in all free countries, the greatest men are liable to be sacrificed to clamour; and innocence is no security against the shafts of envy. This was the case of the gentleman of whom we are now to speak; and who, in the short space of one single summer, was in the highest credit, lost it, and was actually laid aside: so fluctuating a thing is human happiness; so fickle a possession is popularity, and so little to be depended on a prince's favour! These are the reflections that will naturally arise on the reading the memoirs of our admiral; and they are premised only to shew, that I think as the reader does, and do not believe myself obliged to follow the humours of those who have treated his memory, with the same prejudice with which they pursued him living <sup>a</sup>.

*Sir Ralph Delaval* was the son of a worthy gentleman in the north of *England*, of the same name, distinguished for his loyalty to king *Charles I.* and king *Charles II.* and to whose house general *Lestey* had leave given him by *Cromwell* to retire, after the fatal battle of *Worcester*. *Mr. Ralph Delaval* came very early into the navy, under the protection

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<sup>a</sup> Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe for the year 1707.

Sir RALPH DELAVAL, Knt. 255

protection of the duke of *York*, who treated him with great kindness, and took care he should not lose his turn in preferment. By this means it was, that he came to be captain of *The York*, a third rate man of war, in which station the revolution found him. He concurred heartily in that great change, though he had no hand in making it; and, therefore, king *William*, who was a prince of great penetration, soon promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and at the same time conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; in this station, he served under the earl of *Torrington*, in the famous battle off *Beachy-Head*, in which the *English* and *Dutch* fleets were beat by the *French*, on the 30th of *June*, 1690; but without any impeachment of his own character, either in point of courage or conduct, as appears plainly, by his being appointed president of the court-martial, which tried the earl, and which sat on board *The Kent*, on the 10th of *December*, in the same year; and, in which, he was unanimously acquitted; and, if I mistake not, the share he had in that affair, subjected him to the hatred of a certain set of men ever after; but that he was, in reality, no way to blame, will appear by his being immediately after declared vice-admiral of the blue, by king *William*, in which station, he served, the next year, under admiral *Ruffel*, and, in the winter of the same year, was appointed to command a squadron in the *Soundings*; where, if he did little, it was owing to the bad season of the year, and contrary winds, by which, he was four times beat back into *Torbay*; however, he punctually executed his orders, and thereby hindered the *French* from relieving *Limerick*, which much facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of *Ireland*.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>b</sup> Burchet's memoirs, life of king William.

In 1692, when it was known the *French* were fitting out by far the greatest fleet they ever had at sea, he was appointed to serve under admiral *Ruffel*; was also declared vice-admiral of the red, and entrusted with a large squadron of *English* and *Dutch* ships, with orders to cruize for our homeward-bound fleet from the *Mediterranean*, and then join the main fleet; which he performed with great conduct and success; and having first seen seventy of our merchant-men safe into port, he, next, according to his instructions, joined admiral *Ruffel* on the 13th of *May*, at *St. Helens*; which was then justly considered as a very signal service; for, if he had been twenty-four hours later, it might have been of the greatest prejudice to the service. On the 15th of the same month, a council of war was called, of all the flag-officers on board the fleet; wherein, it was resolved, in obedience to the positive commands of queen *Mary*, who was then regent, to sail the first fair weather for the coast of *France*. In this council of war, the admiral took notice of an intimation given him by the secretary of state, that reports were spread, as if several captains of the fleet had given secret assurances to king *James's* friends on shore, of their readiness to join them, and of their confidence that they should be able to carry over a great part of the fleet. As nobody knew against whom this information was particularly pointed, it was thought necessary, that the queen might be thoroughly satisfied of their loyalty and integrity, to draw up the following paper; which was done upon the spot<sup>c</sup>.

“ WE,

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<sup>c</sup> Burchet, Burnet, complete history of England, by bishop Kennet; but the address is taken from the London gazette, No. 2767.

“ WE, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects  
“ and servants, flag-officers and captains, in your ma-  
“ jesty’s fleet, out of a deep and grateful sense of your  
“ majesty’s good and just opinion of our loyalty and fide-  
“ lity, imparted to us by the right honourable admiral  
“ *Ruffel*, in a letter to him, from the earl of *Nottingham*,  
“ principal secretary of state, do, in behalf of our selves, and  
“ all the other officers and seamen, humbly presume to ad-  
“ dress our selves to your majesty, at this juncture, to un-  
“ deceive the world, as to those false and malicious re-  
“ ports which have been lately spread in prejudice of your  
“ majesty’s service, by people disaffected to the govern-  
“ ment, and who have an aversion to the quiet and good of  
“ their country; that there are some among us, who are  
“ not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to, the present  
“ happy establishment. We do, therefore, most humbly  
“ beg leave, to add to our repeated oaths, this assurance  
“ of our fidelity: That we will, with all imaginable ala-  
“ crity, and resolution, venture our selves in the defence  
“ of the government, and of the religion and liberty of  
“ our country, against all popish invaders whatsoever.  
“ And; That God Almighty may preserve your majesty’s  
“ most sacred person, direct your councils, and prosper  
“ your arms by sea and land, against your enemies; may  
“ all people say, *Amen*, with your majesty’s most dutiful  
“ and loyal subjects. Dated on board *The Britannia*, at  
“ *St. Helens*, the 15th of *May*, 1692.” This address  
was signed by sir *John Ashby*, admiral of the blue; sir  
*Ralph Delaval*, vice-admiral of the red; *George Rooke*, esq;  
vice-admiral of the blue; sir *Claudefley Shovel*, rear-admiral

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of the red; *Richard Carter*, esq; rear-admiral of the blue; and all the captains of the fleet <sup>d</sup>.

On the 18th of *May*, admiral *Ruffel* stood over to the *French* coast; and, on the 19th, engaged the enemy in the glorious battle of *La Hogue*, in which, sir *Ralph Delaval*, as vice-admiral of the red, did his duty, with great reputation; and, pursuant to the admiral's order, formed the rear of the fleet, in such a manner, that though several of the *French* ships that had escaped best, hovered round, and attempted to do mischief, they were obliged, at length, to seek their safety, as the rest of the fleet had done before, by a plain flight <sup>e</sup>; and afterwards, did remarkable service in destroying some of the enemy's largest ships; of which, I think I cannot give a better account than in his own words; for in them the affair is as well described, as it was bravely performed <sup>f</sup>.

SIR *Ralph Delaval's* letter to the earl of *Nottingham*, from on board the *Royal Sovereign*, near *Cherbourg*, *May* 22.

“ I believe it my duty to acquaint you, that on the  
“ one and twentieth instant, admiral *Ruffel* having made  
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<sup>d</sup> It would have been of some use, if the names of these captains had been printed, of which I take notice, in order, as far as is in my power, to prevent future omissions of the like kind, which defeat us of lights in history; which are often of more consequence, than perhaps the writers of a Gazette can imagine.

<sup>e</sup> See the admiral's letter to the earl of *Nottingham*, and all the relations hitherto published of that engagement, in which this fact of preserving the rear of our fleet, is allowed to have secured and established the victory, and to have contributed most of any thing to the defeat of the *French*.

<sup>f</sup> *Burchet*, Kennet's compleat history, life of king *William*, historical memoirs of *Europe*.

“ the signal for the fleet to cut their cables; I observed the  
“ *French* to be forced from the race of *Alderney* (where  
“ they anchored) to the eastward; and finding, that some  
“ of them endeavoured for the bay of *Cherbourg*, I stood  
“ in for that place, where I found three three-decked  
“ ships of the enemies, but so close to the shore, and  
“ within some rocks, that it was not safe for me to at-  
“ tempt them, till I had informed myself of the road;  
“ they being hawled into the shoal-water, I immediately  
“ took my boats, and sounded within gun-shot of them;  
“ which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And,  
“ that no time might be lost, I went immediately on board  
“ the *St. Alban's*, where, for the encouragement of the  
“ seamen, I hoisted my flag; and, having ordered the  
“ *Ruby*, with two fire-ships, to attend me, I stood in with  
“ them, leaving the great ships without, as drawing too  
“ much water. But coming very near, they galled us so  
“ extremely, and finding the fire-ships could not get in,  
“ I judged it best to retreat without shot, and there an-  
“ chored; and immediately called all the captains, where  
“ it was resolved to attempt them in the morning, with  
“ all the third and fourth rates, and fire-ships. For, after  
“ having drawn them into four fathom and a half of  
“ water, I found we could not do our business, the water  
“ being shoal; upon which, I ordered three fire-ships to  
“ prepare themselves, to attempt the burning them, going  
“ myself with all the barges and tenders to take them up,  
“ if, by the enemy's shot, they should miscarry. In-  
“ deed, I may say, and I hope without vanity, the service  
“ was warm; yet, God be praised, so effectually per-  
“ formed, that, notwithstanding all their shot, both from  
“ their ships and ports, two of our fire-ships had good suc-  
“ cess, by burning them; the other, by an unfortunate



“ shot, set on fire, being just going on board the enemy ;  
 “ indeed, so brave was the attempt, that I think they can  
 “ hardly be sufficiently rewarded ; and, I doubt not, but  
 “ their majesties will do them right.

“ THE third *French* ship being run a-shore, and ob-  
 “ serving the people on board to go on shore by boats-full,  
 “ I ordered the *St. Albans* and *Reserve*, and others, to fire  
 “ upon her, judging it might cause them to quit her ;  
 “ and, after having battered her for some time, I ob-  
 “ served she made no resistance ; I took all the boats  
 “ armed, and went aboard her ; I found abundance of  
 “ men on board, and several wounded ; but no officers ;  
 “ and, having caused all the people, as well those who  
 “ were wounded, as others, to be taken out, I set her  
 “ on fire ; and, had I not had timely notice by my scouts,  
 “ that thirty ships were standing with us, had sent all  
 “ the *French* on shore, who are now very troublesome to  
 “ me. The ships we saw, proved to be sir *John Ashby*,  
 “ and the *Dutch*, coming from the westward : we are  
 “ proceeding together to the eastward to *La Hague*, where  
 “ I am informed, three or four of the enemy's ships  
 “ are ; and, if so, I hope God will give us good success :  
 “ I expect to find the admiral to-morrow, where I hope  
 “ to hear he has destroyed some of the enemy's ships,  
 “ having left him in chace of them last night, standing to  
 “ the eastward, and pretty near them, as I judged. My  
 “ lord, I hope you will excuse me, if I presume to pray  
 “ you will use your interest with the queen, that a re-  
 “ ward may be given to the three captains of the fire-ships,  
 “ and several of the others, for greater zeal, and greater  
 “ bravery, I never saw : I pray your excuse for being thus  
 “ tedious and particular. Pray God preserve their maje-

“ ties,

“ flies, and that their arms may be ever crowned with success by sea and land, shall be the prayers and endeavours of, &c.

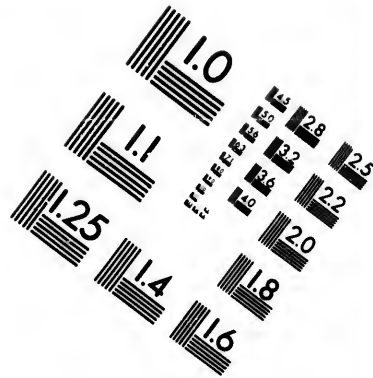
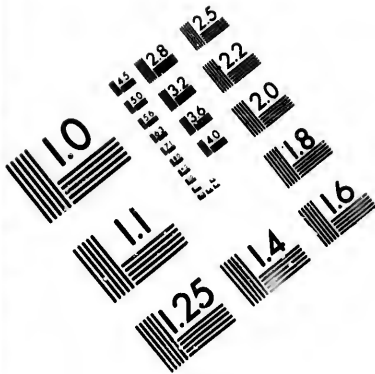
P. S. “ Captain *Heath* burnt *Tourville's* ship, the *Royal Sun*, which was the most difficult; captain *Greenway* burnt the other, called the *Conquerant*; the *Admirable* was burnt by our boats; captain *Fowlis* attempted the *Royal Sun*, but was set on fire by the enemy's shot; yet, he deserves as well as the others.”

It was natural to expect, after so gallant an action as this, that every officer, who had a signal concern therein, should be encouraged and promoted; but, it fell out in some measure otherwise, from that cause which is generally fatal to the merits of *English* officers, the power of party-interest. A spirit had been raised against admiral *Russel*, who commanded in chief; and king *William*, for reasons that will be given in another place, found himself under a necessity of laying that great man aside, which also obliged him to put the command of the fleet into commission. Accordingly, *Henry Killebrew*, esq; sir *Ralph Delaval*, and sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, knts. were appointed joint-admirals of the fleet; which was reputed one of the greatest the maritime powers had ever sent to sea. In the month of *May*, the admirals formed their line of battle at *St. Helen's*, which consisted of seventy ships of the line, thirteen frigates, nineteen fire-ships, besides brigantines, bomb-vessels, and hospital ships. Bishop *Burnet*, and some other writers, would have us believe, that the inactivity of this mighty naval armament, was owing to the secret inclination that two of the admirals, *Killebrew* and *Delaval* had, for the

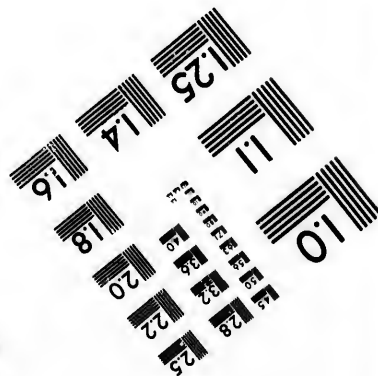
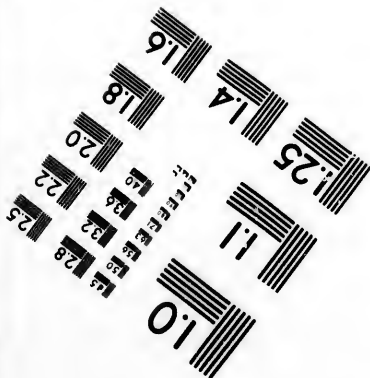
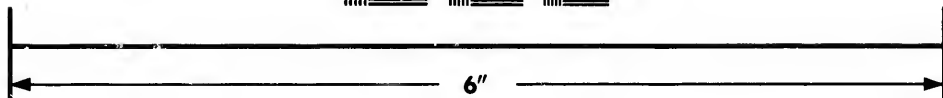
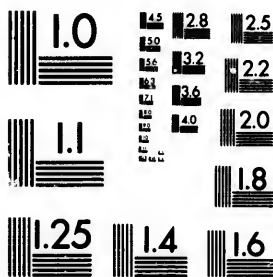
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service of king *James*; but the real truth of the matter was, that the fleet was not either victualled or manned; the men being put to short allowance at their first going to sea, and five regiments of foot ordered on board from *Portsmouth*, purely to make up an appearance of manning. Besides all this, the ministry were absolutely deceived in their intelligence; in consequence of which, they sent usefess, inconsistent, and contrary orders. For, first, the admirals were enjoyned to attack the *French* fleet at *Brest*; to which port it was believed the *Toulon* squadron was already come, and dispositions were accordingly made for that service; but, upon sending the *Warspight* to look into *Brest*, it was found there was not so much as a ship there. Before the return of this frigate, the grand fleet had convoyed sir *George Rooke*, with the great *Turky* fleet under his care, twenty leagues farther than it was first intended; and yet, they had scarce parted with them, before they had an account, that the *Toulon* squadron was actually in the *Mediterranean*. It was then proposed in a council of war, to follow sir *George* to *Lisbon*; but this design was laid aside for two reasons; first, because, the court having already sent orders to sir *George* to return, it was very uncertain, whether they should be able to meet him; and secondly, because, upon a review of their provisions, and upon an equal repartition of them, it was found, they had not sufficient for such an expedition, even at short allowance <sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> This is among the number of those transactions, which never are to be understood from general histories; and which are with very great difficulty unravelled in a house of commons. He, who obeys orders, does his duty certainly, though he should do his country injury by his obedience, because a general example of  
of

Sir RALPH DELAVAL, *Knt.* 263

THE admirals having communicated all this to the court, orders were sent them on the 25th of *August*, to return to *St. Helen's*; which they did, and having landed the regiments they had on board, the fleet separated, part of the great ships were laid up, and the remainder were appointed for a winter guard; and thus (if they can be so called) the operations of the campaign ended. The misfortune that befel sir *George Rooke*, and the *Turky* fleet under his convoy, naturally occasioned a great clamour; and upon this, a very strict enquiry was made into the affair, first, by the privy-council, and then by parliament; where, on the 17th. of *November*, the house of commons came to a resolution, "that in the affair of convoying " sir *George Rooke* to sea, there had been a notorious and " treacherous mismanagement;" and yet, when the question was put for censuring the admirals who commanded in chief, it met with a *Negative*. We must, therefore, in order to reconcile these two votes, suppose the opinion of the house of commons to have been, that this notorious and treacherous mismanagement was not in them: and, indeed, bishop *Burnet*, though he condemns the admirals, has left us such an account of their justification, as seems to confirm this supposition; for he says, that the orders sent them from the cabinet council, were ill given, and worse executed. Now, it may be questioned, how

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disobedience is of much worse consequence than any particular wrong step with regard to the conduct of an expedition; and besides, if you take away this general rule of obedience, it is impossible for men to know how to conduct themselves from the highest to the lowest station; add to all which, that where men receive doubtful, perplexed, and confused orders, they ought, in regard to their own safety, to adhere closely to the letter, and leave such as drew the orders, to answer for them.

bad orders can be well executed? But the bishop goes farther, he tells us, that these orders were weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective; to which he adds, that the admirals shewed no other sign of zeal, than in strictly obeying these orders. I should be glad to know, what other zeal they could shew, when under such instructions, and with a fleet in such a condition. The business, however, ended in laying Mr. *Killegrew* and sir *Ralph Delaval* aside; and to speak my sentiments freely, I believe this to be as much the effect of party spirit, as the laying aside admiral *Ruffel*, was the year before. As for sir *Claudesley Shovel*, he happened to be in favour with the party that disliked the other two admirals, and so he escaped, though he had concurred with them in every thing. I do not say this, with any design of reflecting on the memory of that brave man, who, I am persuaded, was not at all culpable; but only to shew the pernicious effects of party intrigues, by which, all things were then governed: I wish I could say, that nothing like it has ever happened since<sup>i</sup>.

SIR *Ralph Delaval* lived thenceforward privately, as a country gentleman, upon his own estate, which was very considerable, and troubled not himself with public affairs. He died in the beginning of the month of *January*, 1707, and

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<sup>i</sup> In such cases, the fairest way is to take the judgment of the sailors. If a man, who has been unfortunate, retains the love of such as he commanded; there seems to be no reason for laying him aside, because such an officer, when employed again, will be more vigilant, than any other, in order to retrieve his credit; and the French have, generally speaking, pursued this maxim, with equal honour and advantage. It is always right to punish bad conduct in an officer, even where he has success; but to punish a good officer merely for want of success, is barbarous and base; nay contrary to the maxims of discipline and good policy.



and on the 23d of the same month, was buried with great solemnity in *Westminster Abbey*. The violence of party-prejudice being then abated, he went to the grave with the reputation of a great and gallant officer, and of a generous, hospitable man; which, according to the best accounts I have been able to procure, he certainly deserved; though he was so unfortunate, as to pass nine years of his life in an obscure retirement, and that too, in a season when his service might have been most useful to his country<sup>k</sup>.

MEMOIRS of *Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, Knt.*  
*Rear-Admiral of England, &c.*

IT is certainly a just observation, that virtue alone creates nobility. He, who enjoys a title by birth, derives it from the virtue of his ancestors; and he who raises himself into high rank, supplies the want of ancestors by personal merit. Under all free governments, the latter ought to be encouraged, as well as the former respected; for, as every such government must flourish, or decline, according to that portion of public spirit, which is found among its subjects; so, the only means by which this spirit can be either excited or maintained, is the proper distribution of rewards, and the strict punishment of criminals. Where virtue is neglected, and vice unpunished, corruption is at the height, and the dissolution of that state near at hand.

WE were not in any such situation, at the time this brave man was born, which was about the year 1650.

His

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<sup>k</sup> Life of queen Anne, complete history of Europe for the year 1707, Pointer's chronological history, &c.

His parents were but in middling circumstances; and as they had some expectations from a relation whose name was *Cloudey*, they thought fit to bestow that name upon their son, as a probable means of recommending him to this relation's notice. But, whether they were disappointed in their views, or, from what other accident it arose, I am not able to say; but so it was, that young *Cloudesley Shovel* was put out apprentice to a mean trade, I think to that of a *Shoe-maker*, to which he applied himself for some years; but being of an aspiring disposition, and finding no appearance of raising his fortune in that way, he betook himself to the sea, under the protection of sir *Christopher Mylms*; with whom, I speak it to his honour, he went as a cabin-boy; but applying himself very assiduously to navigation, and having naturally a genius for the art, he soon became an able seaman; and as those were stirring times, in which merit always thrives, he quickly arrived at preferment. This he, in some measure, owed to the favour of the famous sir *John Narborough*, a man who having raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, by mere dint of capacity, was a generous patron of all who discovered any extraordinary degree of worth, and this was what recommended Mr. *Shovel* to his notice<sup>a</sup>.

AFTER the close of the second *Dutch War*, our merchants, in the *mediterranean*, found themselves very much distressed by the pyritical state of *Tripoli*; which, notwithstanding several treaties of peace that had been concluded with them, began to commit fresh depredations almost as early as the *Dutch war* broke out. As soon, therefore, as the king found himself at leisure, he ordered

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<sup>a</sup> Complete history of Europe for the year 1707, &c.

a strong squadron into those parts, to depress the insolence of these *Corfairs*, under the command of sir *John Narborough*, who arrived before *Tripoli* in the spring of the year 1674, where he found all things in very good order for his reception. The appearance of the enemy's strength, joined to the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try negotiation, rather than force, determined him to send a person in whom he could confide, to the dey of *Tripoli*, to propose terms of accommodation, and those too, very moderate in their nature; for he desired only satisfaction for what was past, and security for the time to come. The admiral entrusted Mr. *Shovel* with this message, who accordingly went on shore, and delivered it with great spirit. But the dey, despising his youth, treated him with much disrespect, and sent him back with an indefinite answer. Mr. *Shovel*, on his return to the admiral, acquainted him with some remarks he had made on shore: sir *John* sent him back again with another message, and well furnished with proper rules for conducting his enquiries and observations. The dey's behaviour was worse the second time; but Mr. *Shovel* bore it with patience, and made use of it as an excuse for staying some time longer on shore. When he returned, he assured the admiral, that it was very practicable to burn the ships in the harbour, notwithstanding their lines and forts; accordingly, in the night, on the 4th of *March*, lieutenant *Shovel*, with all the boats in the fleet, filled with combustible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and, as I have already related in another place, destroyed the enemy's ships, with a degree of success scarce to be conceived; of which, sir *John Narborough*, gave so honourable an account, in all his letters, that the next year Mr. *Shovel* had the command given him of the *Sapphire*,

a fifth rate, from whence he was not long after removed into the *James Galley*, a fourth rate, in which he continued to the death of king *Charles II.* who first raised, and had always a great kindness for him<sup>b</sup>.

THERE were reasons which engaged king *James* to employ captain *Shovel*, though he was a man far enough from being in his favour; accordingly he was preferred to the command of the *Dover*, a fourth rate, in which situation he was, when the revolution took place. This was very fortunate for captain *Shovel*, as well as very agreeable to his way of thinking; which, together with his activity in the service (for he was in every engagement almost that happened, during that reign) made him very conspicuous, and made his rise in the navy as quick as he could wish. He was in the first battle, I mean that of *Bantry-Bay*, in the *Edgar*, a third rate, and gave such signal marks of his courage and conduct, that when king *William* came down to *Portsmouth*, he was pleased, on the recommendation of admiral *Herbert*, who, for that action, was raised to the dignity of earl of *Torrington*, to confer upon him, and captain *Ashby*, of the *Defiance*, the honour of knighthood. This was soon followed by further services, as they were by additional rewards; for sir *Cloudesley*, after cruizing in the *Soundings*, and on the coast of *Ireland*, during the winter of the year 1690, and the ensuing

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<sup>b</sup> Complete history of England by bishop Kennet, vol. iii. Burchet's memoirs, *Columna Rostrata*, and sir John Narborough's letter to sir Paul Rycout; this hardy enterprize was not only highly honourable to the reputation of the English arms at sea, but of infinite consequence to our commerce; which remained from this time forward safe from the insults of these barbarous and thievish enemies, who were now convinced, that forts and ships were no securities against the courage of English seamen.

being sprung, was, in the month of *June*, employed in conveying king *William*, and his army, into *Ireland*; who was so highly satisfied with his diligence and dexterity (for without question, in matters of this nature, he was one of the ablest commanders ever put to sea) that he was graciously pleased, not only to appoint him rear-admiral of the *Blue*, but did him also the honour, with his own hands, to deliver him his commission<sup>c</sup>.

AFTER performing this service, it was intended he should have joined the grand fleet; but on the 10th of *July*, king *William* receiving information, that the enemy intended to send upwards of twenty small frigates, the biggest not above thirty-six guns, into *St. George's* channel, to burn the transport-ships, he was ordered to cruize off of *Scilly*, or in such a station as he should judge most proper for preventing that design; and to send frigates to ply eastward and westward, to gain intelligence of the body of the *French* fleet, so that he might be the better able to provide for his own safety. And they, upon meeting with vice-admiral *Killegrew*, in his return from the *Streights*, were to give him notice of all circumstances, that so he might likewise take care not to be intercepted. He cruized up and down in the aforesaid station, till the 21st of *July*, without meeting any thing remarkable; and then the *Dever* and *Experiment* joined him from the coast of *Ireland*, with a ketch that came out of *Kinsale*, on board of which was colonel *Hacket*, captain *John Hamilton*, *Archibald Cockburn*, esq; *Anthony Thompson*, esq; captain *Thomas Power*, Mr. *William Sutton*, and six servants, who

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<sup>c</sup> Burchet, Mr. Pepys's papers, life of king *William*, memoirs of the war in *Ireland*, Burnet, Oldmixon.

who were following king *James* to *France*, in order to their accompanying him in his intended expedition to *England*. They gave sir *Cloudefley* an account, that king *James* took shipping at *Duncannon*, and sailed to *Kinsale*; but after staying there a little above two hours, he proceeded to *France*, with two *Spanish* frigates, that had lain there for that purpose a considerable time; and that he carried with him, the Lord *Powis*, sir *Roger Strickland*, and captain *Richard Trevanion*<sup>d</sup>.

SIR *Cloudefley Shovel* sailed afterwards to *Kinsale*, and as, I have shewn in the former volume, did all that could reasonably be expected from him, in regard to what was prescribed by his orders, and yet without much success. But an opportunity quickly offered of demonstrating his zeal and affection for the service. General *Kirke*, with a handful of troops, was before the strong town of *Waterford*, which he could not take, on account of the numerous garrison in *Duncannon Castle*, commanded by general *Bourk*, who professed his resolution to defend both town and fort, as long as one stone remained upon another; sir *Cloudefley* rightly guessed, that a good part of this bravery proceeded from certain intelligence, that Mr. *Kirke* had not a single piece of cannon; upon which, he sent him word, that he was ready to assist him from his squadron, not only with guns, but with boats and men; which, on the generals accepting this proposition, he accordingly did; and then general *Bourk* was so prudent, as to surrender the place, before there was so much as one stone beat from another. The remainder of the year 1691, was spent by sir *Cloudefley*, for the most part in  
cruizing,

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<sup>d</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William.

cruizing, till he was ordered to make part of fir *George Rooke's* Squadron, which escorted the king from *Holland*, and from which service, he did not return into the *Downs* till the month of *January* following. It was his felicity, that, as his services were well intended, so, generally speaking, they were well received; and, if fir *Cloudefley Shovel* any time missed of success, nobody ever pretended to fix imputations upon his conduct; his courage, and his sincerity, were alike unquestionable; and though this was not the most credulous age, yet there never was heard of such an infidel, as one who did not believe *Shovel* had both. On this account, most people were very well satisfied, when the king, in the spring of the year, and just before he set out for *Holland*, declared him rear-admiral of the *Red*; and, at the same time, commander of the squadron that was to convoy him thither. On his return from thence, he joined admiral *Ruffel*, with the grand fleet, and had a great share in the glory of the famous victory at *La Hogue*. For the *French*, after an engagement for some hours breaking their line, and *Tourville* being discovered to tow away northward, when the weather cleared up, the *English* admiral gave the signal for chasing, and sent notice to all his ships, that the enemy was retiring. At the same time, several broadsides were heard to the westward, and though the ships that fired could not be seen, it was concluded, they were the blue squadron, that by a shift of wind, had weathered the *French*; it proved however to be the brave fir *Cloudefley Shovel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*, who had, with wonderful pains and diligence, weathered their admiral's own squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue; but after he had fired upon the *French* for some time, *Tourville*, as well as the admiral of that squadron, came to an anchor with some of the ships

of

of their division; but could not discover one another by reason of the thickness of the weather<sup>e</sup>.

WHEN it was thought requisite, as we have had occasion more than once to observe, that the fleet should be put under the joint admirals, in the succeeding year, he was one, and, perhaps, if there had been nothing more than this joint commission, we might well enough account from thence, for the misfortune that happened in our affairs at sea, during the year 1693. This, the intelligent reader will the more easily credit, when he is put in mind, that these joint admirals were of different parties, that is to say, *Killegrew* and *Delaval* were declared tories, and *Shovel* a determined whig. Yet, as they were all good seamen, and very probably all meant their country well, though they did not agree in the manner of serving it; it is most likely, that, upon mature consideration of the posture things were then in, the orders they had received from court, and the condition of the fleet, which was not either half manned, or half victualled, the admirals might agree, that a cautious execution of the instructions they had received, was a method as safe for the nation, and more so for themselves, than any other they could take. There was, therefore, no great reason for that piece of *Dutch* wit played off upon this occasion, in a picture, wherein the taking of the *Smyrna* fleet was represented

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<sup>e</sup> It may not be amiss to mention here, the care taken by queen Mary, to encourage those who had behaved so well in this engagement; for she was no sooner informed of the victory, than she immediately sent down 30,000 l. to be distributed amongst the soldiers and seamen, and gold medals for all the officers. Colonel Hastings, who was killed in the fight, was buried on the 7th of June, in great state, the queen sending her coaches, and the nobility and gentry two hundred more; the whole being escorted by eight companies of guards.



presented at a distance, and sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, one end of the cord being held by each of his colleagues; to insinuate, that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the admirals *Killegrew* and *DeLaVal*, had not hindered him. But, when the affair came to be enquired into in parliament, sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, at the bar of the house, defended his colleagues, as well as himself, and gave so clear and plain an account of the matter, that it satisfied all people, who were capable of being satisfied, of the innocence of the commanders, I mean in point of treachery, which had been asserted by a vote of the house of commons; for which, if there was any foundation, it must have lain either among the inferior people at the admiralty, or those in the secretary of states office, who were bribed to give intelligence to the *French*<sup>f</sup>. But, possibly, even this was but suspicion.

THE character of sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, remaining absolutely unimpeached, we find him again at sea, in the year 1694, in the channel, and on the *French* coast, where he had the honour to command as vice-admiral of the red, under lord *Berkley*, admiral of the blue, in the famous expedition to *Camaret-Bay*; of which I have already given so large an account, that I think it altogether needless to repeat it here; and, therefore, shall only say, that sir *Cloudefley* distinguished himself by his speedy and dextrous embarkation of the land-forces, when they failed upon that unfortunate expedition; as also, when, on their return to *England*, it was thought necessary to send the fleet again upon the coast of *France*, to bombard

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<sup>f</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, present state of Europe for the year 1693, life of king William, Candler's debates, &c.

*Diep*, and other places. Towards the end of the season, the command devolved upon sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, by lord *Berkley's* going to *London*; and then he received his majesty's express commands to undertake the bombardment of *Dunkirk*; which he attempted, as I have shewn in the naval history of that year, to no purpose, through the fault of the engineer, who had promised more than either he, or any other man, could perform. Sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, however, took care to demonstrate from his conduct, that there was no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat, within the enemy's works, and so became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed to be done; and, therefore, on his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed, as a man who would command success, where it was possible, and omit nothing in his power, where it was not. He had his share in the remaining part of the war; and, after the peace of *Ryswick*, was always consulted by his majesty, whenever maritime affairs were under consideration <sup>g</sup>.

IN the beginning of the reign of queen *Anne*, he was not much in favour; and, therefore, I do not find him employed, though he was then admiral of the white, in any affair of importance, till he was sent to *Vigo*, after the taking that place by sir *George Rooke*, to bring home the spoils of the *Spanish* and *French* fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him, with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly shewed upon all occasions: for arriving

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<sup>g</sup> Burchet's naval memoirs, the third volume of this history, under the year 1694, life of king *William*, complete history of England, by bishop *Kennet*.

riving at *Vigo* on the 16th of *October*, he got things into  
 such forwardness, that he carried off whatever could pos-  
 sibly be brought home; burnt the rest, and, notwith-  
 standing the stormy season of the year, the foulness of his  
 ships, and his being embarrassed with prizes, arrived safely  
 in the *Downs*, on the 7th of *November*; which was con-  
 sidered as so remarkable a service by the court; that it was  
 immediately resolved to employ him in affairs of the  
 greatest consequence for the future. Accordingly, he com-  
 manded the grand fleet up the *Streights*, in the year 1703,  
 where he did every thing it was possible for an admiral to  
 do, whose instructions were very large; and who yet  
 wanted force to accomplish almost any part of those in-  
 structions. It is in such conjunctures as these, that the  
 skill and capacity of an admiral chiefly appear; and in  
 this expedition, sir *Cloudesley* gave as great proofs of his  
 courage and conduct, as any admiral could do; for he  
 protected our trade from all attempts of the *French*; he  
 did what was possible to be done for the relief of the pro-  
 testants, then in arms in the *Cevennes*; he countenanced  
 such of the *Italian* powers, as were inclined to favour the  
 cause of the allies; and he struck such a terror into the  
 friends of the *French*, that they durst not perform what  
 they had promised to undertake for that court. All this he  
 did with a fleet very indifferently manned, and still worse  
 victualled; so that, notwithstanding the management of  
 our affairs at sea was severely censured that year in the  
 house of commons, yet all parties agreed, that sir *Cloudesley*  
*Shovel* had done his duty in every respect, and very well

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deserved

deserved the high trust and confidence that had been reposed in him <sup>b</sup>.

In the year 1704, sir *George Rooke* commanded the grand fleet in the *Mediterranean*, to reinforce which, sir *Cloudesley Shovel* was sent with a powerful squadron; and he took such care, not only to execute his orders, but to distinguish in what manner they ought to be executed; that by joining the fleet in the midst of the month of *June*, he was very instrumental in the success that followed; as by that very action, he effectually disappointed all the *French* schemes, though that court had boasted, they

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<sup>b</sup> Bishop Burnet gives us but a melancholly account of this expedition, and yet he very honestly justifies the admiral's conduct. This prelate's account of the matter, is very strong, and very well worth the reader's notice. I have not touched it in the former volume, and, therefore, I think it will not be amiss to insert it here, as a proof that I do not over-rate the merit of the great men, whose actions I record. "It was resolved to send a strong fleet into the mediterranean; it was near the end of June, before they were ready to sail; and they had orders to come out of the streights by the end of September. Every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant-ships, which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was sent to command; when he saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage: He was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders. He got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence, and the allies began to take courage from it: but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood that, by his orders, he could only stay a few days there. Nor was it easy to imagine, what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much money was thrown away on such a project; which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends, who might justly think they could not depend upon such an ally, who managed so great a force, with so poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it."

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they should be able to restore their maritime power, and give law to the confederates at sea, that summer. He took his part in the glorious action off *Malaga*; in which he behaved with the utmost bravery, as bishop *Burnet* very justly observes; and yet, he had the good luck to escape extremely well in that action, though, as he said himself in his letter, he never took more pains to be well beat in his life; but he was very far from taking to himself, what some have since endeavoured to confer upon him, the glory of beating the *French* fleet, while sir *George Rooke* only looked on, or fought at a distance. This was not at all sir *Cloudesley's* nature, he would no more be guilty of an act of injustice of this sort, than he would have been patient in bearing it. He knew very well his own merit, and his admiral's; and he did justice to both, in the letter he wrote on that occasion, and of which the reader may find an extract in our former volume. This battle was fought on the 13th of *August*, 1704; sir *Cloudesley Shovel* and sir *John Leake*, led the van; sir *Cloudesley's* division consisted of nine ships, the *Barfleur*, *Eagle*, *Orford*, *Assurance*, *Warspight*, *Swiftsure*, *Nottingham*, *Tilbury*, and the *Lenox*; in which, they had only one officer killed, *viz.* the first lieutenant of the *Lenox*, and seven wounded, 105 private men killed, and 303 wounded. After this victory, the *French* never durst think of fighting our fleets; and upon sir *Cloudesley Shovel's* return, he was presented to the queen by prince *George*, as lord high admiral of *England*, and met with a very gracious reception; and was the next year employed as commander in chief!

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I shall be obliged to touch on some particulars in this engagement, when I come to the memoirs of sir *George Rooke*; but

SIR *Cloudefley* had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of sir *George Rooke*, in order to pave the way for laying him aside; but after this was done, and it became necessary to send both a fleet and army to *Spain*; sir *Cloudefley* thought it reasonable to accept the command of the fleet jointly, with the earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth*; and accordingly arrived at *Lisbon*, with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line of battle ships, in the month of *June*; and towards the latter end of the same month, sailed from thence for *Catalonia*, arriving before the city of *Barcelona* on the 12th of *August*, where the siege of the place was undertaken, though the *English* army was very little, if at all, superior to the garrison within the town. There certainly never was an admiral in a more untoward situation than sir *Cloudefley Shovel* found himself in here. The scheme itself appeared very impracticable; the land officers divided in their opinions; the prince of *Hesse*, upon whom king *Charles* principally depended, was not in speaking terms

with

but it may not be amiss to observe here incidentally, that at the beginning of the battle, sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, with the van of the *English* fleet, narrowly missed being surrounded by the *French*; but that sir *George Rooke* perceiving their design, bore down immediately to his assistance; which seasonable succour sir *Cloudefley Shovel* returned in the latter part of the engagement, when several ships of the admiral's division being forced out of the line, for want of ammunition, sir *Cloudefley* very gallantly came in to his aid, and drew several of the enemy's ships from our centre; which, after they had felt the force of some of sir *Cloudefley Shovel's* division, did not think it safe to advance along his; but, being clean and better sailors, they set their sprit-sails, and with their boats a-head, towed from him, without giving him the opportunity of exchanging with him so much as a single broad-side.

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with the earl of *Peterborough*; all things necessary for the siege, were in a manner wanting, and all hopes of supply depended on admiral *Shovel*; who, on this occasion, gave the most signal proofs, not only of his vigilance, dexterity, and courage, but of his constancy, patience, and zeal for the public service. He furnished guns for the batteries, and men to ply them; he landed for the use of the army, almost all the military stores of the fleet; he not only gave prudent advice himself, in all councils of war, but he moderated the heats and resentments of others; and, in short, was so useful, so ready, and so determined in the service, and took such care, that every thing he promised, should be fully and punctually performed, that his presence and councils, in a manner, forced the land-officers to continue their siege, till the place was taken, to the surprize of all the world; and, perhaps, most of all to the surprize of those by whom it was taken; for, if we may guess at their sentiments, by what they declared under their hands, in several councils of war, they scarce believed it practicable to reduce so strong a place, with so small a force, and that so ill provided. How great a sense the queen had of this important service, and how much she was persuaded it would contribute to the advantage of the common cause, the reputation of her arms abroad, and the satisfaction of her subjects at home, may appear from her going expressly to parliament upon this occasion, upon the 27th of *November*, 1705; where, being seated on the throne, she sent for the house of commons, on purpose to communicate to them the news of this important success, which she did in the following speech, that

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deserves, for its singularity, as well as for its relation to the subject in hand, a place in this history \*.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ HAVING newly received letters from the king of  
 “ *Spain*, and the earl of *Peterborough*, which contain a  
 “ very particular account of our great and happy successes  
 “ in *Catalonia*, and shewing at the same time the reason-  
 “ ableness of their being immediately supported; I look  
 “ upon this, to be a matter of such consequence in itself,  
 “ and so agreeable to you, that I have ordered a copy of  
 “ the king of *Spain*'s letter to myself, and a letter from  
 “ the *Junta* of the military army of *Catalonia*, and ano-  
 “ ther letter from the city of *Vich*, as also, an extract of  
 “ the earl of *Peterborough*'s letter to me, to be communi-  
 “ cated to both houses of parliament.

“ I recommend the consideration of them to you,  
 “ gentlemen of the house of commons, very particularly, as  
 “ the speediest way to restore the monarchy of *Spain*,  
 “ to the house of *Austria*; and, therefore, I assure my-  
 “ self, you will enable me to prosecute the advantages  
 “ we have gained, in the most effectual manner, and to  
 “ improve the opportunity which God Almighty is pleased  
 “ to afford us, of putting a prosperous end to the present  
 “ war.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ I MUST not lose this occasion of desiring you to give  
 “ as much dispatch to the matters before you, as the na-  
 “ ture

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\* Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, dr. Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's expedition, impartial enquiry into the management of the war with Spain, complete history of Europe for the year 1705, life of queen Anne, &c.



“ ture of them allow, that so in our preparations for next  
“ year, you may be early, which cannot fail of being  
“ a great advantage to us. <sup>1</sup>”

THE next year, sir *Cloudefley* again commanded the fleet; but it sailed very late, so as not to reach the river of *Lisbon* till the month of *November*; and, even when it arrived there, the disputes which arose amongst the lords of king *Charles's* council, and his generals, with the delays of the *Portuguese*, who were far from being hearty in his cause, disappointed all the great designs of the maritime powers, and the effects that might have been reasonably expected from the powerful reinforcement of troops which were embarked on board the grand fleet. In this uneasy situation, sir *Cloudefley Shovel* did all that could be expected from a wise and vigilant commander; for he not only closely attended to the proper duties of his own charge, but left no method untried to prevail upon the generals and favourites of king *Charles*, to come to such an agreement, as might secure the advantages already obtained, and effectually fix their master, who was then at *Madrid*, upon the throne of *Spain*. But, though the care and concern of the admiral had very little effect on this side, yet, his representations in *Portugal*, met with greater regard. It seems, that one of the young princes of the royal family, who was of a very wild temper, had committed some odd insults on the seamen as they came ashore from the fleet and the forts, at the entrance of the river, and fired upon some of our men of war; upon which, sir *Cloudefley* made his representations to the ministry; and having received a very dissatisfactory answer, he immediately

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<sup>1</sup> London-Gazette, No. 4179.

Immediately demanded a conference with a person of great distinction, who was then at the head of their councils, and told him plainly, that the seamen, so long as he bore the *English* flag, should maintain the strictest discipline while in the harbour of *Portugal*; and, therefore, he expected it should receive those marks of friendship and respect, which were due to so great a princess as the queen his sovereign; or, in case of any failure, he should think himself obliged to do his seamen, and the honour of his country, right, and not suffer the *English* flag to be insulted, while he had the honour to wear it. This, sir *Cloudesley* expressed in such a manner, and seconded his words with so brisk a resentment, when the first-mentioned affront was next repeated, that the crown of *Portugal* thought fit to issue out such orders as he desired, and things wore another face, in that part of the world, ever afterwards; which was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of sir *Cloudesley*, who knew very well how to distinguish between the complaisance due to an ally, and that complying forbearance which is unworthy of an *English* admiral<sup>m</sup>.

THE beginning of the year 1707 wore but an indifferent aspect for sir *Cloudesley*. He had disposed all things in such a manner, as that he might be able to succour *Alicant*; and very probably had succeeded therein, if not prevented, when the troops were on the point of embarking, by an order from *England*. This order was obtained by the pressing instances of the court of *Portugal*, which represented here, that the forces might be more effectually

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<sup>m</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of queen Anne, complete history of Europe for the year 1706, &c.

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effectually employed in conjunction with their army. Orders were sent to this purpose, and a memorial was drawn up, containing the terms upon which her *Britannic* majesty would consent to the propositions made by the *Portuguese* minister, in the name and on the behalf of his master. But, notwithstanding this application, the *Portuguese*, being either unwilling, or unable, to comply with those demands, it was resolved in a council of war, to resume the former project, and to land them at *Alicant*; for which, orders soon after arrived from *England*. According to this resolution, the confederate fleet sailed on the 7th of *January*, with the land-forces from *Lisbon* to *Alicant*, where they arrived on the 28th of the same month, and were actually landed. But, through the delays the expedition met with (an account of which we have formerly given) the troops, which, at their sailing from *England*, were little, if any thing, short of 10,000 men, were now found to be scarce 7000; and sir *Cloudefley* finding that his presence would be of little use there, and that the fleet stood in need of repairs, left *Alicant* on the 17th of *February*, and returned to *Lisbon*, where he arrived the 11th of *March* following. There he received orders to prepare for the expedition against *Toulon*; of which, we have already said much, and, therefore, shall be the more concise in what we are obliged to add further upon that subject here.

THE instructions which sir *Cloudefley Shovel* received in relation to this important affair, which, if it had succeeded, must have put an end to the war, by obliging the *French* king

\* Complete history of Europe for the year 1707, Burchet's naval history, compared with all the French writers upon this subject;

king to abandon the support of his grandson in Spain, were sent him to *Lisbon*; and, in obedience to them, the admiral made such dispatch, that on the 10th of *May*, he sailed for *Alicant*; where, having joined sir *George Byng*, he proceeded to the coast of *Italy*, and in the latter end of the month of *June*, came to anchor between *Nice* and *Antibes*; where he waited the arrival of the duke of *Savoy*, and prince *Eugene*, who actually came on board the 29th of that month, and where entertained by sir *Claudesley* with the utmost magnificence. The enemy were at that time strongly intrenched on the river *Var*, and had extended their works above four miles into the country. These entrenchments were defended by 800 horse, and six battallions of foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected, of three battallions more, under the command of lieutenant-general *Dillon*, an old *Irish* officer, from whose courage and conduct the *French* had reason to expect as much as from any man in their service; and, indeed, if he had arrived in those lines, it is very doubtful, whether the confederates could have forced them. But, sir *Claudesley* having observed to the duke, that part of the *French* lines were so near the sea, that it was in his power to cannonade them; and that he would land a body of seamen who should attack the highest and strongest of their intrenchments; his royal highness consented that they should be attacked immediately. Accordingly, on the first of *July*, sir *Claudesley* ordered four *English*, and one *Dutch* man of war, to enter the mouth of the river *Var*, where they began to cannonade the *French* lines; soon after which, six hundred *English* seamen landed in open boats, under the command of sir *John Norris*, who was quickly followed by the admiral; and having begun the attack, the enemy were so terrified with such an unexpected salu-  
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tion, that they threw down their arms, after a short dispute, and abandoned their works\*.

THIS great effort made by the *English*, not only procured an easy passage, where the greatest resistance was expected, but totally disconcerted the *French* schemes, since their troops had scarce quitted these intrenchments, but they met, in their retreat, lieutenant-general *Dillon*, at the head of his twelve battalions, and he was so astonished, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to abandon the town of *St. Paul*, and to continue this retreat. On the 14th, a council of war was held on board the *Admiral*, in which it was resolved, to prosecute the march to *Toulon*, which the duke of *Savoy* promised to reach in six days. It appears from this account, that, whatever there was of zeal and spirit in the conduct of this affair, proceeded from the diligence and activity of sir *Cloudefley*. He proposed forcing the passage of the *Var*, and executed it; he induced his royal highness of *Savoy* to pursue his march immediately; and, as soon as that resolution was taken, the admiral sailed with his fleet for the islands of *Hieres*, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemies correspondence with *Italy*. The story, therefore, that is told of sir *Cloudefley's* detaining a sum of money, must be without foundation: for, before the attack, his royal highness must have been perfectly satisfied, otherwise he would not have undertaken it; and he marched as soon as prince *Eugene* joined him, with the remainder of the forces, sir *Cloudefley*

*Shovel*

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\* See the London-Gazette, No. 4352, wherein there is an account of this expedition, by authority; complete history of Europe for the year 1707, and all the *French* writers, who agree, that if this pass had not been forced by the *English*, the duke of *Savoy*, and his army, could never have proceeded farther.

*Shovel* seeing no more of him till he reached *Toulon* \*. But, instead of six, his royal highness made it full twelve days before he attacked in any manner the place; and then never pretended to lay any blame upon *sir Cloudesley*, but threw it on prince *Eugene*, who commanded the emperor's forces, and who had orders not to expose them. It is true, that when *sir Cloudesley* went first to compliment the duke

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\* I have, in the former volume, given some account of the real and pretended reasons for the miscarriage of this expedition; and I there lay the greatest weight on the body of forces sent by the emperor Joseph, to conquer the kingdom of Naples; which expedition, first delayed, and then weakened the attempt upon *Toulon*; but, I had not at that time seen a valuable letter of her majesty queen Anne to the emperor, upon this subject; which, as it was never published, as it was written with her own hand, and contains matter of an extraordinary nature, I thought it might not be amiss to insert here, rather than conceal it from the reader. This letter was to felicitate the emperor on the success of his arms in Naples.

" Sir, my brother,

" I rejoice with all my heart, with your imperial majesty, on the reduction of the kingdom of Naples, to the obedience of the catholic king, of which he has given me an account by his letter of the 30th of August last, and, I hope, that by a joint pursuit, for the time to come, of whatever shall be advantageous to the common cause, this success will be followed by another, equally glorious and important to the house of Austria, in putting my brother, the catholic king, in possession of the Spanish monarchy, by the powerful succours that your imperial majesty will, after this happy event, be able to furnish him; to whom, I wish all kind of prosperity, and to your imperial majesty, a continual series of good fortune. This will give me extream pleasure, as being,

" Your Imperial Majesty's,

" Kensington,

" Sept. 29,

" 1707.

" Most affectionate Sister,

" A N N E R.

duke upon his safe arrival, and to receive his commands about landing artillery and ammunition, his royal highness told him, he was glad to see him at last, for the maritime powers had made him wait a long while; to which, when *sir Cloudefley* answered, that he had not waited a moment, since it was in his power to wait upon his royal highness; he replied smiling, *I did not say you, but the maritime powers had made me wait: for this expedition I concerted so long ago as 1693; and fourteen years is a long time to wait, sir Cloudefley* <sup>9</sup>.

THE admiral ordered immediately one hundred pieces of cannon to be landed from the fleet, for the service of the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; neither was he wanting in any thing that was desired from him, during the whole affair; but rather exceeded what the duke and prince *Eugene* could reasonably expect, as well with regard to his personal attendance, as to the service of the fleet. Besides there was not any misfortune on this side, but it fell out altogether amongst the land-troops, who were beat from their posts with very great loss, on the 15th of *August, N. S.* On the 16th, the fleet began to cannonade the town, and throw bombs in the night, which was continued till such time as the siege was raised, and which obliged the *French* to sink all their capital ships, a distress that more than countervailed the whole expence of this service, great as it was. As the duke of *Savoy* never would have undertaken this affair without the assistance of the fleet, commanded by *sir Cloudefley*; as he did nothing, when before  
Toulon,

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<sup>9</sup> *Mercuré Historique*, 1707, vol. ii. p. 331.

*Toulon*, but by the assistance of the fleet, from whence he had all his military stores, so he could not possibly have made a safe retreat, if it had not been covered by the confederate fleet, which attended them again to the time of their repassing the *Var*. There, some new disputes happened, in which sir *Cloudesley* had little or no concern. Her *Britannic* majesty's minister laboured to persuade prince *Eugene* to take upon him the command of all the forces in *Spain*, in which the duke of *Savoy* likewise concurred; and sir *Cloudesley* offered to transport his royal highness, with a body of troops under his command; but this proposition being rejected, his excellency bore away for the *Streights*; and soon after, resolved to return home, which was the last act of his life.

He left sir *Thomas Dilkes* at *Gibraltar*, with nine ships of the line; three fifth rates, and one of the sixth, for the security of the coasts of *Italy*, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop, and a yacht for *England*. On the 22d of *October*, he came into the *Soundings*, and in the morning, had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but, at six in the evening, he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, believing, as it is presumed, that he saw the light on *Sailly*. Soon after which, several ships of his fleet made the signal of distress, as he himself did; and it was with much difficulty, that sir *George Byng*, in the *Royal Ann*, saved himself, having one of the rocks under her main chains. Sir *John Norris*, and lord *Dursley*, also ran very great risks;

\* History of Europe, for the year 1707, life of queen Anne, memoirs of the war, &c.

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risks; and, as we have shewn elsewhere, several ships besides the admiral's, perished; there were with him, on board the *Association*, his sons-in-law, sir *John Narborough*, and *James* his brother, *Mr. Trilawney*, eldest son to the bishop of *Winchester*, and several other young gentlemen of quality. There is no saying how this unhappy accident fell out, or to whose fault it was owing, though a report prevailed immediately after it happened, that a great part of the crew had got drunk for joy, that they were within sight of land. Sir *Cloudesley's* body was thrown ashore the next day upon the island of *Scilly*, where some fishermen took him up, and having stolen a valuable emerald ring from his finger, stripped and buried him. This ring being shewn about, made a great noise all over the island, and coming to the ears of *Mr. Paxton*, who was purser of the *Arundell*, he found out the fellows, declared the ring to be sir *Cloudesley Shovel's*, and obliged them to discover where they had buried the body; which he took up, and carried on board his own ship, in which it was transported to *Portsmouth*, convey'd from thence by land to *London*, and buried from his house in *Soho-Square*, in *Westminster-Abbey*, with great solemnity; where a fine monument of white marble was afterwards erected by the queen's direction, in order to do honour to the memory of so great a man, and so worthy a subject.

SIR *Cloudesley Shovel*, at the time of his death, was rear-admiral of *England*; admiral of the white; and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet, one of the council to prince *George of Denmark*, as lord high admiral of *England*.

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\* Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, Mercure historique, &c.

land, elder brother of trinity-house, and one of the governors of *Greenwich Hospital*; in all which stations, he discharged his trust with the greatest honour and integrity; and as, in his public character, he was an accomplished sea-officer, one who had always the glory of his queen, and the good of his country at heart; so in all circumstances of private life, as an husband, parent, or master of his family, he conducted himself with such prudence, wisdom, and tenderness, that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her majesty expressed a very particular concern for his loss, and was pleased to tell sir *John Leake*, when she made him rear-admiral of *England*, that she knew no man so fit to repair the loss of the ablest seaman in her service<sup>t</sup>.

SIR *Cloudefley Shovel* married the widow of his friend and patron sir *John Narborough*, by whom he left two daughters, coheiresses; the eldest of which married lord *Romney*; and the other sir *Narborough d'Aeth*, baronet. It may not be improper to add to these memoirs, his monumental inscription in *Westminster-Abbey*; since it is the only one of its kind, and stands there as a perpetual memorial of the services he rendered his country, and of the grateful sense retained by the glorious princess, by whom he was employed, and under whose auspicious conduct, the arms of *Great Britain*, by sea and land, were ever victorious. Thus that inscription runs<sup>u</sup>.

“ SIR *Cloudefley Shovel*, knt. rear-admiral of *Great-Britain*; admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; the  
“ just

<sup>t</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, history of Europe for the year 1707, London-Gazette, No.

<sup>u</sup> See Dart's history of Westminster-Abbey, Maitland's survey of London, &c.

“ just rewards of his long and faithful services : he was de-  
“ servedly beloved of his country, and esteemed, though  
“ dreaded, by the enemy ; who had often experienced his  
“ conduct and courage. Being shipwreckt on the rocks  
“ of *Scilly*, in his voyage from *Toulon*, the 22d of *October*,  
“ 1707, at night, in the 57th year of his age.

“ His fate was lamented by all ; but especially the sea-  
“ faring part of the nation, to whom he was a worthy  
“ example. His body was flung on the shoar, and buried  
“ with others in the sands ; but being soon after taken up,  
“ was placed under this monument ; which his royal mi-  
“ sters has caused to be erected, to commemorate his  
“ steady loyalty, and extraordinary virtues.”

MEMOIRS of Sir GEORGE ROOKE, *knt.*  
*vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of*  
*England, and lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this*  
*kingdom, one of her majesty's most honourable privy*  
*council, &c.*

IT is a thing we may reasonably expect, and it is ge-  
nerally found true, from experience, that such persons  
as rise into considerable employments, by dint of merit,  
and are withal of an honourable descent, as they enjoy  
their fortunes with less envy, so they are, generally speak-  
ing, more attached to the government and constitution of  
their country, than those, who, by a hasty rise from a low  
beginning, have small concern for those establishments from  
which they derive no honour ; and are, therefore, more  
prone to changes and revolutions, in which, men of  
active parts must be always considerable. This truth, was  
never more manifest, that in the conduct of the illustrious  
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person of whom we are now to speak of. A man, who, to hereditary honours, added reputation founded on personal merit, and who repaid the credit derived to him from his ancestors, by the glory reflected from his actions. Yet, so modest withal, that he coveted titles as little as wealth; and after a life spent in noble achievements, went to his grave with a moderate fortune, though he had long enjoy'd such employments as enabled others to raise princely estates.

HE was the son of sir *William Rooke*, kn't. of an ancient and honourable family in the county of *Kent*; where he was born in the year 1650; his father gave him the education becoming a gentleman, in which, by the quickness of his parts, and the solidity of his judgment, he made an extraordinary progress, insomuch, that sir *William Rooke* had great hopes, that he would have distinguished himself in an honourable profession, for which he was intended. But, as it frequently happens, that genius gives a bias too strong for the views even of a parent to conquer, so sir *William*, after a fruitless struggle with his son *George's* bent to naval employment, at last gave way to his inclinations, and suffered him to make a campaign at sea. His first station in the navy, was that of a reformade, in which he distinguished himself by his undaunted courage, and indefatigable application. This quickly acquired him the post of a lieutenant, from whence he rose to that of a captain, before he was thirty; a thing in those days thought very extraordinary, when no man, let his quality be what it would, was raised to that station, before he had given ample as well as incontestible testimonies of his being able to fill it with honour. These preferments he enjoyed under the reign of *Charles II.* and under that of his suc-

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Sir GEORGE ROOKE, *Knt.* 293

cessor, king *James*, he advanced to the command of the *Deptford*, a fourth rate man of war, in which post the revolution found him \*.

ADMIRAL *Herbert* distinguished him early by sending him, in the year 1689, as commodore, with a Squadron on the coast of *Ireland*. In this station, he heartily concurred with major general *Kirke*, in the famous relief of *Londonderry*, assisting in person in taking the island in the *Lake*, which opened a passage for the relief of the town. Soon after, he was employed in convoying the duke of *Schomberg's* army, and landed them safe near *Carrickfergus*, facilitated the siege of that place; and, after it was taken, sailed with his Squadron along the coast; where he first looked into the harbour of *Dublin*, manned all his boats, and insulted the place where king *James* was in person; and in the night of the 18th of *September*, he formed a design of burning all the vessels in the harbour; which he would have certainly executed, if the wind had not shifted, so as to drive him out to sea. From thence, he sailed to *Cork*, into which haven he likewise looked, though in the apprehension of the people of *Ireland*, it was the best fortified port in the island; but sir *George* soon convinced them of the contrary; for, notwithstanding all the fire from their batteries, he entered, and took possession of the great island; and might have done more, but that his ships were so foul, that they could scarce swim; and his provisions grown so short, that he was obliged to repair to the *Downs*, where he arrived in the middle of *October*,

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\* Life of sir George Rooke, memoirs of sir George Rooke, MS. monumental inscription in the cathedral church of canterbury, complete history of Europe for the year 1700, life of queen Anne.

having acquired great reputation by his activity and good service. In the beginning of the year 1690, he was, upon the recommendation of the earl of Torrington, appointed rear-admiral of the red; and in that station, served in the fight off *Beachy-Head*, which happened on the 30th of *June*, the same year; and, notwithstanding the misfortune of our arms, which was indisputably the greatest we ever met with at sea, *Mr. Rooke* was allowed to have done his duty with much resolution; and therefore the lords and others, appointed to enquire into the conduct of that affair, had orders to examine him and *Mr. John Ashby*, who, in their accounts, justified their admiral, and shewed, that the misfortune happened by their being obliged to fight under vast disadvantages<sup>b</sup>.

It was believed by many, that this would have been a barr to his preferment; but it proved otherwise, and he was, immediately after, appointed to command the squadron that convoyed the king to *Holland*; and afterwards joined the grand fleet under the command of *Mr. Russel*, who was then admiral of the red squadron, and commander in chief; but that year being spent without action, the *French* declining it, and the admiral being too wise a man to risk the fate of his predecessor, by any rash attempt, rear-admiral *Rooke* had no opportunity of distinguishing himself further, than by exactly obeying orders, and protecting our trade; which he did very effectually. In the spring of the succeeding year, he again convoyed king *William* to *Holland*, and was then, or very soon after, promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, in which station he served in  
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<sup>b</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of *Mr. George Rooke*, and his own account of the fight off *Beachy-head*, in quarto.

the famous battle of *La Hogue*, on the 22d of *May*, 1692, in which; he behaved with great courage and conduct, as the relation published by admiral *Ruffel*, fully shews; and it was owing to his vigorous behaviour, that the last stroke was given on that important day, which threw the *French* entirely into confusion, and forced them to run such hazards, in order to shelter themselves from their victorious enemies. But, the next day, which was *Monday* the 23d of *May*, was for him still more glorious; for vice-admiral *Rooke* had orders to go into *La Hogue*, and burn the enemy's ships as they lay. There were thirteen large men of war, which had crowded as far up as possible; and the transports, tenders, and ships with ammunition, were disposed in such a manner, that it was thought impossible to burn them. Besides, all this, the *French* camp was in sight, with all the *French* and *Irish* troops that were to have been employed in the invasion, and several batteries upon the coast, well provided with heavy artillery. The vice-admiral, however, made the necessary preparations for obeying his orders, notwithstanding he saw the disposition made on shore for his reception; but when he came to make the attempt, he found it impossible to carry in the ships of his squadron; yet, even this did not discourage him. He ordered his light frigates to ply in close to the shore; and having manned out all his boats, went himself to give directions for the attack, burned that very night six three-deck ships; and the next day, being the 24th, he burnt six more, from seventy-six to sixty guns, and destroyed the thirteenth, which was a ship of fifty-six guns together with most of the transports and ammunition vessels; and this, under the fire of all those batteries I have before-mentioned, in sight of the *French* and *Irish* troops; and yet, through the wise conduct of their commander,

this bold enterprize, cost the lives of no more than ten men. In order to have a distinct conception of the merit of this most glorious action, we need only cast our eyes on the letter written to their high mightinesses the *States-General*, by their admiral *Allemonde*, who was present, and who penn'd this letter on the 24th, before vice-admiral *Rooke* went the very last time into *La Hogue*, to burn the remaining ships and transports. It is but natural to believe, the admiral gave the best account in his power, to his masters; and we cannot believe he meant to flatter the *English* officer, since it does not appear from his letter, that he so much as knew who he was; these circumstances therefore considered, his epistle may be justly looked upon, as the most authentic testimony that can be offered on this subject.

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<sup>c</sup> This letter of admiral *Allemonde*, was dated from on board the *Prince*, near Cape *Barfleur*, <sup>June 3,</sup> 1692, in which letter, <sub>May 24,</sub> he says,

“ I came to an anchor under this cape, where I have been since  
 “ yesterday in the afternoon, with your high mightinesses squa-  
 “ dron, and that of sir *John Ashby*, admiral of the *English* blue  
 “ Squadron, and some other ships of their *Britannic* majesties.  
 “ At which time, being informed by the captain of a *French* fire-  
 “ ship, who was taken prisoner, that about twelve of the ships  
 “ that had fought against your high mightinesses squadron, and  
 “ to which we had given chase, were got in among the rocks, I  
 “ prepared to go and destroy them. But, as I was ready to put  
 “ my design in execution, I found that admiral *Russel* had given  
 “ orders to the same purpose. Presently, I offered him your high  
 “ mightinesses light frigates and fire-ships, to assist his ships, and  
 “ immediately gave all necessary orders, in case he should make  
 “ use of them; but, as yet, I know not whether those frigates or  
 “ fire-ships were employed or no. All that I can assure your high  
 “ mightinesses is, that the same day they took a resolution to de-  
 “ stroy those twelve ships, they burnt six of the biggest, being  
 “ ships of three decks; and this day, the rest that remained, the  
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**Sir GEORGE ROOKE, Knt. 297**

IT was extremely happy for mr. *Rooke*, that he served a brave prince, who would not take his informations upon trust; but enquired particularly into every man's conduct before he punished or rewarded. The behaviour of the vice-admiral at *La Hogue*, appeared to him so great, and so worthy of public notice, that having no opportunity at that time of providing for him, he settled a pension of a thousand per annum on him for life. In the spring of the year his majesty thought fit to go to *Portsmouth*, as king *Charles II.* had sometimes done, to view the fleet; and going on board mr. *Rooke's* ship, then in the harbour, dined with him, and conferred on him the honour of knight-hood, having, a little before, made a grand naval promotion, in which he was declared vice-admiral of the red; and the command of the fleet being now put in commission, sir *George Rooke* was entrusted with the command of the squadron that was to escort the *Smyrna* fleet, and the joint admirals received orders to accompany him as far to sea as they should think proper; after which, his instructions were to take the best care of the fleet he could, and, in case  
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“ least of which carried sixty pieces of cannon, ran the same fate,  
“ being burnt with all their ammunition and provision, together  
“ with the 6 other smaller vessels, which they had lightened of their  
“ guns, to try whether it were possible to save 'em by towing 'em any  
“ higher; so that this expedition has completed the irreparable  
“ ruin of the enemy's fleet. I understand, this day, from a-board  
“ admiral *Russel*, that orders are given out to burn the transport-  
“ vessels, that are in the bay of *La Hogue*, to the number of about  
“ 500, if it may be done with safety; but I fear the execution  
“ of the enterprize will be very difficult, by reason of the shall-  
“ lowness of the water, where these vessels lye, and the resist-  
“ ance which may be made from the land, and therefore, leave  
“ the success of the design to providence.”

of any misfortune, to retire into some of the *Spanish* ports, and put himself under the protection of their cannon<sup>d</sup>.

It cannot be supposed, that sir *George Rooke* had any better intelligence than the admirals, or the secretaries of state; and, therefore, we ought to ascribe the great unwillingness he shewed to part with the grand fleet so soon, to his superior skill in naval affairs; from whence he judged, that since the *French* squadron was not at *Brest*, it must be gone to *Toulon*; for which, he thought, there could scarce be a better reason assigned, than their hopes of intercepting the *Smyrna* fleet, under his convoy. However he failed, as his orders and duty required; and on the 15th of *June*, being about sixty leagues short of cape *St. Vincent*, he ordered the *Lark* to stretch a-head of his scouts, into *Lagos Bay*; but, next day, having confirmed accounts of the danger they were in, he proposed in a council of war, to keep the wind, or lie by all that night, that so a discovery of the enemy's strength might be made next morning. But in this, he was over-ruled, and it was urged, that the wind being fresh northerly, it gave a fair opportunity for pushing for *Cadix*; pursuant to this, the admiral ran along the shore all night, with a prest sail, and forced several of the enemy's ships to cut from their anchors in *Lagos Bay*.\*

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\* Life of sir *George Rooke*, complete history of Europe, life of king *William*, Pointer's chronological history, *Burchet*, *Oldmixon*, &c.

\* The *French* fleet under marshal *Tourville*, had waited some time for the English *Smyrna* fleet: they had certainly very early, and very exact intelligence; which is much less to be wondered at, than that this fleet of *French* men of war should remain a month on the *Spanish* coast, without our having any timely notice of it; and in reality, this was the very point upon which the house of commons grounded their vote of treachery.

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THE next day, when he was with his fleet off of *Villa Nova*, it fell calm; and a little after day-break, ten sail of the enemy's men of war, and several small ships, were seen in the *Offing*. The *French* no sooner discovered Sir *George Rooke*, than they stood away with their boats ahead, setting fire to some, and sinking others of their small craft; which, yet did not hinder some of them from falling into our hands, as a fire-ship likewise did, by falling into the fleet in the night. The crew of this ship being carried on board the flag ship, and examined by the admiral, told him a very plausible tale, *viz.* That the *French* squadron consisted of but fifteen ships of the line; but, that there were three flags, and had with them forty-six merchant-men and store-ships, that were bound either to *Toulon*, or to join *M. d'Espees*. They said also, that the squadron had been becalmed off of the *Cape*; and that having watered in the bay, were bound directly into the *Streights*, without any intention of seeing our fleet. This, at first, with the hasty retreat of their men of war in the morning, and their deserting and burning their small vessels, gained a perfect belief in the admiral, and the rest of the officers; but afterwards it was judged (and with reason too) that, that precipitate retreat was done purposely to amuse us; and thereby draw the whole squadron insensibly in to the enemy. About noon, the sea breeze sprung up to W. N. W. and N. W. and then the admiral bore away along shore, upon the enemy, discovering their strength the more, the nearer he came to them, and at last, counted about eighty sail; but the number with which they plyed up to him, was not above sixteen, with three flags; the admiral, vice-admiral of the blue, and rear-admiral of the white. The vice-admiral of the blue stood off to sea, in order to weather our squadron, and fall in with

with the merchant-ships, whilst the body of their fleet lay promiscuously to leeward one of another, as far as they could be seen; especially their biggest ships. About three in the afternoon, the *Dutch* vice-admiral sent sir *George Rooke* advice, that he was now sensible of the fraud, as discovering plainly the enemy's whole fleet; but that, in his judgment, the best course that could be taken, was, by all means to avoid fighting. Sir *George* differed with him in that point, and had actually disposed all things for engaging the enemy; but reflecting that he should take upon himself the whole blame of this affair, if he fought contrary to the *Dutch* admiral's sentiments, he brought to, and then stood off with an easy sail, and at the same time dispatched the *Sberness*, with orders to the small ships that were on the coast, to endeavour to get along shore in the night, and save themselves in the *Spanish* ports; which advice, as it was well given, so it was happily pursued; no less than fifty getting into *Cadix* only<sup>f</sup>.

I have already given so large an account of this affair, as well from foreign writers, as our own, that I think it needless to say more here, except as to the personal conduct of the vice-admiral. His whole squadron consisted of no more than twenty-three ships of war; of these, thirteen only were *English*, eight *Dutch*, and two *Hamburgers*. The fleet of merchantment under his convoy, was composed

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<sup>f</sup> The first account we had of this unlucky business, was, by a letter from captain littleton, commander of the factor, of *Smyrna*; which, I take it, was an hired man of war; that is, a merchantman turned into a man of war, to strengthen the convoy. His letter gave the merchants some consolation, because he not only assured them, that his own, and between forty and fifty more ships, were safe at *Cadix*; but that the admiral was escaped, and had carried off a great part of the fleet with him, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the enemy.

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posed of four hundred sail, of all nations, though the greater part of them were *English* ships. The fleet under M. *Tourville*, consisted of one hundred and twenty sail, of which sixty-four were of the line, and eighteen three-deck ships; yet, sir *George Rooke* saved all the men of war, for he brought twelve of them to *Kinsale*, and the other got into *Cadiz*; and he likewise brought back with him sixty merchant-men; and having sent the *Lark*, with advice of his misfortune, he afterwards proceeded from *Kinsale*, with the largest ships to join the grand fleet. One thing, indeed, is very remarkable, with respect to this singular transaction, *viz.* That, while in *France* the people in general charged their admirals with not making the most of their advantage, and the admirals themselves charged each other with want of conduct and neglect of duty, there was not so much as a single reflection made upon sir *George Rooke's* behaviour; but, on the contrary, he was said in the *Dutch* gazettes, to have gained more reputation by his escape, than accrued to the *French* by their conquest. On his return home, the merchants gave him their thanks; the king promoted him from being vice-admiral of the blue, to the rank of vice-admiral of the red; and soon after, as a further mark of his favour and confidence, made him one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty; and before the close of the year, 1694, promoted him again from vice-admiral of the red, to admiral of the blue †.

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† We must not imagine, however, that sir *George* escaped all trouble in this affair; on the contrary, he was examined at the bar of the house of commons, and that very strictly, though he was so very ill, that he could scarce stand upon his feet; and, therefore, was at last allowed a chair. He said, that when he parted

IN the month of *May* 1695, admiral *Rooke* commanded the squadron which convoyed the king to *Holland*; and in the autumn of the same year, being then admiral of the white, he was also appointed admiral and commander in chief in the *Mediterranean*, having a fleet of seventy men of war and merchant-ships, under his care; and, having very successfully executed this commission, he remained several months in the *Mediterranean*, with a very small force, where, nevertheless, he made a shift to preserve our trade from the insults of the enemy; and, at length receiving orders to return, he executed them with so much prudence, that he arrived safely on the *English* coast, on the 22d of *April*, 1696, to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation in general, which was much alarmed, lest the *French* fleet at *Toulon*, should come up with him, to which he was much inferior in strength. Soon after his arrival, he took upon him the command of the fleet, had orders to proceed to the *Soundings*, and to lie in such a station, as he should judge most proper for preventing the *French* fleet from getting into any port of *France*; but receiving intelligence, that the *Toulon* squadron was got safe into *Brest*, and the largest ships in the fleet being very foul, he thought

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parted from the grand fleet, he had a very brisk gale of wind, which drove him directly upon the enemy, and retarded the advice-boats that were sent after him, with intelligence and orders to return. He said further, that if his opinion had not been over-ruled, he might very probably have passed the enemy in the night, and then a few only, of the heaviest sailors, could have fallen into their hands. Yet, he added, that he did not suspect he was over-ruled by the majority of votes in the council of war, from any bad design, or want of zeal in the commanders; but from their not giving credit to his suspicion, that it was the whole *French* fleet in *Lagos-Bay*; and for any squadron they were not afraid of them.

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thought fit to return, agreeable to his instructions, and put into *Torbay*. There, the fleet being reinforced to eighty-five sail of the line, sir *George Rooke* formed the glorious project of burning the whole *French* fleet, or forcing them to take shelter in the harbour of *Brest*, while we bombarded all the adjacent coasts; but, while he was meditating this great design, he unexpectedly received orders to return to *London*, and attend his duty at the board; yet, so desirous he was of being in action, and so thoroughly persuaded of the possibility of the thing, that, upon his coming to town, he proposed the matter to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, who approved it, but found it requisite to lay his project before the privy-council, where it was considered, till the season for putting it in execution was entirely over, and then declared a very prudent, well concerted measure, and another admiral blamed, for not doing what he would willingly have done; but that the captains of the fleet were unanimously of opinion, that it was too late in the year to think of attempting an expedition of such importance<sup>h</sup>.

ADMIRAL *Ruffel*, in the spring of the year 1697, being declared earl of *Orford*, and placed at the head of the admiralty, with a kind of absolute command, his presence was thought so necessary there, that sir *George Rooke* was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet, which put to sea in a very indifferent condition,  
being

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<sup>h</sup> The reader will find this project of sir *George Rooke's*, and a large account of this affair, by turning to the naval operations of the year in which it happened, in our former volume; and from thence he will easily collect, that sir *George Rooke* was cautious only, when he wanted a proper strength, and that no admiral was more active or vigorous than he, when ever such a force was under his command.

being but half manned, and scarce half victualled, towards the latter end of *June*; as the *French* avoided fighting, for *George* found it impossible to do any thing very considerable; and yet, this summer's expedition gained him no small reputation, and that from an action, bold in itself, but withal strictly just, and very beneficial to the nation. For, as he was cruising off the *French* coast, he met with a large fleet of *Swedish* merchant-men, and having obliged them to bring to, and submit to be searched, he found just grounds to believe, that their cargoes belonged most of them to *French* merchants; upon which, he sent them under the convoy of some frigates, into *Plymouth*. This made a great noise, the *Swedish* minister interposed, and some of our statesmen were inclined to disapprove for *George's* conduct<sup>1</sup>. But, as he was a man, not apt to take

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<sup>1</sup> We have the whole of this matter set in a clear light, in a small quarto pamphlet, of two sheets, entitled, a short account of the true state of the case of the Swedish merchant-fleet, lately brought up on their voyage from France, by admiral Rooke, and sent into Plymouth.

The account given in this pamphlet, of the fraud, runs thus:  
 " The Swede did build a ship, of more or less tons, on his own  
 " account; whereupon, he could safely make oath before the  
 " magistrate, that the same ship was his own, and did really be-  
 " long to him, and was built at his proper costs and charges;  
 " and, thereupon, he obtained a pass for the said ship, as being  
 " a Swedish ship, built in Swedeland, and belonging to one of  
 " that king's subjects. This being done, the Swede sold and  
 " transported the very same ship, to a Dutch Lubeck, or Ham-  
 " burgh-merchant; who, in consideration of the other service,  
 " did give him one quarter, or eighth part (as they could best agree  
 " upon) in the said ship, on condition, that the Swede should  
 " always provide new passes, as often as there should be occa-  
 " sion for them; and, that the said ship should always go under  
 " the Swede's name, and by that means, traffic unmolested to,  
 " and with, France; which practice, the Swede flattered himself  
 " that he might securely enough continue, without acting there-  
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take rash steps, and consequently seldom in the wrong, he was not of a temper to be frightened from his duty, or to be brought to desist from any thing he took to be right. Sir *George*, therefore, insisted that the matter should be brought to a fair trial, before the court of admiralty; where, upon the clearest evidence, it appeared, that these *Swedish* ships were freighted by *French* merchants, partly with *French* goods, but chiefly with *Indian* merchandize, which had been taken out of *English* and *Dutch* ships; and, that the *Swedes* had no further concern therein, than as they received *two per Cent.* by way of gratification, for lending their names, procuring passes, and taking other necessary precautions for screening the *French* merchants effects; so, that the whole of this rich fleet was adjudged to be good prize; and the clamours that had

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been

“ by against his conscience, or committing the least perjury by so  
 “ doing; there being no occasion, according to the custom and  
 “ laws of that country, to make oath a-fresh for every other  
 “ voyage, for getting of new passes, because the first oath suffices  
 “ for good and all. So, that by this mental reservation, the  
 “ Swede could obtain as many passes as he pleased, and for all  
 “ that, his conscience not concerned in the least thereby. Nay,  
 “ by the proofs made against the said *Swedish* fleet, taken from  
 “ their own hand-writings, books, and letters, now under exa-  
 “ mination in the court of admiralty, it does manifestly appear,  
 “ that, to take off all suspicion, and to obviate all objections  
 “ and dangers that might befall such a ship, the foreign mer-  
 “ chant ordered the Swede to make a bill of sale of the ship, in  
 “ the Swede's own name, though he had not the least right to  
 “ the said ship, nor did any part therein belong to him. Ano-  
 “ ther artifice has also been used, the more easily to obtain the  
 “ passes in *Stockholm*, viz. Some of those foreign merchants sent  
 “ their servants thither to be made burghers, *pro forma*; and by  
 “ this means they procured the passes, although such servant had  
 “ neither estate nor money for himself, but was supplied by his  
 “ master, who lived either in *Holland*, at *Lubeck*, or at *Ham-*  
 “ burgh, or elsewhere, upon whose account this glorious trade  
 “ was carried on.”

been raised against sir *George Rooke*, was converted into general applause<sup>k</sup>!

HE was again ordered to sea, though it was very late in the year, and continued on the *French* coasts till towards the month of *October*, making such detachments as were necessary for securing our own homeward-bound trade, and that of the *Dutch*; which he performed very successfully, as the gazettes of that nation gratefully acknowledge; and the campaign and the war ending together, he gave the necessary orders for laying up the great ships, and then returned to town, where he was received with

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<sup>k</sup> We may easily guess at the evidence upon which these ships were declared lawful prize, from the following letter of instruction, written by a French Merchant to John Conrad Doberik, dated July 26, 1696.

“ I thank you, that you will help Martin Francen. I have  
 “ bought a fly-boat here, of 230 tons, for a good friend, and  
 “ would gladly let her sail under your name, on condition that  
 “ you should have a certain profit for it; and assuring myself,  
 “ that you will not refuse me, seeing it can be done without pre-  
 “ judice to you. I have caused the bill of sale to be made in  
 “ your name, viz. That I have bought the said ship for your  
 “ account and adventure. Now, I would fain have a skipper  
 “ come from Stockholm, who is a Burgher there; and I judge  
 “ it to be necessary, first, that a notary's bill of sale be sent  
 “ over; 2dly, That a declaration be made before a notary, and  
 “ witnesses, that the said ship doth belong to you. 3dly, that  
 “ you write a letter to the magistrate of Stockholm, to grant  
 “ you a pass; and, 4thly, to write a letter to Mr. Conrad, to  
 “ send such a master with a pass, with order to follow my di-  
 “ rection whilst you are in Spain. When you come hither, we  
 “ shall agree what you shall have for each pass, that you shall  
 “ send for here. The declaration before a notary, I shall send  
 “ you to sign, and the witnesses who subscribe, shall be Luke  
 “ Williamson, Marcus Begman, and the broker; they not know-  
 “ ing otherwise, but that I bought the ship for your account;  
 “ in this manner, no pass can be denied, and when once a pass is  
 “ taken out, one may always be had, &c.”

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with equal satisfaction by all parties, having, as yet, done little to disoblige those who afterwards persecuted him with the utmost spight. This was chiefly owing to his conduct in parliament; for being next year elected member for *Portsmouth*, and voting mostly with those that were called *tories*, great pains were taken to ruin him; in the king's opinion; but to the immortal honour of king *William*, when pressed to remove sir *George Rooke*, from his seat at the admiralty-board, he answered plainly, *I will not. Sir George Rooke served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him, for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country, in the Hou. of Commons.* An answer truly worthy of a *British* prince, as it tends to preserve the freedom of our constitution, and the liberty of parliaments. The whole year 1699, was spent in peace, so that sir *George Rooke* had leisure to attend his duty in parliament; which he did with very great constancy, and behaved there as he thought became him; but was very rarely a speaker, though not at all deficient in that particular, as appeared, when he was heard at the bar, on the business of the *Smyrna* fleet, in 1693. But, in the spring of the year 1700, a war broke out in the north, which had like to have totally overturned the ballance of power in that part of *Europe*, through a shameful confederacy, formed against *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, then in a manner a child, which moved king *William* to send a fleet thither to his assistance; which was undoubtedly, the wisest foreign measure in that whole reign; and, as it was well concerted, so it was very prudently and happily executed; for sir *George Rooke*, who was entrusted with the command of the combined fleet of the maritime powers did their business effectually, by succouring the *Swedes*, without oppressing the *Danes*; as I have shewn in its proper place, and have remarked, that the king of *Sweden*

upon this occasion, gave a noble instance of his early genius, by penetrating *fir George Rooke's* orders, from the consideration of his conduct <sup>l</sup>.

*SIR George Rooke* was elected in the new parliament of 1701, for the town of *Portsmouth*; which was not then considered in that light in which navy burroughs have since stood; if it had, they would have obliged the court in their members. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, that though the ministry had a clear majority, in whatever related to the king's business, yet the activity of the angry side was such, that they had a majority in choosing the speaker, and in determining controverted elections. The truth of the matter was, the ministry persuaded the king to abett the interest of *fir Thomas Littleton*, against *Robert Harley*, esq; afterwards the famous earl of *Oxford*; and with this View, his majesty spoke to *fir George Rooke*, *fir Charles Hedges*, and several other persons of distinction, in favour of *fir Thomas*; which, however, had not the desired effect, since they voted for *Mr. Harley*, who was accordingly placed in the chair. I mention this, to shew the steadiness of *fir George Rooke*, and to prove, that he was a man who acted upon principle, and was not governed in his political conduct, either by hopes or fears <sup>m</sup>. Yet, *fir George* was for the war against *France*, and for carrying it on vigorously; and,

<sup>l</sup> Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, memoirs of *fir George Rooke*, &c.

<sup>m</sup> It was certainly wrong in the king to interfere in this matter at all, because he ran too great a risk, in case of a disappointment; and experience will always shew, that, in the end, such princes are safest, and most happy, as suffer the machine of government to roll on, according to its natural construction, without tampering at all; which serves only to spoil it, and expose them extremely.

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and, as I shall shew hereafter, he was uniform in his conduct, though he had the misfortune to be censured for want of vigour, merely because he shewed too strong an inclination that way. I do not say this from any liking I have to the maintaining paradoxes, or playing with words; but because I take it to be the fair truth, and that I could not express it otherwise, without doing his memory injustice<sup>n</sup>.

UPON the accession of queen *Anne*, in 1702, sir *George* was constituted vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of *England*, as also, lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom; and, upon the declaration of war against *France*, it was resolved, that sir *George Rooke* should command the grand fleet sent against *Cadix*, his grace the duke of *Ormonde* having the command in chief of the land forces. I shall not enter into the history of that expedition, because I have already given the best account of it that was in my power: I shall only say here, that when it appeared to be a thing very difficult, if not impracticable, for the land-forces to make themselves masters of the place, sir *George Rooke* proposed bombarding it; which occasioned a long representation from the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, setting forth, that such a proceeding would entirely alienate the affection of the *Spaniards* from the house of *Austria*; and as sir *George* could not but discern the inconsistency of this method with the manifesto which had been published in the duke of *Ormonde's* name, and his own, he was prevailed upon to desist; and when he had done this, he judged it best to return home, both

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<sup>n</sup> The reader, if he consults Burnet's history, and compares it with Oldmixon's, will be convinced of the truth of what I say.

with the fleet and army; the land and sea-officers unanimously concurring, in that respect, with him in opinion; excepting only the duke of *Ormonde*, and baron *Sparr*, who protested against it. Upon this opinion, for returning home, the charge was founded against him, for want of vigour, whereas nothing can be more clear, than that *George* inclined to act more vigorously than his instructions would permit; and therefore, when he saw that proposal rejected, and that nothing could be done abroad, thought it the wisest way to come home. Of this he was certainly the best judge, since he had been often in those parts before, and knew very well, if once the *Spaniards* took a resolution, fair words would not go far towards making them alter it.

ON the 19th of *August* 1702, the fleet sailed, and had for several days a fair, but very gentle wind; and in their passage home, the admiral, on the 6th of *October*, received an account from captain *Hardy*, that the galleons, under the escort of a strong *French* squadron, were got into the harbour of *Vigo*; upon which *George* resolved to attack them; and having declared this resolution the next day in a council of flag-officers, they concurred with him, and it was unanimously resolved to put it in execution; accordingly the fleet sailed for *Vigo*, and on the 11th of *October*, came before the harbour of *Rodondello*, where the *French* commodore, to do him justice, had neglected nothing that was necessary, for putting the place into the best posture of defence possible; which, however, did not signify much, for a detachment of fifteen *English*, and ten *Dutch* men of war of the line of battle, and all the fire-

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† Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of queen Anne.

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ships, were ordered in, the frigates and bomb-vessels were to follow the rear of the detachment, and the great ships were to move after them, while the army was to land near *Rodondello*. The whole service was performed under fir *George's* directions, with admirable conduct and bravery; all the ships destroyed or taken; prodigious damage done to the enemy, and vast wealth acquired by the allies. Afterwards, the duke of *Ormonde*, and fir *George Rooke*, though he was much indisposed with the gout, congratulated each other on this glorious success, and then continued their voyage home, arriving safely in the *Downs* on the 17th of *November*; and the admiral soon after came up to *London* <sup>p</sup>.

WHILE the fleet and army were thus employed abroad, her majesty had thought fit to call a new parliament at home, to meet on the 20th of *October*; of which parliament, fir *George* was, in his absence, chosen a member for *Portsmouth*; and, as soon as he came to take his seat in the house, the speaker was directed to return him thanks; which he did in the following terms <sup>q</sup>.

“ SIR GEORGE ROOKE,

“ YOU are now returned to this house, after a most  
“ glorious expedition: Her majesty began her reign with  
“ a declaration, that her heart was truly *English*, and  
“ heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of  
“ *England*; for this, thanks hath been returned in a most  
“ solemn manner to Almighty God: There remains yet,

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<sup>p</sup> Complete history of Europe for 1702, Life of queen Anne, Burchet, Burnet, the London-gazette, &c.

<sup>q</sup> See Chandler's debates, Memoirs of fir George Rooke, Life of queen Anne.

“ a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instru-  
 “ ments of so wonderful a victory (the duke of *Ormonde*  
 “ and yourself, who had the command of the sea and  
 “ land forces.) In former times, admirals and generals  
 “ have had success against *France* and *Spain* separately; but  
 “ this action at *Vigo* hath been a victory over them con-  
 “ federated together: You have not only spoiled the ene-  
 “ my, but enriched your own country; common victo-  
 “ ries bring terrors to the conquered; but you brought  
 “ destruction upon them. and additional strength to *Eng-*  
 “ *land*. *France* hath endeavoured to support its ambi-  
 “ tion by the riches of *India*; your success, sir, hath only  
 “ left them the burthen of *Spain*, and stripped them of  
 “ the assistance of it. The wealth of *Spain*, and ships of  
 “ *France*, are, by this victory, brought over to our juster  
 “ cause. This is an action so glorious in the perfor-  
 “ mance, and so extensive in its consequence, that, as all  
 “ times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will  
 “ inform us of the benefit.

“ No doubt, sir, but in *France*, you are written in re-  
 “ markable characters, in the black list of those who have  
 “ taken *French* gold; and 'tis justice done to the duke of  
 “ *Ormonde*, and your merit, that should stand recorded in  
 “ the registers of this house, as the sole instrument of this  
 “ glorious victory; therefore this house came to the fol-  
 “ lowing resolution.

“ **RESOLVED**, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks  
 “ of this house be given to the duke of *Ormonde*, and sir  
 “ *George Rooke*, for the great and signal service perform-  
 “ ed by them, for the nation, at sea and land; which  
 “ thanks I now return you.”



To this *ſir George Rooke* answered,

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ I am now under great difficulty how to expreſs my  
“ ſelf on this very great occaſion: I think myſelf very  
“ happy, that, in zeal and duty to your ſervice, it hath  
“ been my good fortune to be the inſtrument of that  
“ which may deſerve your notice, and, much more, the  
“ return of your thanks. I am extremely ſenſible of this  
“ great honour, and ſhall take all the care I can to pre-  
“ ſerve it to my grave, and convey it to my poſterity,  
“ without ſpot or blemiſh, by a conſtant affection, and  
“ zealous perfeverance in the queen’s, and your ſervice.  
“ Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every  
“ man hath virtue at his will; and though I may not al-  
“ ways be ſucceſſful, in your ſervice, as upon this expe-  
“ dition, yet I may preſume to aſſure, I ſhall never be  
“ more faulty.

“ I muſt repeat my inability to expreſs myſelf upon  
“ this occaſion; but, as I have a due ſenſe of the honour  
“ this houſe hath been pleaſed to do me, I ſhall always  
“ retain a due and grateful memory of it. And, though  
“ my duty and allegiance are ſtrong obligations upon me,  
“ to do my beſt in the ſervice of my country, I ſhall al-  
“ ways take this, as a particular tie upon me, to do right  
“ and juſtice to your ſervice, upon all occaſions.”

BUT, notwithstanding the queen’s having celebrated  
this action by a day of thankſgiving; that her example had  
been imitated by the ſtates-general; this thanks of the  
House of Commons, and the queen’s giving a ſeat to *ſir*  
*George Rooke* in the privy-council, it was reſolved to en-  
quire into his conduct, in the Houſe of Lords, the reaſon

of which is very candidly given by bishop *Burnet*; he tells us, that the duke of *Ormonde* was extremely angry with sir *George Rooke*; had complained loudly of his behaviour at *Cadiz*, upon his return home; and though he was afterwards softened, that is in the bishop's opinion, by being made lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, and so willing to drop his complaint, yet, he had spoken of the matter to so many lords, that it was impossible to avoid an enquiry, though he might not then desire it. A committee was accordingly appointed by the House of Lords, to examine into the whole affair; and they did it very effectually, not only by considering the instructions, and other papers relating to the *Cadiz* expedition; but, by sending for sir *George Rooke*, and the principal sea and land-officers, all of whom were very strictly examined. In his defence, the bishop admits, that sir *George* arraigned his instructions very freely, and took very little care of a ministry, which, according to this prelate's account, took so much care of him. The truth of the matter was, sir *George* set the whole affair in its proper light. He shewed, that throughout the whole expedition, the enemy had great advantages. For, if it was considered on the peaceable side, they had a king of *Spain*, called to the succession by the will of the last king, and acknowledged by the best part of the nation; whereas, the allies had not then set up any other king, but invited the *Spaniards* in general terms, to support the interest of the house of *Austria*; which, was very inconsistent with the temper and genius of a nation always distinguished for their loyalty. That, on the side of war, the instructions seemed to contradict themselves; for, whereas, they were empowered to use hostilities, the declaration promised peace and protection. That consequently,

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Sir GEORGE ROOKE, *Knt.* 315

quently, whoever executed these instructions, would be liable either to a charge of shewing too much pity and concern for those people, or, of not acting vigorously in the support of the common cause; and sir *George* observed, that by endeavouring to avoid giving grounds for either, he had drawn upon himself both these charges. For, whereas, he inclined to gentle methods, when they first came before the place, the construction given to this, was, that he intended only to amuse, and make a Shew; but, that finding this indulgence had no effect, and, that after the outrages committed at *Port St. Maries*, there was nothing to be hoped for from the *Spaniards*, he proposed bombarding the place; which must have succeeded, but that the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* protested against this, as an action that would alienate the people entirely from the interest of the house of *Austria*; he then thought that, as fair means would do nothing, and force was not to be tried, the only measure left, was, to return home. The committee made their report, and the house passed a vote, which fully justified sir *George Rooke's* conduct; the duke thinking it proper to be absent upon that occasion.

IN the year 1703, sir *George Rooke* was again at sea, but waited so long for the *Dutch*, that the scheme, which was a very good one, and entirely of his own projecting, became

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The most natural account of the duke's behaviour is, that when he saw the unreasonableness of his own heat, and the justice of the admiral's sentiments, clearly made out, he was ashamed of the trouble he had given the house, and as a man of honour, retired, that his presence might not put any of his friends under difficulties. It must be likewise observed, that the House of Lords was not at all disposed to favour *Rooke's* party, but rather the contrary, as appears by the whole proceedings of that session; so that nothing can be more partial than to ascribe this vote to partiality.

came impracticable; and, as he was restrained from sailing, when he desired, by orders from the lord high admiral, so he had orders for sailing, when he thought the proper time was past; which, however, he obeyed, and continued for about a month upon the *French* coasts; and having greatly alarmed them, returned back with the fleet, having done less, indeed, than he could have wished; but, not less than might have been expected from a fleet in such a condition as his was, sailing so late in the year. His enemies, indeed, said then, as they said often, that he intended to do nothing; which can scarce be believed, since he was extremely ill when he took the command upon him; growing worse, desired to resign it; but afterwards, finding himself better, put to sea. This, certainly, looked as if he had the expedition much at heart, for though some men trifle with the affairs of their country, yet, certainly no man who had common sense, ever played the fool with his own health and safety. On his return, sir *George* had a severe fit of the gout, which obliged him to go down to *Bath*; and then it was given out, that he did this, because he was laid aside. But the contrary very speedily appeared; party-measures were not yet so strongly supported, as to produce any event like this; and, therefore upon his coming to town again, sir *George* was as well received at court as ever, stood in the same light with his royal highness the lord high admiral, and was soon after employed in a station worthy of his character, and of the high posts he had already filled.

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\* I have given a full account of this matter in the former volume, and therefore, it is unnecessary to detain the reader long upon it here. I cannot, however, help intimating, that there  
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A resolution having been taken by the *British* ministry, to send over king *Charles III.* of *Spain*, on board our fleet; in the spring of the year 1704, sir *George Rooke* was made choice of to command the ships of war employed for that purpose; and he shewed himself extremely active and vigilant in this service. He was at *Portsmouth* in the beginning of the month of *February*, where he did every thing that could be expected from him, to hasten the expedition; but, finding that the *Dutch* were backward in sending the ships that were to have joined the fleet, and that the king was extremely eager to be gone, he very generously made a proposal for the furtherance of that design; which shews him to have been as hearty towards the common cause as any admiral then living; for he offered to proceed with his *catholic* majesty, without waiting for the *Dutch*, if he could have assurance given him, that he should have proper assistance sent after him to *Lisbon*; and this assurance upon which he insisted, was nothing more than putting sir *Cloudefley Shovel* at the head of that reinforcement. This proposition was accepted, and sir *George* sailed on the 12th of *February*, from *St. Helen's*, and continued his voyage so happily to *Lisbon*, that he arrived there safely on the 25th; the king of *Spain* expressing the highest satisfaction in respect to the admiral, and the zeal and diligence he had shewn in his service. That this proceeded entirely from sentiments of public spirit, and not from any views of ingratiating himself with that monarch,

or

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seems to have been some secret at the bottom of this undertaking; with which, hitherto, the world is not thoroughly acquainted, and therefore cannot so perfectly judge of the admiral's conduct; it may be posterity will obtain from memoirs not hitherto published, an exact detail of the management of the war in *Spain*, which would bring many singular passages to light.

or any other foreign prince, is evident from *sir George's* refusing to gratify the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, in a point of ceremony which he thought injurious to the honour of the *British* flag, of which we have given a large account in the former volume; and yet neither of the kings took this at all amiss, but treated him with the same regard and esteem as before. When the expedition against *Barcelona* was set on foot, *sir George Rooke* immediately concurred to the utmost of his power, and the fleet arrived safely before that city in the beginning of *May*; the troops on board were, with great difficulty, made up 2000 men, by voluntiers from the fleet; and yet, with this handful of forces, the place might possibly have been taken, if the partizans of the house of *Austria*, instead of holding private consultations, had taken some vigorous resolution, and executed it immediately; but they met so often, and to so little purpose, that king *Philip's* vice-roy, discovered the design, and arrested the persons who were at the head of it; which frustrated the whole affair, and engaged even the gallant and enterprizing prince of *Hesse* to desire the admiral to re-embark the troops, which he accordingly did.

AFTER the attempt on *Barcelona*, the admiral, though not joined by the reinforcement from *England*, chased the *Brest* squadron into *Toulon*; and having afterwards passed through the *Streights-Mouth*, joined *sir Cloudefley Shovel*, with the fleet under his command, off *Lagos*; and continued cruizing for about a month, in expectation of orders from home, or from the court of *Spain*. On the

17th

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<sup>r</sup> Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *Life of queen Anne, Lives of the admirals*, vol. iii. p. 376, &c.

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Sir GEORGE ROOKE, *Knt.* 319

17th of *July*, being in the road of *Tetuan*, a council of war was called, in which several schemes were examined, but were all found to be impracticable; at last, *sir George Rooke* proposed the attacking of *Gibraltar*, which was agreed to, and immediately put in execution; for, the fleet arriving there on the 21st of the same month, the troops, which were but 1800 men, were landed the same day; the admiral gave the signal for cannonading the place on the 22d, and by the glorious courage of the *English* seamen, the place was taken on the 24th, as the reader will see by *sir George Rooke's* own account<sup>a</sup>, which we have placed at the bottom of the page.

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<sup>a</sup> This is to be found in the London-Gazette, No. 4045. and, whoever considers the consequence of this action, and compares it with the modesty of *sir George Rooke's* expressions, will need no other character of the man.

“ The 17th of July, the fleet being then about seven leagues  
“ to the eastward of *Tetuan*, a council of war was held on board  
“ the *Royal Catherine*, wherein it was resolved to make a sud-  
“ den attempt upon *Gibraltar*; and accordingly the fleet sailed  
“ thither; and the 21st, got into that bay; and at three o'clock  
“ in the afternoon, the marines, *English* and *Dutch*, to the  
“ number of 1800. with the prince of *Hesse* at the head of them,  
“ were put on shore on the neck of land to the northward of  
“ the town, to cut off any communication with the country.  
“ His highness having posted his men there, sent a summons to  
“ the governor to surrender the place for the service of his ca-  
“ tholic majesty; which he rejected with great obstinacy; the  
“ admiral, on the 22d in the morning, gave orders, that the  
“ ships, which had been appointed to cannonade the town under  
“ the command of rear-admiral *Byng*, and rear-admiral *Van-*  
“ *derdussen*, as also those which were to batter the south mole-  
“ head, commanded by captain *Hicks*, of the *Yarmouth*, should  
“ range themselves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary,  
“ they could not possibly get into their places, till the day was  
“ spent. In the mean time, to amuse the enemy, captain *Whi-*  
“ *taker* was sent with some boats, who burnt a *French* privateer  
“ of twelve guns, at the mole. The 23d, soon after break of  
“ day.

page. After this remarkable service, the *Dutch* admiral thought of nothing but returning home, and actually detached six men of war to *Lisbon*; so little appearance was there then of any engagement. But, on the 9th of *August*,

“ day, the ships being all placed, the admiral gave the signal for  
 “ beginning the cannonade; which was performed with very  
 “ great fury, above 15,000 shot being made in five or six hours  
 “ time against the town, insomuch, that the enemy were soon  
 “ beat from their guns, especially at the South Mole-head: where-  
 “ upon, the admiral considering, that by gaining the fortification,  
 “ they should of consequence reduce the town, ordered captain  
 “ Whitaker, with all the boats, armed, to endeavour to possess  
 “ himself of it, which was performed with great expedition.  
 “ But captain Hicks, and captain Jumper, who lay next the  
 “ mole, had pushed ashore with their pinnaces, and some other  
 “ boats, before the rest could come up; whereupon, the enemy  
 “ sprung a mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the mole,  
 “ killed two lieutenants, and about forty men, and wounded  
 “ about sixty. However, our men kept possession of the great  
 “ platform, which they had made themselves masters of; and  
 “ captain Whitaker landed with the rest of the seamen which  
 “ had been ordered upon this service; they advanced and took a  
 “ redoubt, or small bastion, half way between the mole and the  
 “ town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy’s can-  
 “ non. The admiral then sent a letter to the governor, and at  
 “ the same time, a message to the prince of Hesse to send to  
 “ him a peremptory summons; which his highness did accord-  
 “ ingly; and, on the 24th in the morning, the governor desir-  
 “ ing to capitulate, hostages were exchanged, and the capita-  
 “ tion being concluded, the prince marched into the town in the  
 “ evening, and took possession of the land and north mole gates,  
 “ and the out-works. The articles are in substance as follows.

I. That the garrison, officers and soldiers may depart with their necessary arms and baggage, and the officers, and other gentlemen of the town, may also carry their horses with them; they may likewise have what boats they shall have occasion for.

II. That they may take out of the garrison three pieces of brass cannon of different weight, with twelve charges of powder and ball.

III. That they may take provisions of bread, wine, and flesh, for six days march.

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*August*, the *French* fleet, under the command of the count *de Thoulouse*, was first seen at sea, and appeared to be by much the strongest that had been equip'd during this whole war; the *English* admiral, however, resolv'd to do all that lay in his power, to force an engagement. I have already given a fair account of the battle which followed off *Malaga*; and also, the relation published by the *French* court; but, I purposely reserv'd Sir *George Rooke's* own account, as published by authority, for this place, to which, indeed, it properly belongs. It was dated from on board the *Royal Katherine*, off cape *St. Vincent*, *Aug. 27, O. S.*

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1704,

IV. That none of the officers baggage be searched, although it be carried out in chests or trunks. That the garrison depart in three days; and such of their necessaries as they cannot carry out with conveniency, may remain in the garrison, and be afterwards sent for; and that they shall have the liberty to make use of some carts.

V. That such inhabitants and soldiers, and officers of the town, as are willing to remain there, shall have the same priviledges they enjoyed in the time of Charles II. and their religion and tribunals shall remain untouch'd, upon condition that they take an oath of fidelity to king Charles III. as their lawful king and master.

VI. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder, and other ammunition or provisions and arms that may be in the city.

VII. That all the French, and subjects of the French king, are excluded from any part of these capitulations, and all their effects shall remain at our disposal, and their persons prisoners of war.

“ The town is extremely strong, and had a hundred guns mounted, all facing the sea, and the two narrow passes to the land, and was well supplied with ammunition, The officers who have viewed the fortifications, affirm, There never was such an attack as the seamen made; for that fifty men might have defended those works against thousands. Ever since our coming to the bay, great numbers of Spaniards have appeared on the hills; but none of them have thought fit to advance towards us.”

1704, and addressed to his royal highness prince *George of Denmark* \*. It runs thus,

“ ON the 9th instant, returning from watering our  
 “ ships on the coast of *Barbary*, to *Gibraltar*, with little  
 “ wind easterly, our scouts to the windward, made the  
 “ signals of seeing the enemy’s fleet; which, according  
 “ to the account they gave, consisted of sixty-six sail,  
 “ and were about ten leagues to windward of us. A  
 “ council of flag-officers was called, wherein it was de-  
 “ termined to lie to the eastward of *Gibraltar*, to re-  
 “ ceive and engage them. But, perceiving that night,  
 “ by the report of their signal guns, that they wrought  
 “ from us, we followed them in the morning, with all  
 “ the sail we could make.

“ ON the 11th, we forced one of the enemy’s ships  
 “ a-shore, near *Fuengorolo*; the crew quitted her, set her  
 “ on fire, and she blew up immediately. We continued  
 “ still pursuing them; and the 12th, not hearing any of  
 “ their guns all night, nor seeing any of their scouts in  
 “ the morning, our admiral had a jealousy they might  
 “ make a double, and, by the help of their gallies, slip  
 “ between us and the shore to the westward: so that a  
 “ council of war was called, wherein it was resolved,  
 “ That, in case we did not see the enemy before night,  
 “ we should make the best of our way to *Gibraltar*;  
 “ but standing into the shore about noon, we discovered  
 “ the enemy’s fleet and gallies to the westward, near cape  
 “ *Malaga*, going very large. We immediately made all  
 “ the sail we could, and continued the chase all night.

“ ON *Sunday* the 13th, in the morning, we were  
 “ within

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\* See the London-Gazette, No. 4054.

Sir GEORGE ROOKE, *Knt.* 323

“ within three leagues of the enemy, who brought to,  
“ with their heads to the southward, the wind being easter-  
“ ly, formed their line, and lay to, to receive us. Their  
“ line consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four galleys;  
“ they were very strong in the center, and weaker in the  
“ van and rear, to supply which, most of the galleys  
“ were divided into those quarters. In the center, was  
“ monsieur de *Thoulouse*, with the white squadron; in the  
“ van, the white and blue, and in the rear, the blue;  
“ each admiral had his vice and rear-admirals: our line  
“ consisted of fifty-three ships, the admiral, and rear-admirals  
“ *Byng* and *Dilks*, being in the centre; sir *Cloudestey*  
“ *Shovel*, and sir *John Leake* led the van, and the *Dutch*  
“ the rear.

“ THE admiral ordered the *Swallow* and *Panther*, with  
“ the *Lark* and *Newport*, and two fire-ships, to lie to the  
“ windward of us, that, in case the enemy's van should  
“ push through our line with their galleys, and fire-ships,  
“ they might give them some diversion.

“ WE bore down upon the enemy in order of battle,  
“ a little after ten o'clock, when being about half gun-  
“ shot from them, they set all their sails at once, and  
“ seemed to intend to stretch a-head and weather us, so  
“ that our admiral, after firing a chase-gun at the *French*  
“ admiral, to stay for him, of which he took no notice,  
“ put the signal out, and began the battle, which fell very  
“ heavy on the *Royal Katherine*, *St. George* and the  
“ *Shrewsbury*. About two in the afternoon, the enemy's  
“ van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the  
“ day, when the enemy went away by the help of their  
“ galleys to the leeward. In the night the wind shifted  
“ to the northward, and in the morning to the west-  
“ ward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay

“ by all day, within three leagues one of another, repairing our defects; and at night they fled, and stood to the northward.

“ ON the 15th in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the westward of us; but a little before noon, we had a breeze of wind easterly, with which, we bore down on them till four o'clock in the afternoon: it being too late to engage, we brought to, and lay by, with our heads to the northward all night.

“ ON the 16th, in the morning, the wind being still easterly, hazy weather, and having no sight of the enemy or their scouts, we fled, and bore away to the westward, supposing they would have gone away for *Cadix*; but being advised from *Gibraltar*, and the coast of *Barbary*, that they did not pass the *Streights*, we concluded they had been so severely treated, as to oblige them to return to *Toulon*.

“ THE admiral says, he must do the officers the justice to say, that every man in the line did his duty without giving the least umbrage for censure or reflection, and that he never observed the true *English* spirit so apparent and prevalent in our seamen, as on this occasion.

“ THIS battle is so much the more glorious to her majesty's arms, because the enemy had a superiority of six hundred great guns, and likewise the advantage of cleaner ships, being lately come out of port, not to mention the great use of their galleys, in towing on or off their great ships, and in supplying them with fresh men as often as they had any killed or disabled. But all these disadvantages were surmounted by the bravery and good conduct of our officers, and the undaunted courage of our seamen.”

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ON the return of Sir George Rooke to *Portsmouth*, and coming up from thence to *London*, he was extremely well received by the queen; but, unluckily for him, the battle of *Malaga* was some way or other compared to that of *Blenheim*, which was fought the same year; which made the matter of fact a point of party-debate, and in the addresses sent up from all parts of her majesty's dominions, the whigs took all imaginable care to magnify the Duke of *Marlborough's* success, without saying a word of the victory at sea; whereas the Tories were equally zealous in their compliments upon both; and, to say the truth, both of these battles were decisive; that of *Blenheim* put an end to the influence of *France* in the empire, as that of *Malaga* extinguished the *French* power at sea. Amongst these addresses, the following was the most remarkable; it was presented by Sir *Richard Vyvyan*, bart. and *James Buller*, Esq; knights of the shire for the county of *Cornwall*, attended by the representatives of boroughs in that county, and the principal gentry, introduced by the lord *Granville*, lord warden of the stannaries: the address itself being penned by a relation of his, whose writings will always do honour to the *English* language \*

“ To the QUEEN's most excellent majesty.

“ PERMIT, madam, the landlords, bounders, adventurers, and whole body of the tanners of *Cornwall*, with hearts full of all dutiful acknowledgements, to approach your majesty, who want words to express their gratitude, their joy, their admiration, for the wonderful success of your majesty's arms, under the conduct of his grace the Duke of *Marlborough*.

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\* London-Gazette, No. 4074.

" NEVER was success greater in all its circumstances,  
 " a design more secretly carried on, so effectually sup-  
 " ported from home, so vigorously executed abroad, on  
 " which, no less than the liberty of *Europe* depended;  
 " a cause worthy the best of princes, a victory worthy  
 " the greatest of generals, which will transmit to all fu-  
 " ture ages, your majesty's name truly great; great for  
 " deliverance, not for oppression.

" BUT, 'tis not enough that your majesty triumphs at  
 " land; to complete your glory, your forces at sea have  
 " likewise done wonders. A fleet so much inferior, in so  
 " ill a condition, by being so long out, in such want of  
 " ammunition, by taking *Gibraltar* without gallies, which  
 " were of so great service to the enemy: all these dis-  
 " advantages considered, nothing certainly could equal the  
 " conduct of your admiral, the bravery of your officers,  
 " the courage of your seamen, during the engagement,  
 " but their conduct, their bravery, and their courage af-  
 " ter it, whereby they perfected a victory, which other-  
 " wise, in human probability, must have ended in an  
 " overthrow; an action as great in itself, as happy in its  
 " consequences.

" MAY your majesty never want such commanders by  
 " sea and land, such administration in the management  
 " of the public treasure, which so much contributes to  
 " the success of armies and of fleets.

" MAY your majesty never want (what sure you never  
 " can) the hearts, the hands, the purses, of all your peo-  
 " ple. Had not we (madam) of this country, inherited  
 " the loyalty of our ancestors (which your majesty has  
 " been pleased so graciously to remember) such obliga-  
 " tions must have engaged the utmost respect; and such,  
 " all of us will ever pay to your sacred person and govern-  
 " ment,

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ment, as with one voice we daily pray, *Long live*  
“ queen ANNE, to whom many nations owe their prefer-  
“ vation.”

THIS, and some other addresses of the like nature, alarmed the ministry extremely; and they took so much pains to hinder sir *George Rooké* from receiving the compliments usual upon such successes, that it became visible, he must either give way, or a change very speedily happen in the administration. Yet, even the weight of the ministry could not prevent the House of Commons from complimenting the queen, expressly upon the advantages obtained at sea, under the conduct of our admiral; but the House of Lords, who were under a more immediate influence at that time, was entirely silent; the Commons, however, as if they intended to push this matter as far as it would go, presented another address on the 2d of *November*, in which, they desired her majesty to bestow a bounty upon the seamen and land-forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions at sea and land. This determined the point, and Sir *George Rooké* perceiving, that, as he rose in credit with his country, he lost his interest in those at the helm, resolved to retire from public business, and prevent the affairs of the nation from receiving any disturbance upon his account. Thus, immediately after he had rendered such important services to his country, as the taking the fortress of *Gibraltar*, and beating the whole naval force of *France* in the battle of *Malaga* (the last engagement which during this war happened between these two nations at sea)

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† See Chandler's debates, life of queen Anne, annals of queen Anne, &c.

he was constrained to quit his command; and as the Tories had before driven the earl of *Orford* from his post, immediately after the glorious victory at *La Hogue*, so the Whigs returned them the compliment, by making use of their ascendancy to the like good purpose, with regard to Sir *George Rooke*: Such is the effect of party spirit in general! such the heat with which it proceeds! such its dangerous and destructive effects with respect to the welfare of the state.

AFTER this strange return for the services he had done his country, Sir *George Rooke* passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in *Kent*. His zeal for the church, and his strict adherence to the Tories, made him the darling of one set of people, and exposed him no less to the aversion of another; which is the reason that an historian finds it difficult to obtain his true character, from the writings of those who flourished in the same period of time. For my part, I have studied his actions, and his behaviour, and from thence have collected what I have delivered of him, without favour or prejudice; he was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the *Irish* station, in his wise and prudent management, when he preserved so great a part of the *Smyrna* fleet, and particularly in the taking of *Gibraltar*, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week: Of his courage, he gave abundant testimonies; but especially in burning the *French* ships at *La Hogue*, and in the battle

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\* Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Complete history of Europe for the year 1709. Annals of queen Anne, Life of queen Anne, Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, &c.



of *Malaga*, where he behaved with all the resolution of a *British* admiral; and as he was first in command, was first also in danger. In party-matters, he was perhaps too warm and eager, for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best; but in action, he was perfectly cool and temperate, gave his orders with the utmost serenity, and as he was careful in marking the conduct of his principal officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors; he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit wherever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and though he was more than once called to the bar of the House of Commons, yet he always escaped censure; as he likewise did before the Lords; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times; but by maintaining steadily, what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an *Englishman*, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamour, and popular applause; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests, when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it. In his private life, he was a good husband, and a kind master, lived hospitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune: so moderate, that when he came to make his will, it surprized those who were present; but Sir *George* assigned the reason in few words. "I do not leave much, (said he) but what I leave was honestly gotten, it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing."

“farthing.” As to this last article, I cannot but take notice, that, even after he was laid aside, a privy seal was offered him for passing his accounts, but he refused it, and made them up in the ordinary way, and with all the exactness imaginable.

THE gout, which had for many years greatly afflicted him, brought him at last to his grave, on the 24th of *January* 1708-9, in the 58th year of his age. Sir *George* was thrice married; first to Mrs. *Mary Howe*, the daughter of Sir *Thomas Howe*, of *Cold Berwick*, in the county of *Wilts*, baronet: next, to Mrs. *Mary Lutterel*, daughter of Colonel *Francis Lutterel*, of *Dunster-Castle*, in *Somersetshire*, who died in child-bed of her first child, in the month of *July* 1702; and lastly, to Mrs. *Katherine Knatchbull*, daughter to Sir — *Knatchbull*, of *Mersham-Hatch*, in the county of *Kent*, baronet; by which wives, he left only one son, born of the second, *George Rooke*, Esq; the sole heir of his fortune. But, his executors took care to secure his memory, by erecting a beautiful monument in the cathedral church of *Canterbury*, with an excellent character of the deceased inscribed thereon, and which, as well for the beauty of the stile, as the exact settling of facts and dates, it may not be amiss to exhibit, at the close of this life; the rather, because it is among the small number of inscriptions, which seem to be, in some measure, equal to the worth of the eminent persons whose praises they record. The executors of Sir *George Rooke*, were *William Broadnax*, and *Samuel Miller*, Esqrs.

I. M. S.

Georgii Rooke Militis,  
Gulielmi Rooke Militis filii,  
Angliæ Vice-Admiralli

Oh

**Sir GEORGE ROOKE, Knt. 331**

Oh quantum est historis in isto nomine!  
At quantum hic titulus potis est enarrare!  
Profugientibus ex Acie Gallis Anno MDCXII.  
Ipse aperta Cymbula,  
Immissus tormentorum globis,  
Imbribusque glandium  
(Tot Gallis testibus credite posteri)  
Ultricis primus flammis aptans,  
Naves Bellicas XIII. juxta La Hogue combussit  
Compositis dehinc inter Suevum et Danum  
Summo consilio, et justitia discordiis;  
Et pacato septentrione, ad Meridiem se convertit,  
Iterumque exhausta aut captâ ad vigonem  
Totâ Prædiatrice hostium Classe,  
Atque onerariis immensæ molis argento factis  
In Patriam feliciter adductis,  
Opimam prædam, fide integerrimâ  
In Erarium publicum deportavit.  
Gibraltariam copiis navalibus  
Pacioribus horis cepit,  
Quam postea mensibus irrito conatu  
Justus obsidebat exercitus.  
Et eadem fere impresse  
Instructissimam Gallorum classem  
Inferior multò viribus,  
Consilio et fortudine longè superior,  
Non denuo in aciem prodituram, profligavit.  
Sic { Carolo III. ad solum  
Hispaniis ad Libertem } viam aperuit  
{ Europæ ad pacem }  
His atque aliis exantalis laboribus  
Herol Christiano,  
Ob egregiam in Ecclesiam pietatem  
Ob fidem Gulielmo Magno, Et

Et ANNÆ OPTIMÆ  
 Sanctissimè semper præstitam ;  
 Ob Nomen Britannicum per Orbem  
 Amplificatum & decoratum ;  
 Non titulos superbos  
 Non opes invidiosas,  
 Nec inanes vulgi plausus ;  
 Sed optimæ mentis conscientiam,  
 Bonorum amorem omnium,  
 Otium in paternis sedibus  
 Et mortem in christo conceffit Deus.  
 Obiit XXIV. die Januar. Anno Ætat. suæ LVIII. Christi  
 MDCCVIII.

MEMOIRS of GEORGE CHURCHILL,  
*Esq; Admiral of the White, one of the Lord High  
 Admiral's Council, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to  
 Prince GEORGE of DENMARK, &c.*

AS there are some who seem born to easy fortunes,  
 and to a safe and quiet passage through the  
 world ; so there are others unlucky enough to be con-  
 tinually exposed to envy, though not excluded from  
 honours. This arises from different causes, but chiefly  
 from the want of popular talents, of which some are  
 deprived by nature, and others neglect the use. I  
 cannot say whether the first was the misfortune, or the  
 second the fault, of the gentleman whose life I am at  
 present to consider ; but certain it is, that few men  
 were more exposed to envy than he ; especially if we  
 consider, that he rose no higher in his profession, than  
 might seem the just reward of his services. But, how-  
 ever he might be persecuted by this spirit in his life-  
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GEORGE CHURCHILL, *Esq*; 333

time, there seems to be no reason, that the effects of popular dislike should attend his memory; and therefore, it shall be my business to give as clear and candid an account of his actions as I can; and this, without any bias either from favour or prejudice.

He was the second son (his grace the Duke of *Marlborough* being the eldest) of Sir *Winston Churchill*, knt. clerk of the board of green-cloth, and of a worthy family in *Derfetshire*. He was born in the year 1652, and entered early into the sea-service, where he always behaved with great courage and reputation, and this added to the interest of his family, procured him the command of a man of war, before he was quite thirty, which was a thing very unusual in those days. In the reign of king *James II.* he was made captain of the *Newcastle*, a fourth rate; and soon after the revolution, he had a third rate given him. In the famous battel of *La Hogue*, he commanded the *St. Andrew*, a second rate, in which he performed as good service as any officer in the fleet, according to all the accounts that were published of that engagement; and yet, very soon after, he quitted the service, for which several reasons were assigned; but the true one is said to have been the promotion of colonel *Aylmer* to the rank of rear-admiral, who being a younger officer, Mr. *Churchill* could not think of serving under him, but retired and lived privately for some years. I shall not take upon me to censure this part of his conduct; though I must say, that I think it would be a very difficult task to justify it; since every man is bound to serve his country, whether he be rewarded or not; and therefore, every resignation of this sort, is usually attributed to a narrow and selfish spirit, though it is not impossible it may spring from a nobler principle; however,

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it is better, certainly, for an officer to avoid such steps in his conduct, as are liable to such sinister interpretations.

In the year 1699, he had an opportunity of coming again into business; for the current then bore so hard on the earl of *Orford*, who was at the head of the admiralty, that he found it necessary to resign; upon which, colonel *George Churchill* was, amongst others, put into that commission, in which he continued near two years; and then king *William* was pleased to declare *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke* lord high admiral, which threw him out again, though but for a very short time; since, upon the accession of queen *Anne*, and the promotion of her consort prince *George* of *Denmark* to be lord high admiral, he was appointed one of his council, and was restored to his rank in the navy, which was chiefly owing to the high degree of favour in which he stood with his royal highness; who, among many other virtues which adorned his character, was from none more remarkable than for steadily supporting such as he had once honoured with his friendship. His being made admiral of the blue, had the same effect upon admiral *Aylmer*, as it is confidently said the promotion of that gentleman had a few years before upon Mr. *Churchill*; for he immediately quitted the service, and remained for several years unemployed. But, whatever satisfaction Mr. *Churchill* might receive from this victory over his rival, it is very certain, that he could not be said to enjoy much pleasure in the post to which he was raised; for during the six years he sat at that board, as his royal highness's council were continually attacked, so Mr. *Churchill*, in particular, had a double portion of that spight and resentment devolved upon him; with which our great losses at sea inspired many of our merchants, and this was very probably increased by the warmth

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GEORGE CHURCHILL, *Esq*; 335

of the admiral's temper, who had a very free way of speaking, and took perhaps too great liberties with men of such importance. For, as the naval power of *Great Britain* arises absolutely from her extensive trade, and the number of ships employed therein, it is very certain, that there is a great respect due to those who carry on that trade, and are thereby so very instrumental to the wealth, prosperity, and grandeur of this nation, which are all founded upon its commerce. However, *Mr. Churchill* maintained himself by his interest with *Prince George*, not only against the clamours of the many, and the intrigues of the few, but against several addresses and representations of the House of Lords, which were particularly calculated for his removal.

His royal highness dying on the 28th of *October* 1708, the commission which impowered his council to act, naturally determined; and thenceforward admiral *Churchill* led a private life, at a pleasant house he had in *Windsor-Park*, where he had the finest aviary that was ever seen in *Britain*, which he had collected with great care and at a vast expence. This collection of birds, at his decease, he left to his two intimate friends and patrons, *James* duke of *Ormonde*, and *Arthur* earl of *Torrington*. He was never married, but dying in very good circumstances, he left the best part of his fortune to his natural son. He deceased on the 8th of *May* 1710, in the 58th year of his age, and was buried with great funeral solemnity in the south aisle of *Westminster-Abbey*, where a beautiful monument has been erected to his memory, with the following elegant *Latin* inscription; which I insert as one of the most curious pieces of its kind that is any where to be met with; and as it contains a very full character of him, I need not add any thing further upon that subject. P.

P. S. E.

GEORGIUS CHURCHILL,

Winstonii equitis aurati ex agro Dorcestriensi

Filius natu secundus ;

Invictissimi Ducis Marlburii

Frater non indignus

A primâ juventute militiæ nomen dedit

Et sub regibus Carolo et Jacobo

Terra mariq;

Multâ cum laude meruit.

Serenissimo principi Georgio de Dania

Per virginti plus annos à cubiculis

Fide, obsequio, moribus

Gratum se reddidit et charum.

Regnante Gulielmo

Quo die classis Gallica ab Anglis

Ad oras Neustriæ fugata et combusta est

(Die semper memorabili)

Eo animi vigore et fortitudine pugnavit,

Quo Ducem Anglum decuit

Mox ad eodem rege,

Æquissimo meritorum iudice,

Unus è commissariis admiralliæ constitutus

Res maritimas, quarum erat peritissimas,

Curavit diù et ornavit

Sub scelicissimo demum Annæ imperio

Instaurato iterum bello contra gallos,

Infestissimos hostes Britanni nominis

Ex admirallis unus

Et celsissimo principi Daniæ

Magnæ totius britannæ admirallo

Factus è consiliis

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 Vol. IV



Sir DAVID MITCHELL, *Knt.* 337

Curarum omnium et laborum particeps

Domino suo

Fœlicissimam navabat operam,

Donec fractæ gallorum vires

Toto mari cesserant.

Inde principis optimi lateri adhærens

Ad extremum usq; diem

Omnia grati piiq; animi officia

Per solvit:

Laboribus tandem et morbis confectus,

Inter amplexus & lachrymas

Amicorum, clientum, et fervorum

Quos humanus, officiosus, liberalis,

Gratos devinctos & fideles habuit,

Pius, tranquillus, animosus, cælebs

Obijt viii. Maij.

Ætat. LVIII.

MDCGX.

MEMOIRS of Sir DAVID MITCHELL,  
*Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red, one of the Lords  
Commissioners of the Admiralty, and of the Council  
to Prince GEORGE of Denmark, &c.*

**A**MONG other reasons, of which there are many, for preserving, as far as possible, the memoirs of eminent persons deceased, who have rose to that degree of eminence by the services they have rendered to their country, this is one, and that not the least considerable, *viz.* To encourage others to act as they have done, and to deserve like honours, from a like conduct. It is certainly the highest encouragement

to merit, to see, that in preceeding times, men have risen thereby to the highest honours, of which their professions were capable ; and this without the countenance of great relations, or the assistance of any other friends, than those procured to them by their own desert. But, if this be a thing of consequence in every profession, it is much more so, in respect to naval affairs ; for as there are none of the subjects of *Great Britain* more useful, or who reflect more honour upon their country, than such as are employed in the navy, so there is nothing that contributes so highly to the support of that generous spirit, and invincible courage by which they have been always distinguished, as the thoughts of their being able to rise in their own profession, by mere dint of merit, and without borrowing any help from those kinds of arts, to which, from their education, and manner of living, they must be necessarily strangers. This it was that chiefly induced me to preserve such fragments, as I could gather up, in relation to the life of Sir *David Mitchell*, who was raised without envy, lived with universal reputation, and died with the character of an experienced seaman, and a worthy honest gentleman.

HE was descended from a very worthy family in *Scotland*, though of small fortune ; and at the age of sixteen, was put out apprentice to the master of a trading vessel, who lived at *Leith* ; with him, Mr. *Mitchell* continued seven years, and afterwards served as a mate aboard several other ships, especially in northern voyages ; by which he not only acquired great skill as a seaman, but also attained most modern languages ; which, with his superiour knowledge in the mathematicks, and other general accomplishments, recommended him to the favour of his officers, after he had been pressed to sea in the

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*Dutch wars.* At the revolution, he was made a captain, and being remarkable for his great skill in maritime affairs, and known to be firmly attached to that government, he was very soon distinguished and promoted; so that in the year 1693, he commanded the squadron that convoyed the king to *Holland*, and having by this means an opportunity of conversing freely and frequently with his majesty, became much in his favour, so that in the next promotion, he was made rear-admiral of the blue; and not long after, appointed one of the grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber. In 1694, Sir *David Mitchell*, being then a knight, and rear-admiral of the red, sailed with admiral *Ruffel* into the *Mediterranean*; and on the admiral's return home, he was appointed to command in chief a squadron left in those seas; in the execution of which commission he behaved himself with great reputation; and in 1696, served under Sir *George Rooke*, with whom he lived in great friendship, notwithstanding he owed his rise and fortunes in some measure to the kindness of admiral *Ruffel*, afterwards earl of *Orford*.

I have already taken notice in the former volume, that he brought over, and carried back, his *Czarish* majesty, *Peter the Great*, emperor of *Russia*, who was so extremely pleased with the company of Sir *David Mitchell* (from whom, he often professed, he learned more of maritime affairs, than from any other person whatever) that he offered him the highest preferments in *Muscovy*, if he would have accompanied him thither; but his proposal was not agreeable either to Sir *David's* circumstances or inclinations; for having, on the Death of Sir *Fleetwood Sheppard*, been appointed gentleman-usher of the black rod, and having also his pay as a vice-admiral, he had no reason to quit the service of his native country, even to oblige so great

a prince. His skill and conduct as a seaman, and his perfect acquaintance with every branch of naval affairs, rendered him extremely useful, as his polite behaviour made him agreeable to every administration. Upon the accession of queen *Anne*, Sir *David Mitchell* was appointed one of the council to prince *George of Denmark*, as lord high admiral, in which honourable office he continued till the year before the prince's death, when he was laid aside; but upon another change of affairs he was sent over to *Holland*, with a commission of great importance, which was to expostulate with their high mightinesses about the deficiencies of their quota's during the continuance of the war, which commission he discharged with great honour. This was the last public act of his life, for soon after his return to *England*, he deceased, at his seat called *Popes*, in *Hertfordshire*, on the 1st of *June 1710*, with as fair a reputation, as any man of his rank and character could acquire, and lies buried in the parish church of *Hatfield*, in the county before-mentioned.



WE have now finished, not only the naval history, but the naval memoirs of this reign, by annexing the best accounts we could collect of those great men who served their country under the happy auspice of this illustrious prince; the few things that remain to be said, are of a miscellaneous nature, and are brought in here, because they relate to naval affairs, and so are connected with our history, more than with any other, and are at the same time of too great importance to be suffered to sleep in oblivion, while it is in our power to save them. Of all the reigns since the conquest, it may be truly said, that the *British* constitution never appeared with greater lustre than under that of the queen; by which I mean, that the prerogative,

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prerogative, or influence of the crown, was never less exerted, than by queen *Anne* and her ministers. Thus, immediately after the peace of *Utrecht*, in order to shew the care and concern that was had for the trade of the nation, the commissioners appointed for taking and stating the public accounts, directed *Dr. Charles D'Avenant*, director-general of the exports and imports, to lay before them distinct annual accounts of the importations and exportations of all commodities into, and out of, this kingdom, which he accordingly did, with his own remarks and reflections, a thing of very great importance to the State, and a precedent worthy of imitation; because, without such authentic grounds, it is simply impossible, that any probable conjecture should be made as to the growth or decay of our commerce in general, or how far it is, or is not, affected by the encouragement, or discouragement of particular branches; which, however, are points of great importance to every government, and without a competent knowledge of which, no ministry can ever make a figure, or parliament be able to decide with certainty, as to those points which are of greatest consequence to their constituents.

At the close of that work, *Dr. D'Avenant* enters largely into the advantages that might be made by a trade into the *South Seas*, and that in terms, which shew plainly, the commerce of this company was not a visionary thing, as the enemies of the lord high treasurer *Oxford*, its patron, pretended; for he there says plainly, that this company might extend the trade of the nation, by vending its commodities and manufactures, in unknown countries, and gives his reasons why he thought so. I must confess, that I never understood the scope of this great man's reasoning upon that subject, till I read a book lately published by

Mr. *Dobbs*, wherein he has shewn, with great public spirit, how this may be done, either by discovering a north-west passage into those seas, and fixing colonies in the countries beyond *California*; or, by prosecuting those discoveries that have been already made by the *Dutch*, and some of our own navigators of the *Terra Australis*, thro' the *Streights of Magellan*, either of which would open to us a new commerce, infinitely more advantageous than that of *Spain* to her *Indies*; because these new discovered countries are so situated, as that their inhabitants must stand in want of our goods, at the same time that they stand possessed of gold, silver, spices, and other rich commodities, which must come to us in return; and therefore Dr. *D'Avenant* had great reason to suggest, that the new *South Sea* might prove as beneficial to *Britain*, as her old *East-India* company. This very discourse of his, being addressed to the commissioners for taking and stating accounts, is the clearest demonstration, that when the *South Sea* company was erected, there was a prospect of these advantages, and that with a view to these, the powers of the company were rendered so extensive, and their capital made so large.

If this has not hitherto been done, still, however, it may be done, since the same powers remain vested in the company by their charter; and it is the more reasonable, that something of this sort should be attempted, because the *Affiento*-contract is expiring; and at present, there seems to be but little prospect of our getting it renewed. Besides, if we are able to settle any new colonies in that part of the globe, we should be able to trade with the *Spaniards* without an *Affiento*, and secure to ourselves such a proportion of commerce, as might perhaps equal all that we now possess. But, if it should be found, that, not-

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withstanding these extensive powers, the company is either disinclined, or disabled to carry on such a new trade; then I humbly think it will be high time for the legislature to transfer those powers to some other body corporate, that may be able and willing to exert them, and this with such clauses of emendation or restriction, as the experience we have since had of the management of public companies shall suggest to be either necessary or expedient. In the same report by Dr. *D'Avenant*, there are several other curious remarks on almost all the branches of our commerce; and if such a general state of trade as this, were to be laid before the parliament, once at least in every reign, we should then be able to judge both of the efficacy of the laws already made, and of the usefulness and expediency of new ones. But, it is now time to return from this digression, into which I was led by the desire of preserving a hint which seems so very capable of improvement, to the last acts of the queen's government and life, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

THE treaty of *Utrecht*, which put an end to our disputes abroad, proved the cause of high debates, and great distractions at home. The people grew uneasy, the ministry divided, and the heats and violence of party rose to such a height, that her majesty found herself so embarrassed, as not either to depend upon those in power, or venture to turn them out. The uneasiness of mind that such a perplexed situation of affairs occasioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of prince *George's* death, and this weakness of her's, served to increase those disorders in her government, which were so grievous to herself, and so detrimental to her subjects. For her ministers, forgetting their duty to her, and their regard for their country,

consulted only their ambition, and their private views; so that, whenever they met in council, they studied rather to cross each others proposals, than to settle, or pursue any regular plan; and to such a monstrous extravagance these jealousies rose at last, that it is believed, a quarrel between two of her principal ministers, in her presence, proved, in some measure, the cause of her death. For being at *Windsor*, she was seized on the 29th of *July*, with a drowsiness and sinking of her spirits; and the next day, about seven in the morning, was struck with an apoplexy, and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon, she was sensible, and at the request of the privy-council, declared the Duke of *Shrewsbury* lord high treasurer of *Great Britain*, though he was lord chamberlain, and lord lieutenant of *Ireland* at the same time. This was the last act of her administration; for the council now took upon themselves the direction of public affairs, appointing the Earl of *Berkley* to command the fleet, and sending General *Witbam* to take the command in *Scotland*; and likewise dispatched orders for the immediate embarkation of seven *British* battalions from *Flanders*. In the mean time, the queen continued in the hands of her physicians and domesticks, some of whom flattered themselves with false hopes to the last; but the blisters not rising, her majesty, about seven in the morning, on the first of *August* 1714, breathed her last. The following character I have taken from a history of her reign in MS. which, now, in all probability, will never be printed.

*ANNE STUART*, daughter to *James II.* king of *England*, &c. was born at *St. James's*, *February* 6, 1664-5, at 39 minutes past eleven at night. She was tenderly and carefully educated; and having from nature the

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most valuable gifts, she became a very accomplished princess. She was moderately tall, and well proportioned, her complexion and shape excellent, till her constitution was impaired by grief and sickness. She appeared to best advantage speaking, for she had a clear harmonious voice, great good sense, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected, her humility sincere, her good-nature very conspicuous; but would have been more so, had it not been inherent in her Family. As a wife, she was the pattern of conjugal fidelity, without any affectation of fondness. Her tenderness as a mother to her children, was regulated by the rules of reason and religion; but, her indulgence as the mother of her subjects knew no bounds. It was her only foible, that the uprightness of her own intentions left her without suspicion. Her affection for her people was so apparent, that it was never doubted; and so firmly rooted, as to be discernable in her last words. With a just sense of her own high dignity, she had a true concern for the rights of her subjects, and a strong passion for the glory of the nation, she loved public spirit, and encouraged it; and though she was naturally magnificent and generous, yet she was frugal in her private expences; not to hoard, but to bestow on the necessities of the state. She gave her tenths to the clergy, which will remain a lasting monument of her zeal for the church. The many good laws, and the numerous happy events which fell out in her reign, will ever preserve her memory in esteem with those who wish well to the state. In a word, she was blessed with all the endowments that could make a woman admired, and exerted all the virtues necessary to make a monarch beloved. At her death, her loss was thought irretrievable,  
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and few, who remember her, have altered their opinions. It would be improper to say more, and ingratitude to have said less.


HER majesty had issue by the prince of *Denmark*, 1. a daughter that was still-born the 12th of *May* 1684. 2. *Lady Mary*, a second daughter, born the 2d of *June* 1685, and died in *February* 1690. 3. *Anne Sophia*, who was born the 12th of *May* 1686, and died the *February* following. 4. *William* duke of *Gloucester*, born the 24th of *July* 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age. 5. The lady *Mary*, born *October* 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized. 6. *George*, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

ABSTRACT of the royal navy, as it stood at the death of the QUEEN.

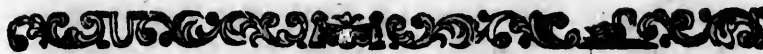
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## C H A P. II.

*Containing the naval history of Great Britain, from the accession of King George I. to the time of his demise.*



WE are now to enter on a new Period of time; and a great change in our government, brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of King *WILLIAM III.* for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princess *ANNE*, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of *Hanover*, as the next protestant heirs: for the princess *Sophia*, Electress dowager of *Hanover*, was daughter to the queen of *Bohemia*, who, before her marriage with the Elector *Palatine*, was stiled the princess *Elizabeth* of *Great Britain*, daughter to *James VI.* of *Scotland*, and *I.* of *England*; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of these realms. But, the princess *Sophia* dying a very little while before the queen, *GEORGE LEWIS*, elector of *Hanover* her son, became heir of this crown, on the demise of queen *Anne*, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by another statute, passed in the ninth year of her majesty's reign. For, by that law, the administration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on seven persons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the successor should think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law.

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THE seven justices fixed by the statute, were, the archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Dr. Thomas Tennison*; the lord high chancellor, *Simon lord Harcourt*; the lord president of the council, *John duke of Buckinghamshire*; the lord high treasurer, *Charles duke of Shrewsbury*; the lord privy-seal, *William earl of Dartmouth*; first lord commissioner of the admiralty, *Thomas earl of Strafford*; and lord chief justice of the *King's-Bench*, *Sir Thomas Parker*. The lords justices appointed by the successor, were, the lord archbishop of *York*, *Sir William Dawes*; the dukes of *Shrewsbury*, *Somerset*, *Bolton*, *Devonshire*, *Kent*, *Argyle*, *Montross*, and *Roxborough*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Anglesea*, *Carlisle*, *Nottingham*, *Abingdon*, *Scarborough*, and *Orford*; the Lord Viscount *Townshend*; and the Lords *Halifax*, and *Cowper*. These lords justices, the same day the queen died, issued a proclamation declaring the accession of King *George I.* and commanding him to be proclaimed through all parts of the kingdom; which was done accordingly. On the next day, they sent the Earl of *Dorset* to his majesty, to invite him over; and on the 3d of *August*, the lord high chancellor, in the name of the lords justices, opened the session of parliament by a speech. On the 17th of the same month, the Earl of *Berkley* sailed with a squadron of sixteen men of war, and six yachts, for *Holland*, in order to attend his majesty, where he was joined by eight ships of the *States General*, under rear-admiral *Coperen*; and, to secure the coasts and the channel, admiral *Wager* was sent down to *Portsmouth*, and *Sir Thomas Hardy* to *Plymouth*, to equip such ships as were fit for service.

His majesty arriving from *Holland* on the 18th of *September*, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands; and

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very soon made some considerable alterations in the several boards; particularly in that of the admiralty, which was clean swept; for, instead of *Thomas Earl of Stafford*, *Sir John Leake*, *Sir William Drake*, *John Aislavie*, Esq; *Sir James Wisbart*, and *Dr. John Clarke*, who were there on the demise of the late queen, his majesty appointed *Edward Earl of Orford*, *Sir George Byng*, *George Dodington*, Esq; *Sir John Jennings*, *Sir Charles Turner*, *Abraham Stanyan*, and *George Baillie*, Esqrs. In the month of *November*, *Matthew Aylmer*, Esq; was declared admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet; and soon after, *Sir Charles Wager*, rear-admiral of the red, was sent to relieve *Sir James Wisbart*, in the *Mediterranean* <sup>a</sup>.

THE Subject of this work obliges me only to take notice of such acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after observing that a new parliament was summoned, and met at *Westminster*, *March* the 17th, the next thing that occurs, is, that on the first of *April*, 1715, they came to a resolution; to allow ten thousand seamen at four pounds a month; and on the 9th of *May* following, granted 135,574 l. 3s. 6d. for the half-pay

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<sup>a</sup> In order to render the subsequent history more clear, it will be requisite to give the reader a short state of the commands in the navy, at the accession of King George I.

- Sir John Leake*, Knt. rear-admiral of Great Britain.
- Matthew Aylmer*, Esq; admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet.
- Sir James Wisbart*, Knt. admiral of the white squadron.
- Sir John Norris*, Knt. admiral of the blue.
- James Earl of Berkley*, vice admiral of the red.
- Sir Edward Whitaker*, Knt. vice admiral of the white.
- John Baker*, Esq; vice admiral of the blue.
- Sir Charles Wager*, Knt. rear admiral of the red.
- Sir Hovenden Walker*, rear admiral of the white.
- Sir Thomas Hardy*, Knt. rear admiral of the blue.

pay of sea-officers; 197,896 *l.* 17s. 6d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 237,277 *l.* for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ships. These large sums were thought necessary, because, at this juncture, the fleet of *Great Britain* was very much decayed; and it was foreseen that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise, which might require fresh armaments.

AMONGST these disputes, the most serious was that in which we were engaged with *Sweden*. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the *Swedish* privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, were confiscated, under a pretence that we assisted and supplied the *Czar* and his subjects, with ships, arms, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of *Sweden*. Mr. *Jackson*, her majesty's minister at *Stockholm*, had presented several memorials upon this subject, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and therefore, it was now thought expedient to make use of more effectual means, *viz.* sending a strong squadron of men of war into the *Baltick*, the rather, because their high mightinesses the *States General*, labouring under the same inconveniencies, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourse to the same measures, in order to protect the commerce of their subjects.

THIS once resolved, a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for this service, and the command given to Sir *John Norris*, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir *Thomas Hardy*, rear-admiral of the same squadron, to assist him. The admiral hoisted his flag on board the *Cumberland*, a third rate, having ten ships of the line in his division. Sir *Thomas Hardy* was in the *Norfolk*, a third rate

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rate also, and had in his division, eight ships of the line, the *Mermaid* frigate, of thirty-two guns, and the *Drake Sloop*, which carried sixteen. This fleet sailed from the *Nore* on the 18th of *May*, and arrived in the *Sound* on the 10th of *June* following; where, finding the *Dutch* squadron, a conference was held on board the *Cumberland* on the 14th, in which it was resolved, that the combined squadron should proceed together, with the *English* and *Dutch* merchant-men under their convoy, for their respective ports; which they performed accordingly, by the close of the month.

ONE of the first things Sir *John Norris* did, was, to dispatch an express to the court of *Stockholm*, in order to be satisfied, whether the *Swedes* were resolved to go on in their practice of seizing and confiscating our ships; or whether, before it was too late, they would consent to enter into a negotiation for determining the disputes which had arisen between the two nations. The answer he received, was so loose, and uncertain, that he resolved to proceed according to his instructions. After Sir *John's* departure from *Copenhagen*, there arrived, under the convoy of two *British* men of war, forty-six merchant-ships, that were not ready to sail from *England* with Sir *John Norris*. These ships remained till the *Danish* fleet was ready to sail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of *August*, the *Danish* fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, with the *Russian* squadron, resolved to sail up the *Baltick*, with the *English* and *Dutch*. As the *Czar* of *Muscovy* was at this time at *Copenhagen*, and designed to command his own ships, several consultations were held, to regulate the command of the several squadrons of different nations, then in that road,

road, which, together, were called the confederate fleet. It was, at last, resolved to give the chief command of it to the *Czar* of *Muscovy*; but so, that Sir *John Norris* should command the van-guard of the united fleet; the *Czar*, the body of the line of battle; the *Danish* admiral, Count *Gueldenlew*, the rear; and, that the *Dutch* commodore, with his squadron, and five *British* men of war, should proceed with the trade of both nations, for their respective harbours, in the *Baltick*. According to this resolution, the 16th the *Czar* hoisted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his finest ships, and was thereupon immediately saluted by Sir *John Norris*, with a discharge of his cannon, which was followed by the *Danish* and *Dutch*; and these compliments being paid, his *Czarian* majesty gave the signal for sailing; the 18th they came to an anchor in the *Kieger-Bucht*; from whence, they sailed towards *Bornholm*, where, being informed that the *Swedish* fleet was returned to *Carlsroon*, the *British* and *Dutch* merchant-ships, with their convoys, separated, and proceeded on their respective voyages, and the *Czar*, with his squadron, sailed for the coast of *Mecklenburg*.

THE *Swedes* had at this time, a very numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wise to hazard it against such an unequal force as that of the confederates; and, therefore, withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they received the king's absolute orders. On the 28th of *October*, Sir *John Norris*, with the *British* squadron under his command, and the *Danish* men of war commanded by Count *Gueldenlew*, arrived at *Bornholm*, on which day, the two cruizers which Sir *John Norris* had sent to *Carlsroon*, returned to him with an account, that they had seen the *Swedish* fleet, with two flags, and seven broad pendants in *Carlsroon*, and all the  
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Ships they could discover, lay rigg'd; as also, that they had three cruizers under sail, off the port. That night, Sir *John Norris* sent these two cruizers, being the best sailors of his Squadron, to *Dantzick*, to hasten the trade down the *Baltick*; and if they found the six *British* men of war, and all the merchant-men had joined there, to order the commodore not to lose a moment that could be made use of for sailing, but to proceed. These cruizers arrived at *Dantzick* on the 30th, where they joined the *British* men of war, and the trade, which, on the 31st, all sailed from *Dantzick*. On the 9th, the *British* men of war, with the trade, joined Sir *John Norris's* Squadron at *Bronholm* (having sailed from the fleet off *Dantzick* on the 4th of this month) and the next day came all with him into the road of *Copenhagen*. On the 12th, arrived the *Dutch* trade, with their convoy, which had been obliged to stay after ours at *Dantzick*, for provisions. A few days after, Sir *John* sailed from the road of *Copenhagen*; and, notwithstanding his fleet, as well as the merchant-men under his convoy, were surprized by a violent storm, which dispersed them, and in which the *August*, of sixty guns, and the *Garland* of twenty-four, were unfortunately lost; yet the rest, with all the trade, safely arrived at the *Trow*, on the 29th of *November*, in the morning. Sir *John Norris* left seven ships of war under the command of commodore *Cleeland*, in the *Baltick*, to act in conjunction with the *Danes*, and for the further security of the *British* trade, if necessary. Thus I have prosecuted the history of this *Baltick* expedition, from the sailing to the return of the fleet, that the reader might the better apprehend it: and now I ought to return to the proceedings of our fleets in the channel; but that it seems requisite to clear up some points relating to this *Baltick*

expedition, which have of late been the subject of high disputes.

THE great point in question, as to this *Swedish* expedition, is, whether it took rise from our own concerns, or from those of the electorate of *Hanover*. On the one hand, it is very certain, that the *Swedish* privateers took our ships, as well as those of other nations, and that, in fitting our fleet for those seas, we did no more than the *Dutch*. On the arrival of Sir *John Norris* in the *Baltick*, our minister presented a memorial, in which, he set forth, the particular damages sustained by our merchants, amounting to 69,024*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* for which he demanded satisfaction; and, at the same time insisted on the repeal of an edict, which his *Swedish* majesty had lately published, and by which the commerce of the *Baltick* was wholly prohibited to the *English*. This memorial was presented, *June 15, 1715*, and in it, the nature of Sir *John Norris's* commission was explained; so that, thus far, all this quarrel seems to arise from his majesty's care of the *British* commerce<sup>b</sup>.

BUT as elector of *Hanover*, he had also some disputes with his majesty of *Sweden*, of quite a different nature; for having purchased from the crown of *Denmark* the dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which had been taken from the crown of *Sweden*, he found himself obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with the first-mentioned power, in declaring war against *Sweden*; and, even before this was done, some *English* ships joined the *Danish* fleet, in order to distress the *Swedes*. Of this, the *Swedish* minister here complained, by a memorial delivered to lord *Townshend*,

<sup>b</sup> Lamberti, Tom. ix, p. 251. Oldmixon, Annals of King George. &c.

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*Send*, then secretary of state, dated *October 3, 1715*. His *Swedish* majesty also, in answer to the *Hanoverian* declaration of war, published some very severe reflections, in which he asserts, that the honour of the *British* flag had been prostituted to serve the interests of another state, and in order to create an intercourse between the king's regal and electoral dominions<sup>c</sup>. Thus far I have given the evidence on both sides, and leave the whole to the determination of the reader; with this observation only, that the *Dutch*, though no less injured, no less concerned in their trade than we, did not, however, think it necessary to come to such extremities.

WHILE this squadron was employed in the *Baltick*, the rebellion was extinguished in *Scotland*; but with so little assistance from our naval force, that it scarce deserves to be mentioned. It is true, Sir *George Byng* was sent to hoist his flag in the *Downs*, in the middle of summer, and continued there as long as the season would permit; but no enemy appeared, and Sir *John Jennings* was sent to *Edinburgh*, from whence he went on board the *Oxford*, in the *Frith*, and hoisted his flag as commander in chief of the squadron then upon the coasts, which would have been highly serviceable in case the *Pretender's* adherents had either had any naval force, or had been succoured from beyond the seas: But there was nothing of this kind. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of *Mar*, who was soon joined by the clans; and the duke of *Argyll* being sent down against him, it quickly appeared how ill their measures had been taken.

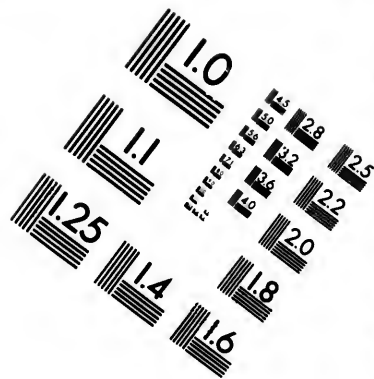
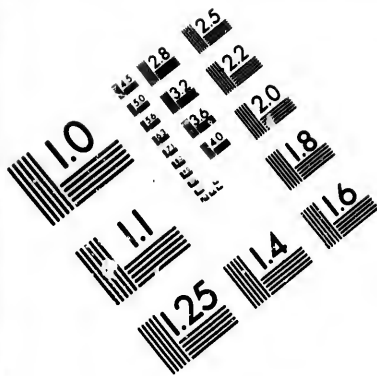
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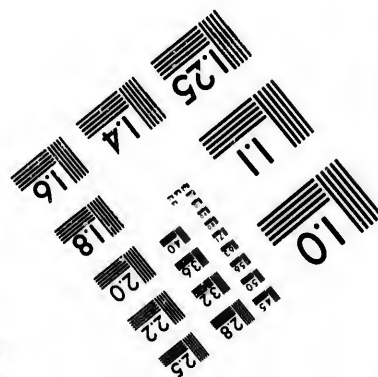
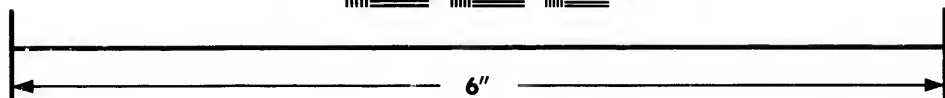
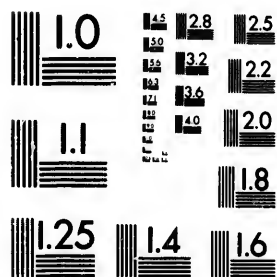
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<sup>c</sup> Lamberti, Tom. ix. p. 301. Historical Register, vol. 1. p. 2. Oldmixon, &c.





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His grace had, indeed, but a small number of regular troops under his command; but his interest was so extensive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for King *George*, but, which perhaps was the greater service of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwise had joined the rebels. The business was decided by the battle of *Sheriff-Moore*, near *Dunblain*, fought *November 13, 1715*, the same day that general *Foster* and the *English*, who were in arms, surrendered at *Preston*. Yet, after this, the *Chevalier de St. George* ventured over into *Scotland*, in a very poor vessel; where, soon finding his affairs desperate, and his person in the utmost danger, he contrived to make his escape from the north, with the utmost secrecy; which he effected, by going on board a clean tallow'd *French* snow, which failed out of the harbour of *Montrose*, *February* the 3d, in sight of some *English* men of war, but kept so close along shore, that they soon found it was impossible to follow her<sup>d</sup>.

THESE were the principal transactions of this year, at the close of which, things were still in such confusion, that the parliament thought fit to grant very large supplies for the ensuing year, *viz.* 10,000 seamen at the rate of 4*l.* per month, the sum of 233,849*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* for the ordinary of the navy, and 23,623*l.* for the extraordinary repairs of the navy. We have already taken notice of what past under Sir *John Norris* in the *Baltick*; and here, therefore, have only to observe, that this year some of the pyratral republics in *Barbary* having broke the peace, admiral *Baker*, who had the command of the *English* squadron in the *Mediterranean*, received orders to bring them  
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\* Historical register, Oldmixon, annals of King *George*, &c.

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to reason; which he did, without any great difficulty. But the *Sallee Rovers* still did a great deal of mischief; and it was the more difficult to suppress them, because their ships were so small, and drew so little water, that our men of war were very seldom able to come near enough to exchange shot with them. At last, Captain *Delgarno*, one of the most active officers in the navy, in his majesty's ship the *Hind*, of twenty guns only, came up with one of their best men of war of twenty-four guns, and after an obstinate engagement, of two hours and a half, obliged her to strike; but she had not been in his possession about a quarter of an hour, before she sunk; and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, perished: This, with the loss of another vessel of eight guns, and two more of sixteen guns each, which were forced on shore by his majesty's ship the *Bridgewater*, delivered in a great measure, the *English* commerce in the *Mediterranean*, from the interruptions given by these pyrates<sup>e</sup>.

In the month of *June*, his majesty went over to *Holland*, escorted by an *English* squadron, and from thence, continued his journey by land to *Hanover*, where the disturbances in the north, made his presence at that time particularly necessary, and where he continued the rest of the year 1716; at the close of which, admiral *Aylmer* sailed with a squadron for *Holland*, to escort him home. In the mean time, the government was employed in extinguishing the remains of the rebellion here and in *Scotland*, and providing, in the best manner they could, against the revival of such disturbances; of which, they had the greater hopes, from the conduct which the regent

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<sup>e</sup> Oldmixon; Historical Register, London-Gazette, &c.



of *France* pursued, who shewed a strong inclination to live upon good terms with *Great Britain*, as was indeed his interest. But, it very soon appeared, that, notwithstanding the *Chevalier's* adherents had lost their hopes, with respect to succours from *France*, they had still another power willing, and ready to assist them <sup>f</sup>.

UPON his majesty's return, a dangerous conspiracy was said to be discovered; in which, many were engaged at home and abroad; and for defeating of which, it was thought necessary to secure the person and papers of Count *Gyllenbourg*, then his *Swedish* majesty's ambassador at this court, and who at the time of his death was prime minister of that kingdom: a fact which struck the foreign ministers here with the utmost surprize, from which, however, they quickly recovered themselves, when they were informed, that it was not for any act of his ministry, but for his being concerned in the management of a plot against the government. About the same time, the famous baron *Goertz* was, at his *Britannick* majesty's request, arrested in *Holland*, where he acted as minister from the King of *Sweden*. In order to satisfy the world, the letters and papers relating to the invasion, which it was said his *Swedish* majesty intended to have made in *Scotland*, were rendered public; and the parliament, soon after, shewed the warmest resentment at the insolence of this attempt. It was, indeed, amazing, that a prince already, overwhelmed by so many, and so powerful enemies, should think of adding to their number by practices of this kind. But whoever considers the genius and spirit of the late *Charles XII.* will easily conceive, that it was natural  
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<sup>f</sup> Annals of King George, Oldmixon, Political State.

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enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous soever, which seemed to promise the dissolving that confederacy by which he was distressed. But his design was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected discovery, which put it absolutely out of his power to carry it into execution; but it likewise brought upon him new difficulties, in consequence of his *Britannic* majesty's resentment of such behaviour, which presently discovered itself, by the vigorous resolutions taken here. For on the 21st of *February*, it was resolved in the House of Commons, "That a bill be brought in to authorize his majesty to prohibit commerce with *Sweden*, during such a time as his majesty shall think it necessary, for the safety and peace of his kingdom;" which afterwards passed both Houses, and had the royal assent; and on the 2d of *March*, a proclamation was published for this purpose <sup>g</sup>.

As it was foreseen that this affair must necessarily occasion the sending another squadron to the *Baltick*, the necessary supplies were very early granted, *viz.* 10,000 seamen for the service of the year 1717; 226,799*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* for the ordinary of the navy, and 20,761*l.* for the extraordinary and repairs, and for the furnishing such sea stores as might be necessary. Immediately after, orders were issued for forming a grand squadron, consisting of twenty one ships of the line, besides frigates, for the *Baltick*, the command of which, was given to Sir *George Byng*, who was to have had two admirals under him, with an additional force; but, before those ships were ready, the ministry altered their design, and Sir *George*, in obedience

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<sup>g</sup> Chandler's debates, Oldmixon, Historical Register, &c.

to fresh orders, sailed on the 30th of *March* for *Copenhagen*<sup>h</sup>,

WHATEVER necessity there might be for these vigorous measures, yet it is certain, that this necessity did not so fully appear to many who were hitherto supposed as penetrating politicians as any in this kingdom; and therefore, an opposition was created, where it was least expected, I mean by some who had the honour to be in the king's councils; which, however, did not hinder them from expressing their sentiments with a *British* freedom. Their arguments, however, had so little weight, that as soon as *Sir George Byng* was sailed, some of the great ministers prevailed upon his majesty to send, on the 3d of *April* 1717, a message to the House of Commons to this effect; "that, being desirous to secure his kingdoms against the present dangers with which they were threatened from *Sweden*, he hoped they would enable him to make good such engagements as might ease his people of all future charge, and apprehensions, upon this account." This occasioned warm debates in the House; it being said, that the demanding a supply, without communicating the particular uses to which it was to be appropriated, was unparliamentary; and even *Mr. Walpole*, afterwards created *Earl of Orford*, and *Mr. Speaker* appear to be against it. However, it was at length carried in the committee, by 164 to 149. "That it was the opinion of the committee, that a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thousand pounds be granted to his majesty to concert such measures with foreign princes" and

<sup>h</sup> Chandler's debates, Votes of the House of Commons, Political State;

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“ and states, as may prevent any charge and apprehension from the designs of *Sweden* for the future.” When the question for agreeing with the committee was put in the house, it was carried but by four voices, viz. yeas 153, noes 149. The next morning, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* let the Lord *Townshend* know, that his majesty had no further occasion for his service, as Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: whereupon, Mr. *Walpole*, who was then first commissioner of the treasury; Mr. *Methuen* secretary of state; and Mr. *Pulteney* secretary at war, laid down their employments. A few days after, *Edward (Ruffel)* Earl of *Orford*, resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty; upon which, his majesty thought proper to change that board, and accordingly, *James* Earl of *Berkley*, *Matthew Aylmer*, Esq; *Sir George Byng*, *James Cockburn*, and *William Chetwynd*, Esqrs. were made lords commissioners of the admiralty<sup>1</sup>.

It was necessary to take notice of these domestick proceedings, before we followed *Sir George Byng* with his fleet into the *Baltick*; where so little was performed, that it is not easy to give the reader any tolerable satisfaction about it. On the eleventh of *April*, *Sir George* arrived in the road of *Copenhagen*; the next day he had an audience of the king of *Denmark* and assisted at several conferences, which were held in the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case it should be thought requisite for the several squadrons to join. *Sir George* next detached five ships of the line to cruize in the *Categat*, between *Gottenburgh* and the point of *Schagen*, to cover the trade

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<sup>1</sup> Chandler's debates, Votes of the House of Commons, Oldmixon, Historical Register, Political State, &c.

trade from the *Swedish* privateers. The *Danish* cruizers being likewise employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ships could pass out of that port. Sir *George* himself waited only for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the *British* squadron into the *Baltick*, where the *Swedes*, however, had by this time absolutely laid aside whatever designs they had formed, either to our prejudice, or against the general peace of *Europe*. On the 7th of *May*, however, our admiral sailed from *Copenhagen*, having under his convoy, a great number of merchant-ships, bound for several parts of the *Baltick*, and in the *Kiogerbucht*, was joined by the *Danish* fleet, commanded by vice-admiral *Gabel*: they sailed together towards *Carlsroon*; but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the season of the year began to advance, Sir *George Byng* thought of coming home with the fleet; and accordingly, on the 2d of *November*, past the *Sound*, with nine *English* of war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burthen, leaving behind him six men of war to act in conjunction with the *Danish* fleet; and on the 15th of the same month, arrived safe at the mouth of the *Thames*; there leaving his squadron, he came up to *London*, where he was graciously received by his majesty. So that here ended the naval expedition for this year, and with it, in a great measure, all the apprehensions the nation was under from the *Swedes* <sup>k</sup>.

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<sup>k</sup> To quiet the minds of the people, and prevent their running into a notion, that the fitting out this fleet was not really intended for the honour and service of Great-Britain: The following account was published in the Gazette.

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In the mean time, his majesty had thought fit to appoint Sir *John Norris* envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the *Czar of Muscovy*; and, as if things began to be so disposed as to admit of a peace in the north, a resolution was taken, to discharge Count *Gyllenbourg*, which was thus brought about. His royal highness the duke of *Orleans* ordered the *French* minister here, to acquaint the king, that his royal highness was perfectly well informed as to the king of *Sweden's* disposition, and that he was throughly satisfied, that his *Swedish* majesty had not, nor ever had, any intention to disturb the tranquillity of his *Britannic* majesty's dominions; that if, therefore, his ministers had entered into any practices of that kind, it was entirely without his knowledge; and that, upon their return to *Sweden*, he would cause a strict enquiry to be made

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ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, June 28.

“ Captain *Lestock*, of the *Panther*, who commands the ships,  
“ appointed by Sir *George Byng*, to cruize of *Gottenburgh*,  
“ gives an account by his letter, dated the thirteenth of last  
“ month, that, on the 27th of April, he sailed out of *Marde*  
“ in *Norway*, and three days after, took a *Swedish Privateer*-  
“ *Dogger*, of six guns, and seventy-two men, commanded by  
“ one *St. Leger*, the person who sometime since seized one of  
“ our packet-boats. That the same afternoon, he retook a  
“ *Dutch hoy*, which had been taken the day before, by a  
“ *Swedish ship* of ten guns; and, on the first of May, in the  
“ afternoon, he met and took the privateer, into whose hands  
“ the hoy had fallen: All which prizes were carried into  
“ *Arundel*; and that, the ninth at night, the *Strafford* retook  
“ a *Dutch fly boat*: By another letter from Captain *Lestock*,  
“ dated 26th of May, he gave an account, that his majesty's  
“ ship the *Severn* had taken a pirate, and retaken a *Dutch fly*-  
“ boat: That the *Chatham* had taken two *Swedish privateers*:  
“ And, that, on the fifteenth of the said month of May, our  
“ ships took a *Swedish brigantine* of eight guns and twenty-six  
“ Men.”

made into their conduct, in order to punish them, if they should be proved guilty. Upon this proposition from the regent of *France*, it was agreed, that Count *Gyllenbourg* should be exchanged against Mr. *Jackson*, the *English* minister at *Stockholm*, and that Baron *Goertz* should be released from his confinement in *Holland*; which was accordingly performed. Yet the storm did not entirely blow over; but the *Swedish* quarrel still proved a source of new expence to the *British* nation<sup>1</sup>.

THE ministry, to shew that their thoughts were not wholly taken up by these disputes in the north, framed, at this time, a very just and laudable design of suppressing the pyrates in the *West-Indies*, who, since the close of the late war, were become very numerous and highly insolent. And to give the public a just idea of their care in this respect, they caused an order of council, dated the 15th of *September* 1717, to be published to the effect following, *viz.* “ That complaint having been made to  
 “ his majesty by great numbers of merchants, masters of  
 “ ships, and others, as well as by the several governors  
 “ of his majesty’s islands and plantations in the *West-Indies*, that the pirates are grown so numerous, that  
 “ they infest not only the seas of *Jamaica*, but even  
 “ those of the northern continent of *America*: And that,  
 “ unless some effectual means be used, the whole trade  
 “ from *Great Britain* in those parts, will not only be  
 “ obstructed, but in imminent danger of being lost: His  
 “ majesty has, upon mature deliberation in council, been  
 “ graciously pleased, in the first place, to order a proper  
 “ force to be employed for suppressing the said piracies;  
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<sup>1</sup> *Mercur*e Historique & Politique, Annals of King George, Historical Register, Political State, &c.

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“ and, that nothing may be wanting for the more effectual  
“ putting an end to the said piracies, his majesty has also  
“ been graciously pleased to issue a proclamation, dated  
“ the fifth instant. And, whereas it hath also been repre-  
“ sented to his majesty, that the House of Lords had ad-  
“ dressed her late majesty on this account, particularly  
“ with respect to the *Bahama-Islands*: But, that there  
“ were not any means used in compliance with that ad-  
“ dress, for securing the said *Bahama-Islands*: And, that  
“ at this time, the pirates have a lodgment with a battery  
“ on *Harbour-Island*, one of the *Bahama's*; as also, that  
“ the usual retreat, and general receptacle for pyrates, is  
“ at *Providence*, the principle of those islands: His majesty  
“ has been further pleased, to give directions for dislodg-  
“ ing those pirates, who have taken shelter in the said  
“ islands, as well as for securing those islands, and making  
“ settlements, and a fortification there, for the safety and  
“ benefit of the trade, and navigation of those seas for the  
“ future<sup>m</sup>”.

By a proclamation, dated the fifth of *September 1717*, his majesty promised his pardon to any *English West-India* pirates, who should surrender themselves on, or before the 5th of *September* following, for all piracies committed before the 5th of *January* preceeding: And, after the said 5th of *September*, any of his majesty's officers by sea or land, who should take a pirate, upon his conviction, to have for a captain, a hundred pounds; for any other officer, from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer, thirty pounds; and for every private man, twenty pounds. Lastly, any pirate delivering up a captain, or commander, on, or before, the 6th of *September* following (so as he should be convicted) was  
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<sup>m</sup> Oldmixon, Historical Register, Political State.



to have two hundred pounds reward, to be paid at the treasury. We shall, in treating of the events of next year, give a large account of the good effects which this proclamation produced, by giving an immediate check to the insolency of these sort of people, and opening a way to their total suppression. But it is now time to return to affairs of greater importance, and to say somewhat of the politics of the *British* ministry at this juncture; the rather, because all the naval transactions which follow, depend entirely upon them<sup>a</sup>.

THE troubles of the north still subsisting, we could not suddenly extricate ourselves from the share we had taken in them; though it was visibly such a one, as had put our commerce under great difficulties abroad, and perplexed us not a little at home. The merchants complained of the bad effects which the prohibition of trade with *Sweden* had produced; asserting that, instead of thirty thousand pounds a year, which the ballance of that trade constantly brought us, we now lost ninety thousand pounds a year, by purchasing *Swedish* commodities from other people, particularly from the *Dutch*, who raised the price of *Swedish* iron, four pounds a ton; which was thought the harder, because in the original quarrel, the *Dutch* were as deep as ourselves, and now, by an unaccountable turn, they were in possession of the whole *Swedish* trade; and we, after all our armaments, were entirely shut out. This was the effect of the *Swedish* war abroad; but, here at home, things were in a worse situation; for several of the leading patriots who had resigned their places, upon that change of measures which produced the

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<sup>a</sup> Annals of King George, Political State, Continuation of Rapin.

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the *Swedish* war, insisted warmly, both within doors, and without, that it was now carried on, not only without regard, but in direct opposition, and with manifest disadvantage to the interest of *Great Britain*. In proof of this, they alledged, not only the memorials presented from time to time by the *Swedish* ministers, but those also delivered of late by the minister from the *Czar*; which concurred in affirming, that all our measures in the north, were governed by the *German* interest. I do not take upon me to determine, whether these gentlemen were in the right, or in the wrong. I only relate matters of fact as I find them; and relate them, because my history would not be intelligible without them. The ministry, however, did not change their sentiments, but persisted still in their resolution, to bring the king of *Sweden* to such terms as they thought reasonable, by force. This was a method, which of all princes *Charles XII.* could the least bear; and therefore, instead of thinking of a peace upon such terms, he turned his thoughts entirely on the means of carrying on the war; and, though his affairs were in a very low and distressed condition, yet his heroic spirit, joined to the indefatigable pains he took, put them at last into such a posture, that, if he had not been snatched away by a sudden death, it is highly probable he would have restored them, at least on the side of *Germany*°.

BUT this was not the only affair of consequence that employed the thoughts of the administration. We were then in close confederacy with the emperor and *France*, and, in conjunction with these powers, had undertaken to settle

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° Oldmixon, Historical Register, Mercure historique, &c. Lamberti.

settle the affairs of *Europe* on a better foundation than the treaty of *Utrecht* left them. With this view, the triple alliance was concluded on, the 4th of *January 1717*; and, that not answering the end expected from it, we next entered (as will be shewn) into the famous quadruple alliance, which was intended to remedy all these defects, and to fix the general tranquility for ever. Yet, by unforeseen accidents, to which human policy will be always liable, this alliance proved the cause of an immediate war between us and *Spain*, and in its consequences has been the source of all the troubles that have arisen in *Europe*, from the time of its conclusion to this day. By this treaty (the terms of which were already fixed, though it was not executed till some months afterwards) the contracting powers undertook to satisfy the emperor and the king of *Spain*: In order to which, his imperial majesty was to have *Sicily* given him; and the reversion of all the *Italian* dominions, to which the queen of *Spain* pretended, was to be secured to her posterity. The crown of *Spain* was highly displeas'd with the provision made for its interest; and though the emperor seem'd to be very well contented at this juncture; yet, as soon as *Spain* was compell'd to accept what was now offer'd her, he also grew displeas'd with this partition, and we have never since been able to keep them both in any temper, or preserve ourselves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the course of this work, will be sufficiently inform'd. These *Spanish* disputes were another ground of Opposition, which afforded room for the then patriots to complain, that we were more attentive to the interest of the Emperor, than careful of the commerce of *Great Britain*. In spite of this clamour, the ministry concert'd with the Emperor and *France*, the proper means for

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for executing the project which gave birth to this treaty, by taking the island of *Sicily* from the duke of *Savoy*, who was now possessed of it, with the title of king, and giving it to his imperial majesty ; to which, the first mentioned prince was obliged to submit, because he saw plainly, that if he did not consent to give this kingdom to the Emperor, he should either have it taken from him by force, or lose it to the *Spaniards*, from whom *Sardinia* was by our plan, to be taken and bestowed on the duke of *Savoy*, in exchange for *Sicily* <sup>p</sup>.

In this critical situation, things were, when the parliament met on the 21st of *September* 1717 ; and on the 10th of *November* following, they granted, as the custom had been of late years, 10,000 seamen for the year 1718, and 224,837 *l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* for the ordinary of the navy. But, as this would by no means answer the designs that had been formed by the administration, the king was prevailed upon, to send a message to the House of Commons on the 17th of *March*, conceived in the following terms <sup>q</sup>.

“ GEORGE REX.

“ His majesty being at present engaged in several negotiations, of the utmost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquility of *Europe* ; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, does think fit to acquaint this House therewith ; not doubting, but that, in case he should be obliged,

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ligned,

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<sup>p</sup> Annals of king George, Political State, and all the memoirs of those times. <sup>q</sup> Oldmixon's, Chandler's Debates, Political State.

“ lized, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of  
 “ men granted this year, for the sea-service, the House  
 “ will at their next meeting provide for such exceeding.”

THIS message was brought to the House by Mr. *Boscawen*, and an address, promising to make good such exceedings as were mentioned, if they should be found necessary, was moved for by Sir *William Strickland*, and agreed to, without a division; which was extremely agreeable to the court. The next day, the king thought fit to make some alterations at the navy-board; and, accordingly, *James Earl of Berkley*, Sir *George Byng*, Sir *John Fennings*, *John Cockburn*, and *William Chetwynd*, Esqrs. Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Charles Wager*, were declared commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of *England, Ireland, &c.* the Right Honourable *James Earl of Berkley* appointed vice-admiral, and *Matthew Aylmer*, Esq; rear-admiral of *Great Britain*, who was soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of *Ireland*.\*

WHILE these steps were taking, a great number of large ships were put into commission, and such other measures pursued, as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out, would not prove a fleet of parade. The *Spanish* minister here, *M. de Monteleone*, who was a man of foresight and intrigue, being alarmed at these appearances, represented in a memorial, dated the 18th of *March 1718*,  
 “ That so powerful an armament, in time of peace, could  
 “ not but cause umbrage to the king his master, and alter  
 “ the good intelligence that reigned between the two  
 crowns.”

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\* Votes of the House of Commons.    \* Political State, Historical Register, Annals of King George, &c.

“ crowns.” The king answered, “ That it was not his intention to conceal the subject of that armament ; and that he designed soon to send admiral *Byng* with a powerful squadron into the *Mediterranean Sea*, in order to maintain the neutrality of *Italy*, against those who should seek to disturb it.” The reason assigned for acting with so much vigour, was the dispositions made in *Spain* for attacking the island of *Sicily*, and the hardships that were put upon the *British* merchants. Cardinal *Alberoni*, who was then at the head of the *Spanish* Affairs, defended himself, and the measures he had taken, with great spirit, endeavouring to make the world believe, that the *Spanish* expedition against the island of *Sicily*, was not so much a matter of choice, as of necessity. I should wrong that able minister extremely, if I should endeavour to give his sense in any other words than his own ; and, therefore, I have preserved his letter upon this subject ; which is so much the more curious, as it is not at all taken notice of in some late accounts of this expedition.

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\* The letter referred to in the text, was written by Cardinal *Alberoni*, to the *Marquis de Berretti Landi*, his Catholic Majesty's ambassador to the States-General, who communicated it to their high mightinesses. The reader will easily perceive, that this letter falls a good deal later in point of time, than where I place it ; but, as it contains the reasons of the Sicilian expedition, I thought it came in best for my purpose here.

“ I acquaint your excellency, that my Lord *Stanhope* set out the 26th of this month from the court at the *Escorial* for *Madrid* ; whence he was to proceed in his journey to *Paris* ; having seen proofs sufficient, during his stay here, of the constancy and firmness with which the King rejected the project of the Princes mediators, and the suspension of arms last proposed. He learned from their majesties own mouths, in two long conferences, to which he had the honour to be admitted, “ that

ABOUT the middle of the month of *March*, Sir *George Byng* was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the Squadron intended for the *Mediterranean*; and on the 24th of *May* following, he received his instructions, which were to this purpose. "That he should, upon his arrival in the *Mediterranean*, acquaint the king of *Spain*, and likewise the viceroy of *Naples*, and governor of *Milan*, he was sent into that sea, in order to promote all measures that might best contribute to the composing the differences arisen between the two crowns, and for preventing any farther violation of the neutrality of *Italy*, which he was to see preserved. That he was to make instances to both parties, to forbear all acts of

" hostility,

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" that they detested that project, as unjust, prejudicial, and offensive to their honour; I told him, that I did not comprehend what motive could induce the confederated powers to admit the Duke of Savoy into their alliance; not only considering of what little use he will be to them, but because 'tis certain, those powers have no need of the troops of Savoy, unless that Prince will maintain them at his own expence, which will be very difficult to obtain.

" As for Sicily, I declared to my Lord Stanhope, in the presence of the Marquis de Nancre, that France and Great Britain had of themselves, and none else whatever, induced the King to recover that kingdom; for both those courts had assured his majesty, that the Duke of Savoy was treating with the Arch-Duke to give up to him that island, if he would accept of it: but that he had refused it, considering it would be better for him to receive it by the disposition of the powers mediators, and with the consent of Spain, because in that case, he would have the advantage to obtain it by a more just and more authentic title; besides the assurance of keeping it, by the favour of so powerful a guaranty. I likewise shewed my Lord Stanhope, that, the Arch-Duke being master of Sicily, all Italy will become slaves to the Germans, and the powers of Europe not be able to set her at liberty. And, that the Germans, in the last War, with a small body of troops, made head; and

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“ hostility, in order to the setting on foot, and concluding the proper negotiations of peace. But, in case the Spaniards should still persist to attack the emperor’s territory in *Italy*, or to land in any part of *Italy*, for that purpose, or should endeavour to make themselves masters of the island of *Sicily*, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of *Naples*, he was then, with all his power, to hinder and obstruct the same; but, if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and to offer them his assistance to withdraw  
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“ disputed the ground, against two crowns, which had formidable armies in Lombardy, were masters of the country, and a great number of considerable places. I also represented to him very clearly, that, to make war in Lombardy, was to make it in a labyrinth, and that it was the fatal burial place of the French and English. That every year of the last war cost France 18, or 20,000 recruits, and above fifteen millions; That the Duke of Vendosme, at the time things went prosperously, said, that if the war in Italy lasted, the two crowns must indispensibly abandon that province, because of the immense charge. That, according to the engagements now proposed, the succours of Great Britain are far off, and impracticable, and that the rest would cost a Potosi, enough to ruin a kingdom. That at present, those of France are impossible, and would be generally opposed by the nation. That the Arch-Duke would triumph with all these advantages, and England not recover the least reimbursement; when, on the contrary, she might gain considerably, by siding with Spain. In conclusion, I told Lord Stanhope plainly, that the proposition of giving Sicily to the Arch-Duke, was absolutely fatal; and that of setting bounds afterwards to his vast designs, a meer dream and illusion, since that prince, being possessed of Sicily, would have no further need, either of France or England, for bringing immediately the rest of Italy under subjection; and no power would be in a condition to oppose it. This is the substance of all the conferences my Lord Stanhope had, and your excellency may make use of it, as occasion shall offer.”



“ their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hostility ; but, if his friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories attacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships, convoys, or (if necessary) by opposing them openly.” It is evident, that these instructions were not of the clearest kind ; but it seems, they were explained to him before hand, by the great men, who had then the direction of all things, as appears by a letter which is still preserved, and which I have placed in the notes <sup>u</sup>.

THE admiral sailed the 15th of *June 1718*, from *Spit-head*, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships,  
two

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<sup>u</sup> The letter referred to in the text, is from Mr. secretary Craggs; immediately before his embarkation ; it is preserved by the accurate historian of this expedition, in his appendix, p. 208 of his original edition ; from whence I have transcribed it, as a full proof, that Sir George acted according to the verbal explanation of his written orders by the ministers.

“ Cockpit, May 27, O. S. 1718.

“ S I R,

“ I inclose to you his Majesty's instructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

“ After what passed yesterday between my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Stanhope, you and me, when we were together at Lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me, but to wish you a good voyage, and success in your undertakings : I do it very heartily, and am, with great truth,

“ S I R,

“ Your most Obedient,

“ Humble Servant,

“ J. CRAGGS.

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two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. Being got into the ocean, he sent the *Rupert* to *Lisbon*, for intelligence; and arriving the 30th off cape *St. Vincent*, he dispatched the *Superbe* to *Cadix*, with a gentleman, who carried a letter from him to colonel *Stanhope*, (the present earl of *Harrington*) the king's envoy at *Madrid*, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of *Spain* with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the *Mediterranean*, and to lay before him, the instructions he was to act under with his squadron; of which, he gave a very ample detail in his letter. The envoy shewed the letter to the cardinal *Alberoni*, who, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, "That his master would run  
 " all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of  
 " *Spain*, rather than recall his troops, or consent to any  
 " suspension of arms;" adding, "That the *Spaniards*  
 " were not to be frighted, and he was so well convinced  
 " of their fleets doing their duty, that, if the admiral  
 " should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain  
 " for the success." Mr. *Stanhope* having in his hand, a list of the *British* squadron, desired his eminence to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own squadron; which the cardinal took and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. *Stanhope*, with great temper, entreated him, "To consider the sincere attention the king, his master, had always had to the  
 " honour and interest of his *Catholic* majesty, which it  
 " was impossible for him to give greater proofs of than  
 " he had done, by his unwearied endeavours through the  
 " whole course of the present negotiation, to procure the  
 " most advantagious conditions possible for *Spain*, in  
 " which he had succeeded even beyond what any un-  
 " prejudiced person could have hoped for; and that,

“ though by the treaty of *Utrecht* for the neutrality  
 “ of *Italy*, which was entred into at the request of the  
 “ King of *Spain* himself; as also, by that of *Westminster*,  
 “ the 25th of *May* 1716, his majesty found himself obliged  
 “ to defend the emperor’s dominions when attacked, he  
 “ had hitherto only acted as a mediator, though, even  
 “ since the enterprize against *Sardinia*, by his treaties, he  
 “ became a party in the war, and for this year last past,  
 “ had been strongly called upon by the emperor, to com-  
 “ ply with his engagements; and that, even now, when  
 “ it was impossible for him to delay any longer the  
 “ sending his fleet into the *Mediterranean*, it plainly ap-  
 “ peared by the admiral’s instructions, which he com-  
 “ municated to his eminence; and, by the orders he had  
 “ himself received, that his majesty had nothing more  
 “ at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in pro-  
 “ moting the interests of the King of *Spain*, and hoped,  
 “ his *Catholic* Majesty would not, by refusing to recall his  
 “ troops, or consent to a cessation of arms, put it out of  
 “ his power to give all the proofs of sincere friendship he  
 “ always designed to cultivate with his *Catholic* majesty.”

All that the cardinal could be brought to promise, was,  
 to lay the admiral’s letter before the King, and to let the  
 envoy know his resolution upon it in two days: but it was  
 nine before he could obtain and send it away; the cardinal  
 probably hoping, that the admiral would delay taking  
 vigorous measures in expectation of it; and perhaps put  
 into some of the ports of *Spain*, and thereby give time for  
 their fleet and forces to secure a good footing in *Sicily*.  
 The answer was wrote under the admiral’s letter in these  
 words. “ His *Catholic* majesty has done me the honour

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“ to tell me, that the chevalier *Byng* may execute the  
“ orders which he has from the King his master.

“ *Escorial*, July 15, 1718.

“ The Cardinal ALBERONI \*”.

MR. *Stanhope* seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the *English* consuls, and merchants, settled in the *Spanish* sea-ports, advising them to secure their effects against the dangers that might arise from a breach between the two crowns. This shewed plainly enough, that our minister was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of the administration at home, who, notwithstanding they steadily pursued these war-like measures, as constantly adhered to their first resolution, of throwing the weight of this rupture, if possible, on the court of *Spain*. With this view, Lord *Stanhope* set out himself for *Madrid*, in order to make new propositions to his *Catholic* Majesty; which, if accepted, might prevent things from coming to extremities: in which negotiation, he actually laboured, till very near the time that hostilities were begun; but to no purpose, for cardinal *Alberoni* was as much bent on executing his own scheme, as the *British* ministry could be, with regard to theirs; and therefore, rejected all the proposals that were made him, with a firmness that was stiled insolence by his enemies †.

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\* See the account of the expedition of the *British* fleet to *Sicily*, p. 8. As this is collected very fairly from original papers, I depend upon it as to facts; but have endeavoured to state them with concurring evidence, in a manner more suitable to this history, in which I desire to be considered in no other light, than as a lover of truth, independant of complaisance or party.

† *Mercures Historiques*, *Roussët*, *Memoires de Lamberti*; C, *Alberoni*, &c.

THE admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of *July*, before he made cape *Spartel*, where the *Superbe* and *Rupert* rejoined him, and brought him advice, of the mighty preparations the *Spaniards* had made at *Barcelona*, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of *June* to the eastward. In passing by *Gibraltar*, vice-admiral *Cornwall* came out of that port and joined him, with the *Argyle* and *Charles* galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off cape *Malaga*; where, having completed their watering, in four days, they proceeded to *Minorca*, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from *England*, in order to relieve the soldiers there in the garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the squadron. On the 23d of *July*, he anchored with the squadron off *Port-Mahon*: Here he received advice, that the *Spanish* fleet had been seen the 30th of *June*, within forty leagues off *Naples*, steering S. E. upon which, he dispatched away expresses to the governor of *Milan*, and vice-roy of *Naples*, to inform them of his arrival in the *Mediterranean*; and having shifted the garrisons of *Minorca*, he sailed from thence the 25th of *July*, and arrived the 1st of *August* in the bay of *Naples*<sup>2</sup>. One need not wonder that the *German* Government was extremely well pleased at the admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, since it is very certain, that his coming so luckily, preserved that kingdom for the house of *Austria*, which had otherwise, in all probability, shared the fate of *Sicily*; that  
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<sup>2</sup> Annals of King George, Historical Register, Political State, &c.

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the marquis *de Lede* had conquered, almost as soon as he landed; or rather his landing gave the people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, though it had lost its sovereignty over them, had still preserved their affections<sup>a</sup>.

THIS news alarmed the viceroy of *Naples*, who had now no hopes but from the defence that might be made by the citadel of *Messina*; and from that he could have no great confidence, since it was garrisoned by the Duke of *Savoy's* troops, who could not be supposed to interest themselves much in preserving a place, which their master was to part with so soon. The viceroy, therefore, wisely considered how he might make the best use of the *British* fleet, and his own forces; upon which, he came at last to this prudent resolution; which was, to embark 2000 *German* foot under the command of general *Wetzel*, who were to take possession of the citadel of *Messina*, and fort *Salvador*, in pursuance of an agreement with the Duke of *Savoy*, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so, as that he might get something for it. These *German* forces were to be escorted by the *British* fleet, which sailed for that purpose from *Naples*, on the 6th of *August*, and arrived on the 9th, in view of the *Faro* of *Messina*. The *Spanish* army, after having  
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<sup>a</sup> The imperial viceroy of *Naples*, presented Sir George with a sword set with diamonds, and a very rich staff of command: and to the admiral's son, he made a present of a very fine sword. After the conference, the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged in the palace of the Duke de *Matelona*, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The viceroy likewise sent refreshments to the fleet, consisting of a hundred oxen, three hundred sheep, six hundred pounds of sugar, seventy hogheads of brandy, and several other things.

taken the city last-mentioned, were now encamped before the citadel, which the troops, under the protection of Sir *George Byng*, were going to relieve. It was therefore, highly likely that an action would ensue; and for this reason, it was thought requisite to put on still a peaceable appearance, in order to throw the blame upon the *Spaniards*; which, however, was pretty difficult to do, since, with respect to the treaty of *Utrecht* (the only treaty the *Spaniards* could take notice of) the *Germans* were as much invaders as they, and consequently the escorting an invasion, seemed to be an odd way of conserving a neutrality<sup>b</sup>. This step, however, was necessary to be taken;

<sup>b</sup> As our ministers, in conjunction with those of the emperor, and France, were at great pains to inspire all Europe with the utmost horror for Cardinal Alberoni, so that minister, than whom, perhaps, there never was an abler politician, thought fit, on his side, to publish several pieces, in order to shew, that the present dispute was not between the English and Spanish nations, but between the English ministry, who would give law to the king of Spain, and the Spanish nation, that were determined not to receive it. Amongst these, the following manifesto was thought the most remarkable, and will serve to give the reader a clear idea of the manner in which the court of Spain would have had this affair understood. It is a letter written by the cardinal to the M. de Beretti Landi; but the reader will see, by the close of it, why I stile it a manifesto; in which light it was also considered by our court, as appears by Secretary Cragg's letter to the Spanish minister, dated from Hampton-Court, September 4th, 1718, in which he complains loudly of this proceeding, as if intended to excite the merchants to disaffection towards the government.

“ S I R,

“ It is notorious every where, that the ministry of Great-Britain, being prepossessed by their passions and private views, have endeavoured, by all imaginable means, to infuse into the English nation, an entire distrust and aversion for Spain, to

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taken ; and the admiral, who in point of good sense, and good breeding, was as able a man as any in his time, did it with a very good grace.

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“ engage the said nation to pursue the maxims of that ministry,  
“ which are so prejudicial and contrary to the common good. It  
“ is known, that of late, the government of England hath used  
“ their utmost endeavours to persuade the nation, that the appli-  
“ cation and designs of Spain were to encrease considerably her  
“ naval forces, to oppose the commerce which all nations in ge-  
“ neral carry on with the Indies, notwithstanding the two last  
“ treaties ; and the religious observation of his majesty’s royal  
“ word, ought to convince the English of the artifice with which  
“ these rumours are spread, and which are contrived only to  
“ excite distrust and disunion with the Spaniards ; and every  
“ man, of sound judgment, will reflect, that God has put the  
“ Indies into the power of that monarchy, to the end that all  
“ nations might partake of that advantage : However, it is the  
“ King’s will, that, for the greater proof of the sincere desire  
“ he has to maintain the public tranquillity, and for dispelling  
“ reports so pernicious to the quiet of the subjects of Spain and  
“ England, your excellency should assure the English merchants  
“ that are in Holland, and all those who are concerned in com-  
“ merce, that his Majesty will never alter the established laws,  
“ nor ever infringe the treaties which the English nation enjoy,  
“ with so great benefit, by his generosity ; and that the naval  
“ forces of Spain, are to consist only of a limited number,  
“ that may be sufficient to secure her coasts in the mediterr-  
“ nean, and to defend and convoy her galleons. For a proof of  
“ what his Majesty orders me to say to your excellency, a new  
“ conjuncture just now offers itself, in which, the King my  
“ master, to signalize his love of the British nation, passes by,  
“ without resentment, the contents of the paper here subjoined ;  
“ which is a copy of that delivered by Mr. Stanhope, and by  
“ which, an open rupture is declared, if the project be not ac-  
“ cepted ; and they offer to oblige the King to it by threats. On  
“ the contrary, his Majesty, instead of being provoked at such a  
“ proceeding, has ordered, as an instance of the good faith with  
“ which he hath always acted, that the effects and merchandize  
“ of the English, which are in the flota that is newly arrived at  
“ Cadiz from the Indies, shall not be touched, nor any charge  
“ made in relation to them, it being the King’s intention, that  
“ wh t



HE sent, for this purpose, his first captain, who was  
 Captain *Saunders*, with a letter to the Marquis *de Lede*,  
 in which he acquainted him, " that the King his master,  
 " being engag'd by several treaties, to preserve the tran-  
 " quility of *Italy*, had honoured him with the com-  
 " mand of a squadron of ships, which he had sent into  
 " these seas ; and that he came fully impowered and in-  
 " structed to promote such measures as might best accom-  
 " modate all differences between the powers concerned :  
 " That his Majesty was employing his utmost endeavours  
 " to bring about a general pacification, and was not with-  
 " out hopes of success. He, therefore, propos'd to him  
 " to come to a cessation of arms in *Sicily*, for two  
 " months, in order to give time to the several courts to  
 " conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting  
 " peace". But added, " that if he was not so happy to  
 " succeed in this offer of his service, nor to be instrumen-  
 " tal in bringing about so desirable a work, he then  
 " hoped to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution  
 " of

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" what belongs to each of the English merchants, respectively,  
 " should be delivered to them. This resolution is very different  
 " from the rumours which the British ministry spreads, and is an  
 " incontestable proof that the King's will ever inclines him to  
 " promote the benefit of that nation. His majesty orders, that  
 " your excellency read this letter to all English merchants in  
 " general, as also, the contents of the paper hereunto annexed ;  
 " and that you assure them, that the King will firmly main-  
 " tain the treaty, preferring the advantages of the British nation  
 " to all other satisfaction ; and hoping that, in return, men so  
 " wise, so prudent, and so intelligent, will not let themselves be  
 " drawn away by the persuasions, and for the private ends of  
 " the English ministry, which are entirely fatal to the peace of  
 " the two nations, and of the two kingdoms.

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“ of the other part of his orders ; which were to use all  
 “ his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the do-  
 “ minions his master stood engaged to defend.” The  
 next morning the captain returned with the general’s answer,  
 “ That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person, to  
 “ contribute to so laudable an end as peace ; but, as he  
 “ had no powers to treat, he could not of consequence  
 “ agree to any suspension of arms, even at the expence of  
 “ what the courage of his master’s arms might be put  
 “ to ; but should follow his orders, which directed him  
 “ to seize on *Sicily*, for his master the King of *Spain* :  
 “ That he had a true sense of his accomplished ex-  
 “ pressions ; but his master’s forces would always be uni-  
 “ versally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the pre-  
 “ servation of the credit, in which cases, the success did  
 “ not always answer the ideas that were formed for it “ ”.

ACCORDING to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude, that the *Spanish* fleet was sailed from *Malta*, in order to avoid him ; and therefore, upon receiving the Marquis’s answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before *Messina*, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel ; but, as he stood in about the point of the *Faro* towards *Messina*, he saw two of the *Spanish* scouts in the *Faro* ; and being informed at the same time by a felucca, which came off from the *Calabrian* shore, that they saw from the hills, the *Spanish* fleet lying by ; the admiral altered his design, and sending away general *Wetzel*, with the *German* troops to *Reggio*, under

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° I take this literally from the history of the expedition before-cited.

der the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the *Faro* with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for, before noon, he had a fair sight of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men of war, small and great, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, seven gallies, and several ships laden with stores and provisions, commanded by the admiral *Don Antonio de Castaneta*, and under him four rear-admirals, *Chaton*, *Mari*, *Guevara*, and *Cammock*; on the sight of the *English* squadron, they stood away large, but in good order of battle. The admiral followed them all the rest of that day, and the succeeding night, with small gales N. E. and sometimes calm, with fair weather; the next morning early (the 11th) the *English* being got pretty near them<sup>d</sup>,  
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<sup>d</sup> It is evident from hence, that our admiral had no intention to decline fighting; and the following letter from Earl Stanhope, then secretary of state plainly proves, it was not the intention of those who sent him, that he should decline fighting. It is a curious piece, and very well worthy of the reader's notice, as it tends to explain the great view of this expedition.

“ Bayonne, September 2, 1718.

“ Being arrived here last night in six days from Madrid, I do, in pursuance of the commands I have from his majesty, take this first opportunity of acquainting you, that nothing has passed at Madrid, which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have.

“ If the news which I learn at Bayone, that the citadel of Messina is taken, be not true, or if, notwithstanding the Spaniards have that port, their fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, should not have got into the harbour, and that you have an opportunity of attacking them, I am persuaded  
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the marquis *De Mari* rear-admiral, with six *Spanish* men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ships, bomb-veffels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the *Sicilian* shore; upon which, the admiral detached captain *Walton*, in the *Canterbury*, with five more ships after them; and the *Argyle* fired a shot to bring her to, but she not minding the *Argyle* fired a second; and the *Canterbury*, being something nearer, fired a third; upon which, the *Spanish* ship fired her stern chace at the *Canterbury*, and then the engagement began. The admiral pursuing the main body of the *Spanish* fleet, the *Orford*, captain *Falkingham*, and the *Grafton*, captain *Haddock*, came up first with them, about ten of the clock, at whom the *Spaniards* fired their stern-chace guns. The admiral sent orders to those two ships, not to fire, unless the *Spaniards* repeated their firing, which as soon as they did, the *Orford* attacked the *Santa Rosa*, of 64 guns and took her. The *St. Carlos* of 60 Guns, struck next, without much oppo-

“ you will not let such an occasion slip; and I agree perfectly in  
 “ opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary  
 “ Craggs, that the first blow you give, should if possible be de-  
 “ cislve.

“ The two great objects, which, I think, we ought to have  
 “ in view, are, to destroy their fleet, if possible, and to preserve  
 “ such a footing in Sicily, as may enable us to land an army  
 “ there.”

\* See the line of battle inserted at the end of this relation. It was undoubtedly an act of rashness in cardinal Alberoni, to give any fighting orders to the *Spanish* admiral, if he did give them. But, from what is here said, the contrary is the most probable; indeed the resolution of the *Spanish* admirals, seems to prove, they were not guided by any orders; if so, we must conclude, they acted from a principle of self-preservation, and fought only because they were forced to it.

fition, to the *Kent* captain *Matthews*. The *Grafton* attacked warmly the *Prince of Asturias* of 70 guns, formerly called the *Cumberland*, in which was rear-admiral *Cbaton*; but the *Breda* and *Captain* coming up, captain *Haddock* left that ship, much shattered, for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his star-board bow, during his engagement with the *Prince of Asturias*. About one o'clock, the *Kent*, and soon after the *Superbe*, captain *Master*, came up with, and engaged the *Spanish* admiral, of seventy-four guns, who, with two ships more, fired on them, and made a running fight, till about three; and then the *Kent* bearing down under his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to leeward afterwards; the *Superbe*, putting forward to lay the admiral a-board, fell on his weather-quarter; upon which, the *Spanish* admiral shifting his helm, the *Superbe* ranged up under his lee-quarter, on which he struck to her. At the same time the *Barfleur*, in which was the admiral, being a-stern of the *Spanish* admiral, within shot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, rear-admiral *Guevara*, and another sixty gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapt upon a wind, standing in for land. The admiral immediately tacked, and stood after them, until it was almost night; but it being little wind, and they haling away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The *Essex* took the *Funo*, of 36 guns; the *Montague* and *Rupert*, took the *Volante* of 44 guns; and rear-admiral *Delaval* in the *Dorsetshire*, took the *Isabella* of 60 guns. The action happened off cape *Passare* at about  
six

fix leagues distant  
but little damage  
*Grafton*, who  
several ships  
and leaving them  
taken by the  
some days after

of A L I S  
Sir GEORGE ROBERTS  
in the year 1704

SHIP

Barfleur

Shrewsbury

Dorsetshire

Burford

Essex

Grafton

Lenox

Breda

Orford

Kent

Royal

Captain

Canterbury

Dreadnought

Fippon

Superbe

Rupert

Dunkirk

Montague

Roche

Argyle

six leagues distance from the shore<sup>f</sup>. The *English* received but little damage: the ship that suffered most, was the *Grafton*, which being a good sailor, her captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships he had disabled or damaged, to be taken by those that followed him. The admiral lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to

D d 2 repair

<sup>f</sup> A LIST of the BRITISH fleet, under the command of Sir GEORGE BYNG, in the action off of cape Passaro, in Sicily, in the year 1718.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	GUNS.
Barfleur	Admiral BYNG	730	90
	1 George Saunders		
	2 Richard Lestock		
Shrewsbury	Vice-Admiral Cornwall	545	80
	John Balchen		
Dorsetshire	Rear-Admiral Delaval	535	70
	John Furger		
Burford	Charles Vanbrugh	440	70
Essex	Richard Rowzier	440	70
Grafton	Nicholas Haddock	440	70
Lenox	Charles Strickland	440	70
Breda	Barrow Harris	440	70
Orford	Edward Falkingham	440	70
Kent	Thomas Matthews	440	70
Royal Oak	Thomas Kempthorne	440	70
Captain	Archibald Hamilton	440	70
Canterbury	George Walton	365	60
Dreadnought	William Haddock	365	60
Fippon	Christopher Obrian	365	60
Superbe	Streynsham Master	365	60
Rupert	Arther Field	365	60
Dunkirk	Francis Drake	365	60
Montague	Thomas Beverly	365	60
Rochester	Joseph Winder	280	50
Argyle	Coningsby Norbury	280	50
		<hr/> 885	<hr/> 1400

repair the damages which the prizes had sustained; and the 18th received a letter from captain *Walton*, who had been sent in pursuit of the *Spanish* ships that escaped. The letter is singular enough in its kind, to deserve notice; and, therefore, the historian of this expedition has, with great judgment, preserved it. Thus it runs.

S I R,

*WE have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin,*

I am, &c.

Cant-erbury,  
off Syracusa,  
Aug. 16, 1718.

G. W A L T O N.

THESE ships that captain *Walton* thrust into his margin, would have furnished matter for some pages, in a *French* relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared, that he had taken four *Spanish* men of war; one of sixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral *Mari*; one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel<sup>z</sup>.

Such

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<sup>z</sup> This account is taken from the several letters written by the admiral, or published with his authority; and from hence it is visible, that the entire destruction of the *Spanish* maritime power was the principal point in view, and as such, pursued with equal steadiness and vigour; and at the same time, abundance of pamphlets were published here, to shew the expediency of this measure, and the benefits that would result to Great Britain, from this destruction of the naval power of Spain. The Spaniards,

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Such is the account given of this famous action by our admiral. The *Spaniards* published likewise an account on their side, which was printed in *Holland*, and circulated with great industry throughout all *Europe*, in order to make such impressions as might serve their purpose, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly; but had been surprized and destroyed, without that kind of notice, which the laws of nature and nations require, to distinguish force of arms from piratical violence. It is but just in any cause, to hear both parties, and the office of an historian obliges him to record whatever may give light to the events of that period he pretends to illustrate by his writings. For this reason, I have thought it requisite, to give place here to the *Spanish* account, without curtailing or disguising it<sup>b</sup>.

“ ON the 9th of *August*, in the morning, the *English* Squadron was discovered near the *Tower of Faro*, which lay by towards night off cape *Della Metelle*, over-against the said *Tower*. The *Spanish* Squadron was then in the *Streight*, and some ships and frigates were

D d 3

“ sent

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on the other hand, filled all the world with complaints of our insincerity and ambition. Before the blow was struck, said they, the *English* pretended to be guardians of the neutrality of *Italy*, and to have armed only for the sake of preserving peace; but, now they have accomplished their ends, they avow them, and say plainly, that they were resolved not to suffer *Spain* to revive her maritime power. In what chapter of the law of nations do we read of this right of prevention?

<sup>a</sup> There are many things in this relation, more agreeable to the *Spanish* humour than to truth; but however, by the comparison of this with our admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained, which otherwise might have been buried in obscurity.



" sent to other places ; besides the detachment command-  
 " ed by admiral *Guevara*. And, as the intention of the  
 " *English* in coming so near, was not known, the ad-  
 " mirals of the *Spanish* squadron resolved to go out of  
 " the *Streight*, to join together near cape *Spartivento*,  
 " carrying along with them, the transports laden with  
 " provisions, that they might penetrate the better into the  
 " designs of the *English* ; the rather, because the officer,  
 " whom Sir *George Byng* had sent to the Marquis *De Lede*,  
 " was not yet returned. The said officer had orders to  
 " propose to the said marquis, a suspension of arms for  
 " two months ; upon which, the said Marquis answered  
 " him, That he could not do it without orders from  
 " court. Nevertheless, though it was believed, that the  
 " alternative was taken, of sending a courier to *Madrid*,  
 " with the said proposal, the *English* squadron took the  
 " opportunity of night, to surprize the *Spanish* squadron,  
 " and to improve those advantages which were owing to  
 " dissimulation."

" THE said *English* squadron, on the 10th in the  
 " morning, advanced farther into the *Faro*, and was sa-  
 " luted by all the *Spanish* ships and vessels which was there ;  
 " and it is to be observed, that admiral *Byng* having con-  
 " voyed some transport-vessels as far as *Rixoles*, with the  
 " Arch-Duke's troops, the officer dispatched to the Mar-  
 " quis *De Lede* affirmed, that it was not to commit any  
 " act of hostility, but only, that the said transports might  
 " be secured from insults, under his protection."

" THE *Spanish* squadron sent two light frigates, to get  
 " intelligence of the *English* squadron ; and though they  
 " saw the *English* made all the sail they could (their in-  
 " tention being not known) to approach the *Spanish*  
 " squadron, whose admiral knew not then whether the

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“ *English* came as friends or enemies: yet, the *Spaniards*  
 “ being two leagues from the *English*, resolved to retire  
 “ towards cape *Passaro*, but without making much sail,  
 “ that it might not be thought they suspected any hostilities.  
 “ During this a calm happened, by which, the ships of  
 “ both squadrons fell in one among another; and the  
 “ *Spanish* admiral, perceiving this accident, caused the ships  
 “ of the line to be towed, in order to separate them  
 “ from the *English*, and join them in one body, without  
 “ permitting the galleys to begin any act of hostility;  
 “ which they might have done, to their advantage, dur-  
 “ ing the calm. The weather changed, when the mar-  
 “ quis *De Mari* was near land, and by consequence se-  
 “ parated from the rest, making the rear-guard, with se-  
 “ veral frigates, and other transport-vessels, which made  
 “ up his division, and endeavoured, though in vain, to  
 “ join the main body of the *Spanish* Squadron, while the  
 “ *English* held on their way, their dissimulation, filling  
 “ their sails to gain the wind, and cut off the said division  
 “ of the said Marquis *De Mari*; and having at last suc-  
 “ ceeded in it, they attacked him with six ships, and  
 “ obliged him to separate from the rest of the Squadron,  
 “ and to make towards the coast, where they stood it  
 “ against seven ships of the line, as long as the situation  
 “ permitted; and being no longer able to resist, the Mar-  
 “ quis *De Mari* saved his men, by running his ships a-  
 “ ground, some of which were burnt by his own order,  
 “ and others taken by the enemy.”

“ SEVENTEEN ships of the line, the remainder of the  
 “ *English* Squadron, attacked the *Royal St. Philip*, the  
 “ *Prince of Asturias*, the *St. Ferdinand*, *St. Charles*, *St.*  
 “ *Isabella*, *St. Pedro*, and the frigate *St. Rosa*, *Pearl*,  
 “ *Juno*, and *Volante*, which continued making towards

“ cape *Passaro*; and as they retired in a line, because of  
 “ the inequality of their strength, the *English* attacked  
 “ those that composed the rear-guard, with four or five  
 “ ships, and took them; and this happened successively  
 “ to the others, which, notwithstanding all the sail they  
 “ made, could not avoid being beaten; inasmuch, that  
 “ every *Spanish* ship being attacked separately by five, six,  
 “ or seven of theirs, after a bloody and obstinate fight,  
 “ they made themselves masters at last of the *Royal St.*  
 “ *Philip*, the *Prince of Asturias*, the *St. Charles*, the *St.*  
 “ *Isabella*, *St. Rosa*, the *Volante*, and the *Juno*.”

“ WHILE the *Royal St. Philip* was engaged with the  
 “ *English*, the rear-admiral of the squadron *Don Balthazar*  
 “ *de Guevara* returned from *Malta*, with two ships of  
 “ the line, and turning his prow towards the *St. Philip*,  
 “ passed by the *English* ships which were a-breast of him,  
 “ firing upon each of them; and then attacked admiral  
 “ *Byng*'s ships, which followed the *St. Philip*, and re-  
 “ tired in the night, being very much damaged; for after  
 “ the engagement, he stayed three or four days fifty  
 “ leagues at sea, not only to repair the *Spanish* ships,  
 “ which he had taken, and were all shattered to pieces;  
 “ but also to make good the damages which himself had  
 “ suffered; wherefore he could not enter *Syracusa* till the  
 “ 16th or 17th of *August*, and that with a great deal of  
 “ difficulty.”

“ THE particulars of the action are, that the whole  
 “ division of the *English* admiral, which consisted of se-  
 “ ven ships of the line and a fire-ship, having attacked  
 “ the *Royal St. Philip*, at two in the afternoon the fight  
 “ began, by a ship of seventy guns, and another of sixty,  
 “ from which he received two broadsides; and advancing  
 “ towards the *Royal St. Philip*, *Don Antonio de Castaneta*  
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“ defended himself so well, that the said two ships  
“ retired, and two others, *viz.* one of eighty guns, and  
“ the other of seventy, renewed the attack; and the said  
“ ship of eighty guns retired very much shattered, with-  
“ out making into the line; but others making towards  
“ the *Spanish* admiral, they fired upon him, while it was  
“ impossible for him to hurt them, and shot away all his  
“ rigging, without leaving him one entire sail, while two  
“ others, one of thirty, and the other of sixty guns,  
“ attacked the starboard of his ship, to oblige him to sur-  
“ render; but defending himself till the *English* admiral  
“ was resolved to board him, and carried a fire-ship to  
“ reduce him by the flames, which the *Spanish* com-  
“ mander prevented; but after having lost 200 men, and  
“ maintained the fight till toward night, *Don Antonio de*  
“ *Castaneta* received a shot which pierced his left leg,  
“ and wounded his right heel. Yet, nevertheless he con-  
“ tinued to defend himself till a cannon-bullet having  
“ cut a man in two, the pieces of which fell upon him,  
“ and left him half dead, he was forced to surrender.”

“ *The Prince of Asturias*, commanded by *Don Fernan-*  
“ *do Chacon*, was at the same time attacked by three ships  
“ of equal force, against which he defended himself va-  
“ liantly, avoiding being boarded, till being wounded,  
“ and having lost most of his men, he was obliged to  
“ surrender his ship, which was all shot through and  
“ through, after having shot down the masts of an *Eng-*  
“ *lish* ship that retired out of the fight.

“ *CAPTAIN Don Antonio Gonzales*, commander of the  
“ frigate *St. Rosa*, defended himself above three hours  
“ against five *English* ships, who did not take him till  
“ after they had broke all his sails and masts.

“ THE

“ *THE Volante*, commanded by captain *Don Antonio Escudero*, knight of the order of *Malta*, fought three hours and a half against three *English* ships; and having lost his sails, he put up others that were in store, and was just going to board one of the three ships that attacked him; but his own being shot through and through by six cannon bullets, and the water coming in, he was obliged to surrender, because the ships crew forced him.

“ *THE Juno* was engaged also by three *English* ships; yet maintained the fight above three hours, not surrendering till after most of her men were killed, and the ship just falling in pieces.”

“ *CAPTAIN Don Gabriel Alderete*, also defended the frigate called the *Pearl*, against three *English* ships for three hours; and after having shot down the masts of one, which immediately retired, he was relieved by admiral *Don Balbazar de Guevara*, and had the good fortune to escape to *Malta*.

“ *CAPTAIN Don Andrea Reggia*, Knight of the order of *Malta*, who was farthest advanced with the ship the *Isabella*, was pursued all that night by several *English* ships; and, after having defended himself for four hours, he surrendered the next day.

“ *THE* frigate called the *Surprize*, which was of the *Marquis de Mari*'s division, and by consequence farther advanced than the others, was attacked by three *English* ships, and maintained a fight for three hours, till the captain *Don Michael de Sada*, Knight of the order of *St. John*, being wounded, most of her men killed, and all her rigging spoiled, she was forced to surrender.

“ *THE* other light ships and frigates of the *Spanish* squadron, not already mentioned, retired to *Malta*, and

“ *Sardinia*;

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“ *Sardinia*; as did also the admiral *Don Balthazar de*  
“ *Guevara*, with his two ships *St. Lewis* and *St. John*,  
“ after having been engaged with the *English* admiral, and  
“ having rescued the frigate called the *Pearl*.

“ IT must not be forgot, that the marines in every  
“ ship signalized and distinguished themselves with a great  
“ deal of valour, they being composed of the nobility of  
“ *Spain*.

“ THE seven gallies which were under the command  
“ of admiral *Don Francisco de Grima*, having done all  
“ that was possible to join the *Spanish* ships, seeing that  
“ there was still a fresh gale of wind, retired to *Palermo*.

“ BESIDES the above-mentioned ships, which the *Eng-*  
“ *lish* took out of the main body of the *Spanish* squadron,  
“ they also made themselves masters of the *Royal*, and of  
“ two frigates, the *St. Isidore*, and the *Eagle*; those that  
“ were burnt by the order of the *Marquis de Mari*, are  
“ two bomb-gallies, a fire-ship, and the *Esperanca* frigate,  
“ so that the ships which escaped out of the battle, are  
“ the following; *St. Lewis*, *St. John*, *St. Ferdinand*,  
“ and *St. Peter*; and the frigates *Hermione*, *Pearl*, *Galera*,  
“ *Porcupine*, *Thoulouze*, *Lyon*, *Little St. John*, the *Arrow*,  
“ *Little St. Ferdinand*, a bomb-galley, and a ship of  
“ *Pintado*.

“ THIS is the account of the sea-fight, which was at  
“ the *Height of Abola*, or the *Gulph of l'Ariga*, in the  
“ canal of *Malta*, between the *Spanish* and *English* squa-  
“ drons, the last of which, by ill faith, and the superio-  
“ rity of their strength, had the advantage to beat the *Spanish*  
“ ships singly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by  
“ the defence the *Spaniards* made, that, if they had  
“ acted jointly, the battle would have ended more hap-  
“ pily for them.

“ IMME-

“ IMMEDIATELY after the fight, a captain of the  
 “ *English* squadron came, in the name of admiral *Byng*,  
 “ to make a compliment of excuse to the Marquis *De*  
 “ *Lede* giving him to understand, that the *Spaniards* had  
 “ been the aggressors, and that this action ought not to  
 “ be looked upon as a rupture, because the *English* did not  
 “ take it as such. To which it was answered, that *Spain*,  
 “ on the contrary, will reckon it a formal rupture; and  
 “ and that they would do the *English* all the damages and  
 “ hostilities imaginable, by giving orders to begin with  
 “ reprisals; and, in consequence of this, several *Spanish*  
 “ vessels, and *Guevara*’s squadron, have already taken some  
 “ *English* ships.”      THERE

A LIST of the SPANISH fleet in the action of Cape  
 Passaro, in the year 1718, under the command of DON ANTONIO  
 DE CASTANETA, including two ships which were amongst  
 those that captain WALTON destroyed on the coast of Sicily.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	Gs.
St. Philip the	Admiral Castaneta.	Taken	650 74
Prince of Asturias	Rear-Admiral Chacon.	Taken	550 70
The Royal	Rear-Admiral Mari.	Taken	400 60
St. Lewis	Rear-Admiral Guevara.	400 60	
	Escaped		
St. Ferdinand	Rear-Admiral Cammock	400 60	
	Escaped. Sunk afterwards at Messina Mole		
St. Carlos	Prince De Chalay.	Taken	400 60
Sancta Isabella	Don Andrea Rezio.	Taken	400 60
Sancta Rosa	Don Antonio Gonsales.	400 60	
	Taken		
St. John Baptist	Don Francisco Gerra.	400 60	
	Escaped		
St. Peter	Don Antonio Arrisaga	400 60	
	Escaped. Afterwards lost in the Gulph of Tarento		

Pearl

Of King GEORGE I. 397

THERE is no question to be made, but that both these relations retain some tincture of the passions and prejudices of those who drew them up ; and it is no less certain, that what

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	Gs.
Pearl	Don Gabriel Alderete. Escaped	300	50
_____	_____	300	50
	Burnt.		
St. Isidore	Don Manuel ville Vicentia. Taken	300	46
L'Esperanza	Don Juan Delfino & Barlan- di. Burnt	300	46
Volante	Don Antonio Escudera. Taken	300	44
_____	_____	300	44
	Burnt.		
Harmonia	Don Rodrigo de Torres Escaped. Sunk afterwards in Messina Mole	300	44
Porcupine	A Frenchman. Escaped	250	44
Surprize	Don Michael de Sada, Knight of Malta. Taken	250	36
Juno	Don Pedro Moyana. Taken	250	36
La Galera	Don Francisco Alverera Escaped	200	30
La Castilla	Don Francisco Lenio, Knight of Malta. Escaped	200	30
Count de Thouloufe	Don Joseph Jocoua. Escaped Taken in Messina Mole	200	30
Tyger	Don — Covaigne. Taken	240	26
Eagle	Don Lucas Masnata. Taken	240	24
St. Francis Areres	— Jacob a Scotchman. Escaped	100	22
Little St. Ferdinand	_____	150	20
	Escaped		
Little St. John	Don Ignatio Valevale. Escaped. Taken after- wards	150	20
Arrow	Don Juan Papajena. Escaped	100	18
		8830	1284



what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the *Spaniards*, and of their making but a weak defence, was but indifferently founded. For the truth is, that their fleet, though strong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ships being old, their artillery none of the best, and their seamen most of them not to be depended upon. Yet, it is agreed on all hands, that their admirals defended themselves gallantly; so that upon the whole, their defeat may be charged upon their irresolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them. I mean that of rear-admiral *Cammock*, an *Irish* gentleman, who had served long in our navy, and who was (to speak impartially) a much better seaman than any who bore command in the *Spanish* fleet. He knew perfectly well the strength of both parties, and saw plainly, that nothing could save the *Spaniards*, but a wise disposition; and therefore, in the last council of war held before the battle, he proposed, that they should remain at anchor in the road of *Paradise*, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broad-sides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the *English* admiral infinite trouble to attack them: for the coast there is so bold, that their biggest ships could ride with a cable a-shore; and farther out, the currents are so various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor, or lie by them in order of battle. Besides, they might have lain so near the shore, and could have received so great reinforcements of soldiers from the army, to man and defend them; and the annoyance the *Spaniards* might have given from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships, seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them

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at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the *Spaniards* would have had many advantages, and the *English* admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear. The *Spanish* admirals were too much persuaded of their own strength, and the courage of their seamen, or else they foolishly depended on their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they flighted this salutary counsel, and were thereby undone.

As soon as admiral *Byng* had obtained a full account of the whole transaction, he dispatched away his eldest son to *England*; who, arriving at *Hampton-Court* in fifteen days from *Naples*, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which, the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand<sup>k</sup>. Mr. *Byng* met with a  
most

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<sup>k</sup> This Circumstance, as well as the stile of the following letter, will sufficiently demonstrate how welcome the news was to his Majesty, and how much he approved Sir George *Byng*'s conduct, and the system on which it was founded.

“ Monsieur le Chevalier BYNG,  
“ Quo; que je n'ay pas encore receu de vos nouvelles en droit  
“ ture, j'ay appris la victoire que la flotte a remportee sous vos  
“ ordres, & je n'ay pas voulu vous differer le contentment que  
“ mon approbation de votre conduit vous pourroit donner. Je  
“ vous en remercie, & je souhaite que vous en temoigniez ma  
“ satisfaction a tous les braves gens, qui se sont distinguez dans  
“ cette occasion. Le Secretaire d'Etat Cragges a ordre de vous  
“ informer plus au long de mes intentions mais j'ay voulu vous  
“ assurer moy même que je suis, Monsieur le Chevalier *Byng*.

“ Votre bon amy,

“ A Hampton-Court,  
“ ce 23 d'Avout, 1758.

“ GEORGE R.”

most gracious reception from his majesty, who made him a handsome present, and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the several princes and states of *Italy*, as there should be occasion; and with his royal grant to the officers and seamen of all prizes taken by them from the *Spaniards*. The admiral, in the mean time, prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in *Sicily*, sailed afterwards to *Malta*, and brought out the *Sicilian* galleys, under the command of Marquis de *Rivaroles*, and a ship belonging to the *Turky-Company*, which had been block'd up there by rear-admiral *Cammock*, with a few ships which he had saved after the late engagement, and then sailed back again to *Naples*, where he arrived on the 2d of *November*; and soon after, received a gracious letter from the emperor *Charles VI.* written with his own hand<sup>1</sup>,  
ac-

In English thus.

" Sir GEORGE BYNG,

" Although I have received no news from you directly, I am informed of the victory obtained by the fleet under your command; and would not, therefore, defer giving you that satisfaction which must result from my approbation of your conduct. I give you my thanks, and desire you will testify my satisfaction to all the brave men who have distinguished themselves on this occasion. Mr. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of my intentions; but I was willing myself to assure you, that I am,

" Your good friend,

" Hampton-Court,

" Aug. 23, 1718.

" GEORGE R."

<sup>1</sup> Copy of the emperor's letter to the admiral, written by his own hand.

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accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful sense he had of the signal services rendered by his excellency to the house of *Austria*. As for the prizes that had been taken, they were sent to *Port Mahon*, where, by some unlucky accident, the *Royal Philip* took fire and blew up,

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“ Monsieur Amiral & Chevalier BYNG,

“ J'ay reçu avec beaucoup de satisfaction & de joy, par le porteur de celle cy la vôtre du 18me d'Aout. Quand je sceus  
“ que vous etiez nommé de sa majesté le roy votre maitre pour  
“ commandez sa flotte dans la Méditerranée, je conceus d'abord  
“ toutes les bonnes esperances. Le glorieux succès pourtant les  
“ a en quelque maniere surpasse. Vous avez en cette occasion  
“ donne des preuves d'une valeur, conduite, & zele pour la commune cause tres singulier ; la gloire que vous en resulte est bien  
“ grande, mais aussi en rien moindre ma reconnaissance, comme  
“ vous l'ex pliquera plus le Comte de Hamilton. Comptez toujours sur la continuation de ma reconnaissance, & de mon affection priant Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte garde.

“ A Vienne, ce 22me  
“ Octobre, 1718.

“ CHARLES.”

Admiral Sir GEORGE BYNG,

“ I have received, with a great deal of joy and satisfaction  
“ by the bearer of this, yours of the 18 of August. As soon as  
“ I knew you was named by the king, your master, to command his fleet in the Mediterranean, I conceived the greatest  
“ hopes imaginable from that very circumstance. The glorious  
“ success you have had, surpasses however my expectations. You  
“ have given, upon this occasion, very singular proofs of your  
“ courage, conduct and zeal for the common cause ; the glory  
“ you obtain from thence, is indeed great, and yet my gratitude  
“ falls nothing short thereof, as Count Hamilton will fully inform you. You may always depend upon the continuance of  
“ my thankfulness and affection towards you ; may God have  
“ you always in his holy keeping.

“ Vienna, October 22,  
“ O. S. 1718:

“ CHARLES.”

with most of the crew on board; but the admiral had been before set a-shore in *Sicily*, with some other prisoners of distinction, where he soon after died of his wounds.

THE *Spanish* court excessively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally destroyed the naval force, they had been at so much pains to raise, were not slow in expressing their resentments. On the 1st of *September*, rear-admiral *Guevara*, with some ships under his command, entered the port of *Cadiz*, and made himself master of all the *English* ships that were there; and at the same time, all the effects of the *English* merchants were seized in *Malaga*, and other ports of *Spain*, which as soon as it was known here, produced reprisals on our part. But it is now time to leave the *Mediterranean*, and the affairs of *Spain*, in order to give an account of what passed in the northern seas.

A resolution having been taken, as before observed, to send a strong squadron to the *Baltick*, it was put under the command of Sir *John Norris*, and rear-admiral *Mighels*, who, with ten sail of the line of battle, left *Sole-Bay* on the 1st of *May*, having eighteen merchant ships, under their convoy, and on the 14th, arrived safely at *Copenhagen*, where the same day Sir *John Norris* had an audience of his *Danish* majesty, by whom he was very graciously received; and soon after, he sailed in conjunction with the *Danish* fleet, to the coast of *Sweden*, where the King found himself obliged to lay up his ships in his own harbours, and to take all possible precautions for their security. That monarch, however, was far from being idle, notwithstanding he was sensible of the great superiority of his enemies, but endeavoured to provide, in the best manner he was able, for his own security, by

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making a peace with the *Czar*, and in the mean time, turning his arms against the King of *Denmark* in *Norway*, which kingdom he entered with an army of thirty thousand men, in two bodies, one commanded by general *Arenfeldt*, and the other, by himself in person. He had all the success in this expedition that he could wish, especially the season of the year considered; for it was in the depth of winter, that he penetrated into that frozen country, where, at the siege of *Frederickshall*, he was killed by a cannon-bullet, about nine in the evening, on the 30th of *November*, 1718. The death of this enterprising monarch, gave quite a new turn to the affairs in the north, and particularly freed us from all apprehensions on that side. Before this extraordinary event happened, Sir *John Norris* was returned with the fleet under his command, to *England*, where he safely arrived; in the latter end of the month of *October*.

THERE remains only one transaction more of this year, which a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; and it is the account we promised to give of the reduction of the pirates. Captain *Woods Rogers*, having been appointed governor of the *Bahama Islands*, failed for *Providence*, which was to be the seat of his government, on the 11th of *April*, and, after a short and easy passage, arriving there, he took possession of the town of *Nassau*, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately. He proceeded soon after, to forming a council, and settling the civil government in those islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees,

he succeeded. Some of the pirates, its true, refused at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of *Carolina*; but, when they saw that governor *Rogers* had thoroughly settled himself at *Providence*, and that the inhabitants of the *Bahama Islands* found themselves obliged, through interest, to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that by the 1st of *July 1719*, to which day the King's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four of those pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible. Thus, in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of governor *Rogers*, this crew of villains were dissolved, who for many years had frightened the *West-Indies*, and the northern colonies; coming at last to be so strong, that few merchant-men were safe, and withal so cruel and barbarous, that slavery among the *Turks* was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us, if the management of the *Spanish Guarda Costas* had been committed to the care of some man of a like spirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war.

THE parliament met on the 11th of *November*, and one of the first things they went upon, was the affair of *Spain*, which had indeed engrossed all publick conversation, from the time of the stroke given to their fleet in the *Mediterranean*, some looking upon that, as one of the noblest exploits since the revolution; but others considered it in quite another light; and when an address was moved for, to justify that measure, it was warmly opposed by the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Devonshire*, and  
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*Argyle*; the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Cowper*, *Orford* and *Ilay*; the Lords *North* and *Grey*, and *Harcourt*, in the House of Peers; and by Mr. *Shippen*, Mr. *Freeman*, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; and *Robert Walpole*, Esq; in the House of Commons; but without effect. On the 19th of the same month, the House of Commons voted 13,500 seamen for the service of the year 1719, at 4*l.* a month; and at the same time granted 187,638*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for the ordinary of the navy; and that we may range all the sums given under the same head, it may not be amiss to observe, that on the 19th of *January*, the House of Commons granted 25,000*l.* for the half-pay of sea-officers <sup>m</sup>.

ON the 17th of *December* 1718, a declaration of war in form was published against the crown of *Spain*; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were said in the House of Commons, especially with regard to the pretensions, and the intentions of those who made this war; for the ministry insisting strongly, that it was made in favour of trade, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants. It was said, by a great speaker, who is still living, that the ministers had shewn no great concern for the trade and interest of the nation, since it appeared by the answer of a secretary of state, to the marquis *de Monteleone's* letter, that they would have passed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided *Spain* had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and, that his majesty did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general quiet

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<sup>m</sup> Oldmixon's History, Historical Register, Chandler's Debates, Annals of King George, &c.



and tranquility. That nobody could yet tell how far that sacrifice was to extend; but certainly, it was a very uncommon piece of condescension. Another member went yet farther, and made use of his favourite expression, insinuating, That this war seemed to be calculated for another meridian; but wrapp'd up the *innuendo* so dextrously, that no exception was taken at it. The ministry, however, continued the pursuit of their own scheme, in spite of opposition, and took such vigorous measures for obliging *Spain* to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentments against such as endeavoured to impose it upon her; and with this view, she drew together a great number of transports at *Cadiz* and *Corrunna* <sup>n</sup>.

THE late earl of *Stair*, who was then our minister at the court of *France*, dispatched the first certain intelligence of the designs of *Spain*; which were, to have sent a considerable body of troops under the command of the duke of *Ormonde*, into the west of *England*; upon this, the most effectual methods were taken here, for defeating this scheme. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to sea; a proclamation issued for apprehending *James Butler*, late duke of *Ormonde*, with a promise of 5000 *l.* to the person that should seize him; and an embargo was also laid on all shipping. These precautions were attended with such success, and the fleet was fitted out with so much expedition, that on the 5th of *April*,

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<sup>n</sup> Political State, Annals of King George, Continuation of Rapin, &c.

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Sir John Norris sailed from *Spithead* to the westward, with nine men of war; and on the 29th, the Earl of *Berkley* sailed from *St. Helen's*, with seven other men of war, to join him, which he did the next day. The government likewise took some other very salutary measures to oppose this intended invasion of the *Spaniards*. The troops in the west of *England*, where it was conjectured they designed to land, were reinforced by several regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom, and four battalions were sent for over from *Ireland*, and were landed at *Minehead* and *Bristol*, while at the same time the allies of his majesty were desired to get in readiness the succours, which by several treaties they stood engaged to furnish, in case of a rebellion, or if the *British* dominions should be invaded by any foreign power. Accordingly, about the middle of *April*, two battalions of *Switzers* in the service of the *States General*, arrived in the river *Thames*; and about the same time three battalions of *Dutch* troops, making together the full complement of men which *Holland* was obliged to furnish, landed in the north of *England*. But, by this time, came certain advice, that the *Spanish* fleet, designed for this expedition, consisting of five men of war, and about forty transports, having on board the late duke of *Ormonde*, and upwards of 5000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which sailed from *Cadix* on the 23d of *February*, O. S. being on the 28th of that month, about fifty leagues to the westward of *Cape Finistre*, met with a violent storm, which lasted forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed them. Thus, this design of the *Spaniards*, whatever it was, became abortive. What loss they met with, is uncertain; but several of their vessels returned to the ports of *Spain* in a

very shattered condition. A very small part, however, of this embarkation, had somewhat a different fortune; for the Earls of *Marshal* and *Seaforth*, and the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, with about four hundred men, most *Spaniards*, on board three frigates, and five transports, landed in the shire of *Rofs* in *Scotland*, where they were joined by fifteen or sixteen hundred *Scots*, and had instructions to wait the duke of *Ormonde's* orders, and the account of his being landed in *England*. But, the whole design being quashed by the dispersion of the *Spanish* fleet, the *Highland* troops were defeated at *Glenshiel*, and the auxiliary *Spaniards* surrendered at discretion. They had met with a check before, at *Donan Castle*, which was secured by his majesty's ships, the *Worcester*, *Enterprize*, and *Flamborough*, the castle being blown up, and the greatest part of their ammunition taken or destroyed\*.

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in such close conjunction with *France*, that the Regent declared war against his cousin the King of *Spain*; and tho' marshal *Villars*, and some other officers of great rank, refused to command an army against a grandson of *France*, yet marshal *Berwick*, who, by the victory of *Almanza*, fixed that prince upon his throne, accepted the command of the army, which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to such conditions as were thought requisite for establishing the general tranquility of *Europe*. Many people here suspected that this war would produce no great effects; but it proved quite otherwise; for the Marquis *de Cilly*, advanced in the month of *April*, as far as *Port Passage*, where he

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\* Historical Register, Memoires Historiques

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found six men of war just finished, upon the stocks, all which, pushed thereto by Colonel *Stanhope*, (now Earl of *Harrington*) he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; which was a greater real loss to the *Spaniards*, than that they sustained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the Duke of *Berwick* besieged *Fontarabia*; both which actions shewed, that the *French* were in earnest <sup>p</sup>.

WHILE the *Spaniards* were pleasing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions, it was impossible to effect against us, our admiral in the *Mediterranean*, was distressing them effectually; for, having early in the spring sailed from *Port Mahon* to *Naples*, he there adjusted every thing for the reduction of *Sicily*, in which he acted with such zeal, and what he did was attended with so great success, that not only the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary from our fleet (which at the same time attended and disturbed all the motions of the enemy's army) that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the *English* admiral, as to the *German* general; and that the *English* fleet did no less service than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this *Sicilian* expedition, would take up much more room than I have to spare, and would, besides, oblige me to digress from my proper subject, since the motions of a fleet attending a land-army for the service of the emperor, cannot be, strictly speaking, thought a part of the  
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<sup>p</sup> Memoires de Philip Duc d'Orleans, &c.

*British* naval history<sup>a</sup>; for which reasons I shall speak of it as concisely as may be.

THERE is, however, one circumstance which deserves to be made known to posterity, and which I will not therefore omit. The imperialists having taken the city of *Messina*, on the 8th of *August* 1719, the admiral landed a body of *English* grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the tower of *Faro*, by which, having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in *Paradis-Road*; and this being perceived by the officer of the *Spanish* men of war in the *Mole*, who began to despair of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate, which they knew must be the same with that of the citadel; and this gave great satisfaction to the admiral, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. But, while all things were in this prosperous condition, a dispute arose among the allies, about the disposition of the *Spanish* ships before-mentioned, when, after the citadel's being taken, they should of course fallen into their hands. Signior *Scrampi*, general of the King of *Sardinia's* gallies, first started the question, and claimed the two best of sixty, and the other of sixty  
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<sup>a</sup> The reader may inform himself fully as to all these circumstances, by perusing the *account* of the *expedition* to *Sicily*, which I have cited so often, and which is a very ample history of that memorable war, that embarrassed us so much while it continued; and which has been buried in obscurity ever since, except as to the promise it occasioned about *Gibraltar*; of which, we shall hear more than once, before we conclude this volume; and perhaps we may sometime or other find the history of that promise no unuseful piece of intelligence.

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four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of *Palermo*. He grounded his right on the convention made at *Vienna*, the 29th of *December*, 1718, in which it was said, "That, as to the ships belonging to the King of *Sardinia*, if they be taken in port, they shall be restored him; but that this shall be referred to admiral *Byng* to answer". To this, the admiral replied, "That this convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at *Naples*, he could be directed by none, but that which had been made in consequence thereof, in *April* 1719, between the Vice-roy of *Naples*, the Marquis *de Breille*, minister of *Sardinia*, and himself, in which no mention is made of those ships; and, as for the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think the King of *Sardinia* had any shadow of title to them; that they had been taken by the enemy, were now fitted out, and armed at their expense, and under their colours; that they would put out to sea, if he did not hinder them, and attack all *English* ships they met with, and, if stronger, take them; so that he could not consider them in any other light than as they were, the ships of an enemy." Count *de Mercy* next put in his claim for the Emperor, alledging, "That as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his master's arms, according to the right of nations, they belonged to him". The admiral replied, "That it was owing to his keeping two squadrons on purpose, and at a great hazard, to watch and observe those ships, that they were now confined within the port; which if he was to withdraw, they would still be able to go to sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with and taking them." But reflecting afterwards

terwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into *Spain*, which he was determined never to suffer; that, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute at that critical juncture among the princes concerned; and, if it should be at length determined that they did not belong to *England*, it were better they belonged to nobody; he proposed to Count *de Mercy*, to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the basin; who urged, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to *Vienna* for instructions about it. The admiral replied with some warmth, That he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the general being concerned in interest, not to carry matters to an open misunderstanding, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestations of Signior *Scrampi*, which, in a little time, sunk and destroyed them; and thereby completed the ruin of the naval power of *Spain*.

THE imperial court had formed a design of making themselves masters again of *Sardinia*, out of which they had been driven, as is before observed, by the *Spaniards*: but, our admiral judged it more for the service of the house of *Austria*, that this army should be immediately transported into *Sicily*. In order to effect this, and at the the same time to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of *Messina*, he went over to *Naples*, where, finding that the government was absolutely unable to furnish

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<sup>r</sup> See the expedition to Sicily, Historical Register, Political State, Oldmixon's History, &c.

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nish the military stores that were wanting, he very generously granted to his imperial Majesty the cannon out of the *British* prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, powder and other ammunition from *Genoa*; and, soon after, went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops, which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely through the diligence of the admiral, and in spite of the delays affected by the then Count, afterwards *Bathaw Bonneval*, who was appointed to command them. After the citadel of *Messina* surrendered, Sir *George Byng* re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island, by which speedy and unexpected conveyance, they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the *Marquis de Lede*, who commanded the *Spanish* forces in chief, proposed to evacuate the island, to which, the *Germans* were very well inclined; but, our admiral protested against it, and declared, that the *Spanish* troops should never be permitted to quit *Sicily*, and return home, till a general peace was concluded. In this, Sir *George* certainly acted as became a *British* admiral; and after having done so many services for the imperialists, insisted on their doing what was just, with respect to us, and holding the *Spanish* troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of *London*, as well as to that of *Vienna*. It must, however, be considered, that, in the first place, the admiral had the detention of the *Spaniards* in his own hands, since the *Germans* could do nothing in that matter, without him; and on the other hand, our demands on the court of *Spain*, were as much for the interest of the common cause, as for our own, so that tho' the steadiness of admiral *Byng* deserved commendation,



mendation, yet there seemed to be no great praises due to the *German* complaisance\*.

THE more effectually to humble *Spain*, and at the same time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive, but execute an invasion, a secret design was formed, for sending a fleet and army to the coasts of *Spain*; which was very successfully performed; and, on the 21st of *September* 1719, vice-admiral *Mighels*, with a strong Squadron of his Majesty's ships under his command, and the transports having on board the forces, commanded by the late Lord Viscount *Cobham*, consisting of about 6000 men, sailed from *St. Helen's*; and the first account we had of them, is comprized in the following letter, which, indeed, contains the only good account that was ever published of this expedition; and, therefore, I presume the reader will not be displeas'd to see it†.

“ His excellency the Lord Viscount *Cobham*, with the  
 “ men of war commanded by vice-admiral *Mighels*, and  
 “ the transports, having the forces on board, arriving on  
 “ the coast of *Galicia*, kept cruising three days in the  
 “ station appointed for captain *Johnson* to join them; but  
 “ having no news of him, and the danger of lying on  
 “ the coast at this season of the year, with transports,  
 “ rendering it necessary to take some measures of acting  
 “ without him, and the wind offering fair for *Vigo*, his  
 “ lordship took the resolution of going thither.

“ ON the 29th of *September*, O. S. they entered the  
 “ harbour of *Vigo*; and the grenadiers being immediately  
 “ landed,

\* This was esteem'd a mighty service by one party in England, and treated with very great contempt by another.

† *Annals of King George*, *Oldmixon's History*, *Historical Register*, *Political State*, &c.

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“ landed, about three miles from the town, drew up on  
“ the beach; some peasants fired from the mountains, at  
“ a great distance, but without any execution. His lord-  
“ ship went a-shore with the grenadiers, and the regi-  
“ ments followed as fast as the boats could carry them.  
“ That night, and the following day and night, the  
“ troops lay upon their arms. In the mean while, pro-  
“ visions for four days were brought a-shore, and guards  
“ were posted in several avenues, to the distance of above  
“ a mile up the country.

“ ON the 1st of *October*, his lordship moved with the  
“ forces nearer the town, and encamped at a strong post,  
“ with the left to the sea, near the village of *Boas*, and  
“ the right extended towards the mountains. This mo-  
“ tion of the army, and some parties that were ordered  
“ to view the town and citadel, gave the enemy some  
“ apprehensions that preparations were making to attack  
“ them. Whereupon, they set fire to the carriages of  
“ the cannon of the town, nailed those cannon, and by  
“ all their motions, seemed to be determined to abandon  
“ the town to the care of the magistrates, and inhabitants;  
“ and to retire, with the regular troops, into the citadel.  
“ Whereupon, the Lord *Cobham* sent to summon the  
“ town to surrender, which the magistrates made no dif-  
“ ficulty of doing; and the same night his lordship or-  
“ dered brigadier *Honywood*, with eight hundred men, to  
“ take post in the town, and fort *St. Sebastian*, which  
“ the enemy had also abandoned.

“ ON the 3d, a bomb-vessel began to bombard the  
“ citadel; but with little execution, by reason of the  
“ great distance. That evening, the large mortars, and  
“ the cohorn-mortars, were landed at the town, between  
“ forty and fifty of them, great and small, placed on a  
“ battery,

“ battery, under cover of fort *St. Sebastian*, began in the  
 “ night to play upon the citadel, and continued it four  
 “ days with great success. The fourth day his lordship  
 “ ordered the battering cannon to be landed; and, with  
 “ some others, found in the town, to be placed on the  
 “ battery of fort *St. Sebastian*. At the same time, his  
 “ lordship sent the governor a summon to surrender, sig-  
 “ nifying, that if he staid till our battery of cannon was  
 “ ready, he should have no quarter. Colonel *Ligonier*  
 “ was sent with this message, but found the governor  
 “ *Don Joseph de los Cerros*, had the day before been car-  
 “ ried out of the castle, wounded; the lieutenant-colo-  
 “ nel, who commanded in his absence, desired leave and  
 “ time to send to the marquis *de Risburg*, at *Tuy*, for his  
 “ directions; but being told, the hostilities should be con-  
 “ tinued, if they did not send their capitulation without  
 “ any delay, they soon complied <sup>u</sup>.”

THE capitulation consisted of ten articles, by which the garrison were permitted to march out, with honours of war; and the place, with all its works, magazines, and whatever they contained, either of ammunition or provisions, were delivered up to his excellency the Lord *Cobham*.

ON the 10th of the same month, in the morning, the garrison marched out, consisting of 469 men (officers included) having had above 300 killed or wounded by our bombs. The place it is said cost us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town, about sixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the enemy abandoned, and these they nailed, and damaged,

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<sup>u</sup> This relation was published in the *London-Gazette*, dated *Whitehall*, October 2, 1719.

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as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel, were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars, besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting to about 8000 musquets; all which stores, and brass ordnance, were lodged there from on board the ships that were to have visited *Great Britain* in the preceeding spring, and the very troops that gave up *Vigo*, were also of those which were to have been employed in that expedition; seven ships were seized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one to carry twenty-four guns; the rest were trading vessels.

*VIGO* being thus taken, the Lord *Cobham* ordered major-general *Wade* to embark with a thousand men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of *Vigo*; which he accordingly did, on the 14th, and having landed his men, marched to *Ponta-Vedra*, which place surrendered without opposition, the magistrates of the town meeting them with the keys. In this place were taken, two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight pounders, and four mortars, all brass; besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small arms, some bombs, &c. all which, except the twenty-four pounders, were embarked, and Major-General *Wade* returned with his booty and troops to *Vigo*, on the 23d. The next day, the Lord *Cobham* finding it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground any longer in *Spain*, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewise the cannon, &c. which being done by the 27th, he sailed that day for *England*, where he arrived the 11th of *November*; having

lost in the whole expedition, about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deserted \*.

THERE is yet another expedition, of which we must take some notice, before we shut up the transactions of this year; and, it is that of Sir *John Norris*, into the *Baltick*. Things had now changed their face in the north; the *Swedes*, since the death of their King, were become our friends, and the great design of sending this fleet, was to protect these new friends against the *Russians*. The queen of *Sweden* was extremely well pleased on the receiving so seasonable a succour. In the beginning of *September*, Sir *John Norris*, with his squadron, joined the *Swedish* fleet, and on the sixth of the same month, arrived at the *Dahlen*, near *Stockholm*, where, her majesty's consort, the present King of *Sweden*, did him the honour to dine on board his ship. This junction of the *English* and *Swedish* fleets, broke all the measures of the Czar *Peter the Great*, who had ruined the *Swedish* coast in a cruel manner; but was now forced to retire with his fleet into the harbour of *Revel*. The Lord *Carteret*, now Earl of *Granville*, was then ambassador at *Stockholm*, and, in conjunction with Sir *John Norris*, laboured assiduously to bring the conferences at the island of *Abland*, to a happy conclusion; but, the Czar, not being at that time disposed to think of pacific measures, they could not prevail; so that, about the middle of *September*, the conferences broke up. All this time, the fleet continued near *Stockholm*; but the winter season coming on, and there being no reason to fear any further attacks on the *Swedes*, as the  
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\* Historical Register, Political State, &c.

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*Danes* had accepted his *Britannic* Majesty's mediation, Sir *John Norris* thought of returning home; and, accordingly sailed from *Elfenap* on the 27th of *October*, with a large fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, and safely arrived at *Copenhagen*, on the 6th of *November*, where he was received by his *Danish* Majesty, with all imaginable marks of distinction and esteem. It must, indeed, be allowed, to the honour of this worthy admiral's memory, that whatever views the ministry might have at home, he consulted the nation's glory abroad; and by preserving the ballance of power in the north, rendered the highest service to his country. On the 12th of the same month, the fleet sailed from *Copenhagen*; and on the 17th, met with a dreadful storm, which damaged several ships, but destroyed none. Towards the close of the month, they arrived safe; and, on the last day of *November*, Sir *John* came to *London*, after having managed, with great reputation, and finished with much expedition, an enterprise which in less able hands, would either have brought discredit on our naval power, or involved the nation in a bloody war; but by his steady and prudent conduct, they were both avoided, and a stop put to those troubles, which for many years had embroil'd the north.

His Majesty returned from *Hanover* about the middle of *November* 1719, and the parliament met the latter end of the same month, when there were very warm debates upon the subject of the *Sicilian* expedition; where many great men, and good patriots, thought our fleet had done too much for the *Germans*, and too little for them-

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† *Mercure historique & politique*, Oldmixon, *Annals of King George*, &c.

selves. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry maintained, that their measures were right; that the giving *Sicily* to the emperor, and *Sardinia* to the Duke of *Savoy*, would effectually fix the balance of power in *Italy*, and free us, and the rest of *Europe*, from the apprehensions created by the mighty naval power of *Spain*. It is not, strictly speaking, my business, and to say the truth, the compass of this work will not allow me to enlarge much upon it, if an enquiry into the politics at those times, was more so, than it is; but thus much I think is due, in justice to Sir *George Byng*; that the question does not at all affect his conduct, since the merit of an admiral consists in executing his instructions, for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of those instructions. If this be not granted, we must never expect to be well served at sea, since the admiral who takes upon him to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his conduct, be it what it will; and if this proposition be once granted, Sir *George Byng* must be allowed to have done his duty, as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing, that *Sicily* was subdued, and his *Catholic Majesty* forced to accept the terms prescribed to him by the quadruple alliance. He it was, who first enabled the *Germans* to set foot in that island; by him they were supported, in all they did; and by his councils they were directed, or they had otherwise been again expelled the island, even after the taking of *Messina*. As warm debates were there about our conduct in the *Baltick*, which, whether it were right or wrong, ought not to affect the character of the admiral who punctually executed his instructions, and performed all that was, or could be, expected from him; neither

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was this denied by such as opposed the ministry, and whose sentiments were at this time over-ruled in parliament<sup>2</sup>.

ON the 2d of *December*, the naval supplies for the ensuing year were settled. 13,500 men were allowed for the service of 1720, and the sum of 4 *l.* per month as usual; granted for that purpose; 217,918 *l.* 10 *s.* 8 *d.* was given for the ordinary of the navy, and 79,723 *l.* for the extraordinary repairs. Soon after a demand was made for a considerable sum, expended in the necessary service of the last year, beyond what was provided for by parliament; and after great debates, in which those then in opposition took great freedoms, a vote was obtained on the 15th of *January*, for 377,561 *l.* 6 *s.* 9 *d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  in discharge of those expences. In the beginning of the month of *February*, the King of *Spain* acceded to the quadruple alliance; and, as a consequence thereof, a cessation of arms by sea was soon after published, which was quickly followed by a convention in *Sicily*, for the evacuation of that island, and also of the island of *Sardinia*; and thus the house of *Austria* got possession of the kingdom of *Sicily*, by means of the *British* fleet. But, what return the imperial court made *Great-Britain*, for these favours, we shall see in its proper place. About the same time, a messenger dispatched by the then Lord *Carteret*, from *Stockholm*, brought the instrument of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded between his majesty and the crown of *Sweden*<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Oldmixon's History, Chandler's Debates, Political State.

<sup>3</sup> Votes of the House of Commons, Annals of King George, Historical Register.



THE Czar of *Muscovy*, remaining still at war with that crown, and having entered into measures that, in the opinion of our court, were calculated to overturn the balance of power in the north, it was resolved, to send Sir *John Norris*, once more, with a fleet of twenty men of war under his command, into those seas. The design of this, was, to secure the *Swedes* from feeling the Czar's resentment, or from being forced to accept such hard and unequal conditions, as he might endeavour to impose. The better to understand this, it will be requisite to observe, that the *Swedes* had made some great alterations in their government, not only by asserting their crown to be elective, but by making choice of the Prince of *Hesse*, consort to the queen their sovereign, for their king, on her motion and request; notwithstanding the claim of the Duke of *Holstein*, her sister's son, to the succession. This young prince, the Czar was pleased to take under his protection, and proposed to the *Swedes*, that, if they would settle the crown upon him, his *Czarish* majesty would give him his daughter, with the provinces conquered from *Sweden*, by way of dowry; but, in case this was refused, he threatened to pursue the war more vigorously than ever, and for that purpose, began to make very great naval preparations. As our old league with *Sweden* was now renewed, the *British* fleet, on the 16th of *April*, sailed for the *Baltick*; in the beginning of the month of *May*, they were joined on the coast of *Sweden* by a squadron of ships belonging to that crown; and on the 24th of the same month, being near the coast of *Abland*, they were joined by seven *Swedish* men of war more, under the command of admiral *Wachmeister*; the 26th, it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed towards the coast of *Revel*; which saved the

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the *Swedes* from feeling at that juncture, any marks of the Czar's displeasure. In the mean time, our minister at the court of *Denmark*, having prepared that monarch for an accommodation with *Sweden*, Lord *Carteret*, who was our minister at *Stockholm*, negotiated, and brought to a conclusion the treaty of peace between the two crowns, under our mediation, and went afterwards to *Copenhagen*, to present it to his *Danish* Majesty, of whom he had an audience on the 29th of *June* 1720, for that purpose. His lordship continued for some time after at the *Danish* court, where he was treated with unusual marks of esteem and respect, by a prince who was allowed to be one of the wisest crowned heads in *Europe*; and who, as a signal testimony of his favour, to that accomplished statesman, took a sword from his side, richly set with diamonds, to the value of five thousand pounds, of which he made a present to his Lordship<sup>b</sup>.

THE season for action being over, Sir *John Norris*, on the 8th of *September*, sailed with the squadron under his command, to *Stockholm*. The King of *Sweden* did him the honour to dine with him on board his ship, accompanied by Mr. *Finch*, the *British* envoy, and the *Polish* minister *Prince Lubomirski*, and other persons of distinction; and his excellency soon after returned, with the squadron under his command, to *England*. The Czar bore this interposition of ours very impatiently, and his ministers did not fail to impute it wholly to the interest which his Majesty, as a *German* prince, had to compromise affairs with *Sweden*, with relation to the acquisition he had made of

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<sup>b</sup> Oldmixon, Political State, Annals of King George.

the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*. However, thus much is very certain, that whatever benefit his Majesty, as elector of *Hanover*, might draw from the protection afforded to *Sweden* by the *British* fleet, this was a measure, as things then stood, entirely corresponding with the *British* Interest; and we had often interposed in the very same manner, under former reigns, to prevent such conquests in the north, as might be fatal to a commerce, upon the proper carrying on of which, in a great measure, depends almost all the other branches of our trade. The Insinuations, therefore, of the Czar had no great weight at that time, either with us, or with other powers, as appears by the Conduct of *Poland* and *Denmark*, both making separate treaties with *Sweden*, notwithstanding all the expostulations, remonstrances, and even threatenings of his Czarish Majesty to prevent it. Neither is it at all impossible, that the very dread of that exorbitant power, to which that ambitious monarch aspired, might contribute as much to their taking that resolution, as any other motive whatever.

His Majesty having spent the summer in his *German* dominions, returned to *Great Britain* in the month of *November*; and the parliament meeting on the 8th of *December* following, the proceedings of the whole year was laid before that august assembly; in which it was insisted upon, that the money issued for the sea-service, had produced all the desired effects; and that, as peace had been settled by the force of our arms in the *Mediterranean*, a few months before, so it was highly probable, that the very terror of our

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our arms would cause the troubles of the north to subside in a few months to come. Upon these suggestions, a considerable naval force was asked for the next year; and though there was a good deal of opposition, and a great many bold speeches made, yet, in the end, the point was carried; and on the 19th of *December*, the House of Commons resolved, that 10,000 men be allowed for the sea-service for the year 1721, at 4*l.* a man *per* month for thirteen months: That 219,049*l.* 14*s.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy; and 50,200 for extra-repairs for the same year. This provision being made, it was resolved to send Sir *John Norris*, and Rear-Admiral *Hopson*, with a squadron of thirteen men of war of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches, into the *Baltick*, to put an end to those disputes, which had already cost our allies so much blood, and ourselves so large a proportion of treasure, and which it was thought could not be so soon settled any other way.

THE Czar having still in view the reduction of the *Swedes*, to his own terms, was very early at sea, with a large fleet, and designing to strike a terror into the whole *Swedish* nation, he ravaged their coasts with incredible fury, to give it the softest name, committing such cruelties as were scarce ever heard of, amongst the most barbarous nations; yet the *Swedes* kept up their spirits, and depending on our protection, did not take any hasty measures, but insisted on certain mitigations, which by this firmness they at last obtained. In the middle of this month of *April*, Sir *John Norris* sailed from the *Nore*, and towards the latter end of the same month, arrived at *Copenhagen*, where he was received with all imaginable marks of esteem; soon after, he continued his voyage for the coast of *Sweden*, where he

was joined by a few *Swedish* ships. His appearance in those seas, and with such a force, produced greater consequences than were expected from it; for the Czar doubting his own strength, and fearing, upon the loss of a battle, that his whole naval force would be destroyed, as he had seen of late to be the case of *Spain*, he began to be more inclinable to a peace, which was concluded at *Neistadt*, upon the 31st of *August*. This treaty having settled the Czar's rights to the conquered provinces, and secured to the *Swedes* various immunities and privileges, in order to bring them more readily to consent to such terms as they would have otherwise thought hard, satisfied, in some measure, both crowns. Sir *John Norris* continued all this time with his fleet in the neighbourhood of *Stockholm*, in order to give weight to the negotiations of Mr. *Finch*; and the peace being signed and ratified, he took leave of the *Swedish* court, and sailed for *Copenhagen*, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of *October*; and on the 6th of the same month, returned home, arriving safely at the *Nore* on the 20th, leaving the north in perfect quiet, and all its powers under a just sense of the seasonable interposition of *Great-Britain*, in favour of that balance of power in those parts, which is of such high consequence to the tranquility of *Europe* in general, as well as the particular advantage of each of the monarchs thus (not without much difficulty) reconciled.

At home, the disputes and uneasinesses which had been occasioned by the execution of the *South-Sea* scheme, kept the nation in a high ferment, and put the court under a necessity of altering its measures, and making some changes in the administration; among which, we may reckon the great alteration of the board of admiralty, which took

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took place in the month of *September*, when his Majesty was pleased to order letters patent to pass the great seal, constituting the right honourable *James Earl of Berkley*, *Sir John Jennings*, *John Cockburn*, and *William Chetwynd*, Esqrs. *Sir John Norris*, *Sir Charles Wager*, and *Daniel Puiteny*, Esq; commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, &c. This appointment gave the most general satisfaction at that time; and it must be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their characters, that the board was never better graced, than by these gentlemen, four of whom were as great seamen as any in this age; and the other three, as well acquainted with the business of the office, and the duties of their post, as any that ever filled them.

THE parliament met on the 19th of *October*, and on the 27th of the same month, the house of commons granted 7000 men for the service of the sea, for the year 1722, at the usual rate of 4*l.* a man *per* month; and on the 2d of *November*, they resolved, that the sum of 218,799*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year. This was a very moderate expence, and very agreeable to the situation of our affairs, at that time, which had been not a little disordered by the expences into which we had been drawn for many years past. It was not long, however, after this grant was made, before a new squadron was ordered to be got ready, consisting of thirteen very large ships, which was to be commanded by *Sir Charles Wager*, and rear-admiral *Hofier*. The destination of this squadron was never certainly known; but the most probable account that has been given, is, that it was intended to chastise the *Portuguese*, for an insult offered by them, to *Mr. Wingfield* and *Mr. Roberts*, two gentlemen

gentlemen of the factory at *Lisbon*, whose goods they seized, imprisoned their persons, and even went so far as to condemn them to be hanged, upon a very trifling pretence. The case was this. There is a law in *Portugal*, which forbids the exportation of any coin whatsoever, out of that kingdom, upon pain of death: But it was a law never insisted upon, and therefore supposed to be obsolete, and, by custom, in a manner repealed; which construction was justified by the transporting gold coin from *Lisbon* to other countries, almost every day, and that in such a manner, as the court could not be ignorant of it. What induced the *Portuguese* ministry to venture upon such an ill-timed severity, is not well known; but the vigorous measures taken by our court, were certainly the properest methods that could be taken, to hinder their proceeding to execution. At the same time, our minister stated the case of those gentlemen in the fairest and fullest light, observing to the king of *Portugal*, that of all nations in *Europe*, the *English* least deserved to be thus used, because they took the largest quantity of the manufactures of *Portugal*, in exchange for their own, of which last the *Portuguese* also exported a great deal. That the balance of trade in our favour, had been, and must be, always discharged in gold, and that consequently, these severe proceedings, if not remitted, must not only produce an immediate rupture between the two nations, but also hinder all commerce between them for the future. By degrees these representations were attended to, the merchants released, their goods restored, and the whole affair was amicably adjusted. Upon this, our naval armament was laid aside, and the mutual interest of the two nations, after this explanation, being better understood, the harmony between them was

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effectually restored, and this unlucky interruption of it, buried on both sides in oblivion.

WE may, from this instance, discern, how dangerous a thing it is, in any state, to suffer these sleeping laws to remain virtually, and yet not actually repealed, since, in certain conjunctures, there never will be wanting a sort of enterprising men, who will endeavour to make their advantage of such penal statutes, disguising their private views, under a specious pretence of pursuing the public good. As on the other hand, we cannot avoid observing, that the best way to secure justice to our subjects abroad, is always to keep up a great maritime force at home, that it may be known to all nations, with whom we have any dealings, we are always in a situation to exact a speedy and ample satisfaction, for any insults that are offered to our merchants, as believing it but equitable to employ in favour of our commerce, that power which is the result of it; which never can be attained, but by encouraging an extensive trade, and which never can decay or decline, if we do not suffer our neighbours to interfere therein to our prejudice; by not applying timely and effectual remedies, upon their first invasions. But to return from these salutary cautions, to the thread of our narration.

THE pirates in the *West-Indies*, which had received some check from the vigorous dispositions of governor *Rogers*, and other commanders in those parts, began to take breath again, and even to annoy our colonies more than ever. This was owing to several causes; particularly to the encouragement they had met with of late from the *Spaniards*, and to the want of a sufficient force in the north *American* seas. The merchants, finding themselves extremely distressed, by a grievance that increased every day, made



made repeated representations, upon this head, to the government; upon which, fresh orders were sent to the officers of the navy, cruizing on the coast of *Guiney*, and in the *West-Indies*, to exert themselves, with the utmost diligence, in crushing these enemies to mankind; and these injunctions had at length the desired effect. There was amongst these pirates, on the coast of *Africa*, one *Roberts*, a man whose parts deserved a better employment; he was an able seaman, and a good commander, and had with him two very stout ships, one commanded by himself, of forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; the other of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty two men; and to compleat his squadron, he soon added a third, of twenty-four guns, and ninety men: With this force, *Roberts* had done a great deal of mischief in the *West-Indies*, before he sailed for *Africa*, where he likewise took abundance of prizes, till in the month of *April* 1722, he was taken by the then captain, now Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and at present, admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet.

CAPTAIN *Ogle* was then in the *Swallow*, and was cruizing off cape *Lopez*, when he had intelligence of *Roberts's* being not far from him, of whom he went immediately in search, and soon after discovered the pirates in a very convenient bay, where the biggest and the least ship were upon the heel, scrubbing. Captain *Ogle* taking in his lower tire of guns, and lying at a distance, *Roberts* took him for a merchant-man, and immediately ordered his consort *Skyrm* to slip his cable, and run out after him. Captain *Ogle* crowded all the sail he could to decoy the pirate, to such a distance, that his consorts might not hear the guns, and then suddenly tacked, run out his lower  
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tire, and gave the pirate a broadside, by which their captain was killed; which so discouraged his crew, that after a brisk engagement, which lasted about an hour and a half, they surrendered. Captain *Ogle* returned then to the bay, hoisting the King's colours, under the pirates black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent stratagem, had the desired effect; for the pirates, seeing the black flag uppermost, concluded the King's ship had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their consort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance, for Captain *Ogle* gave them a very warm reception; and though *Roberts* fought with the utmost bravery, for near two hours, yet being at last killed, the courage of his men immediately sunk, and both ships yielded. Captain *Ogle* carried these three prizes, with about one hundred and sixty men, that were taken in them, to cape *Coast-Castle*, where they were instantly brought to their trials. Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-two were executed, and most of them hung in chains, in several places; which struck a terror in that part of the world, as the taking several pirates in the *West-Indies*, towards the latter end of the year, did in those seas. But these successes were far from putting an end to the mischief, so that it was found necessary, soon after, to send several ships of war to the northern colonies and *Jamaica*, where, by degrees, they extirpated entirely this dangerous crew of robbers.

As this year was very barren in naval transactions, I think I am at liberty to take notice of an event, that otherwise might seem of too little importance to be recorded. The case was this. The Government had intelligence, that the emissaries of the pretender were very busy  
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in carrying on their intrigues at several foreign courts, and that, for the greater expedition and security, they had fitted out a ship, called *The Resolution*, which then lay in the mole of *Genoa*. It was in the midst of autumn when this intelligence was received; upon which, orders were immediately dispatched to the Captains of such of our men of war, as were cruizing in the *Mediterranean*, to seize and possess themselves of this vessel, which they accordingly did, in the beginning of the month of *November*. But it so happened, that most of her officers were, at this juncture, on shore, which obliged Mr. *Davenant*, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary to that Republick, to demand them of the senate and state of *Genoa*; but the senate were either so unwilling, or so dilatory in this affair, that the persons concerned, had an opportunity, which they did not miss, of making their escape; and, though they were a little unlucky in losing their ship, which was a pretty good one, yet they were very fortunate in saving themselves, since if they had been taken, they would have been treated as rebels, or perhaps, considered as pirates, as some people were in King *William's* time, who acted under a commission from King *James II.*

THE parliament having met on the 9th of *October*, the House of Commons, on the 24th of the same month, granted 10,000 men for the sea-service, at 4*l.* per month, for the year 1723; and, on the 29th, they resolved, that 216,388*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the same year; and soon after, the King was pleased to promote Captain *Charles Strickland*, to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, in the room of admiral *Migbells*, who was appointed to succeed *Thomas Swinston*, Esq; lately deceased, as comptroller of the navy; and

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admiral *Littleton* dying the fifth of *February*, rear-admiral *Strickland* succeeded him as vice-admiral of the white; and *Sir George Walton* was made rear-admiral of the blue, the other admirals taking place according to their seniority.

THE naval transactions of this year were, as I have hinted, very inconsiderable; for though some great ships were put into commission, and there was once a design of fitting out a fleet; yet it was very soon after laid aside, the whole attention of the nation being diverted to a plot, for which one *Christopher Layer*, Esq; counsellor at law, suffered death; and Doctor *Francis Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was banished by a law *ex poſt facto*. But that we may not seem to paſs by any thing that has the ſmalleſt relation to the ſubject of this work, we ſhall take notice of an account received about this time of an extraordinary hurricane at *Jamaica*, ſaid to be the moſt remarkable that ever happened in that iſland; which account, as it is in itſelf equally curious and remarkable, ſo it is the more valuable, becauſe not to be met with elſewhere.

“ To Sir H. S. Bart.

“ Dated at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, Nov. 13, 1722.

“ Since my laſt to you, the affairs of this iſland are altered infinitely for the worſe. This change has been made by a moſt terrible ſtorm that happened the 28th of *Auguſt* laſt; the damage which *Jamaica* has ſuffered by it, is too great to be eaſily repaired again. Abundance of people have loſt their lives by it in one part or other of this iſland; ſome of them were daſhed in pieces by the ſudden fall of their houſes; but the much greater part were ſwept away by the terrible inundation of

“ the sea, which being raised, by the violence of the wind,  
 “ to a much greater height than was ever known before,  
 “ in many parts of the island broke over its ancient bounds,  
 “ and of a sudden, over-flowed a large tract of land, car-  
 “ rying away with an irresistible force, men, cattle,  
 “ houses, and, in short, every thing that stood in its way.  
 “ In this last calamity, the unfortunate town of *Port-*  
 “ *Royal* has had, at least, its full share. And here I  
 “ confess myself at a loss for words to give a just descrip-  
 “ tion of the horror of that scene that we, the afflicted  
 “ inhabitants, saw before our eyes. When the terror of  
 “ the sea broke in upon us from all quarters, with an im-  
 “ petuous force, conspired with the violence of the wind, to  
 “ cut off all hopes of safety from us, and we had no other  
 “ choice before us, but that dismal one of perishing in the  
 “ waters, if we fled out of our houses, or of being buried  
 “ under the ruins if we continued in them. In this fear-  
 “ ful suspense we were held for several hours; for the vio-  
 “ lence of the storm began about eight in the morning,  
 “ and did not sensibly abate till between twelve and one,  
 “ within which space of time, the wind and sea together  
 “ demolished a considerable part of the town, laid the  
 “ churches even with the ground, destroyed above one  
 “ hundred and twenty white inhabitants, and one hundred  
 “ and fifty slaves, besides ruining almost all the store-  
 “ houses in the town, together with all the goods that  
 “ were in them, which amounted to a considerable value.  
 “ We had, at *Port-Royal*, two very formidable enemies  
 “ to encounter at the same time, *viz.* the wind, and the  
 “ sea; the situation of the place, it being at all times sur-  
 “ rounded with the sea, rendering it more exposed than  
 “ other places, to the fury of that boisterous element;  
 “ our only defence against the sea, consists in a great  
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“ wall, round all along on the eastern shore of the town,  
“ the side upon which we apprehend most danger. This  
“ wall is raised about nine foot above the surface of the  
“ water, and may be about six or seven foot broad. And  
“ for these twenty years past (for so long the wall has  
“ been built) it has proved a sufficient security to the town.  
“ But, in this fatal storm, the sea scorned to be restrained  
“ by so mean a bulwark ; for the wind having, as I ob-  
“ served before, raised it very much above its ordinary  
“ height, it broke over the wall with such a force, as no-  
“ thing was able to withstand. Two or three rows of  
“ houses that were next to the wall, and ran parallel  
“ with it, were entirely taken away, among which was  
“ the church, a handsome building, and very strong,  
“ which was so perfectly demolished, that scarce one  
“ brick was left upon another. A considerable part of the  
“ wall of the castle was thrown down, notwithstanding  
“ its being of a prodigious thickness, and founded altogether  
“ upon a rock, and the whole fort was in the utmost  
“ danger of being lost, the sea breaking quite over the  
“ walls of it, though they are reckoned to stand thirty foot  
“ above the water. This information I had from the cap-  
“ tain of the fort, and other officers that were in it, during  
“ the storm, who all told me, that they expected every  
“ minute to have the fort washed away, and gave up them-  
“ selves and the whole garrison for lost. In the highest  
“ streets in the town, and those that are most remote from  
“ the sea, the water rose to between five and six foot ; and  
“ at the same time the current was so rapid, that it was  
“ scarce possible for the strongest person to keep his legs,  
“ or to prevent himself from being carried away by it.  
“ In these circumstances, we were obliged to betake our-  
“ selves to our chambers, and upper rooms ; where yet

“ we ran the utmost hazards of perishing by the fall of  
 “ our houses, which trembled and shook over our heads  
 “ to a degree that is scarce credible. The roofs were for  
 “ the most part carried off by the violence of the wind, and  
 “ particularly in one house to which mine and several  
 “ other families had betaken ourselves, the gable-end  
 “ was beaten in, with such a force, that a large parcel of  
 “ bricks fell thro’ the garret floor into the chamber where  
 “ we were, and had they fallen upon any of us, must  
 “ infallibly have beaten out our brains: but God was  
 “ pleased to order it so, that not a soul received any hurt.

“ THERE was, the morning on which the storm hap-  
 “ pened, a good fleet of ships riding in the harbour of  
 “ *Port-Royal*, most of which had taken in their full  
 “ freight, and were to have proceeded home in a few  
 “ days, had they not been prevented by this terrible storm,  
 “ which left but one vessel in the harbour, besides four  
 “ sail of men of war, all which had their masts and rig-  
 “ ging blown away, and the ships themselves, though in  
 “ a secure harbour as any in the whole *West-Indies*, were  
 “ as near to destruction, as it was possible to be, and  
 “ escaped it. But the most sensible proof of the unaccount-  
 “ able force of the wind and sea together, was, the vast  
 “ quantity of stones that were thrown over the town-  
 “ wall; which, as I observed before, stands nine foot  
 “ above the surface of the water, and yet such a prodig-  
 “ ious number were forced over it, that almost an hun-  
 “ dred negroes were employed for near six weeks to-  
 “ gether, to throw them back again into the sea; and  
 “ some of those stones were so vastly big, that it was as  
 “ much as nine or ten men could do to heave them back  
 “ again over the wall. I am sensible, this part of the relation  
 “ will seem a little strange; but yet I doubt not of ob-  
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" taining your belief, when I affirm it to you, and of my  
 " own knowledge, for a certain truth. But *Port Royal*  
 " was not the only place that suffered in the storm: At  
 " *Kingston* also, great damage was done; abundance of  
 " houses were blown quite down, and many more were  
 " so miserably broken and shattered, as to be little better  
 " than none; abundance of rich goods were spoiled by  
 " the rain, the warehouses being either blown down, or  
 " uncovered. But they had only one enemy to encoun-  
 " ter, viz. the wind, and were not prevented by the sea  
 " from forsaking their falling houses, and betaking them-  
 " selves to the *Savannahs*, or open fields, where they were  
 " obliged to throw themselves all along upon the ground,  
 " to prevent their being blown away; and yet, even in  
 " *Kingston*, some persons were killed, amongst whom  
 " was a very worthy gentlewoman, the wife of the re-  
 " verend Mr. *May*, minister of the town, and the Bishop  
 " of *London's* commissary; she was killed by the fall of  
 " their house, as she lay with her husband, under a large  
 " table, who had also the misfortune of having his own  
 " leg broke. All the vessels that rode in the harbour of  
 " *Kingston*, which were between forty and fifty sail, were  
 " either driven on shore, or overfet and sunk. Abun-  
 " dance of the men and goods were lost, and one could  
 " not forbear being surprized to see large ships, with all  
 " their heavy lading in them, thrown quite up upon the  
 " dry land; and nothing could afford a more dismal pro-  
 " spect, than the harbour did the next day, which was  
 " covered with nothing but wrecks and dead bodies. At  
 " *Spanish Town*, nobody indeed was killed, but a great  
 " many had very narrow escapes, some families having  
 " scarce quitted their houses, before they fell down flat at  
 " once, without giving any warning. The King's house



“ stands, indeed; but it is all uncovered, and the stables,  
 “ coach-houses, &c. are quite demolished. The river,  
 “ near to which the town is situated, swelled to such a  
 “ degree, as was never before known; and I was assured  
 “ by the minister of the place Mr. *Scott*, it rose full forty  
 “ feet perpendicular above the ordinary mark, and did in-  
 “ credible damage to the estates that lay bordering upon  
 “ it. From other parts of the country we had also very  
 “ melancholly accounts of the great losses they had sus-  
 “ tained, and particularly at *Old Harbour*, a village built  
 “ at a little distance from that shore; the sea made such  
 “ haste to devour, as most unexpectedly to intercept  
 “ many poor creatures, before they had time to make  
 “ their escape, and almost forty poor souls perished all to-  
 “ gether in one house; and whilst they only sought secu-  
 “ rity from the wind, exposed themselves to be destroyed  
 “ by the sea, from whence, when they first fled, they ap-  
 “ prehended no danger. In *Clarendon* and *Vere* parishes,  
 “ great mischief was done; in the latter, the minister  
 “ Mr. *White*, had his leg broke by the fall of the house  
 “ where he was, not to mention several persons that were  
 “ killed out-right. But I should quite tire out your pa-  
 “ tience, should I undertake to give you a particular ac-  
 “ count of the damages that were done by the storm in all  
 “ parts of the island. It shall, therefore, suffice to say,  
 “ that the damage which the trading part of the island  
 “ has sustained by the loss of their shipping and goods, is  
 “ not to be valued; and, on the other hand, it is impos-  
 “ sible to say how deeply the planting interest has shared  
 “ in this common calamity, by the loss of dwelling-houses,  
 “ and sugar-works, and many other ways. And in short,  
 “ had the fury of the storm lasted much longer, the  
 “ whole

“ whole island must have been one general wreck, and  
 “ nothing but final and universal ruin could have en-  
 “ sued”.

THERE remains but one thing more to be mentioned within the compass of this year, and that is, The perplexed situation of affairs on the continent, making it necessary for his majesty to visit his *German* dominions; he embarked on board the *Carolina* yacht on the 3d of *June*, arrived safely in *Holland* on the 7th, and continued his journey by land to *Hanover*, where he remained during the rest of the year 1723; at the close of which, Sir *John Norris*, with a small squadron of men of war, was sent to escort him from *Holland*; and he returned safely to *St. James's* on the 30th of *December*. The parliament, which had been further prorogued, on account of the king's stay abroad, was now summoned to meet on the 9th of *January*; and care was taken in the mean time, to regulate whatever had relation to foreign affairs, in such a manner, as that his Majesty might assure both Houses in his speech from the throne, that through his assiduous application to business, while at *Hanover*, all affairs had been adjusted, so that most of the courts of *Europe* were, at that juncture, either in a favourable disposition towards us, or at least in no condition to create in us any apprehensions on account of their armaments, or intrigues. In this state they continued for about two years, that is to say, till a little before the treaty of *Hanover*, which was concluded there on the 3d of *September*, 1725. It is sufficiently known to every body, this alliance was concerted, in order to prevent the bad effects that were apprehended from the treaty of *Vienna*; in which (at least it was so suggested) there were many things dangerous to the trade of this nation, and the succession of the royal family;

but this however, the late emperor *Charles VI.* absolutely denied, and took a very strange as well as extraordinary measure, which was to appeal from the judgment of the king and his ministry, to that of the people of this nation, for whom he professed the warmest gratitude, and the highest esteem; however, there was no great sign of this in the proclamation, published some time after, for prohibiting any of the goods and manufactures of *Great Britain* from being imported into the island of *Sicily*, of which we had so lately, and at such a mighty expence to ourselves, put him in possession.

THE year 1726, opened very inauspiciously: his majesty embarked on board the *Carolina* yacht at *Helvoetsluys*, about one in the afternoon, on new-year's-day, with a fair wind, at north-east, and sailed immediately. But, about seven the same evening, a most violent storm arose, with hail and rain, which so separated the fleet, that only one man of war, commanded by captain *Dansie*, kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir *John Norris*. The tempest continued so high, and the sea so boisterous, for about thirty six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger. The third, in the morning, the yachts and men of war were near *Dover*; and one of the yachts, with some of his Majesty's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviseable, that his majesty should land at *Rye*, where he arrived about noon; and on the 9th in the evening, he came from thence to his palace at *St. James's*, in perfect health.

ON the 20th of *January*, the parliament met, and the king made a very remarkable speech from the throne, in which he took notice of the critical situation of affairs in *Europe*, and of the measures he had taken for supporting

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ing the honour of his crown, and preserving the just rights of his people. When this speech came to be debated in the House of Commons, very warm things were said by those who were then in the opposition, against the plan of the *Hanover* alliance, which though it was also disliked by many of the ministers here at home, yet was strenuously supported by others, and even by them in that debate. It has been generally said, and I believe with truth, that the secretary of state, then abroad with his majesty, was the sole, or at least, the principal adviser in that affair, which gave a new turn to our politics, and engaged us in a scheme for humbling the house of *Austria*, which we had so long, and even so lately supported, and in the support of which, we are now engaged at so vast an expence, that might certainly have been spared, if this scheme had not taken place; such fluctuations there are in modern policy, and so dearly do whole nations pay for the intrigues, caprices, and errors of particular men! But to proceed.

ON the 26th of *January*, the House of Commons resolved, that ten thousand men be employed for the *Sea*-service, for the year 1726, at 4*l.* a man per month, for thirteen months. The 23d. of *February* they resolv- ed, that 212,381*l.* 5*s.* be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year. But this provision, as the affairs of *Europe* then stood, being not thought sufficient, his Majesty thought it requisite, on the 24th of *March*, to send a message to the House of Commons, importing, that he found it absolutely necessary, to augment his maritime force, and hoped he should be enabled by the assistance of parliament, to encrease the number of seamen already voted, and granted for the service of this year, that he might be thereby enabled, not only to secure to his own subjects, the full and free enjoyment of their trade  
and

and navigation, but, in the best manner, to prevent and frustrate such designs as had been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of *Europe*. Upon this message, there was a very warm debate, which issued in an address from the house to his Majesty, desiring “ that he would be pleased to make such  
 “ an addition to the number of seamen already voted, and  
 “ to concert such other measures, as he in his great wisdom should think most conducive to the security of  
 “ the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the  
 “ preservation of the peace of *Europe*; assuring his majesty  
 “ that they would effectually provide for, and make good,  
 “ all such expences and engagements as should be entered  
 “ into for obtaining those great and desirable ends.”

THE administration had all things now in their own power, and were in full liberty to act as they thought fit; but, before we proceed to what they did, it will be reasonable to take a view of what was then looked upon as the scheme of our enemies. This I think the more reasonable, because hitherto it has never been done; at least in a clear, intelligible way, so that a reader of common capacity might understand it. As soon as the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* apprehended that their views were crossed, and the ends proposed by their conjunction, utterly disappointed by the counter-alliance at *Hanover*, they immediately resolved to have recourse to ulterior negotiations, in order to increase the number of their allies; and when they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they designed to have resorted to open force. With a view to render this scheme effectual, the emperor began to execute projects in the north, in which he met, at first, with some extraordinary success. The Czarina *Catherine*, dowager of the Czar *Peter the Great*, had conceived

conceived a distaste to the *British* court, and had, by some *Scottish* people about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult matter to set up the son of the late King *James II.* and so overturn the government in *Britain.* The same scheme had been proposed and countenanced at the imperial court, by some of the ministers, as the empress dowager informed the late King; and on the credit of that information, his majesty mentioned it in his speech. The *Spanish* court readily adopted that, or any other expedient which might procure them *Gibraltar,* and facilitate their acquisitions in *Italy,* then, and still the great objects of their policy. Thus the *Hanover* alliance, originally contrived for the securing that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into some degree of danger, and perhaps the same cause will hardly ever fail to produce the same effects; whence it is evident, that the less share we take in the affairs of the continent, the less the present royal family will be exposed to such attempts; and, therefore, a wise ministry will be sure to inform their master, that pursuing the real and acknowledged interests of *Great Britain,* will conciliate all the powers of the continent, except *France;* and that attempts to aggrandize his electoral dominions, will always create him enemies, disturb the peace of *Germany,* and affect the ballance of *Europe.*

I HAVE already observed, that the ministry at home were by no means the authors of the *Hanover* alliance, though they fancied themselves obliged to support it; and, therefore, as soon as they were acquainted with the schemes formed by the allies of *Vienna,* they set about disappointing them, with all their force. In order to this, they did not much trust to their good allies the *French,* or to the slow assistance of the *Dutch;* but chose the shortest  
and

and most expeditious method possible, of helping themselves; with which view, it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the *Baltick*, to awe the Czarina, to bring round another power, and to keep steady a third. It was likewise thought requisite, to have another strong squadron on the coast of *Spain*, to intimidate his *Catholic* majesty, and to render his efforts, if he should make any against *Gibraltar*, ineffectual; and to sum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the sinews of the war, but the great bond of friendship, at least among states and princes, they determined to send a considerable force to the *Indies*, in order to block up the galleons, as the shortest means of dissolving the union between their imperial and *Catholic* majesties; being satisfied, that if the former could not receive his subsidies, the latter could never rely upon his assistance: such were the plans on both sides, at this critical juncture!

THE command of the fleet intended for the *Baltick* was given to Sir *Charles Wager*, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him, Sir *George Walton*, rear of the blue. The squadron they were to command, consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and one hospital ship. His final instructions having been given to the commander in chief, he, on the 13th of *April*, 1726, hoisted his flag on board the *Torbay*, a third rate man of war, at the *Nore*. He was saluted thereupon by all the ships lying there, and returned their salutes with one and twenty guns. About an hour after, Sir *George Walton* hoisted his flag on board the *Cumberland*, at her mizen-top-mast head, and saluted the admiral with nineteen guns, and was answered with seventeen. The 14th, Sir *Charles* delivered out a line of battle, and

a rendezvous for *Copenhagen Road*, or the *Dahien*, near *Stockholm*, with sailing instructions. The seventeenth, in the morning, the fleet weighed, and set sail from the *Nore*. On the 23d of the same month, the fleet came to an anchor in the Road of *Copenhagen*; and on the 25th, Sir *Charles* presented his majesty's letter to the King of *Denmark* in cabinet-council, dined with his *Danish* majesty the same day, and entertained the prince royal of *Denmark* (who is at present king) on board his own ship the next. On the 6th of *May*, the fleet under the command of Sir *Charles Wager*, anchored near *Stockholm*. The very next day *Stephen Pointz*, Esq; his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, accompanied by Mr. *Jackson*, his majesty's resident, came on board the admiral. The 8th, Sir *Charles* went up to that city with them; and on the 10th, had audience of the king of *Sweden*, in the presence of several of the senators, to which he was introduced by Mr. *Pointz*. Sir *Charles* delivered a letter from the king his master, to his *Swedish* majesty, by whom he was very graciously received. The 14th of the same month, the squadron of *Danish* men of war sailed from *Copenhagen* for the Island of *Bornholm*, in order to join the *British* Squadron. These ceremonies over, Sir *Charles Wager* sailed with his squadron to the island of *Narginan* within three leagues of *Revel*. There, on the 25th of *May*, Captain *Deane*, who had been on board the *Port Mahon*, nearer in with the shore, returned on board the *Torbay*, and brought the admiral an account, that he had spoken with a *Lubecker*, that came five days before from *Petersburgh*, whose master informed him, that there were sixteen *Russian* men of war in the road at *Cronslot*, with three flags flying, viz. Lord admiral *Apraxin*, vice admiral *Gordon*, and rear admiral *Saunders*; that a great number



ber of gallies were in readiness, of which, but twelve were at *Cronstot*, and the rest at *Petersburgh*, or *Wyburgh*.

THE admiral took the first opportunity of sending his majesty's letter to the *Czarina*, inclosed in a letter to her admiral *Apraxin*; in which letter, his majesty expostulated very freely with her on the subject of her armaments by sea and land, and on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into, with the agents of the Pretender. It is said, that the *Russian* court was very much nettled at this appearance of a *British* fleet upon their coasts, and was inclined to have come to extremities, rather than endure it. But vice-admiral *Gordon* very wisely represented to the council, that the *Russian* fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of *Great Britain*; upon which, orders were given for laying it up, and for securing, in the best manner possible, both it, and the gallies, from being insulted. In the month of *July*, prince *Menzikoff*, who was then prime minister, coming to *Revel*, mutual civilities passed between him and Sir *Charles Wager*; and his Highness, to shew his regard to the *English* officers, frequently invited them to his own table. The *British* fleet, while in this station, was joined by a *Danish* squadron, commanded by rear-admiral *Bille*, and remained before *Revel*, 'till the 28th of *September*, when, having received certain intelligence that the *Russians* would not be able to attempt any thing that year, he sailed for *Copenhagen*, and from thence home, arriving safely at the *Gunfleet*, on the first of *November*. It must be allowed, that Sir *Charles Wager*, performed on this occasion, all that could be expected from the wisdom and skill of an *English* admiral; so that this expedition effectually answered its end, which ought to be considered as an honour

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honour to his memory, whether that end shall be thought right or wrong; for that is a mere political dispute, which neither can, or ought to affect the character of the admiral, in the least.

THE fleet that was sent to the coast of *Spain*, was commanded by Sir *John Fennings*, and consisted of nine large men of war, which were afterwards joined in the *Mediterranean* by several ships that were cruizing there. The admiral sailed on the 20th of *July* from *St. Helens*; and on the 3d of *August*, entered the bay of *St. Antonio*, which alarmed the *Spaniards* excessively, who immediately drew down a great body of regular troops towards the coast. When the fleet first entered the bay, some pieces of cannon were fired at the foremost ships; but the governor of *St. Antonio* presently sent an officer to Sir *John Fennings* to excuse it, and to assure him it was an act of indiscretion committed by the governor of the fort, without orders. On the 25th of the same month, the fleet arrived at *Lisbon*, and was received there with all possible marks of respect; and Sir *John Fennings* having received a message from the king of *Portugal*, intimating that he would be glad to see him, the admiral landed, paid his compliments to his majesty, and then returning on board his squadron, sailed from the river of *Lisbon*, for the bay of *Bulls*, near *Cadiz*, where he was treated with great distinction, and had all the refreshments he desired, sent him, by order of the *Spanish* governor. He cruized for some time after, off cape *St. Mary's*, in order to wait for the ships that were to join him. On the 7th of the same month, rear-admiral *Hopson*, with four *British* men of war, came into the river of *Lisbon*, and one of the ships having lost her main-yard, and another having her fore-mast damaged, the rear-admiral applied to our minister,

ster, Brigadier *Dormer*, who immediately obtained an order from his *Portuguese* majesty, for furnishing every thing that was necessary out of his naval stores. The 9th, his majesty's ships the *Winchelsea* and *Swallow*, which failed sometime before for the *Downs*, came into the entrance of the river *Tagus*, and the next day proceeded to join Sir *John Jennings*. It would be tedious for me to enter into a farther or more particular detail of the motions of this squadron, which soon after returned to *Spithead*. It is sufficient to observe, that it answered perfectly the ends proposed by it, alarmed the *Spanish* court to the highest degree, obliged it to abandon the measures then taking to the prejudice of *Great Britain*, and gave such spirits to the party in *Spain*, which opposed those dangerous councils, as enabled them to triumph over all opposition. The Duke de *Ripperda*, who had been lately prime minister, the very man who had negotiated the treaty of *Vienna*, by whose intrigues the two courts had been embroiled, took shelter, at the time of his disgrace, in the house of the Earl of *Harrington*, then Colonel *Stanhope*, and our minister at *Madrid*; and tho' he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a *British* squadron upon the coast, prevailed upon the *Spanish* court to lay aside all thoughts of proceeding against him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the *British* ministry, those very designs that occasioned the sending of this fleet; and he soon after made his escape from the castle of *Segovia*, and retired hither as to the only place of safety, from the resentment of his *Catholic* majesty. Such were the events that attended the expedition of Sir *John Jennings* on the coast of *Spain*: Let us proceed to the transactions in the *West-Indies*.

As

As the execution of all the great designs formed by the *Vienna* allies, depended entirely on the supplies that were expected from the *Spanish West-Indies*, our ministry thought they could not take either a wiser or a bolder measure, than sending a squadron into those parts to block up the galleons, and so prevent their receiving those supplies. A squadron was accordingly ordered to be equipped for that purpose, the command of which was given to *Francis Hosier*, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue, an excellent officer; but what his instructions were I am not able to say, as having no better authority to proceed upon than bare conjectures. He sailed from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *April* 1726; and though he had a very quick passage, yet the *Spaniards* had previous notice of his design, by an advice-boat from *Cadiz*, so that before he reached the *Bastimentos*, the treasure which had been on board the galleons, and which that year consisted of about six millions and a half sterling, was fairly carried back to *Panama*, on the other side the *Isthmus*. On the 6th of *June*, vice-admiral *Hosier* anchored within sight of *Porto Bello*; upon which, the governor sent to know his demands. The vice-admiral answered with great prudence and temper, that he waited for the *Royal George*, a large *South-Sea* ship, then in the harbour, which had disposed of all her cargo, and had a very large sum of money on board. The *Spaniards*, in hopes of getting rid of so troublesome a guest, hastened her away; which I think was the greatest service this squadron performed. With respect to the blocking up of the galleons, that has been so much talked of here at home, it was really a dream, for his remaining there three weeks was time sufficient to put it out of their power to return for that season; and, therefore, his continuing there six months





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as he did, till his squadron, that had been the terror, became the jest of the *Spaniards*, was altogether needless. A little before *Christmas* he weighed, and sailed for *Jamaica*, after such a loss of men, and in so wretched a condition, that I cannot prevail upon myself to enter into the particulars of a disaster, which I heartily wish could be blotted out of the annals, and out of the remembrance of this nation.

It happened very lucky for him, that there were at that time, in the island of *Jamaica*, a great number of seamen out of employment, so that in two months time, his squadron was once more mann'd, and in a condition to put to sea; which he did, and stood over to *Carthage*, where he was able to do little or nothing; for the *Spaniards* had by this time recovered their spirits, and began to make reprisals, seizing the *Prince Frederick*, a *South-Sea* ship, then at *La Vera Cruz*, with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company, which admiral *Hofier* did indeed demand, but to no purpose. He continued cruising in those seas, and some of his ships took several *Spanish* prizes, most of which were afterwards restored; and in this situation, things continued till the vice-admiral breath'd his last, on the 23d of *August* 1727. But that, and what followed, being without the limits of this work, I have nothing farther to say of this expedition, which whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great courage and conduct by this unfortunate commander, who lost his seamen twice over, and whose ships were totally ruined by the worms in those seas, which created a mighty clamour at home, and was without doubt, a prodigious loss to the nation.

THE *Spaniards*, intending to shew that they were not intimidated by these mighty naval armaments, proceed-

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ed in the scheme they had formed, of attacking the important fortress of *Gibraltar*; and towards the close of the year 1726, their army, under the count *de las Torres*, actually came before the place. Our ministry at home having had previous intelligence of this design, ordered a small squadron to be got ready at *Portsmouth*, in the month of *December*; and on the 24th, Sir *Charles Wager*, having hoisted his flag on board the *Kent*, as soon as the wind would permit, sailed, in order to join rear-admiral *Hopson*, for the relief of that garrison, which he performed very effectually in the succeeding year.

THE parliament met on the 17th of *January* 1727, and on the 23d of the same month, the House of Commons came to a resolution, that 20,000 men should be allowed for the sea-service, at the usual rate of 4l. a month per man; and on the 1st of the next month, they voted 199,071l. for the ordinary of the navy. The first use made of these extraordinary supplies, was, to send once more a fleet into the *Baltick*, where, it was said, the Czarina was preparing to attack the *Swedes*; and afterwards to proceed to the execution of designs which have been formerly mentioned. On the 21st of *April*, captain *Maurice*, commander of the *Nassau*, was appointed rear-admiral of the white squadron, and captain *Robert Hughes*, commander of the *Hampton-Court*, rear admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet; and captain *Rogers* was appointed to command the *Nassau*, in the room of admiral *Maurice*. They were all three to serve under Sir *John Norris*, who sailed the latter end of that month, and arrived on the coast of *Jutland*, the 8th of *May*, anchored in sight of *Elsinour* the 11th; the next day, in the road of *Copenhagen*; the king of *Denmark* being at his palace at *Fredericksburgh*, Sir *John*, with the Lord *Glenorchy*, his

Majesty's minister at that court, waited on his *Danish Majesty*, and was extremely well received. But while he was employed in this expedition, that event fell out, which puts a period to our labours.

THIS event was the death of King *GEORGE I.* which happened at his brother's palace in the city of *Osna-  
burgh*, *June* the 11th, 1727, about one in the morning, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the sixty-eighth of his life. To speak without flattery, his Majesty was a Prince of great virtues; and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general interest of all the Princes in *Europe*, and particularly well versed in whatever related to *German* affairs, with respect to which, he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the constitution of the empire. As to his conduct, after his accession to the *British* throne, his ministers were entirely accountable for it; for he constantly declared to them, that his intention was to govern according to the laws, and with no other view, than the general good of his people. He was allowed by the best judges of military skill, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and understood business as well as any prince of his time. In his amusements, he was easy and familiar, of a temper very sensible of the services that were rendered him; firm in his friendship, naturally averse to violent measures, and as compassionate as any prince that ever sat upon a throne.

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A LIST of the ENGLISH NAVY, as it stood at the Accession of the present KING.

Rates.	N. of Ships	Men.	Guns.	
I.	7	5,460	700	
II.	13	8,840	1,170	
III.	{ 16	8,320	1,280	
	{ 24	10,568	1,680	
IV.	{ 24	37,600	1,440	
	{ 40	17,200	2,000	
V.	{ 24	4,800	960	
	{ 1	155	30	
VI.	{ 1	140	22	Swivels.
	{ 28	3,580	560	
Fire-Ships	3	155	24	
Bombs	3	120	16	16
Store-Ship	1	90	20	
Sloops	15	990	78	78
Yachts	7	260	64	
Ditto, small	5	29	26	6
Hoyes	11	87	12	2
Smacks	2	4		
Long-Boat	1	2		
Buoy-Boat	1			
Lighter	1	3		
Hulks	9	159		
<b>Total</b>	<b>283</b>	<b>64,514</b>	<b>10,082</b>	

F I N I S.

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