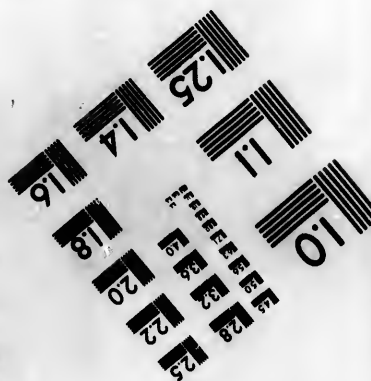
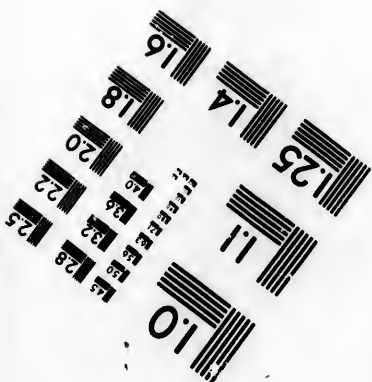
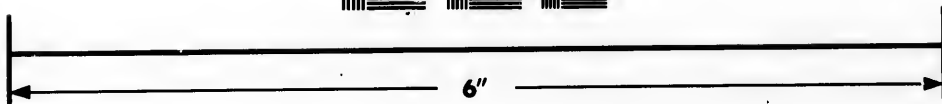
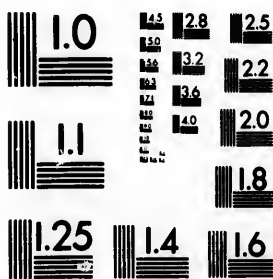


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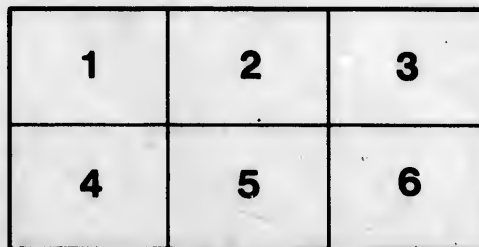
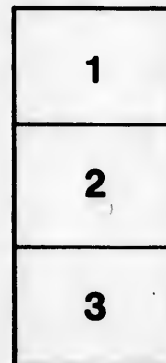
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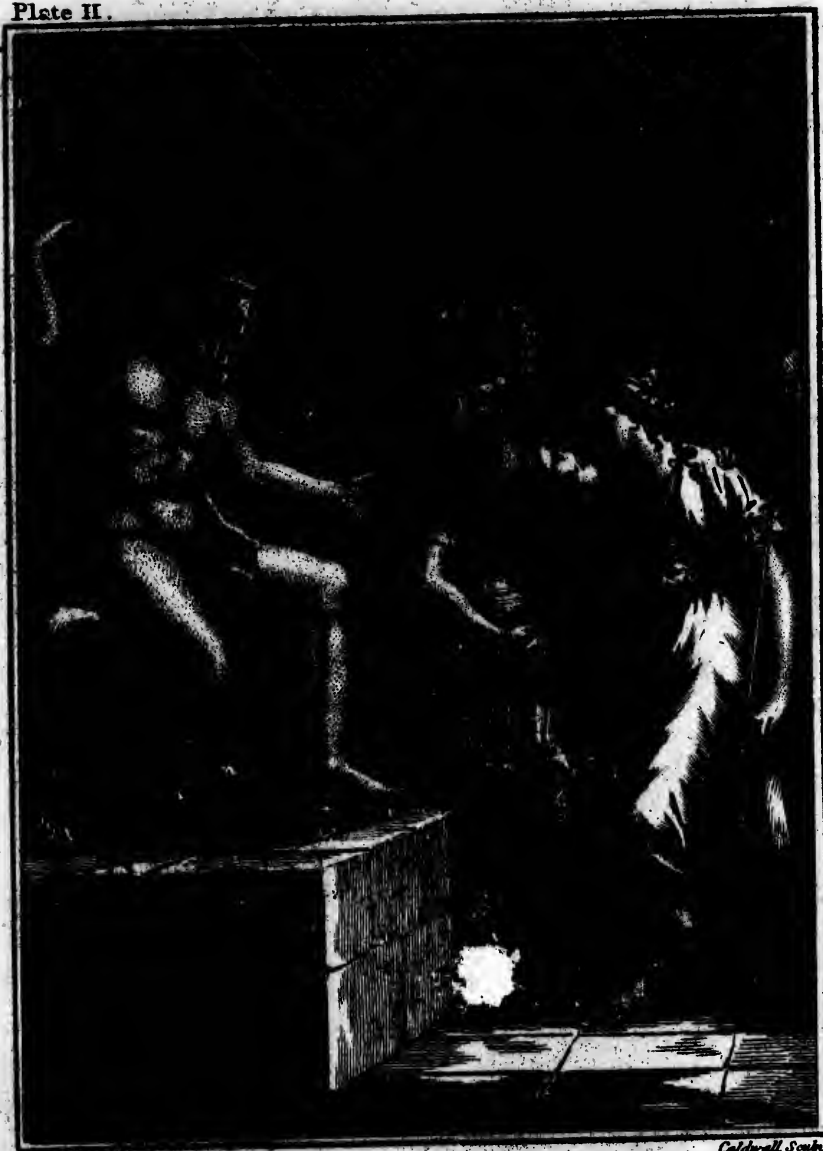
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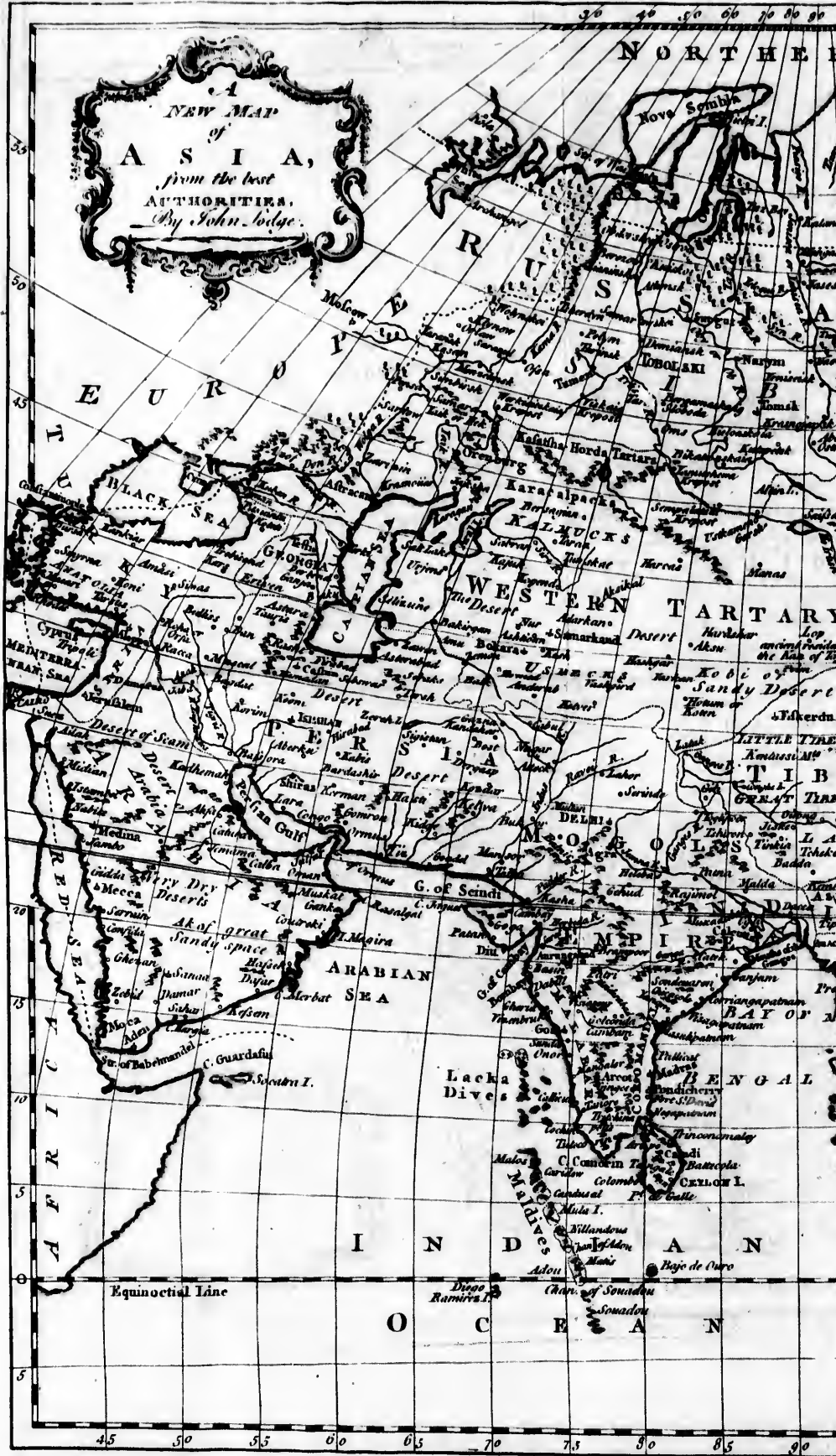
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C H A P. XV.

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

**W**HEN the disputes between King Charles I. and his parliament were risen to such a height, that both parties thought the shortest and most effectual method of deciding them was to have recourse to the sword, it was natural for them to be extremely solicitous about the fleet, for many reasons; and for this particularly, that whoever was master of that, would be considered as the supreme power by

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

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

<sup>a</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 217. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 477. Coke's detection, p. 152. May's history of the parliament of England, b. ii. p. 49. Sir William Dugdale's short view of the late troubles in England, p. 92.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 480. vol. v. p. 136. Lord Stafford's letters, vol. i. p. 54, 67.

<sup>c</sup> See May's hist. of the parliament of England, b. ii. p. 49, 53, 91. Coke's detection, p. 152. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 125. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 478. 674. 680.

<sup>d</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 57. Sir William Dugdale's short view of the late troubles in England, p. 91. May's history of the parliament, b. ii. p. 49. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 442, 478.



and granted him a commission to command it, as by his own he had power to do. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made Captain Cartwright comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of Sir John Pennington; but he refusing to undertake this service without the king's permission, his Majesty was pleased to signify his pleasure, that he should decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed on Batten vice-admiral, who was remarkably disaffected towards the king; and their orders being complied with, the fleet in the spring 1642, fell into their hands, though the king was persuaded in his own mind, that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reason of his not removing at that time, as he afterwards did, the earl of Northumberland from his high office<sup>e</sup>.

It was not long before he had good reason to change his opinion; for the queen sending his Majesty a small supply from Holland in the Providence, the only ship the king had left, the ships from the Downs chased the vessel into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her ashore. Upon this the king resolved to attempt seizing the fleet; and the design, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the mismanagement of Sir John Pennington it miscarried, and served only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of Warwick an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted, and now made the utmost use of it possible<sup>f</sup>.

The parliament, as they had discovered great care and industry in securing, so they shewed no less wisdom in the conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643 Vice-admiral Batten having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by sea from Holland into the north of England, he did his utmost to intercept her, though on board a Dutch man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chased the ship into Burlington-bay; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that she lodged in a house upon the key, he fired upon it, so that many of the shot went through her chamber,

<sup>e</sup> Sir Phillip Warwick's memoirs, p. 218. Heath's chronicle, p. 31. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 480. 482. <sup>f</sup> May's history of the parliament, book ii. p. 94, 95. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 673. Whitlocke, p. 60.

and she was obliged, though very much indisposed, to retire for shelter, or rather for safety, into the open fields<sup>†</sup>. This service, which was performed in the month of February, was very grateful to the parliament, because it shewed how much the officers of the fleet at least were in their interest.

It was recommended to his Majesty by those who wished very well to his affairs, during the time the treaty for peace was in agitation at Oxford in April 1643, to seize the occasion, which then presented itself, of attaching the earl of Northumberland to his service by offering to appoint him once more lord high-admiral of England, from a persuasion that it might be attended with very happy consequences in regard to the king's interest. Mr. Pierpoint, says the noble historian, who was of the best parts, rather desired than proposed such a measure, and the earl himself protesting in confidence to Secretary Nicholas, that he desired only to receive so great an instance of his Majesty's goodness, that he might be the better enabled to redeliver the fleet into his Majesty's hands, which the parliament had found means to get into their possession, and which he doubted would hardly be effected by any other expedient, at least so soon. Several untoward circumstances concurred towards preventing the king's accepting this proposition. His Majesty was exceedingly offended with the earl's former carriage. He had no great opinion of his power with those of his own party, when he had not been able to prevail for enlarging the time for the treaty, and apprehended he might suffer in his honour by such a concession in favour of a person who had required the many graces his Majesty had hitherto bestowed on him so unworthily. But what determined him was, he had promised the queen, at her departure for Holland, to receive no person into favour or trust, who had disobliged him, without her privity; and though that princess landed in England about the time that the treaty began, or rather on the 22d of February preceding it, yet she did not arrive at Oxford till the 13th of July following, the day on which the parliament received that memorable defeat in the action at Roundway-down, and, for want of her presence, this overture, that might have

<sup>†</sup> Clarendon's history, vol. iii. p. 143. Heath's chronicle, p. 42. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 85. Rushworth under the year 1643, p. 156.

been of the utmost importance to the king's cause, was unhappily rejected <sup>h</sup>.

In the month of September in the same year they sent their orders to the earl of Warwick to attempt the relief of Exeter, which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent success; for failing up the river, which runs by the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying succour that way into the place, he found some works thrown up on the shore, which hindered him from disturbing the besiegers so much as he expected; and yet lying there too long with this view, the tide falling, he was forced to leave three of his ships behind him, two of which were taken, and the third burnt in his presence. He did, however, great service on the coast of Devonshire, secured Plymouth and other places, and, all the time he commanded, kept the fleet firm to the parliament <sup>k</sup>.

So long as the Presbyterian party were uppermost, all affairs relating to the navy went on smoothly. The earl of Warwick was intirely devoted to them, and so were all the officers by him appointed. Every summer a stout squadron was fitted out to serve as occasion required, and by this means the trade of the nation was tolerably protected <sup>l</sup>. But in the year 1648, when the Independents came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn, and it was resolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command notwithstanding the services he had performed, and to make Colonel Rainsborough admiral <sup>m</sup>. This gentleman had been bred a seaman, and was the son of a commander of distinction, but had for some time served as an officer in the parliament army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the Downs, it put the seamen into great confusion,

<sup>h</sup> Life of Edward earl of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 150—158. See also his history of the rebellion, vol. iii. p. 225, 226, 290, 291. Rushworth's collections under the year 1643, p. 275. Heath's chronicle, p. 46, 47. <sup>i</sup> Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 236. Davier's history of the civil wars, p. 94. May's history of the parliament, book iii. p. 58, 59. Whitlocke, p. 72. <sup>k</sup> Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 287, 336. Rushworth's collect. Whitlocke. <sup>l</sup> Clarendon, vol. v. p. 132. Rushworth's collections. Whitlocke. Heath. History of Independency, p. i, ii. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. <sup>m</sup> Clarendon's history, vol. v. p. 122, 132. Rushworth's collections under the year 1648, p. 822. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 236. Heath's chronicle, p. 175. Sir Thomas Herbert's memoirs of the two last years of the reign of King Charles I. p. 53. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 182.



and their officers, the earl of Warwick and Vice-admiral Batten, were so little pleased with the usage they had met with, that, instead of softening, they augmented their discontents, insomuch that they seized upon Rainsborough and such officers as adhered to him, set them on shore, and resolved to sail over to Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they called their admiral, because the king's intention of making him so was a thing generally known<sup>n</sup>.

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

<sup>n</sup> Clarendon, vol. v. p. 136, 137. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 308. Dr. Bates's elencus motuum, p. 100. Rushworth, p. 1131. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 316. Sir William Dugdale's history of the late troubles, p. 283. Davies's history of the civil wars in England, p. 231. Bullstrode's memoirs p. 168. Sir John Bowring's memoirs, p. 146. <sup>o</sup> Clarendon's history, vol. v. p. 136. Heath's chronicle, p. 176. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 231. Coke's detection, p. 185. <sup>p</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 237. Dugdale's short view of the late troubles, p. 284. Rushworth, p. 1131. under the year 1648. Whitlocke, p. 308. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 102. Bates's elencus motuum, p. 102.

This revolted fleet (if we can properly call it so) which at last failed for Calais, consisted of seventeen good ships; and for the present the parliament had nothing near the same force to oppose them<sup>4</sup>. They left a ship riding before the place last mentioned to receive the prince of Wales, and then proceeded for Holland. Soon after both the prince and the duke came on board, with many persons of quality who were now abroad with them in exile. Instead of considering what service the fleet might best be employed in, those who were about the princes fell into intrigues for obtaining the command, and the contending parties filling the seamen's heads with very different stories, that spirit of loyalty was quickly extinguished, which had induced them to take this extraordinary step<sup>5</sup>.

In the midst of these disputes, admiral Batten came in with the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best ships in the parliament navy, and several seamen of note. The prince of Wales, upon this occasion, took a very wise resolution: he knighted Batten, and made him rear-admiral, his brother the duke of York having before made the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was also a new convert from the parliament, vice-admiral<sup>6</sup>. As the fleet consisted now of about twenty sail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two schemes were proposed: the first was, to sail to the Isle of Wight to rescue the king, which might certainly have been effected; the other, to enter the river of Thames, in order to awe the city of London, by interrupting their trade; and to enfeeble the parliament, by hindering their supplies of seamen from the outward-bound ships: which scheme was thought the most practicable, or perhaps the most profitable, and was therefore immediately carried into execution<sup>7</sup>.

The success of this enterprize was in the beginning very favourable; and, on their coming into the mouth of the river, the prince's fleet took abundance of rich prizes, particularly a ship laden with cloth bound for Rotterdam, worth forty thou-

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 137, 138. Heath. Whitlocke. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 138, 139. Echard. Rapin.

<sup>6</sup> Clarendon, vol. v. p. 140. Heath, p. 176.

<sup>7</sup> Clarendon, vol. v. p. 141. Sir Phillip Warwick's memoirs, p. 315. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 237. Mantley's history of the rebellion, p. 182.

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

The states were very much embarrassed in forming a resolution in this critical juncture: they were unwilling to break with the parliament's admiral; but, on the other hand, it would have been a reproach to them to have suffered the prince of Wales to be insulted on their coasts, and in their harbours. In the mean-time, the two parties being excited by hatred, as well as necessity, to fight, it was difficult to prevent it: both sides at first flattered themselves with the hopes of a victory, because both sides were persuaded the ships of their antagonist would desert and come over to them. The first step the states took was, to give orders to the admiralty of Rotterdam to fit out every ship they had, with all possible expedition, and to fall down the river to prevent the two fleets coming to an engagement. In the mean time, they sent four deputies on board the two admirals, to beg of them, in the name of the states, not to undertake any thing on their coasts, and in the very sight of

<sup>u</sup> Clarendon's history, vol. v. p. 156, 157. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 327. Heath's chronicle, p. 176.

<sup>w</sup> Clarendon's history, vol. v. p. 159. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 247. Whitlocke, p. 327. Rushworth's collections, under the year 1648, p. 1251, 1254. Sir Richard Bulstrode's memoirs, p. 171. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 183.

their harbours, which might affect the sovereignty of their republic.

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

The earl of Warwick upon this began to talk in a higher strain, insisting that such as were on board this fleet were deserters, and ought to be delivered up to him; but at last, finding that there was little good to be done, he put to sea, and returned home; after which the fleet was put absolutely under the command of Prince Rupert, who determined, as soon as he had the command, to carry on a piratical war: and thus this extraordinary accident, which, properly managed, might have been a means of preserving the king and kingdom, turned to no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided their naval force, and rendered precarious the trade of the nation. These transactions happened between the latter end of July 1648, and the close of the same year, about which time Prince Rupert left the Dutch coast, in order to repair to Ireland. In this scheme he succeeded happily,

\* Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 197. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 241, 242. Rushworth's collections, under the year 1648, p. 1268, 1274, 1278, 1294, 1297, 1307, 1319. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 139, 140. A pamphlet made its appearance about this time at London, intended no doubt to draw the earl of Warwick into suspicion with those of his party, intitled, A Declaration of the earl of Warwick, while that nobleman was on the coast of Holland with the fleet, intimating a resolution to join the prince, in case the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight did not take effect: who was so much offended with the aspersions it contained, that he opposed it with a counter-declaration, dated on board the St. George in Helvoet-sluije, Nov. 11, 1648, wherein he testifies all imaginable obedience to the parliament, his abhorrence of such a conduct as inconsistent with his duty and the peace of the kingdom, and a solemn assurance of his persevering to the last in support of their cause; and which, with letters to the same purport, he transmitted forthwith to England. Rushworth, p. 1326.

taking many prizes in his passage, and arriving safely at last in the port of Kinsale<sup>7</sup>.

The parliament, however, had now recovered their sovereignty at sea, where they kept such strong squadrons continually cruising, that it was not thought advisable for King Charles II. to venture his person on that element, in order to go to Ireland, where his presence was necessary<sup>8</sup>. Yet the earl of Warwick, who had served them so faithfully, and with such success, was removed from the command of the fleet, which was put into the hands of land-officers, such as Blake, Deane, and Popham, who, notwithstanding, behaved well, quickly gained the love of the sailors, and grew in a short time very knowing seamen themselves<sup>9</sup>.

As for Prince Rupert, he continued cruising and making prizes throughout the greatest part of the year 1649<sup>b</sup>, while the war continued hot in Ireland; but things taking a new turn there, entirely in the parliament's favour, orders were given by the parliament to their admirals Blake and Popham, to block up the prince's squadron in the port of Kinsale, which they accordingly did, and reduced them to such extremities, that his men began to desert in great numbers; so that finding his case desperate, the whole kingdom of Ireland in a manner subdued, all hopes of succour lost, and very indifferent terms to be hoped for from the conquerors; he at last took a desperate resolution of forcing a passage through the enemy's fleet, which he effected on the twenty-fourth of October, with the loss, however,

<sup>7</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 201, 205—207. Rushworth's collections under this year, p. 1361, 1366, 1389, 1428. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 349, 361, 374.

<sup>8</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 323, 324. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 389, 397. Heath's chronicle, p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 383. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 290. The moderate intelligencer, (a paper published in those times), N<sup>o</sup>. 207. in which is the act at large appointing Blake, Popham, and Deane, or any two of them, to be admirals and generals of the fleet at sea. See their instructions in Thurloe's state-papers, vol. i. p. 134.

<sup>b</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 254, 256. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 391. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 298. The moderate intelligencer, N<sup>o</sup>. 207. They complain loudly in this paper of the many prizes daily made by the prince, as well on the coasts of Cornwall as in the Irish seas.

of three ships; and so sailed away to the coast of France<sup>c</sup>, where he continued to obstruct the English trade, and to make prize of such ships as fell in his way, acting entirely on his own head, and without asking or receiving any directions from the king.

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

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 338, 339. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 32. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 439. Heath's chronicle, p. 254.

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. Heath's chronicle, p. 289. Whitlocke's memorials. A brief relation of some affairs and transactions civil and military, both foreign and domestic, (a paper of those times), N<sup>o</sup>. 10. p. 101, 103. N<sup>o</sup>. 14. p. 152.

<sup>e</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 339. Heath, Whitlocke, and other writers. We are informed in the Mercurius politicus, (a paper of these times), N<sup>o</sup>. 3. p. 579. among other particulars regarding Prince Rupert, that while his highness lay in the road of Toulon, in February 1651, soliciting leave to enter that port with his ship the Admiral, in order to procure a mast and other necessary repairs, having been separated from his brother in a storm near Majorca, after the great defeat given to his fleet by Blake, the five captains of the vessels mentioned in the text arrived there, against whom it seems the prince was so highly incensed, as to have it in consideration to call them to an account at a council of war, for their lives, as well for their misconduct in that business as for their having left seventy of the mariners behind them, who were unwilling to serve the parliament; and who besought them with the utmost earnestness to suffer them to attend them to Toulon, professing to ask no more than bread and water on the journey, though the officers had a great sum of money about them.

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 339, 340.



After this, Blake followed Prince Rupert into the river of Lisbon, where, in the months of September and October, 1650, he ruined the Brazil fleet; which induced the Portuguese to force Prince Rupert out of their port, whence he failed to Carthage. Blake pursued him thither; but being obliged, for want of provisions, to put to sea, his highness escaped to Malaga, where he took several English ships. One of these he drove ashore, burnt two more, and forced Prince Rupert himself to make his escape<sup>g</sup>.

His highness soon after went to sea again, cruized now on the Spaniards and Genoese, as well as the English<sup>h</sup>, and having taken several rich prizes, failed to the West Indies, whither his brother, Prince Maurice, with a small squadron, was gone before. In those seas they did likewise a great deal of mischief, till Prince Maurice, in the Constant Reformation, was cast away<sup>i</sup>; and Prince Rupert, finding the few ships he had left so leaky and rotten that they were scarce able to keep the sea, was glad to return to France; and arriving in the port of Nantes in the year 1652, with a man of war, and three or four other ships, he was forced to sell them to pay the people's wages<sup>k</sup>. Such was the end of about twenty-five good ships, well manned, which had deserted the parliament service! and the reader

<sup>g</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 449, 463, 470, 475, 484, 485. Heath's chronicle, p. 267, 275. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 233. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 73. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. Mercurius politicus, No. 14. p. 221. See two original letters of Sir Henry Vane; one to Cromwell, then at the head-quarters in Scotland, and the other to Thomas Scott (the regicide), each dated Dec. 28, 1650, with the news of Blake's having ruined Prince Rupert's fleet, and the great terror this defeat had occasioned in the different courts of Europe, particularly those of Spain and Portugal; both of whom, in consequence thereof, dispatched ambassadors to England, to acknowledge the power of the parliament; the former, at his audience, presenting the house with a complete narrative of the loss the prince sustained at Carthage, in Nicholls's collection of state-papers, p. 40, 41. See also Mr. Thomas Chaloner's letter in the same collection, p. 42.

<sup>h</sup> Clarendon, vol. v. Heath's chronicle, p. 293. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 494. Life of Prince Rupert. <sup>i</sup> Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 299. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 233. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 74. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 470.

<sup>k</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 513, 515. Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 552. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i.

will easily judge how great a loss this was to the nation, more especially as it was soon after engaged in the Dutch war.

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

Blake sailed from thence with the fleet to Jersey, where he arrived in the month of October, and reduced it by the end of the year; as he did likewise Cornet-castle, which was the only place held out for the king in Guernsey; and thus secured the

<sup>l</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 488, 489. The thanks of the parliament, with a full approbation of their services, though success had not attended them in respect to their conduct on the coast of Portugal, had been likewise transmitted to Blake and Popham, in a letter from the speaker, while at sea, dated Whitehall, July 12, 1650. Thurloe's state-papers, vol. i. p. 155. <sup>m</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 284, 288, 289. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 326. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 253. Bates's *elencus motuum*, part ii. p. 77.

<sup>n</sup> The original articles, a MS. in folio of two sheets, are still preserved in the library of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts.

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sovereignty of the sea, in this part of the world, for the parliament<sup>o</sup>.

Sir George Ayscue, after the reduction of Scilly, having strengthened his fleet with some ships, sailed into the West Indies, in order to reduce such of the plantations as had declared for the king. On board his fleet sailed colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who had been sent by such, in that colony and the Leeward-islands, as were well affected to the parliament, to demand relief. This fleet arrived in Carlisle-Bay, in Barbadoes, on the sixteenth of October 1651, and took fourteen sail of Dutch ships that were trading there.

Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, whom we before mentioned, was governor of the island for the king, and shewed so good an inclination to defend himself, that it was the seventeenth of December before Admiral Ayscue thought fit to attempt landing; which at last he effected with some loss, colonel Allen, with between thirty and forty men, being killed in the attempt. After his forces were on shore, the governor thought fit to capitulate, and had very fair conditions given him; for which it is thought, Admiral Ayscue was never forgiven by his masters at home<sup>p</sup>. While he lay at Barbadoes, he sent a few ships under captain Dennis to reduce Virginia, which with some trouble he effected. Sir George likewise subdued the Leeward-islands; and having thus thoroughly fulfilled his commission, he returned into Europe, where, as we shall see, he found the Dutch war already broke out<sup>q</sup>.

The causes of this war are differently related, according to the humours and opinions of different writers<sup>r</sup>; the truth;

<sup>o</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 465. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 518, 519. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 343. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 326.

<sup>p</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 527, 531. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 385. Heath's chronicle, p. 306. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 78. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 254.

<sup>q</sup> Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 466, 467. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, p. 327. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 532, 534, 536, 542. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 197.

<sup>r</sup> Heath's chronicle, 285; 286, 308, 314. Dugdale's short view of the late troubles, p. 402, 403. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, chap. 58. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 344—346; 388, 389. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 363, 364. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 75, 76. Manley's hist. of the rebellion, p. 256, 262. Cokes's detection, vol. ii. p. 19.

however,

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

It was in the spring of the year 1652, that things came to extremities; but it was warmly disputed then, and is not fully settled at this day, who were the aggressors. From the best comparison I have been able to make of facts stated in all the authentic accounts on both sides, it seems to me most probable

\* See the proposals made by Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, ambassadors for the commonwealth to the states-general at the Hague, dated the 10th of May, 1651. in Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 182. Nicholls's state papers, p. 39—42. Letters of state and other papers in Milton's prose works, vol. ii. edit. 1753, 4to. † The reader, if he inclines to enter deep into the reasons on which the Dutch war was grounded, may consult Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 457—460. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 487, 491, 492, 495, 496. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 187, 195. who was himself secretary to the embassy for the parliament. Heath's chronicle, p. 314. and other writers, on one side, and Esnagne annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 215, 216, 220, 221, 247—253. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xiii. p. 307—315. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iii. p. 52—61. and the lives of the Dutch admirals on the other.

however,

that

that it was the Dutch: and this for many reasons; but particularly, because they had made secretly great preparations for war, and had actually one hundred and fifty ships of force at sea; whereas the English parliament equipped no more than the usual squadron for guarding the narrow seas, which was under the command of Admiral Blake, and consisted of twenty-five ships only<sup>u</sup>.

The first blood that was drawn in this quarrel, was occasioned by Commodore Young's firing upon a Dutch man of war, for the captain's refusing him the honour of the flag. This was on the 14th of May 1652, and proved very honourable for our nation. Commodore Young acted with great caution, and gave the Dutch all the opportunity of avoiding a dispute they could desire. He sent his boat on board the Dutchman, to persuade him to strike: but the captain answered plainly and honestly, that the states had threatened to take off his head if he struck: and upon this the fight began, in which the enemy was so roughly handled, as to be at last obliged to strike. There were two other ships of war, and about twelve merchantmen, none of which interfered; and, on the other side, after the Dutch ships had taken in their flags, Commodore Young retired without making any prizes. This affair would have been much more the object of public notice, if an engagement of greater consequence had not happened quickly after<sup>w</sup>.

Admiral Van Tromp was at sea with a fleet of upwards of forty sail, to protect (as was given out) the Dutch trade. This fleet coming into the Downs on the 18th of May, they met there with a small squadron under the command of Major Bourne, to whom the admiral sent word, that he was forced in by stress of weather; Bourne answered roundly, that the truth of this would best appear by the shortness of his stay, and immediately sent advice of it to his admiral. The next day Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake in Dover road, and on his coming near him, Blake fired thrice at his flag;

<sup>u</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 314, 315.      <sup>w</sup> This account I take from Young's letter to the parliament, dated on board the *President*, Plymouth-sound, May 14, 1652. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 533. The perfect politician; or, a full view of the life and actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 167.

upon

upon which the Dutch admiral returned a broadside. For near four hours Blake was engaged almost alone, but by degrees the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the close of the engagement, which lasted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, Bourne joined him with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away.

In this battle the victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch ships taken, and one disabled; whereas the English lost none: and yet the inequality in force was very great; for the Dutch fleet consisted at first of forty-two ships, and Blake's only of fifteen; and even at the end of the fight, he had no more than twenty-three. The admirals wrote each of them an account of this affair to their respective masters, wherein they plainly contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no disproving any one fact mentioned in Blake's letter; whereas there are several falsehoods or mistakes at least in Tromp's; such as, that Bourne's Squadron consisted of twelve large ships, which could not be true. Besides, though he insists on Blake's being the aggressor, yet he owns, that his flag was out all the time\*. The states themselves were so sensible of their being in the wrong, and at the same time so mortified that their fleet, notwithstanding its superiority, had been beat, that they apologized for it, and sent over another ambassador, the Heer Adrian Paauw to proceed on the treaty. But the demands of the parliament were, in their opinion, too high, and so all thoughts of peace were dismissed on both sides, and the war was proclaimed in Holland on the 8th of July<sup>v</sup>.

The English in the mean time, in virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of reprisal for the late damages, affronts, and hostilities, received from the states-general and their subjects, took many Dutch ships. June 11, Blake brought in eleven merchant-ships with their convoy coming from Nantes. June 12, the Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two English fri-

\* This account is copied from that printed by order of the parliament, with both admirals letters and other papers annexed, 4to, 1652. <sup>v</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 407. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 535. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 207, 208, 210—212.

gates, engaged two Dutch men of war, on the coast of Flanders, for refusing to strike; of which one was taken, and the other stranded<sup>2</sup>: and, on the 13th of the same month, Blake took twenty-six merchant ships, with their convoys, homeward bound from France. July 4, vice-admiral Ayscue, (who, in his late return from the reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten merchant ships, and four men of war), attacked the St. Ubes fleet of about forty sail, of which near thirty were taken, burnt or stranded, and plundered, on the French coast.

After this, while the states with the utmost diligence were getting ready a fleet of seventy men of war, under the command of admiral Van Tromp, Blake, with about sixty, received orders to sail to the north to disturb and distress the Dutch fishery. Sir George Ayscue (who, since the destruction of the St. Ubes fleet, had taken five Dutch merchant ships) was left with the remainder of the English fleet, consisting of no more than seven men of war in the Downs. While Blake triumphed in the north, as we shall shew in another place, Tromp with his great fleet came into the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of either surprising Ayscue, or insulting the coast. Failing of this, he sailed northward to intercept Blake; but his ships being dispersed by a storm, he was disappointed in that scheme also, and lost five or six frigates, which fell into the hands of Blake, on his return towards the south<sup>3</sup>.

The people in Holland were very much dissatisfied with the conduct of admiral Van Tromp, which is the case in all free countries, where a commander in chief is unsuccessful. He acted upon this occasion like a very wise man, and one who had a nice sense of honour, first by justifying himself to the states, and then in laying down his commission to gratify the people. The main objection against him was his being no great seaman; and this engaged the states to cast their eyes upon de Ruyter, the ablest man amongst them in his profession. He accepted the command, but accepted it unwillingly; for he saw

<sup>2</sup> The parliament were so pleased with the gallant behaviour of the Captains Taylor and Peacock, that they directed the speaker to write them letters of thanks for their services on that occasion.

<sup>3</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 258, 259.

that as things then stood, the English were superior<sup>b</sup>. The parliament in the mean time took care to strengthen Sir George Ayscue's fleet, so that it increased to thirty-eight sail; of which only two were large ships, and the rest frigates and fire-ships. With these he put to sea in search of the Dutch, took many rich prizes, and at last met with de Ruyter, who, with a fleet equal to his own, was convoying home between fifty and sixty merchant-men. This was on the 16th of August 1652, and as our admiral was cruising off Plymouth. It was about one in the afternoon when the fleets came in fight. De Ruyter took twenty of the merchant ships into his line of battle, and was then very ready to engage. The fight began about four, when the English admiral, with nine others, charged through the Dutch fleet; and having thus got the weather-gage, attacked them again very bravely, and so they continued fighting till night, which parted them; the rest of Sir George's fleet having very little to do in the action. The rear-admiral Peck lost his leg, of which he soon died; and most of the captains who did their duty, were wounded, and a fire-ship was lost. On the other side, the Dutch were miserably torn, so that many of their best ships were scarce able to keep the sea. Sir George Ayscue followed them for some time the next day, and then returned into Plymouth-sound to refresh his men, and repair his ships<sup>c</sup>.

The Dutch gave a very partial account of this business, in which, without question, the English had some, and might have had much greater advantage, if all their captains had behaved as they ought. This the parliament very well knew; but by a refined stroke of policy, chose rather to lay the fault on a single man, than endanger the obedience of the fleet, by punishing many; upon which principle they laid aside that gallant and able seaman Sir George Ayscue; yet softly, and with a reward

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 461. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 538. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 419, 420. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 329. Manley's hist. of the rebellion, p. 264. <sup>c</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 541, 542. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 265. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 175. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 15. Le Clerc, tome ii. p. 322. Neuville, tome iii. liv. x. chap. x. La vie & les actions memorables du Sieur Michel de Ruyter, duc, chevalier & l'amiral general des provinces unies, Amsterdam 1677, 12mo. partie i. p. 9—12.



of three hundred pounds in money, and a pension of three hundred pounds a-year. The true reason of this was, his granting so good terms to the Lord Willoughby, which they, however, performed very punctually <sup>d</sup>.

The war was not long confined to the coasts of Britain, but spread itself into almost every sea; and every wind brought the news of fresh destruction and slaughter. About the latter end of the same month the Dutch admiral Van Galen, with eleven men of war, met and attacked the English commodore, Richard Bodley, with three men of war, a fire-ship, and three or four merchant ships, homeward-bound from Scanderoon and Smyrna. The first day's fight began in the afternoon off the island of Elba on the coast of Tuscany, and lasted till night with little advantage to either party. The Dutch historians agree, that three of their men of war being separated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up so as to have a share in the second engagement. On the other side, the English parted from their merchant ships, which, being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the best of their way to the nearest harbour.

The next morning the four remaining English being attacked by the eight Hollanders, the fight was renewed with great fury; Van Galen began a close engagement with the English commodore; but being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced (as the Dutch historians acknowledge) to leave him. Another of the enemy's largest ships, renewing the attack, was likewise so well received that she lost her main-mast: whereupon the English frigate the Phoenix, taking the opportunity, boarded the disabled Hollander, but, being too weak, was taken after a sharp fight of an hour, wherein most of her men were either killed or wounded. In the mean time the English commodore Bodley, being again boarded by two of the enemy's ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that (by the confession of the Dutch writers) they were both beaten off with a dreadful slaughter of their men, and the loss of both their captains: whereupon Bodley, seeing himself left by the enemy, (after having lost about a hundred men, killed and wounded), with his three remaining

<sup>d</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 323.

ships, followed the merchant-men to Porto-Longone, leaving the Hollanders to cast up the account of the honour and profit they had gained by this encounter. The enemy lost three of their captains in the fight, whom they afterwards buried at the last-mentioned place, where the English and they, being in a neutral harbour, continued very friendly together for some time<sup>e</sup>.

Admiral Blake, who was now in the channel, did infinite damage to the enemy; and, some hostilities having been committed on the coast of Newfoundland by the French, our gallant admiral attacked a strong squadron of their ships going to the relief of Dunkirk, took or destroyed them all, by which means this important place fell into the hands of the Spaniards<sup>f</sup>. The Dutch, seeing their trade thus ruined, and apprehensive of still worse consequences, fitted out another fleet under the command of de Witte, and sent it to join de Ruyter, who was appointed to bring home a large number of merchantmen. After the junction of these fleets, and the sending the ships they were to convoy into Holland, the admirals shewed a design of attacking the English navy, and Blake gave them a fair opportunity of executing their intention. But, when it came to the point, the Dutch fleet covered themselves behind a sand-bank, which, however, did not hinder Blake from engaging them on the 28th of September.

He divided his fleet into three squadrons; the first commanded by himself, the second by vice-admiral Penn, and the third by

<sup>e</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 365. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 15, 16. Manley's history of the rebellion, part ii. book ii. p. 266. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 263. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iii. p. 65, 66. Thurloe's state-papers, vol. i. p. 219. <sup>f</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 463. Heath's chronicle, p. 325. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 329, 330. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 264. Memoirs de Montglat, tom. iii. p. 321, 322. Martiniere histoire de Louis XIV. tome ii. 225. The count d'Estades in his memoirs, tome i. in a letter to Cardinal Mazarine, dated Dunkirk, Feb. 5, 1652, informs his eminence, that Cromwell had made him an offer by one Fitz-James, the colonel of his guards, to furnish sixty men of war, to join the king's army with fifteen thousand foot, to pay two millions, and to declare war against Spain, if they would surrender Dunkirk to him rather than to the Spaniards; which proposal the cardinal approved, as appears by his answer to the count, dated Poitiers, March 2, 1652, and which, as he says, would have been accepted, if Mr. de Chateaucuf had not opposed it so strongly; as that the queen could not be induced to give her consent.



rear-admiral Bourne. It was about three when the engagement began, and the English quickly discovered their rashness in attacking an enemy under such disadvantages; for the Sovereign, a new ship, struck immediately on the sands, and so did several others; but, getting off again, the English fleet stood aloof till de Witte came freely from his advantages to a fair engagement, which was boldly begun by Bourne, and gallantly seconded by the rest of the fleet. A Dutch man of war, attempting to board the Sovereign was sunk by her side, and this by the first discharge she made. Soon after a Dutch rear-admiral was taken by captain Mildmay, and two other men of war sunk, a third blowing up before the end of the fight. De Witte was then glad to retire, and was pursued by the English fleet as long as it was light. The next day they continued the chase, till they were within twelve leagues of the Dutch shore, and then seeing the Dutch fleet entering into the Gorce, Blake returned in triumph to the Downs, and thence into port, having lost about 300 men, and having as many wounded <sup>a</sup>. For the reception of the latter the parliament took care to provide hospitals near Dover and Deal, and sent also their thanks to the admiral and his officers <sup>b</sup>.

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

<sup>a</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 545, 546. Davies's history of the civil wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 330. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 426, 427. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 327.

powerful

powerful squadron of his ships, provided Tromp had the command<sup>l</sup>.

This prince had very unadvisedly engaged himself in a quarrel with the parliament by detaining (at the request of the Dutch) a fleet of 20 English ships in the harbour of Copenhagen. At first he pretended that he did it for their safety, and therefore commodore Ball was sent with a squadron of eighteen sail to convoy them home, when his Danish Majesty declared his resolution to keep them, and the fear he was under for the consequences of this strange and inconsiderate step, induced him to offer the Dutch his assistance. This fell out happily for them; for the English now filled their ports with Dutch prizes, while the people of Holland, suffering in so tender a point, began to lose all patience; which forced the states to hurry out Tromp with his ships, in order to convoy a fleet of about 300 merchantmen through the channel<sup>k</sup>.

It being now the beginning of November, Blake, who thought the season of action over, had detached twenty of his ships for the security of the Newcastle colliers; twelve more were sent to Plymouth, and fifteen were retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had received in a storm. Admiral Tromp having intelligence of this, and that Blake had with him no more than thirty-seven ships, and many of these but thinly manned, resolved to attack him in the Downs, not far from the place where they had fought before<sup>l</sup>. On the 29th of November he presented himself before the English fleet, and Blake, after holding a council of war, resolved to engage notwithstanding this great inequality: but, the wind rising, they were obliged to defer fighting till next day; and that night our fleet rode a little above Dover-road. In the morning both fleets plied westward, Blake having the weather-gage. About eleven the battle began with great fury; but, very unluckily for the English, half

<sup>l</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 260, 261. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 323, 324. La vie de Ruyter, partie i. p. 15. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16. <sup>k</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 545, 546. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 330. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 174. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 429. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 266. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 289, 290. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 68. <sup>l</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 229, 230. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 437, 438.

of their small fleet could not engage. The *Triumph*, in which Blake was in person, the *Victory*, and the *Vanguard*, bore almost the whole stress of the fight, having twenty Dutch men of war upon them at once; and yet they fought it out till it was dark. Late in the evening the *Garland*, commanded by captain Batten, and the *Bonaventure*, captain Hookston, clapped Van Tromp aboard, killed his secretary and purser by his side, and had certainly taken his ship, if they had not been boarded by two Dutch flags, by whom, after their captains were killed, both these ships were taken. Blake, who saw this with indignation, pushed so far to their relief, that he was very near sharing the same fate, if the *Vanguard* and *Sapphire* had not stood by him with the utmost resolution, and at last brought him off<sup>m</sup>. The *Hercules* was run ashore in the retreat; and, if the night had not sheltered them, most of the ships that were engaged must have been lost; but they took the advantage of its obscurity, and retired first to Dover, and then into the river.

Admiral Tromp continued a day or two in the Downs, sailed from thence towards Calais, took part of the Barbadoes fleet, and some other prizes, and then sailed to the isle of Rhe with a broom at his top-mast head, intimating that he would sweep the narrow seas of English ships<sup>n</sup>. There appears, however, no such reason for boasting as the Dutch writers suggest; their fleet had indeed many advantages; yet they bought their success very dear, one of their best ships being blown up, and two ships of their admirals in a manner disabled<sup>o</sup>.

The parliament shewed their steadiness by carrying Blake after his defeat, and naming him, in conjunction with Deane and Monk, their generals at sea for another year. In order to the more speedy manning the navy, they issued a proclamation, offering considerable rewards to such as entered themselves within the space of forty days; they also raised the sailors pay from nineteen to twenty-four shillings a-month: and this had so good

<sup>m</sup> Whitlocke's memorial's, p. 551. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16, 17. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 330, 331. <sup>n</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 261. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 324, 325. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 69, 70. <sup>o</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 330. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 17. Echard's history of England, book iii. chap. i. p. 701.

an effect, that in six weeks time they had a fleet ready to put to sea of sixty men of war; forty under Blake in the river, and twenty more at Portsmouth. On the 11th of February both joined near Beachey-head, and thence admiral Blake sailed over-against Portland, where he lay cross the channel, in order to welcome Tromp on his return. This was a kind of surprize on the Dutch admiral, who did not think it possible, after the late defeat, for the parliament to fit out in so short a space a fleet capable of facing him again. He had between two and three hundred merchant-ships under convoy, and was therefore much amazed, when, sailing up the channel, he found Blake so stationed, that it was impossible to avoid fighting. English and Dutch authors vary pretty much as to the strength of their respective fleets; but, by comparing both the admirals letters, I apprehend they were nearly equal, each having about seventy sail.

The generals Blake and Deane were both on board the *Triumph*, and with twelve stout ships led their fleet, and fell in first with the Dutch on the 18th of February, 1653, about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the rest of the fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by Lawson in the *Fairfax*, and captain Mildmay in the *Vanguard*. In the *Triumph* Blake was wounded in the thigh with a piece of iron a shot had driven, and the same piece of iron tore general Deane's coat and breeches. Captain Ball, who commanded the ship, was shot dead, and fell at Blake's feet; his secretary Mr. Sparrow was likewise killed receiving his orders: he lost besides these an hundred seamen, and the rest were most of them wounded, and his ship so miserably shattered, that it had little share in the two next days fights.

In the *Fairfax* there were an hundred men killed, and the ship wretchedly torn; the *Vanguard* lost her captain and abundance of men. The *Prosperous*, a ship of forty-four guns, was boarded by de Ruyter, and taken; but, de Ruyter's ship being

P Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 464. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 331. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 439. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 17. Bagnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 298, 299. Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 551. Echard, Rapin, and other historians.

in that instant boarded by an English man of war, captain Vefey in the Merlin frigate entered the Prosperous, and retook her. The Assistance, vice-admiral of the blue squadron, was disabled in the beginning of the fight, and brought off to Portsmouth, whither the Advice quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the sea. Tromp, who was long engaged with Blake, lost most of his officers, and had his ship disabled; de Ruyter lost his main and fore-top-mast, and very narrowly escaped being taken. One Dutch man of war was blown up; six more were either sunk or taken: the latter had their rigging so clotted with blood and brains, that it was impossible to look upon them but with horror<sup>r</sup>.

Friday night was spent in repairing the damage, and making the necessary dispositions for a second engagement. On Saturday morning the enemy was seen again seven leagues off Weymouth, whither the English plied, and came up with them in the afternoon about three leagues to the north-west of the Isle of Wight. Tromp had drawn again his fleet together, and ranged it in the form of an half-moon, inclosing the merchant ships within a semicircle, and in that posture he maintained a retreating fight. The English made several desperate attacks, striving to break through to the merchant ships: on which occasion de Ruyter's ship was again so roughly treated, that she was towed out of the fleet. At last the merchant-men, finding they could be no longer protected, began to shift for themselves, throwing part of their goods overboard for the greater expedition. According to Blake's own letter, eight men of war and fourteen or sixteen merchant ships were taken, and the fight continued all night<sup>s</sup>.

On Sunday morning the Dutch were near Bulloign, where the fight was renewed, but with little effect. Tromp had slipped away in the dark with his merchant-men to Calais-sands, where he anchored that day with forty sail; the wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our fleet pursuing but slowly; for Blake, though he feared not Dutchmen, yet dreaded their shallow coasts: however, the captains Lawson, Marten, and Graver, took each a Dutch man of war; Penn picked up many of

<sup>r</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 300. Le Clerc, tome ii. liv. 13. Newcastle, tome iii. liv. x. ch. 20. <sup>s</sup> Davics's history of the civil wars, p. 331. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 17.

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their merchant-men. On the whole, the Dutch had the better the first day, lost ground the second, and were clearly beaten the third. They lost eleven men of war, (their own accounts say but nine); thirty merchant-men, 1500 men killed, and as many wounded. As for the English, they lost only the *Sampson*, which captain Button, finding disabled, sunk of his own accord; as to their men, it is certain their loss was little inferior to the Dutch's.

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

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

The English squadron consisted of six ships, commanded by Commodore Appleton, of the burden and force expressed in the following list:

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Leopard,	52	180
Bonaventure,	44	150

<sup>t</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 335. *Bassinage annales des provinces unies*, tome i. p. 301. *La vie de Ruyter*, p. i. p. 22—30. *Hollands mercurius van Het Jaar*, 1653, p. 44.

<sup>u</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 335. The states made a present of a gold chain to Van Tromp of the value of two thousand guilders. Evertson and de Ruyter were gratified with fifteen hundred guilders each, and lesser gratuities were bestowed on other officers. *Whitlocke's memorials*, p. 553.



Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Sampson,	36	90
Levant-Merchant,	28	60
Pilgrim,	30	70
Mary,	30	70

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

Yet

\* Whitlocke's memorials, p. 552. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 269. Heath's chronicle, p. 330, 331. The grand duke, by his letters of the seventh and ninth of December, 1652, and more at large by Signior Almerie Salvetti his minister in England, complained loudly of the violation of his port, and of Appleton's behaviour on that occasion, and insisted on a proper satisfaction. The parliament were so highly offended with the misconduct of the commodore, that they referred the whole matter to the council of state, who sent immediate orders to Appleton, to return home by land, without the least delay; wrote a most obliging answer to the grand duke, which bears date the 14th of the same month, and which they dispatched on purpose by an express, testifying their great concern for the accident; and an assurance, that such a course should be taken with the commodore

Yet they rather chose to run all hazards, than to deliver up the ship. With this resolution they dispatched away advice to commodore Bodley, who lay at the island of Elba with two men of war, a fire-ship, and the four merchant-ships which were in the former engagement with Van Galen; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that Bodley with his small squadron, (though unfit for action, partly from the loss of men in the late fight, partly on account of the merchant-ships under their convoy, which were laden with fifteen hundred bales of silk, and other valuable goods,) should appear about the time fixed, within sight of Leghorn, in order to amuse the Dutch, and thereby, if possible, to draw them from before the harbour, and so open a passage for Appleton to escape. According to this agreement, Bodley, on the 2d of March 1653, came within sight of the place. On the 3d, he caused three or four of his best sailers to approach the enemy, who were stationed before the port: whereupon, their whole squadron (as was expected) stood to sea, and gave them chace. This Appleton perceiving, took the opportunity to weigh and come out; but a little too soon: for the Dutch being aware of their design, immediately gave over the chace, and tacking about, fell upon Appleton's squadron with nine of their men of war, while the rest observed Bodley.

At the first encounter, an unfortunate shot from Van Galen's ship set fire to the Bonaventure, which blew up, though not unrevenge'd; for at the same time a shot from that ship broke Van Galen's leg, of which hurt he soon after died. In the mean time, Appleton was attacked by two of the Hollanders at once, against whom he maintained a close fight of four or five hours, with such resolution, that both the Dutch ships were at length so disabled, that they scarce fired a shot; Van Galen

done as should sufficiently manifest to all the world, they could no less brook the violation of his right, than the infringement of their own authority, which had been trampled upon in this instance, contrary to those repeated commands to their chief officers and captains arriving in his ports, which was to carry themselves with the most respectful observance possible. And in regard to the ship Phoenix, they promise, after hearing Appleton, and farther conference with his resident, to pronounce such a sentence as shall be agreeable to justice and equity.

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seeing the resolution of the English commodore, and going (though desperately wounded) to the assistance of his friends, was in great danger by a fire-ship sent from Bodley's squadron.

But another ship coming to the assistance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, they renewed the attack with greater vigour. Some Dutch writers report, that Appleton finding himself oppressed by such unequal numbers, after having made all possible resistance, ran down, and would have blown up his ship; but that, being hindered by his seamen, he was obliged to yield. The young Van Tromp attacked the Sampson, was beaten off after a desperate fight; but the Sampson was soon after burnt by a fire-ship. The Levant-Merchant being encountered by one of the enemy's ships, beat her off, and stranded her. But being at last taken, together with the Pilgrim (which had lost her main and mizen-masts in the fight), the Mary, thus left alone, made her escape, and joined the nearest ships of Bodley's squadron, which put an end to the engagement \*.

Before we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer home, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of the great change made in our civil government by Cromwell, who, on the 20th of April 1653, entered the House of Commons, and dissolved the parliament by force<sup>†</sup>. An action stupendous in itself, and which seems to have struck too many of our own and of foreign historians with want of discernment.

They attribute to Cromwell, whatever was done after the murder of the king; and the Dutch historians particularly impute this war to him, and amongst other reasons for his dissolving the parliament, make this to have been one, that he suf-

\* Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 551, 553. Bafnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 306, where this writer tells us, that the body of admiral Van Galen was transported into Holland, buried at Amsterdam, and a magnificent monument erected to his memory, at the expence of the states.

† Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 478. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 456. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 554. Bates's eleucus motuum, part ii. p. 161. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 367. Dugdale's short view of the troubles, p. 405. Bullstrode's memoirs, p. 194.

pected they were inclined to peace<sup>a</sup>; whereas, in truth, never two governments were less alike, than those of the parliament and the protector; the former acted upon national principles, the latter from private views. The Dutch war was the parliament's war, begun upon the old quarrel, which King Charles would have prosecuted, had he been able. It is true, that Cromwell carried on the war, but it was only till he could make such a peace as served his turn; and our noble historian rightly observes, that it was the parliament's persisting in carrying on this war, that compelled Cromwell to act sooner than he would have done; from his foresight, that if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not so easily be overturned at home by their own creatures<sup>a</sup>.

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

<sup>a</sup> Bagnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 303. and the same error runs through all the Dutch historians.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's hist. vol. vi. p. 464. where he proves, that Cromwell was never heartily inclined to the Dutch war, and p. 476. where he shews what the causes were which hastened Cromwell in the execution of his project.

<sup>c</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 339, 340. Warwick's memoirs, compared with Whitlocke. Cromwell received the most flattering addresses from almost all parts of the united kingdom for dissolving the parliament: but none appeared more hearty in their congratulations, or professed greater submission, than the officers of the army and navy. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 333.

<sup>e</sup> Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, p. 336. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 556, 557.

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

On the 2d of June in the morning, the English fleet discovered the enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great vigour. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the first broadside from the enemy carried off the brave admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, with much presence of mind, covered his body with his cloak<sup>e</sup>: and here appeared the wisdom of having both admirals on board the same ship; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the same warmth as if it had not happened. The blue squadron charged through the enemy, and rear-admiral Lawson bid fair for taking de Ruyter; and after he was obliged to leave his ship, sunk another of forty-two guns, commanded by captain Buller. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Tromp saw himself obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a stout ship, commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen, blew up. This increased the consternation in which they were before; and though Tromp used every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon such ships as drew out of the line, yet it was to no purpose, but rather served to increase their misfortune. In the night Blake arrived in the English fleet, with a squadron of eighteen ships, and so had his share in the second day's engagement<sup>f</sup>.

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

<sup>e</sup> Gumble's life of general Monk,

p. 59.

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 557. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 466. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 34. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 337. I have likewise consulted Monk's letter, printed in the proceedings of the parliament called by the authority of general Cromwell in 1653, p. 27. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 269.

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Tromp did all that was consistent with his honour to avoid fighting the next day; but he would not do more, so that the English fleet came up with them again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmost fury: the battle continued very hot for about four hours, and vice-admiral Penn boarded Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been seasonably relieved by de Witte and de Ruyter. At last the Dutch fell again into confusion, which was so great, that a plain flight quickly followed; and, instead of trusting to their arms, they sought shelter on the flat coast of Newport, from whence, with difficulty enough, they escaped to Zealand. Our writers agree, that the Dutch had six of their best ships sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; six of their principal captains were made prisoners, and upwards of fifteen hundred men. Among the ships before mentioned one was a vice, and two were rear-admirals<sup>g</sup>. The Dutch historians, indeed, confess the loss but of eight men of war. On our side, admiral Deane and one captain were all the persons of note killed: of private men there were but few, and not a ship was missing; so that a more signal victory could scarce be obtained, or indeed desired. Besides, the enemy's ships were now blocked up in their ports; and the sight of a foreign fleet now at their doors had this farther bad consequence, that it excited domestic tumults. We need not wonder, then, that the Dutch, whilst in such circumstances, sent ambassadors into England to negotiate a peace almost on any terms<sup>h</sup>. These Crom-

<sup>g</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 345. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 267. Bates's eleucus motuum, part ii. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 60, 61. See Van Tromp's letter to the states in Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 270. See the letters sent by the states to their ministers at foreign courts, dated Hague, June 16, 1653. In the same collection, p. 273. Mercurius politicus, (a paper of those times), N<sup>o</sup>. 158. p. 2516, 2517. Echard, p. 705. Keenan, vol. iii. p. 208. Rapin, and other historians.

<sup>h</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 308, 309. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tom. ii. liv. xiii. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. liv. x. chap. xi. xii. La vie de Ruyter, part i. p. 30. There are innumerable letters in the first volume of Thurloe's state papers, which describe the infinite uneasiness the states and people were under at seeing their ports blocked up. The many tumults and other disorders in the different towns occasioned thereby, and the great pains taken by the Dutch minister in England, as appears also by their letters, to conclude a peace. See p. 293, 294, 295, 307, 315—318, 334, 340, 341.



well received with haughtiness enough, talked high, and assumed to himself the credit of former victories, in which he could have little share<sup>1</sup>, but of which he very ably availed himself now.

The states, however, were far from trusting intirely to negotiations, but, at the time they treated, laboured with the utmost diligence to repair their past losses, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult task; and, in order to effect it, they were forced to raise the seamen's wages, though their trade was at a full stop: they came down in person to their ports, and saw their men embarked, and advanced them wages before-hand; and promised them, if they would fight once again, they would never ask them to fight more<sup>2</sup>.

Yet all this would hardly have done, if the industry of de Witte, in equipping their new-built ships, and the care and skill of Van Tromp in refitting their old ones, and encouraging the seamen, had not contributed more than all the other methods that were taken to the setting out a fresh fleet, of upwards of ninety ships, in the latter end of July, a thing admired then, and scarce credible now. These were victualled for five months; and the scheme laid down by the states was this, that to force the English fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs should come and block up ours. But first it was resolved, Van Tromp should sail to the mouth of the Texel, where de Ruyter, with twenty-five sail of stout ships, was kept in by the English fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their station, and give the Dutch squadron thereby an opportunity of coming out<sup>3</sup>.

On the 29th of July 1653, the Dutch fleet appeared in sight of the English, upon which the latter did their utmost to engage them: but Van Tromp, having in view the release of de Witte, rather than fighting, kept off; so that it was seven at night before general Monk in the Resolution, with about thirty ships,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487, 488. *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 312. <sup>2</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 346. *Thurloe's state papers*, vol. i. p. 301, 307, 325, 367. <sup>3</sup> *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, tom. i. p. 308, 312. *Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies*, tom. ii. liv. xiii. p. 334. *Neuville histoire de Hollande*, tom. iii. chap. xii. *Clarendon's history of the rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 489. *Thurloe's state papers*, vol. i. p. 359, 364, 392.

great and small, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark soon after, there passed nothing more that night, Monk sailing to the south, and Van Tromp to the northward, and this not being suspected by the English, he both joined de Witte's squadron and gained the weather-gage<sup>m</sup>. The next day proving very foul and windy, the sea ran so high that it was impossible for the fleets to engage, the English particularly finding it hard enough to avoid running upon the enemy's coasts<sup>n</sup>.

On Sunday July 31, the weather being become favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle lasted at least eight hours, and was the most hard fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The Dutch fire-ships were managed with great dexterity, many of the large vessels in the English fleet were in the utmost danger of perishing by them; and the *Triumph* was so effectually fired, that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, and yet those few who staid behind were so lucky as to put it out<sup>o</sup>. Lawson engaged de Ruyter briskly, killed and wounded above half his men, and so disabled his ship that it was towed out of the fleet; yet the admiral did not leave the battle so, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ship. About noon, Van Tromp was shot through the body with a musket ball, as he was giving orders<sup>p</sup>. This miserably discouraged his countrymen, so that by two they began to fly in great confusion, having but one flag standing amongst them. The lightest frigates in the English fleet pursued them closely, till the Dutch admiral, perceiving they were but small, and of no great strength, turned his helm

<sup>m</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 346, 347. Proceedings of the parliament, A. D. 1653, p. 28. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 488. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 562.

<sup>n</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 347. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 337. Gumble's life of Monk. <sup>o</sup> Clarendon.

Whitlocke. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. <sup>p</sup> Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 488, 489. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 562. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 468. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 35. Bates's *elencus motuum*, part ii. p. 176. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 168. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 48. See the journal of vice-admiral de Witte of the proceedings of the fleet, written with his own hand to the states, dated 11th August, 1653, N. S. in Thurloe's collection, vol. i. p. 392. Leeven Van Tromp, part iii. Vie de Ruyter, part i. p. 32, 33.

and resolved to engage them; but some bigger ships coming in to their assistance, the Dutchman was taken<sup>9</sup>. It was night by that time their scattered fleet recovered the Texel. The English fearing their flats, rode very warily about six leagues off.

This was a terrible blow to the Dutch, of whom, according to Monk's letter, no less than thirty ships were lost; but, from better intelligence, it appeared that four of these had escaped, two into a port of Zealand, and two into Hamburgh<sup>†</sup>. Their loss, however, was very great: five captains were taken prisoners, and between four and five thousand men killed, twenty-six ships of war either burnt or sunk. On the side of the English there were two ships only, *viz.* the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, six captains killed, and upwards of five hundred seamen. There were also six captains wounded, and about eight hundred private men<sup>‡</sup>. The Dutch writers dispute many of these points, and some of them will not allow that they lost above nine ships. The contrary of this, however, appears from de Witte's letter to the states, wherein he owns many more; confesses, that he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he assigns two reasons; first, that the best of their ships were miserably shattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like poltrons<sup>‡</sup>.

Some very singular circumstances attended this extraordinary victory, and deserve therefore to be mentioned. There were several merchant-men in the fleet, and Monk, finding occasion to employ them, thought proper to send their captains to each other's ships, in order to take off their concern for their owners vessels and cargoes; a scheme which answered his purpose

<sup>9</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 348.      † See Monk's letter printed in the proceedings of the parliament of this year, and which was written the very evening of the fight, *viz.* July 31, 1653. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 67, 68.

<sup>‡</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 562, 564. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 339. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 489. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. Heath's chronicle, p. 348. Eehard, Kennet, Rapin, and the rest of our historians.

<sup>‡</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 313, 314. Leeven Van Tromp, p. 142. See de Witte's journal before cited, wherein he tells the states, among other things, he had discovered, to his great vexation, that divers of the captains had retired out of the reach of the enemy's cannon, as well in this engagement as formerly; and intimates, that if they had been hanged for behaving so before, they had not had it in their power to have acted the same parts over again.

perfectly well, no ships in the fleet behaving better<sup>u</sup>. He had likewise observed, that in most engagements much time and many opportunities were lost, by taking ships and sending them into harbour; and considering that still greater inconveniencies must arise from their nearness to the enemy's coast, and distance from their own, he issued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they should not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not so strictly observed, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea, while their ships were sinking<sup>w</sup>.

General Monk himself was so active, that, in his letter to Cromwell, dated the 2d of August 1653, he takes notice, that of five Dutch flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three, *viz.* those of Tromp, Evertson, and de Ruyter<sup>x</sup>; and so long he continued in the heat of the dispute, that his ship, the Resolution, was at last towed out of the line: and, indeed, most of the great vessels had been so roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coast any longer, without danger of their sinking.

The parliament then sitting, who were of Cromwell's appointment, upon the 8th of August, 1653; ordered gold chains to be sent to the generals Blake and Monk, and likewise to vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawson; they sent also chains to the rest of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of August was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving<sup>y</sup>; and, Monk being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feast in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time<sup>z</sup>. As for the states, they supported their loss with inexpressible courage and constancy; they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public expence<sup>a</sup>, and, as soon as the return

<sup>u</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 348. <sup>w</sup> Gumble's life of Monk, p. 62. <sup>x</sup> Proceedings of the parliament, p. 33. where there is an extract only; but I have seen a copy of the entire letter. <sup>y</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 563, 564. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 338. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 269. Parliamentary proceedings, p. 39, 45. <sup>z</sup> Gumble's life of Monk, p. 77. <sup>a</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 325, 326. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xiii. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iii. p. 83. Various medals were struck by order of the states to perpetuate to lat-

return of the English fleet permitted, sent de Witte with a fleet of fifty men of war and five fire-ships to the Sound, in order to convoy home a fleet of 300 merchant-men, there assembled from different quarters <sup>b</sup>.

This he performed very happily, though the English fleet did all that was possible to intercept him: but the joy, which the Dutch conceived upon this occasion, was soon qualified by accidents of another sort; for an English squadron, falling in with a large fleet of merchant-men in the mouth of the Ulic, took most of them, and admiral Lawson, sailing to the north, destroyed their herring-fishing for that year, and either took or sunk most of the frigates sent to protect them; besides, a great storm drove twelve or thirteen of their best men of war from their anchors, so that, running on shore, they were lost <sup>c</sup>.

The negotiation carried on by the Dutch ministers at London met at first with many difficulties. The terms prescribed were in number many, and in their nature hard, insofmuch that it is scarce to be conceived, that the Dutch could ever have submitted to them; but an accident (if indeed the effect of Cromwell's intrigues ought to be called so) delivered them out of their distress. The parliament on the 12th of December, 1653, took a sudden resolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, *viz.* the lord-general Cromwell, who soon after took upon him the supreme magistracy, under the title of Protector <sup>d</sup>. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon softer conditions, though he affected to make use of high terms, and to behave towards their ambassadors with a great deal of haughtiness, which,

est posterity the great and gallant actions of this distinguished hero, independent of the sumptuous monument erected to his memory in the church of Delft. They painted him after death with a laurel crown, as supposing him victorious over the English. Hymns, songs, elegant poems, were wrote in his praise by the most celebrated wits of those times. Nothing was omitted by the Dutch nation that could testify the great loss they had sustained, or manifest the people's gratitude. Gerard Van Loon *hist. metallique des pays bays*, tome ii. p. 364. <sup>b</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 564, 566. Bafnage *annales des provinces unies*, tome i. p. 317. <sup>c</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 49. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 564. Bafnage *annales des provinces unies*, tome i. p. 317. <sup>d</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 484, 485. Heath's chronicle, p. 353. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 570. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 274. Dugdale's short view of the late troubles, p. 411. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 637.

for the sake of their country's interest, they knew well enough how to bear.

This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the 4th of April, 1654. In this negotiation the coalition, upon which the parliament had insisted, was entirely dropped. No mention at all was made of our sole right to fishing on our own coast, or any annual tribute secured to us for the Dutch fishing in our seas, which had been actually paid to King Charles, and was offered to the parliament; though Cromwell, because his administration stood in need of a peace, thought fit to dispense with it. He likewise gave up all claim to the searching Dutch ships, which the parliament had rigorously insisted on. The right of limiting the number of their ships of war was another of their articles that he overlooked; neither did he oblige them to grant the English a free navigation on the river Scheld<sup>e</sup>. But it is now time to see the terms to which he held them.

It was in the first place stipulated, that such as could be found of the persons concerned in the massacre at Amboyna should be delivered up to justice. This was very specious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotism, who thus compelled the Dutch to make satisfaction for an offence, which the two former kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But, as this article was never executed, so we may reasonably conclude, that the Dutch knew the protector's mind before they made him this boasted concession. They acknowledged the dominion of the English at sea by consenting to strike the flag, submitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the East India Company satisfaction for the losses they had sustained, and by a private article bound themselves never to elect any of the house of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder<sup>f</sup>.

Thus, taking all things together, this ought rather to be considered as a close conjunction between the new protector of England and the Louvestein faction in Holland, than an alliance

<sup>e</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 357. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 337. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 487. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 583. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 372. Bates's *elenus motuum*, part ii. p. 276. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 74. Flagellum, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247. Thurloc's state-papers, vol. i. and ii. <sup>f</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 489. Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tome vi. part ii. p. 74-80.



between the two nations: for, though it be true that some regard was had in this treaty to the honour and interest of England, yet, considering our success in that war, and the situation things were in at the conclusion of it, there can be no reason to doubt, that, if the parliament, which begun the war, had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms in respect both to profit and glory.

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

The rupture between France and England still continued, our ships of war taking, sinking, or burning theirs where-ever they met them, and the French privateers disturbing our commerce as much as they were able<sup>b</sup>. An attempt was made by the French ministry to have got France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the states: but Cromwell would not hear of this, because he knew how to make his advantage of the dif-

<sup>s</sup> Verwerd Europa, p. 122. Interest van Holland, p. 34. Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 335. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xliii. p. 340—348. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 87. Aitzema zaken van staat en oorl, iii. deel. fol. 804—931. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 589.  
<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 504. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 583, 584, 590. Heath's chronicle, p. 356, 357.

facilities the French then laboured under another way; in which he succeeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655 to submit to his own terms, and to give up the interests of the royal family, notwithstanding their near relation to the house of Bourbon. He likewise obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without question his conduct with regard to France would have deserved commendation, if, for the sake of securing his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizing of a power which has been terrible to Europe ever since<sup>1</sup>, and which he might have reduced within just bounds, if he had so pleased.

He did not discover his intentions in this respect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became necessary. He affected to have his friendship earnestly solicited both by France and Spain, and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the court which deserved best, or, in plain terms, bid highest for it. The first sign of his reconciliation to the French, was the restoring the ships taken by Blake, with provisions and ammunition for the garrison of Dunkirk; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally supposed, that the primary as well as principal instigation to the Spanish war came from him, who gave the protector to understand, that the English maritime force could not be better employed than in conquering part of the Spanish West Indies, while France attacked the same crown in Europe; and, to purchase his assistance, would readily relinquish the royal family,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 503. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 352. See the speech made by Monsieur Chanut, the French ambassador to the states, upon that occasion, in Whitlocke's memorials, p. 515—632. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 558, 559. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 373. The whole progress of this treaty, and the insuperable difficulties attending the concluding it, may be seen in Thurloe's collection, vol. ii. p. 159, 228, 566, 629. vol. iii. p. 311, 312, 313, 368, 381, 415, 696, 734. vol. iv. p. 75, 115. See a letter of the cardinal to Monsieur Bourdeaux, the French ambassador in England, expressing the great joy it gave him that the treaty was at length accomplished, p. 120, 259.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Thurloe's account of the negotiations between England, France, and Spain, from the time of Oliver Cromwell's assuming the government to the Restoration, delivered to the lord-chancellor Clarendon, in Thurloe's collections, vol. i. p. 759.

and so rid him from all fears of an invasion <sup>k</sup>. Besides these hints from abroad, the protector had some notices of a like nature at home, especially from one Gage, a priest, who had been long in America, and who furnished him with a copious account of the wealth and weakness of the Spaniards there <sup>l</sup>.

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

<sup>k</sup> Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 503. Heath's chronicle, p. 365, 369. Whitlocke's memorials. See Mr. George Downing's letter to secretary Thurloe in Thurloe's collections, vol. iii. p. 734. <sup>l</sup> See a curious paper intitled, Some brief and true observations concerning the West Indies, humbly presented to his highness Oliver, lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by Thomas Gage, in Thurloe's collections, vol. iii. p. 59. He wrote a book likewise, intitled, A survey of the West Indies, of which the first edition was in folio, and there have been several in octavo; but these latter want a chapter, which is the most curious in the whole book. <sup>m</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 577. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 621. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 493. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 346. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 212. Hasting's annales des provinces, tome i. p. 400. <sup>n</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. iv. p. 576. Penn's sailors mutinied at Portsmouth, some of them threatening to lay their grievances before the protector; their complaints were the badness of the provisions, the hardships they sustained in being sent upon an expedition already known to all the world, and the still greater difficulty they laboured under of being compelled to go whether they would or not, insisting to be lifted by beat of drum as in the Netherlands. The provisions were changed, and Desborough and Penn with some difficulty pacified them as to the other two articles. Thurloe's state papers, vol. ii. p. 709. See the protector's commission to Venables in Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 16.

princes and states as had either insulted the government, or injured the commerce of England. But, before his departure, it had been industriously given out, that he was to intercept the duke of Guise, and to protect the kingdom of Naples from the French.

This had the desired effect; it lulled the Spaniards into a false security, and even disposed them to shew the admiral all possible civilities, who very probably had himself as yet no suspicion of Cromwell's design to break with that nation. The first place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke; the first was, for his subjects purchasing the prizes made by Prince Rupert; the other for the damage done by Van Galen, when Appleton was forced out of Leghorn road. These demands surprised the prince on whom they were made; especially when he understood how large a sum was expected from him, not less in the whole than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which, however, was moderated to sixty thousand pounds; and this sum there is reason to believe was actually paid<sup>o</sup>.

Thence he proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March 1655, and anchored without the mole, sending an officer to the dey to demand satisfaction for the piracies that had been formerly committed on the English, and the immediate release of all captives belonging to his nation. The dey answered very modestly, that as for the ships and slaves they were now the property of private persons, from whom he could not take them with safety to himself; but that he would make it his care they should be speedily redeemed upon easy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hostilities being committed on the English for the future<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 345. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 609. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 507. Thurloe's collections, vol. iii. p. 41, 103. Most of the princes of Italy were alarmed at the sailing of this fleet. The Pope was no sooner informed of its arrival in the Mediterranean, than he gave orders for the removal of the great treasure at Loretto, with a view of defeating any design the protector might have formed as to the plundering that rich monastery, which some industriously spread abroad (not knowing the real secret) was his principal aim.

<sup>p</sup> Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 349. Bates's celenus motuum, part ii. p. 205. Manly's hist. of the rebellion, p. 273. Vie de Cromwell, tome ii. p. 348, 349.

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

The other fleet being also in readiness, and composed of about thirty ships of war, and a convenient number of transports, the protector resolved it should sail in the month of December 1654. Admiral Penn had the chief command, and under him were vice-admiral Goodson and rear-admiral Blagge. The commander of the land-forces was colonel Venables, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was secretly in the king's interest, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to restore him. The troops consisted of about five thousand men, amongst whom many were royalists, and the rest so little satisfied with the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Heath's chronicle, p. 374, 375. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 377. See admiral Blake's letter to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, dated aboard the George in Calary bay, the 17th of April, 1655, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 390. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 220. <sup>2</sup> Echard, Keane, Rapin, and other English historians. Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 405, 527. See the protector's letter to Blake, dated June 13, 1655, commending his courage and conduct, p. 547.

ceptor's administration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them<sup>†</sup>.

Venables had desired of Cromwell, that great care might be taken in furnishing arms and ammunition; that his forces might be properly chosen, and that himself might not be fettered by his instructions. In all these he soon found himself disappointed; his provision was not only short, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very sparingly supplied, and in a manner fitter for show than service; his troops were either raw or invalids; and by his instructions he was tied up from doing any thing without the consent of others<sup>‡</sup>. Before he could acquire any certain knowledge of these particulars, he was hurried on board at Portsmouth, whence he immediately sailed for Barbadoes<sup>§</sup>.

The fleet arrived in Carlisle bay on the 29th of January 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the inhabitants of the island of Barbadoes, where they staid some time, in order to recruit and make the necessary preparations for their intended descent on the island of Hispaniola. We have been long taught blindly to admire the wisdom and conduct of Cromwell in his enterprizes, but certainly this was the worst managed that ever our nation undertook. General Venables found himself deficient in all sorts of necessaries; and, which was worse, found admiral Penn very little inclined to afford him even the assistance that was in his power. He expostulated with him to no purpose, which made the wretchedness of his and their condition so apparent, that one of their fellow-commissioners said plainly, "He doubted they were betrayed." It was, however, too late to look back; and, besides, abundance of volunteers resorted to Barbadoes from all our plantations, in order to share the riches that were to be taken from the Spaniards; so that Venables saw

<sup>†</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 576. Heath's chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

<sup>‡</sup> The only just and genuine account of this expedition is to be found in Burchet's naval history, which was drawn up at the time, from the examination of Penn, Venables, and the superior officers in that expedition.

<sup>§</sup> Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

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himself under a necessity of proceeding, notwithstanding he was thoroughly satisfied they were in no condition to proceed <sup>v</sup>.

From Barbadoes, the fleet sailed on the last of March to St. Christopher's, where they met with another supply of volunteers; so that when they embarked for Hispaniola, Venables had under his command the greatest body of European troops that had ever been seen in that part of the world, his army consisting of very near ten thousand men. It must, however, be observed, that they were in the worst temper in the world for making conquests. Most of them, when they left England, did it with a view to make their fortunes; but now the commissioners (of whom Venables indeed was one, but of a different opinion from all the rest) told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had like to have thrown them into a general mutiny, and it was with much ado that the officers pacified them with a promise of six weeks pay, which the commissioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this situation things were, when they embarked for Hispaniola <sup>x</sup>.

They arrived before the city of St. Domingo, and general Venables proposed, that they should sail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the sea-officers, who proposed landing at the river Hine; for which purpose, part of the squadron was detached under the command of vice-admiral Goodson, who, when at sea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ships into the mouth of the river, and therefore the troops were compelled to land at the west point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody

<sup>v</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 365. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 349. Davies's History of the civil wars, p. 346. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 494. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 270. See Mr. Edward Winslow's letter to secretary Thurloc, dated Barbadoes, March 16, 1654. This gentleman, as some say, was intended to have been governor of one of the islands, if death had not interposed. The post he filled appears clearly in his letter. Gage, the priest, the principal promoter of this business, died likewise. Thurloc's state papers, vol. iii. p. 249.

<sup>x</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 369. Bates's *elencus motuum*, part ii. p. 209. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 51. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 214, 215. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 271.

country, without any guide; infomuch, that numbers of men and horses, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water, were destroyed.

After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been at first put on shore; but by that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the island, and had recovered from their first surprize. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his regiment near Hine river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox the guide, to march away; and, for want of this guide, the general and his forces marched ten or twelve miles out of their road. Exasperated with these disappointments, and the hardships they had undergone, the regiment of seamen, under the command of admiral Goodson, mutinied first, and then the land-troops; so that the general had much ado to prevail on them to ford the river. At length colonel Buller and Cox the guide joined them, and promised to conduct them to a place where they might be supplied with water; but the colonel taking the liberty of straggling for the sake of pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of these skirmishes Cox, their only guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were at last repulsed, and pursued within cannon-shot of the town.

In this distressed condition, a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to march to the harbour in the best manner they could, which with much difficulty they effected. There they staid three or four days, to furnish themselves with provisions, and other necessaries, and then with a single mortar-piece, marched into the island again, to reduce the fort. The vanguard was commanded by adjutant-general Jackson, who as soon as he was attacked by the Spaniards, ran away, and his troops after him. The passage through the woods being very narrow, they pressed on the general's regiment, who in vain endeavoured to stop them with their pikes. They likewise disordered major-general Haines's

7 Heath's chronicle, p. 370. Davics's history of the civil wars, p. 347. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 271, 272. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 215, 216. Barchet's naval History, p. 392.

regiment, which gave the enemy, who followed very eagerly, and afforded no quarter, great advantage; so that the major-general, and the bravest of the officers, who, like Englishmen, preferred death before flight, ended their days here. At last, general Venables and vice-admiral Goodson, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-aways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithstanding the fire from the fort was very warm<sup>2</sup>.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Heath's chronicle, p. 371. Davies' hist. of the rebellion, p. 348. Manley's hist. of the rebellion, p. 272. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 217. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 495, 496. See colonel Daniel's relation of their defeat. See also a letter from Venables and Buller, to the protector, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 504—508, 509—511.

the fourteenth of April to the first of May, when this resolution of sailing to Jamaica was taken<sup>a</sup>.

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

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

<sup>a</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 579. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 209. Heath's chronicle, p. 372. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, p. 348. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 376. Burchet's naval hist. p. 394. There are various relations of this unlucky business in Mr. Secretary Thurloe's collections: we shall point out a few, for the ease of the inquisitive reader. It appears, from a perusal of the different papers, that from the discord and animosities which subsisted through the whole expedition among the principal persons concerned therein, it was impossible any success should have attended it, vol. iii. p. 565, 646, 659, 689, 754.

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's naval hist. p. 394.

<sup>c</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 372. Burchet, p. 394.

quantity of provisions should be sent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his soldiers strength and spirits; and in a short time their negotiations ended in a complete surrender of the island to the English, as appears by the articles, which the reader may find at large in several of our historians<sup>d</sup>.

General Venables finding himself in a very weak condition, desired the consent of the commissioners to open their ultimate instructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In these he found he had power, in case of necessity, to resign his command, which he did accordingly to general Fortescue; upon this, admiral Penn followed his example, and delivered up his charge to vice-admiral Goodson, with whom he left a stout squadron of ships, and with the rest of the fleet returned to England. In their passage home, they fell in with the Spanish plate-fleet, in the gulf of Florida, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of instructions, at this distance, it is hard to determine<sup>e</sup>.

Immediately after the arrival of Penn and Venables, which was in the month of September 1655, they were both committed close prisoners to the Tower, to satisfy the clamours of the people, who then (as it often happens) laid the greatest blame on him who least deserved it<sup>f</sup>. All that the protector insisted

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 579. Hesth's chronicle, p. 372. Bates's clencus motuum, part ii. p. 209. Manley's hist. of the rebellion, p. 272. Burchet's naval history, p. 394. who reduces the articles of the capitulation to four. Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 565, 649, 674, 682, 753, 755. See general Penn's account to Oliver's council, of his voyage to the West Indies, given the 12th of September, 1655, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 28.

<sup>e</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 376. Burchet's naval hist. p. 395. See the commission to Fortescue, appointing him commander in chief of the forces, signed by Penn. See the like to Goodson; together with a long paper of instructions, appointing him admiral of the fleet. See Penn's letter to the protector, on his arrival at Spithead, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 752.

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 629, 630. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, p. 348. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 219. Ludlow, in his memoirs, vol. ii. p. 496. says, Penn was committed to the Tower, and Venables confined to his lodging, his distemper excusing him from a stricter imprisonment. See secretary Thurloe's letter to Henry Cromwell, dated the 25th of September, 1655, in the fourth volume of his state papers, p. 55.



on was, that they should confess their faults, in leaving their respective charges; and he promised to release them upon their submission. This Penn quickly did, and was accordingly discharged; but Venables absolutely refused it, always insisting that he had committed no fault, since, in case of inability to execute his duty, his instructions permitted him to resign his command<sup>a</sup>.

His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reason; for as to what is said of his suffering the Spaniards to carry off their effects from the city of St. Jago to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the soldiers of their paymaster, it appears to be a gross calumny, for several reasons<sup>b</sup>. For first, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loss to the soldiers, but quite the contrary; since, if they had now fallen into their hands, the commissioners would have seized them for the protector's use, in pursuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this respect, without the consent of the other commissioners; and lastly, it appears by the most authentic account we have of this affair, that the officers and soldiers were so far from being dissatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to represent their grievances at home, and to procure redress; which he did, as far as was in his power<sup>c</sup>.

The reason of his being first aspersed was, a persuasion that he was a confident and creature of Cromwell's; which is so far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command merely to get him out of his way<sup>d</sup>. The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's scheme, which was not either

<sup>a</sup> See general Penn's letter to secretary Thurloe, expressing his ardent desire for leave to come to London, to render the protector an account of his proceedings in the West Indies, dated Swiftsure, Spithead, September 3, 1655. Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 6, 117, 177. Burchet's naval hist. p. 395. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 629. <sup>b</sup> British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 306.

<sup>c</sup> See general Venables's letter to the protector, dated aboard the Marlton-moor, in Portsmouth road, Sept. 9, 1655, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 21. See his letter to secretary Thurloe, p. 22. All these facts the reader will find in the copious account of this voyage in Burchet.

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 575. Heath's chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 184, 185.



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

Admiral Blake's fleet continued all this time in the Mediterranean, and was now in the road to Cadiz, where he received the greatest civilities from the Spaniards, and lived on the best terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was struck at Jamaica, Cromwell, to the best of his power, carefully concealed his design to make war upon them. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately against him, and seized the effects of all the English merchants in their dominions, to an immense value; an incident which seems not to have been sufficiently considered, by those who cry up the protector's conduct so highly<sup>m</sup>. This war, as we have before ob-

<sup>l</sup> The reader will find these facts fully proved in the various places we have referred him to, in the third and fourth volumes of secretary Thurloe's state papers. Burchet's naval history, p. 391. <sup>m</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 366, 374, 377. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 609, 629. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 52. Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 29, 20, 21, 24, 55, 79. See the petition and remonstrance of the English merchants to the protector. The Spaniards are reported to have seized fourscore sail of ships, and more, and effects, to the value of a million sterling. We are told by Ludlow, in his memoirs, vol. ii. p. 494. that the Spanish ambassador, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then residing in England, having received intelligence that the fleet under Penn and Venables was certainly gone to the West Indies, and that the storm was like to fall upon some of his master's territories, made application to Cromwell, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the king his master; and if so, that he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. Cromwell demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquisition. To which the ambassador replied, that his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. That the goods of the English merchants in Spain were seized for want of timely notice to withdraw their effects; and that major Walters, and others concerned with him, lost thirty thousand pounds, that were due to them from his Catholic majesty, for the transportation of Irish soldiers into the Spanish service.

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served, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own advantage, from a prospect of supplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the necessity of calling parliaments<sup>a</sup>. It is true, that in public declarations, he talked much of his regard to trade, and his concern for the freedom of navigation; and no doubt he was sincere in this, so far as it was consistent with his own power, and not a jot beyond it, otherwise he would have considered the profits of our national trade with Spain, which were at that time very great, the French having never interfered, and the Dutch being utterly disliked by the Spaniards. At least he should have taken care, by some timely hint, to enable so great a body as the merchants trading to Spain then were, to have withdrawn their effects; and the neglect of this was not the effect of any inattention, a thing impossible while Thurloe had the management of his affairs, but the pure consequence of public interest clashing with his private views; and therefore, throughout the whole transaction, he appears to have been a great politician, but no patriot. I say nothing as to his breach of the law of nations, in attacking the Spaniards, without any previous declaration; because, in the first place, this was not very inconsistent with the principles on which his government was founded; and next, the Spaniards had broke through all rules of true policy, as well as decorum, in acknowledging and courting him as they did; and therefore felt no more than the just effects of their own refinements.

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

<sup>a</sup> Bates's history of the troubles in England, part ii. p. . . .  
<sup>o</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 586. Heath's chronicle, p. 381. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, p. 351. Manley's hist. of the rebellion, p. 274. Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 100, 107, 117, 443, 531, &c.

Montague

Montague executed their orders with equal skill and industry, taking care to obtain a supply of fresh provisions and water, as often as they had occasion, from the Portugal coast. Thither for that purpose they had sailed with the greatest part of the fleet, when the squadron from the Indies approached Cadiz. Rear-admiral Stayner, with seven frigates, plied to and fro, till these eight large ships were in view, which he presently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his vessels, because they lay very low in the water, for fishermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the *Speaker*, the *Bridgewater*, and the *Plymouth*, he did his business; and, after an obstinate engagement, sunk two, run two more a-ground, and took two of the Spanish vessels, so that two only escaped<sup>p</sup>.

In one of those that were destroyed was the marquis of Badajox, of the family of Lopez, who had been governor of Peru for the king of Spain, and perished miserably, with the marchioness his wife, and their daughter; the eldest son and his brother were saved, and brought safe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them that was sunk. The admiral who carried the flag, (for concealing the richest ship), with the Portugal prize, recovered the shore. Soon after, general Montague, with the young marquis of Badajox, and part of the fleet to escort the silver, returned into England, delivered the bullion into the mint; and, upon his earnest interposition, the young marquis was set at liberty<sup>q</sup>. For this a thanksgiving, with

<sup>p</sup> Clarendon, ubi supra. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 332. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 560. Bates's *clencus motuum*, part iii. page 112. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, page 383. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 275. Captain Richard Stayner's relation of this action, in a letter addressed to the generals of the fleet. The letters of the generals Blake and Montague to the protector; and that of the last mentioned admiral to secretary Thurloe.

<sup>q</sup> In the letters before referred to, the deplorable fate of this illustrious family is painted in very moving terms; and the reader, perhaps, will not be displeas'd to learn from them some particulars. The marchioness and her eldest daughter, a young lady of fifteen years of age, who was to have espoused the son of the duke of Medina-Celi, seeing the vessel in flames, were so terrified that

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with a narrative to be read thereon, was appointed by the parliament, who issued their declaration of war against Spain<sup>r</sup>.

The protector took a great deal of care of his new conquest, Jamaica; and within a very short time after the return of Penn and Venables, sent a considerable supply thither, and a squadron of men of war. These troops were commanded by colonel Humphreys, but major Sedgwick went with him, and had a commission to be governor of the island<sup>s</sup>. When they came thither, they found things in a much better posture than they expected. Colonel Doily, to whom Fortescue, on account of sickness, had resigned his command, was a person so indefatigable, that he had subdued all the opposition he met with, and driven the Spaniards out of the island, notwithstanding they had fortified themselves in two or three places very strongly, and had been abundantly supplied with artillery and ammunition from Cuba<sup>t</sup>.

It is easy to account for the different behaviour of these men here, and at Hispaniola. They fought there for the profit of

that they fell down in a swoon, and were burned. The vice-roy, her lord, had opportunity sufficient to have escaped; but when he saw his lady and daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, in that dreadful situation, unable to survive their loss, he said, he would die where they died; and tenderly embracing the former, perished with them, together with one of their sons. Two sons, and three daughters, one of the latter an infant of twelve months old, with ninety other persons, the wretched remains of this scene of horror and ruin, were saved. General Montague is very copious in his praises of the young marquis, whom he describes as a most ingenious, learned, and accomplished youth of about sixteen. Soon after their arrival in England, this young nobleman and his brother were brought from Chelsea, where they resided, and presented to the protector at Whitehall, who treated them with great kindness and generosity, and in a short space, as we have before observed, set them at liberty.

<sup>r</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 653, where we find, that the thanks also of the parliament, by the speaker, were, in pursuance of their resolution, given to general Montague, for his great services done to the commonwealth by sea, on his taking his seat in the house.

<sup>s</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Heath's chronicle, p. 377. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 348. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 272. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 532. See the protector's proclamation, inviting merchants and others to settle in the island, in Whitlocke's state papers, vol. iii. p. 753.

<sup>t</sup> British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 308.

others,

others, but at this time for their own. They were then utterly unacquainted with the climate, and so less able to bear it; whereas they were in some measure seasoned to it: yet this Colonel Doily, who did so much for the colony, was to be removed at all events from the government, because he had been formerly a cavalier. Sedgwick, however, who was to have been his successor, quickly died, and so did Fortescue; and Humphreys, according to his orders, returned home with a small fleet. Upon this the protector dispatched another thousand men from Scotland, with one Colonel Brayne, who was to take the government out of Colonel Doily's hands; but he likewise dying, almost as soon as he set his foot on the island, Doily still continued in the exercise of his authority, and with great skill and integrity managed all things there to the time of the Restoration; and then Jamaica was become, through his care and vigilance, a very considerable, and, for the time it had been settled, a very populous plantation <sup>u</sup>.

We are now to return to the proceedings of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till the month of April 1657; and having then information of another plate-fleet, which had put into the haven of Santa-cruz in the island of Teneriff, he immediately sailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20th of April <sup>w</sup>. Here he found the flota, consisting of six galleons very richly laden, and ten other vessels. The latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, because they drew too much water to ly within it. The port itself was strongly fortified, having on the north a large castle well supplied with artillery, and seven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with musketeers. The Spanish governor thought the place so secure, and his own dispositions so well made, that when the master of a Dutch ship desired leave to sail, because he apprehended Blake would presently at-

<sup>t</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 533. British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 309, 310. <sup>u</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 557. See the whole of these transactions in a treatise intitled, Jamaica viewed, with all the ports, harbours, &c. by E. H. i. e. Edmund Hickeringshill, London, 1661, 8vo. <sup>w</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 600. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 357. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 383.

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attack the ships in the harbour, the Spaniard answered tartly, "Get you gone, if you will, and let Blake come, if he dares \*."

The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attempt destroying the enemy's ships; for it was impossible to bring them off; and to this end he sent captain Stayner with a squadron to attack them, who soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ships much disturbance. Stayner's squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole fleet, who boarded the Spanish galleons, and in a few hours made himself master of them all, and then set them on fire; so that the whole Spanish fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ships which sunk outright; and then, the wind veering to S. W. he passed with his fleet safe out of the port again, losing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about 120 wounded. It was without question the boldest undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed, and the Spaniards, who are romantic enough in their own conduct, were so much astonished at his, that they quite lost their spirits, and thenceforward never thought themselves safe either from numbers or fortifications †.

When the protector had the news of this glorious success, he immediately sent it by his secretary Thurloe to the parliament then sitting; and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be set apart for a thanksgiving, a ring of the value of 500 pounds to the general as a testimony of his country's gratitude, a present of 100 to the captain who brought the news, and their thanks to all the officers and soldiers concerned in the action ‡.

\* Heath's chron. p. 391. Bates's *elencus motuum*, part ii. p. 227. † Man-ley's history of the rebellion, p. 274, 275. The perfect politician, or the life and actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 228, 229. See the letter of Thomas Maynard, Esq; the English consul at Lisbon, to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, acquainting him with the news of this great victory, dated the 6th of June, 1657, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. vi. p. 312. ‡ Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 601. Heath's chronicle, p. 392. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 357. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, Baſſes, Echard, Kennet, Rapin. † Heath's chronicle, p. 392. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 661. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 321. See the protector's letter to general Blake upon this occasion, dated Whitehall, June 10, 1657, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. vi. p. 342.



Captain Richard Stayner, returning soon after, was knighted by the protector<sup>b</sup>: nor was it long before Blake and the fleet returned, which put an end to the Spanish war by sea; for the protector had lately entered into a closer conjunction with France, and, in consequence thereof, sent over a body of land-forces into Flanders, where they assisted in taking the fortress and port of Dunkirk, which was delivered into the hands of the English, who kept it till after the Restoration<sup>c</sup>.

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

This was in the year 1658; but it was so late in the season, that the squadron was not able to reach Copenhagen for the ice<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 392. who (says he) deserved that honour from a better hand, nor did his merit miss it. See the list of Oliver's lords, baroners, and knights, at the end of the perfect politician, or life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 263.

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 640, 644. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 560, 562, 671. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 665, 673, 674. Thurloe's state papers, vol. vi. p. 33, 63, 87, 337. vol. vii. pp. 151, 155, 156, 160, 169, 173. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv. p. 174—179. Memoires pour servir a l'histoire d'Anne d'Autriche, par madame de Motteville, tome v. p. 267—271. edit. 1750. Quincy histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tome i. p. 233—236.

<sup>d</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 665. Heath's chronicle, p. 397. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 228, 229. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 383. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xiii. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iii. liv. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 521. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome i. liv. 13. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iii. liv. 11. <sup>f</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 416. Thurloe's state papers, vol. vii. p. 422, 509, 510, 513, 528, 529, 541, 550, 581.

All expeditions by sea are liable to great uncertainty, even when planned with the greatest skill. The protector and his council projected this. Sir George Ayscue went in a Swedish ship with a number of gallant officers attached to him, and resolved to follow his fortunes; but the English squadron was commanded by vice-admiral Goodson, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George, when he published his Swedish commission. But, this fleet being long retarded by contrary winds, the protector died in the mean time. However, Richard, pursuing his father's scheme, had sent it; and on account of the ice, as is before mentioned, this fleet returned again to England, without effecting any thing, to the great joy of the Danes and the Dutch. This disappointment, joined to the many difficulties arisen upon the demise of Oliver, it was generally conceived that the English would have meddled no farther in this affair<sup>a</sup>. It proved otherwise, however; for a stout fleet was fitted out, and sent into the Baltic under the command of admiral Montague, who had acquired a great reputation by serving in conjunction with Blake. He had, besides his commission of admiral, another, whereby he was joined in the negociation in the north with the ambassadors Sidney and Honeywood<sup>b</sup>. He arrived at Copenhagen, and managed his affairs with great dexterity; for he avoided coming to blows, that he might not begin a new Dutch war, compelled the king of Sweden, by talking to him in a proper style, to think of peace, to which he was otherwise very little inclined, and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of those high offices with which he was intrusted, he entertained a secret correspondence with the king, and disposed all things on board the fleet for his service<sup>c</sup>.

When measures were concerted for Sir George Booth's rising, which was the last attempt made in favour of his majesty before his restoration, notice of it was given to admiral Montague at

<sup>a</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 553.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 656, 730. Heath's chronicle, p. 416. Thurloe's state papers, vol. vii. p. 626, 636.

<sup>c</sup> See general Montague's letters to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as also to the Dutch admiral Opdam. See his letter to secretary Thurloe. See the protector Richard Cromwell's letter to general Montague in Thurloe's state papers, vol. vii. p. 644, 651, 666. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 700. Heath's chronicle, p. 416.

Copenhagen, who instantly resolved to return to England. His fellow-ambassadors, who were very able men, and very hearty republicans, had by this time gained some intelligence of his intercourse with the king, and therefore intended to have seized him in case he came ashore<sup>k</sup>. He was wise enough never to put it in their power, and took care also to run no risk in returning without orders; for having called a council of war, he complained to them that provisions grew short, and that it would be a very difficult thing to supply themselves in that part of the world, there being a Dutch fleet there at the same time. Upon this it was unanimously resolved to sail home immediately; and this resolution was no sooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor, and returned to England<sup>l</sup>, very opportunely, and very unexpectedly.

On his arrival he found things in quite another situation than he expected, Sir George Booth had been defeated and taken prisoner, and the old parliament was again restored; so that admiral Montague, though he had forty sail of stout ships under his command, and the seamen much at his devotion, yet thought it safest to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in September 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his house in the country<sup>m</sup>. The command of the fleet was then intrusted with admiral Lawson, who continued in the channel with a larger squadron of ships than ordinary, till general Monk came out of Scotland<sup>n</sup>. As soon as the designs of that great man began to ripen, he proposed that Montague should be recalled, and re-  
restored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the supreme power in maritime affairs vested in him and Monk<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 731. Heath's chronicle, p. 426. See Algernon Sydney's letter to the council of state, dated Copenhagen, August 21, 1659, complaining bitterly of the general's sailing without his concurrence and that of his colleagues.  
<sup>l</sup> Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 732. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 282. Heath's chronicle, p. 426.  
<sup>m</sup> Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 728. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 666. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 690. A perfect diurnal of every day's proceedings in parliament, London, 1659, 4to, N<sup>o</sup>. 1. p. 3.  
<sup>n</sup> Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 729. Heath's chronicle, p. 439. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 697. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 863. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 264.

Admiral Montague went instantly to his command, and was not a little surprized to find that Lawson and the rest of the officers were much better inclin'd to the intended change than he expected; and therefore he did not much dissemble either his inclinations or intentions. On the fourth of April 1660, he received his Majesty's letter, and caused it to be read publicly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders, he sailed for Holland, and sent an officer to the Hague, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him<sup>p</sup>.

We have thus, without entering deep into politics, run through the naval transactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the most eminent seamen who flourished therein to employ our care. But, previous to this, it may not be improper to observe, that it was wholly owing to the unanimity of our sailors, and their generous disregard to domestic broils, that we obtained so many glorious victories at sea, and spread the terror of the English name abroad, when the English nation at home was on the brink of destruction; that the parliament followed the king's steps exactly, in claiming the honour of the flag, asserting the sovereignty of the seas, and looking with a jealous eye on the encroachments of the French and Dutch; that in all our naval expeditions we came off with honour, and mostly with victory; whereas, in conjunct expeditions, wherein land were joined with sea forces, we were less fortunate; that our readiness in protecting trade, and resolution to revenge any insults on our honour, contributed not a little to

<sup>p</sup> See the king's letter to the generals of the navy at sea, together with his Majesty's declaration to the captains, commanders, and seamen belonging to the fleet, &c. London, 1660, 4to. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 768. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 702. Sir Phillip Warwick's memoirs, p. 435. Heath's chronicle, p. 446. In the minutes of the journal of admiral Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, printed in Kennet's chronicle, p. 144. that noble person tells us, that Sir John Grenville came on board the Naseby, on Thursday, May the tenth, about ten of the clock at night, with a message from general Monk, that the king's friends judged his Majesty's present repair to London was absolutely necessary; and therefore desired him to sail, and wait the king over, which he promised to do; and sent Sir John over in the Speaker, to assure the king the fleet should attend him, which it accordingly did, the admiral sailing for the Dutch coast the next day.

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the extending our commerce, and raising our reputation; lastly, that these advantages were all the nation had to balance a multitude of misfortunes, our country being harassed and destroyed by contending parties, our industry discouraged by so long a war, and most of our manufactures ruined.

On the other hand, the iniquitous oppressions, the hypocritical dissimulations, the scandalous outrages on our most excellent constitution, were so notorious, that we must have become very despicable in the eyes of our neighbours, but for the courage and conduct of our seamen<sup>9</sup>. Amongst whom, all parties have agreed to give the first rank to one who brought no other qualities than good sense, and a bold spirit, when he assumed the command of the English fleet; and yet soon became the ablest sailor in it, and as such claims our first regard.

### M E M O I R S O F A D M I R A L B L A K E.

**H**IS descent was very honourable, the family from which he sprung having been long settled at Plansfield, in the parish of Spaxton in Somersetshire<sup>r</sup>. Mr. Humphry Blake, his father, was a Spanish merchant, and having acquired a considerable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a small estate in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, where his family had been long settled. He had several children, of whom the eldest was Robert, whose life we are now to write. He was born in the month of August 1598, and, during his father's lifetime, was educated at a free school in Bridgewater<sup>s</sup>. He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he was first a member of St. Alban's-hall, and next of Wadham-college. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one disappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the university, when he had staid there seven years<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> See the conclusion of Lord Clarendon's history, and of Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. <sup>r</sup> Wood's fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 203. Lives, British and foreign, vol. ii. p. 75. <sup>s</sup> Wood, ubi supra. <sup>t</sup> Lives, English and foreign, vol. ii. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 601. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 243.

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

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

In 1643 we find him at Bristol, under the command of colonel Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, in which he first gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for, on the 26th of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake still held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces. This exasperated Prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience

Sir Philip War-  
3. Lives, British  
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bellion, vol. vi. p.  
ver Cromwell, p.

<sup>u</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602.

<sup>w</sup> Lives Eng-  
ish and foreign, vol. ii. p. 76. Rushworth's collections, under the year 1640.  
p. 1111.

<sup>x</sup> Wood's fasti Oxon, vol. i. col. 204. Bates's cencus. mo-  
num, part ii. p. 228. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver  
Cromwell, p. 228.

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in war; and at their request, though not without much difficulty, he was at last prevailed on to give up the fort <sup>γ</sup>.

After this he served in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, who was governor of Lyme, to whose regiment Blake was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greatest part of the regiment were Somersetshire men, he had so good an intelligence in those parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprized Taunton for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition <sup>z</sup>. In 1644, he was constituted governor of that place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the parliament had in the west. The works about it were far from being strong. He had no very numerous garrison; yet, by keeping a strict discipline, and treating the townsmen well, he made a shift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furnish him with supplies, and notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces.

At length general Goring came before the place with near ten thousand men, and pressed Blake so close, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took from him a part of the town. However, he held out the rest of it and the castle with wonderful obstinacy till relief came; for which extraordinary service the parliament gave the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and honoured colonel Blake with a present of five hundred pounds. All who have preserved the memory of the signal events in that unhappy war, allow this to have been a singularly gallant and soldier-like action <sup>a</sup>.

Colonel Blake, in April 1646, marched with a detachment from his garrison, and reduced Dunster-castle, a seat belonging to the ancient family of Lutterel, the troops posted therein having given great disturbance to the country; which was the last military achievement he performed during this war <sup>b</sup>. On the

<sup>γ</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602. <sup>z</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 95. Rushworth's collections, under the year 1644, p. 685. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 113. <sup>a</sup> Rushworth's collections, under the year 1645, p. 28. Heath's chronicle, p. 76, 77, 81. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 135, 144, 151, 161. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 107, 144, 146. <sup>b</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 106. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 204. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, p. 187. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 171.

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twenty-fourth of December following, the parliament ordered five hundred pounds to be paid him for disbanding some forces<sup>c</sup>. When the parliament voted that no further addresses should be made to the king, Blake, as governor of Taunton, was prevailed upon to join in an address of thanks to the house of commons, for having taken this step. I say, prevailed upon; because this could never have been agreeable to his own sentiments if what the writer of his life tells us be true, that, when the king came to be tried, Blake disapproved that measure as barbarous in itself, and illegal in its nature; insomuch that he was frequently heard to say, "He would as freely venture his life to save the king, as ever he did to serve the parliament<sup>d</sup>."

This expression; however, we must attribute rather to the generosity of his temper, than to his political principles; since, after the king was murdered, he fell in roundly with the republican party, and, next to Cromwell and Ireton, he was the ablest and most successful officer they had. One would wonder how so honest and disinterested a person could take a share in such measures as were certainly contrived by men of quite another stamp; but it seems he satisfied himself in all these changes with the integrity of his own purpose, of adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's interest, and exerting his utmost capacity to exalt her glory. These, though noble qualifications of themselves, gave men of less honour, and more cunning, an opportunity of using his great abilities and undaunted courage for the furtherance of their own private views, with which he grew afterwards very uneasy, and some say his discontent swelled so high, that it became at length a mortal disease.

It is not easy to guess what induced the parliament to make choice of him; who had always served as a horse-officer, to take the supreme command of the fleet. All our historians and memoir-writers are silent as to their motive; and therefore I hope the reader will excuse me if I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themselves the rank, though not the title, of states-general, and therefore might be inclined to make use of deputies for the direction both of fleets

<sup>c</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 237.  
vol. ii. p. 87.

<sup>d</sup> Lives English and foreign,

and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by such as were skilful in their profession, either as seamen or soldiers; for, in their judgment, to command was one thing, and to act another. On the 12th of February 1648-9, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy, and upon the 21st an act passed, as we have elsewhere taken notice, appointing him, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, to command the fleet. His first service was driving Prince Rupert's fleet from the Irish coast, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave his masters high satisfaction, both in respect to his capacity and his fidelity in their service, which they likewise acknowledged very obligingly<sup>c</sup>. His conduct indeed was equally prudent and successful; for it not only put an end to that kind of piratical war, which did so much damage to trade, but also struck such a terror into the Spaniards and Portugueze, as to prevent all those disputes which otherwise would have naturally happened on the appearance of so new a power in Europe, as the commonwealth of England.

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

In March following, colonel Blake, colonels Popham and Deane, or any two of them, were again appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year

<sup>c</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 381, 383.  
p. 497, 498. Lives English and foreign, vol. ii. p. 92, 93.

<sup>f</sup> Whitlocke's memorials,

ensuing, in which he reduced the islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was, on the 25th of November, elected one of the council of state. When the necessity of a Dutch war became apparent, the parliament gave the highest testimony of their sense of his merit, and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by constituting him, in March 1652, sole general of the fleet for nine months. But though I mention this as a proof that they were apprehensive of the war, yet, as I have said elsewhere, there is no appearance of their judging a rupture to be so near as it really was; otherwise they would certainly have sent Blake to sea with a better fleet. We have already given a distinct account of the first battle in the Downs, on the 19th of May, 1652, excepting some circumstances which relate to Blake, and which were therefore reserved for this place.

When he observed Van Tromp bore nearer his fleet than he had any occasion to do, he saluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of striking sail; upon which the Dutchman, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which Van Tromp answered with a broadside: the English admiral perceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Tromp upon that point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, and a national quarrel: when Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations (the English admiral coming with a design to treat), fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The admiral was in his cabin drinking with some officers, little expecting to be saluted, when the shot broke the windows of the ship, and shattered the stern, which put him into a vehement passion, so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do whenever he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, "he took it very ill of Van Tromp that he should take his ship for a bawdy-house, and break his windows." Blake singly sustained the shock of the Dutch fleet for some time, till his own ships,

§ Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 459. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 525. Heath's chronicle, p. 314. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 254.

and the Squadron under major Bourne could join them; and then the engagement grew hot on both, and bloody on the enemy's side, till night put an end to it<sup>h</sup>.

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

In the beginning of July, finding Sir George Ayscue returned from Barbadoes, and a force sufficient to guard the Downs, he resolved to sail northwards, to execute a design he had long meditated, of destroying the herring-fishery, which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the Dutch of the folly of disputing our sovereignty in our own seas. This appears to have been the most judicious scheme laid down through the whole war; because it tended to clear the ground of the quarrel, and to shew the Dutch their error in disputing with a nation, who had it in their power to distress them at any time in the tenderest part; that which afforded a subsistence to many, and was the main source of wealth to all<sup>l</sup>.

On the second of July, Blake bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the Dutch fishing vessels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men of war.

<sup>h</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 533. Davies's hist. of the civil wars, p. 328. Lives English and foreign, vol. ii. p. 99. <sup>l</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 534. <sup>k</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 322. Vie de Cromwell. <sup>l</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 540. Heath's chronicle, p. 322. Histoire de Holland par M. de la Neuville, tome iii. p. 66.

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Blake attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great supply of fresh men from the vessels under their care, fought bravely, and sold their freedom dearly; but at last were every one taken, which left the fishery intirely at the admiral's mercy, who upon this occasion shewed the rectitude of his heart, and the solicity of his understanding; for having first threatened those buikes with utter destruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their ladings, on their paying the TENTH herring, which was what King Charles demanded; and where this was refused, he sunk or drove away their ships<sup>m</sup>.

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

<sup>m</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 461. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 329. Heath's chronicle, page 342. Whitlocke, ubi supra. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 264.

<sup>n</sup> Bafnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 238. <sup>o</sup> Memoirs de Jean de Witte, p. 30.



must have quickly ended this war on any terms they had thought fit to prescribe.

I must upon this occasion take notice of the only censure I have met with on our admiral's conduct, as I find it reported by lieutenant-general Ludlow, who says, that some thought the releasing the herring-busses, and suffering the seamen to return safely into Holland, was not to be justified; because, by the help of these vessels, we might have been enabled to erect a fishery, and thereby have obtained some reparation for the damages sustained from the Dutch, and by detaining their mariners, they must have been exceedingly weakened and distressed<sup>p</sup>. There is, I must own, something very plausible in this objection; and yet, when it is thoroughly considered, I believe it will appear, that the admiral took the better course. He found most of these busses near harbours, into which they would have undoubtedly run, had he proceeded to extremities. The men on board these vessels were between six and seven thousand. To have destroyed so many, would have been an act of great cruelty, and to have taken them, considering he had already above a thousand prisoners, would, upon the whole, have proved but an imprudent step; so that, considering him as a brave man, an Englishman, and a Christian, one cannot well avoid commending him for so generous a behaviour towards enemies. The Dutch writers readily acknowledge his courtesy and magnanimity<sup>q</sup>, which I doubt not was approved by the parliament, who, however they came by their authority, used it with honour and moderation, and thereby set a proper example to the officers they employed.

His subsequent conduct during the Dutch war has been already thoroughly accounted for, and therefore I shall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the seamen easy, notwithstanding all the changes that happened in the government. He told them, it was his and their business to act faithfully in their respective stations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in

<sup>p</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 420. This charge is transcribed in column rostrata, p. 99.

<sup>q</sup> Particularly Basnage, tome 1. p. 258. and the writer of Tromp's life.

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

When he sailed in 1654 into the Mediterranean, he came in the month of December into the road of Cadiz, where he was received with great respect and civility by the Spaniards, and indeed by all nations as well as the English, who were then in port. A Dutch admiral would not wear his flag while the English admiral was in the harbour; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being separated from the rest, fell in with the French admiral and seven men of war near the Straits mouth. The captain of the victualling-sloop was ordered on board the admiral, who inquired of him where Blake was, drank his health with five guns, and so wished the captain a good voyage. The Algerines stood in such awe of him, that they were wont to stop the Sallee rovers, and, in case they had any prisoners on board, took them out, and sent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour<sup>u</sup>.

He sailed from Cadiz to Malaga, and, while he lay in that road, gave such a testimony of heroic zeal for his country's honour as was scarce ever equalled. Some of his seamen, going

<sup>r</sup> Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 357. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247. Lives English and foreign, vol. ii. p. 109.

<sup>s</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 363. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 573. <sup>t</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602.

<sup>u</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 609. Heath's chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 347. Lives English and foreign, vol. ii. p. 113, 114.

ashore, met the host as it was carrying to some sick person, and not only paid no respect thereto, but laughed at those who did. The priest who accompanied it highly resented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity; upon which they fell upon the sailors, and beat some of them very severely: When they returned on board, they complained of this ill usage, and the admiral instantly sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who was the author of this insult. The viceroy answered, that he had no authority over priests, and therefore could not send him. Upon this Blake sent a second message, that he would not enter into the question, who had power to send him; but that, if he was not sent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to save themselves, obliged the viceroy to send the priest, who, when he came on board, excused himself to the admiral on account of the behaviour of the sailors. Blake with much calmness and composure told him, that, if he had complained of this outrage, he would have punished them severely; for he would not suffer any of his men to affront the established religion of a place where he touched; but he blamed him for setting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, adding, "that he would have him and the whole world know, that none but an ENGLISHMAN should chastise an ENGLISHMAN w."

We have already mentioned the taking part of the plate-fleet by captain Stayner, an incident of such consequence to Cromwell; that the ingenious Mr. Waller wrote a poem to persuade him to lay hold of this opportunity, while the people were pleased with the sight of so much Spanish bullion, to work on their passions, and engage them to set the crown upon his head<sup>x</sup>. We have likewise entered into a detail of the celebrated action at Santa-cruz, and have shewn how glorious it was for his country and his profession, no seaman having ever attempted any thing of that kind before. But there is a circumstance yet behind, which will perhaps redound more to his own glory than even the burning of the Spanish ships in so well-fortified a port. His brother, captain Benjamin Blake, for whom he had a very tender affection, being guilty of some misdemeanour or misbehaviour in the action;

w Bishop Burnet's History of his own times, vol. i. p. 80, 81.  
 k'er's poems, p. 274.

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he was, by sentence from Blake, removed from his ship, and the command of it given to another<sup>y</sup>.

This was such an instance of disinterested discipline as must have had a very strong effect on the minds of all who served under him, so that we need not wonder such extraordinary things were performed by men so strictly tied to their duty. To say the truth, discipline is the soul of service. Men are apt to measure the consequences of things by the rewards and punishments which attend them; and if resolution purchases nothing, or neglect is easily excused, an army or a fleet may, by the help of the land-taylor and ship-carpenter, make a fine shew, but, after all, will prove a terror to none but those who are to pay them. An officer like Blake, who will do justice upon his brother, will be generally feared, highly admired, and yet sincerely beloved; his sailors will be ready to undertake any thing at his command, and his acts of courage will so far transcend what happens amongst the trifling and debauched posterity even of those heroes, that they will be glad, rather than attempt imitating, to style that temerity, which in its day passed only for a bold attempt.

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

<sup>y</sup> Lives English and foreign, vol. ii. p. 121.

<sup>z</sup> Heath's chronicle,

p. 401.

<sup>a</sup> Bates's *elencus motuum*, part ii. p. 228. Wood's *fasti Oxoniensis*, vol. i. col. 204. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 273. Mercurius politicus, No. 375.

<sup>b</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 664. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 357. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 246.

great church at Plymouth, and his corpse, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-house, from whence he resolved to have it carried in great pomp to Westminster-abbey, and there interred with the utmost solemnity, as the last mark of respect that could be paid by men to the noble spirit which once animated this tenement of clay<sup>c</sup>.

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

This was an honour which had been paid to the remains of his predecessors, Deane and Popham, by the parliament; and the protector would not be behind them in civility or magnificence, where it cost so little, and had a visible tendency to raise the credit of his administration so much. But very great offence has been taken at the removing his body after the Restoration. The writer of his life is particularly angry at this disturbing of his bones<sup>e</sup>. A late reverend author, to make the injury still greater, tells us, that, at the Restoration, his body was taken out of the grave, and flung, with others, into a

<sup>c</sup> Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 247. Heath's chronicle, p. 402. Lives English and foreign, p. 122, 123.

<sup>d</sup> Wood's fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 205. Heath, p. 400, who says, general Lambert's attendance was particularly remarked. Echard's history of England, p. 725. and other historians.

<sup>e</sup> Lives English and foreign, p. 123, 124.

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common pit<sup>s</sup>. This had been a great indignity indeed; but it luckily so happens, that the fact is not true.

An order was sent, some time after the Restoration, directing the dean and chapter of Westminster, to cause such bodies, as had been interred in that church during the troubles, to be removed; which we may the less wonder at, if we consider that Cromwell's, Ireton's, Bradshaw's, and Sir William Constable's bodies were all interred there. The order, therefore, was general, and had no sort of distinct or injurious reference to this great admiral. So far from it, that it appears, by a very authentic memorandum, that, on the 12th of September, 1661, his corpse was removed from the abbey, and decently buried in the church-yard: neither could this be called taking it out of the grave, since the coffin stood in a vault<sup>s</sup>. Nay, to shew the respect the cavaliers or royalists had for him, we need only mention the characters that have been given him, since they come all, or at least the far greatest part of them, from persons of that party.

The earl of Clarendon says, "He was the first man that declined the old tract, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that infused that portion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire, as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that

<sup>s</sup> Neale's history of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 174.

<sup>s</sup> Bishop Kennet's register and chronicle, p. 536.



“ kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements <sup>h</sup>.”

Dr. Bate, in drawing his character, says, “ He was a man deserving praise even from an enemy. Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the Scilly-islands near home; and having attained the office and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of immortal memory abroad. For he humbled the pride of France, reduced Portugal to reason, broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the shelter of their ports, suppressed the rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blameable in this, that he complied with the parricides <sup>i</sup>.” Honest Anthony Wood, who observes, that he was admired and applauded by the royalists, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praises thus: “ He was a man wholly devoted to his country’s service, resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in the performance of them. With him, valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment <sup>k</sup>.” We have a fine picture of him by Kennet, in his complete history of England, and a very fair one by Echard: to these, because the lines were never printed before, I will add a short encomium in verse.

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

In reference to the admirals Deane, Popham, and Rainborough, we have very few, scarce any, memoirs left. As to the first, he is mentioned by lord Clarendon, as a person raised by his own merit; and though this intitled him, when slain in

<sup>h</sup> History of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602.  
<sup>k</sup> Fasti Oxoniensibus, vol. i. col. 104.

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the Dutch war, to a pompous funeral in Westminster-abbey, yet no care was taken to preserve to posterity, either by tomb or inscription, the memory of those military achievements by which his reputation was acquired<sup>l</sup>. Colonel Popham was raised to the command of the fleet, rather out of regard to his fidelity to the parliament, and his being known for a gallant and well-accomplished gentleman, than for any skill in sea-affairs: and as to Rainsborough, we have already shewn how he came in, and went out of the fleet, through the prejudice of the sailors against him, particularly on the account of his promoting a very severe discipline. After this, he returned to his command in the army, where he made a considerable figure, chiefly by the favour of Cromwell, who is thought to have had a greater regard for him than for any other person; and that exposed him to the fury of the royalists, who having surpris'd him in his quarters at Doncaster, to which place he came in order to form the siege of Pomfret-castle, on his making some resistance, killed him<sup>m</sup>.

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

The commerce of England had been increasing for many years, when the civil war broke out; and there seems to be

<sup>l</sup> Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Whitlocke's memoirs, p. 559. In a letter of Mynheer Van de Perre's, one of the Dutch ambassadors, dated Westminster, July 18, 1653, N. S. it is said, that since the day of the decease of general Deane, till the day of his funeral, there had been allowed to his widow and children one hundred pounds sterling *per diem* and that an estate of six hundred pounds *per annum*, was likewise settled upon her, as a reward for the great services rendered by her husband to the commonwealth. Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 339. <sup>m</sup> Clarendon, Whitlocke, Heath, Kennet, Rapin. Bates's elencus motuum, p. 201. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 257. He was killed October 29, 1645.

good reason to believe, that it continued in a flourishing condition during the parliament's administration: but after that it certainly declined, in some measure, from foreign and unavoidable causes; and in some measure, too, from the errors of the succeeding government. In regard to the former, we must consider, that the peace of Munster in 1648, changed the face of affairs in Europe as to trade, and this altogether to our disadvantage. Before that time, the French had few or no ships: and though it be true, that our trade with France, even then, created a balance against us; yet we were no losers by it, but rather gainers on the whole, because we exported to Italy, and elsewhere, a great part of the goods we took from France. Before the treaty of Munster, we had the whole Spanish trade in our hands; whereas, afterwards, the Dutch came into a large share of it, at the same time that they managed the whole trade of the French, till, by degrees, rather through the wisdom of the French ministry, than of the nation, it was taken out of their hands also.

As to the errors of the protector's government, in respect to trade, they were great and fatal, though (not to load his memory unjustly) perhaps they arose from necessity, and were not intended. In the first place, taxes were raised much higher than in former times. He imposed sixty thousand pounds per month, by his own authority; and afterwards he procured from parliament an annual grant of two hundred thousand pounds for his civil list; four hundred thousand pounds for the expence of the navy, and seven hundred thousand pounds for the army: so that the whole revenue came to one million, three hundred thousand pounds per annum, a sum almost incredible, compared with the modest grants of former times<sup>a</sup>. In the next place, these taxes were very unequally laid; and most of those burdensome methods of levying money were then introduced, which have lain heavy upon us ever since. I say no-

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

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

thing of the violent methods taken to raise vast sums upon particular occasions, which rendered every species of property very precarious, and all together brought such a discouragement upon industry, as shewed itself in the declension of the coinage, in the lessening the number of the inhabitants of the city of London, in decreasing our shipping, and in many other instances.

But the greatest, and most mischievous of all his mistakes, as to the true interest of England, was in the affair of the Spanish war; for though the state, separately considered, might be a gainer by the vast quantity of plate taken by Blake and Montague, yet the nation lost thereby; since, if the peace had continued, we must have drawn larger sums from Spain, in payment for our manufactures; and consequently, that mighty mass of wealth, which was destroyed at Santa Cruz, was a very considerable detriment to us, as well as to the Spaniards: for if it had come into their hands, we must have had a large share of it; whereas it was buried in the sea, and so the whole amount lost to the trading interest in Europe for ever. Add to this, that in the end the Spaniards were so exceedingly reduced, that they were forced to hire Dutch ships to go to the Indies; and this opened a new scene of trade to that wise and industrious people, which otherwise had never fallen into their hands. Part indeed of these losses were concealed at that season from the sight of the nation, by the increase of our plantation-trade, of which I shall give a very succinct account.

As the ill-timed, impolitic, and uncharitable severities, exercised by the Prelates, in the reign of king Charles I. drove multitudes to New England, so the distractions of succeeding times contributed greatly to the increase of all our colonies; but more particularly Barbadoes and Virginia, which, as consisting in self-banished royalists, Cromwell, for his own ease, encouraged; and the plantation of Jamaica gave a new face to things in that part of the world, by opening several branches of commerce unknown to us before: this, together with the navigation-act, preserved us, as I have said, from feeling all the bad effects, which otherwise must have followed from the very gross mistakes in policy before-mentioned, and the  
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consequences of which, in reality, have been severely felt since.

Besides, our plantation-trade was then absolutely new, and no other state interfered in the commerce carried on in Europe, with the commodities which we then brought from those parts; insomuch, that very large and even immense estates were made in a short space of time, more especially in Barbadoes; where some, who carried over only a few hundred pounds, came in a very narrow period, to be possessed of several thousand pounds a-year, which, without question, encouraged numbers of adventurers, and enabled the English to extend their trade, and their colonies, in that part of the world, as will hereafter be more largely shewn P.

P The reader may receive satisfaction, as to the facts above-mentioned, by consulting the British empire in America, or the particular histories of our plantations. This was said before the publication of that excellent work, intitled, *The European settlements in America*, in two volumes in octavo, which alone will furnish an intelligent peruser with all he can wish to see upon this subject, and is penned with a spirit and perspicuity not to be found in the labours of any former writer.

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## C H A P. XVI.

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

**W**HEN the miseries flowing from the ruin of our old constitution had taught the nation, that the shortest as well as only way to peace and happiness, was to build up again what they had destroyed; the seamen shewed greater readiness than any other sort of men to execute this salutary design; and, without waiting for any further orders than those which came from their own officers, cheerfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coast; where, after giving new names to the ships, they received his Majesty, the duke of York, and other persons of principal quality, who had attended him, on

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board, the 23d of May, 1660, and safely landed them in Kent<sup>a</sup>.

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

In the beginning, at least, of this prince's administration, he certainly shewed a great attention to the public interest; and, as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs, so for some time he kept a strict eye on whatever related to the fleet, of which many instances occur in the memoirs of several of its principal officers. In September 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a squadron of nine men of war to Helvoetsfluys, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of Orange, who not long after died in England<sup>c</sup>.

Upon this occasion he received great honours in Holland; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people shewed for our king's nephew, the young prince of Orange, (afterwards king William), and for the English on his account, gave some jealousy to the states, or at least to such as had the principal direction of affairs, which was increased by a memorial presented by the princess at her departure, recommending her son to their care, and desiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his ancestors had enjoyed. On the twenty-fourth of the same month the fleet returned; and his Majesty and the duke of York going

<sup>a</sup> See the close of the earl of Clarendon's history. Heath's chronicle, p. 450. Whitlocke's memoirs, p. 700, 701. who is pleased to observe, that the soldiers at this time were quite altered from their former principles and masters: but the best account is in the earl of Sandwich's journal, a MS. in the hands of the honorable Edward Wortley Montague, Esq; Sir William Lower's account of this voyage.

<sup>b</sup> Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 445. Continuation of Baker's chronicle, by Mr. Edward Philips, from the manuscript papers of the duke of Albemarle, p. 715. Anstis's register of the most noble order of the garter, vol. i. p. 41. in the introduction.

<sup>c</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 618. Larrey histoire d'Angleterre, tom. iv. p. 417. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 7.

on board the admiral's ship, named the Resolution, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the state of every ship in the Squadron next morning <sup>d</sup>.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his Majesty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, the island of Bombay in the East Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last-mentioned city against any attempt from the Moors. For this purpose the earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been first visited by the duke of York <sup>e</sup>.

His lordship sailed first to Lisbon, and from thence to Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese governor <sup>f</sup>. The admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received the queen's portion, consisting in money, in jewels, sugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then sailed with her Majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662 <sup>g</sup>.

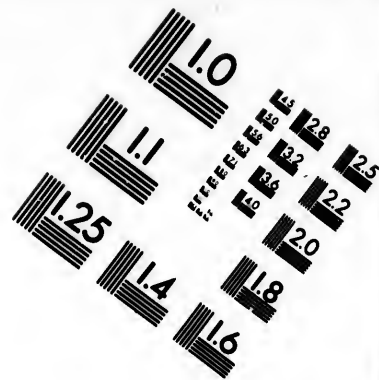
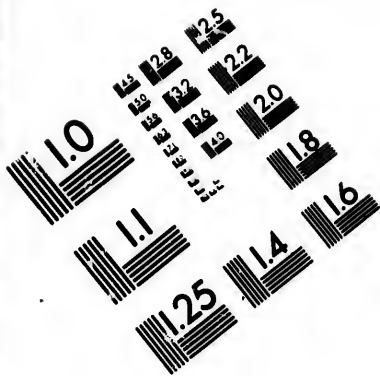
There was certainly no occasion for so large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for sending such a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was seized to execute things of greater moment. The Algerines, and other piratical states of Barbary, taking advantage of our intestine confusions, had broke the peace they made with admiral Blake, and began to take English ships, with as little ceremony as they did the Dutch and French. To put an end

<sup>d</sup> Earl of Sandwich's journal. Heath's chronicle, p. 470. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 488, 489. Skinner's continuation of Bates's *elencus motuum*, part iii. p. 60. *Public intelligence*, 4:0, N<sup>o</sup>. 37. *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, tom. i. p. 618, 619.

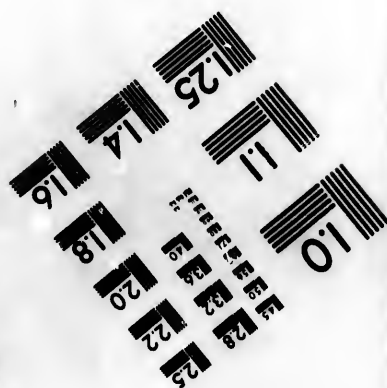
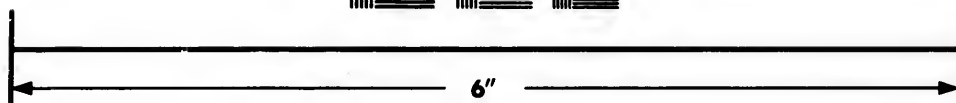
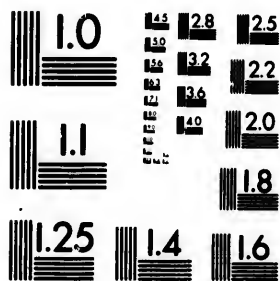
<sup>e</sup> *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 182. Echar'd's history of England, p. 800, 801. Stevens's history of Portugal, p. 503. *Memoirs d'Ablancourt*, p. 74—77. *Journal of the earl of Sandwich*.

<sup>f</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 500. Kennet's chronicle, p. 617. *Annals of the universe*, p. 53. <sup>g</sup> *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 313—317. Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 750, 751. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 255. Skinner's continuation of Bates's *elencus motuum*, part iii. p. 69.





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to this, the earl of Sandwich with his fleet came before Algiers the 29th of July, 1661, and sent captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal person in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders also to bring off Mr. Brown, the consul; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was held, and the next morning certain propositions were made to the regency, by captain Spragge and consul Brown. About eleven o'clock these gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an answer, that the government of Algiers would consent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of the right of searching our ships. This insolence of these sea-robbers sprung out of the jealousy of the Christian powers, who would never unite to crush this nest of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to some prince of their own faith, which would be a common benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time, to shew they were in earnest, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head to the opposite corner of their port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raised, they might be able to defend themselves from any attempts that could be made by sea. The earl of Sandwich, however, resolved to make a bold trial to burn the ships in the harbour, but the wind prevented him; so that, after a good deal of firing on both sides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ships, the admiral thought fit to sail for Lisbon<sup>b</sup>, on the first of August, leaving Sir John Lawson with a strong squadron, to protect the English trade and harass the enemy; which he performed with such success, that, after taking many of their ships, he, by degrees, forced all these piratical states to conclude a peace with Great Britain, without any reservation as to their favourite article of searching our ships; though it must be confessed, that the Algerines, retaining still a strong opinion of the strength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices<sup>c</sup>; which obliged

<sup>b</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 500. But most of the facts above mentioned are taken from the earl of Sandwich's journal. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 250. Annals of the universe, p. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 313. Heath's chronicle, p. 500. Annals of the universe, p. 56. Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. vi. part. ii. p. 419, 420.



the government here to send fresh orders to Sir John Lawson, to employ force in bringing them to reason.

We are now to enter upon a more serious affair than any that had hitherto claimed the care of the English court. On his first return to the throne of his ancestors, King Charles and his ministers had certainly shewn a great concern for the true interest of the nation, as will appear to any attentive reader of our history, who observes the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. By the former he secured the possession of Jamaica, though it had been acquired by Cromwell, and thereby obtained some sort of satisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his restoration, when it is certain that the Spaniards would have secured his person, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to Breda<sup>k</sup>.

He also restored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spanish trade; and the affection of this people to the English, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ships of war to enter their ports, as the Dutch writers themselves tell us<sup>l</sup>. The treaty with Holland carried things also to a great height; for it not only secured the respect due to the English flag, but likewise procured some other concessions very honourable for the nation, and the island of Poleron, more correctly Pulo Ron, *i. e.* the Isle of Ron, for the East India Company. His Majesty had also an intention to have secured absolutely and for ever the fishery on the British coast to his own subjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not over easy

<sup>k</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 740. where it appears, that Mr. William Galloway, then page to Don Alonzo de Cardenas, carried an order he had received (his master being in bed and asleep) from the M. de Carcenas, then governor of the Low Countries, to secure his Majesty's person next day, to the king at midnight, who thereupon rose and made his escape about three in the morning. This no doubt left a strong impression on his Majesty's mind to the prejudice of the Spaniards. <sup>l</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. Echard. Welwood. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. Letters of the earl of Arlington, p. 43, 44. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i.

to account; and yet, without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value <sup>m</sup>.

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

The duke of York, who through his whole life was the patron, was at this time governor of the African company, and, being informed of this, sent major, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, with four frigates, to the coast of Guinea, in order to make reprisals. This was in 1661; and Sir Robert, in consequence of this commission, summoned the Dutch to surrender Cape Verde to the Company within a limited time, yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a small fort possessed by the Dutch, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the English, were at length obliged to surrender; and the fort, being in the hands of our

<sup>m</sup> Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens, tome vi. part ii. p. 422. Ludlow in his memoirs, vol. iii. p. 172. says, The foundation of this treaty having been laid in the blood of three of his friends, (Barkstead, <sup>o</sup> and Corbet, all of them regicides, and deservedly put to death for the share they had in the execrable murder of their sovereign), the superstructure was raised with the like materials; and complains, that the Dutch agreed to an article, that if any who had been the judges of Charles I. or otherwise excepted, should be found in their territories, they would, upon demand, deliver them up to such as the king of England should appoint to receive them.

<sup>n</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath, p. 525. Coke's detection, vol. ii. book iv. chap. 2. Skinner's continuation of Bates's elencus motuum, part iii. p. 74. Bishop Parker's history of his own time, p. 85. See the king's letter to the states-general on the causes of this war, and Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 682, 683.

Company, received the name of James-fort in honour of the duke. From thence proceeding to the river Gambia, he dislodged the Hollanders, and built a new fort °.

The Hollanders still refusing to deliver up to us Cape Corfe, Sir Robert was sent a second time, *anno* 1663, with a small squadron, to take it out of their hands by force. But, searching a Dutch ship by the way, he found express orders (as king Charles informs the states in his letter, October 4, 1666) from the Dutch West India Company to their governor, general Valkenburg, to seize the English fort at Cormantin; which discovery disposed him to go, as he thought he had a right, beyond his original commission †.

In the latter end of the month of January 1664, Sir Robert Holmes arrived with his squadron at Cape Verde. This cape is part of the main land of Africa, and lies on the west side of the kingdom of Jaloffi, and to the north-west of the river Gambia, in the 15th degree of north latitude. About a cannon-shot from thence lies the now so well known island Goree, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furnished with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: the former was called fort Nassau, the latter fort Orange. Sir Robert first summoned these two forts on the island Goree; and, because the governor refused to surrender, he attacked and took them next day, together with a ship called the Crocodile, lying under their protection, after having the evening before taken two other Dutch ships, called the *Visch-korf* and the *Vischer*. In these forts he found a great quantity of goods ready to be shipped for Holland, and, among the rest, 20,000 hides. These he loaded on his own and the Dutch ships, and transported them to Sierra Liona †.

He next proceeded to attack St. George del Mina, the strongest of all the Dutch forts; but though himself and his seamen acted with great bravery, yet the design miscarried, and he was obliged to sheer off with some loss. To repair this misfortune, he resolved to attack Cape-corfe castle, which, though it was fo

° O. Dapper description de l'Afrique, p. 502. Vie du Ruyter, p. 171. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 58.

† Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 535. where there is an extract of major Holmes's proceedings.

‡ Account of captain Holmes's proceedings on the coast of Africa. Heath's chronicle continued by Phillips, p. 535. Coke's description, vol. ii. p. 32. Annals of the universe, p. 36. Columna rostrata, p. 151—155.

strong

strong by situation, that 100 men might have kept it against 1000, yet he soon took it and some other places; after which he sailed from the coast of Guinea to North America, where he reduced a Dutch settlement, called the New Netherlands; in the month of August 1664, changing the name into that of New York, in honour of the duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of reprisal, but partly by virtue of a claim of right: for the New Netherlands, being first discovered by the English under the conduct of John and Sebastian Cabot, (who took possession of all that northern coast in the name of King Henry VII. of England), had been always esteemed a part of the English-American dominions, and the title to it maintained by our monarchs till the year 1637, when it was first seized and planted by the Dutch.

These proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the English were done by the Dutch West India Company; the reprisals made by the English were under the charter of the African company; the crown had not either fitted out Sir Robert Holmes, or given him any commission. But, when the news of what was done reached Holland, the de Witte faction, who then carried all at their pleasure, resolved instantly to fall upon the English in those parts with a great fleet, and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their design to repair themselves in damages for what, without any royal commission, Holmes had taken from them.

¶ Douglas's summary, historical and political, of the British settlements in North America, vol. i. p. 204. vol. ii. p. 221. The short and true state of the matter is this: The country mentioned in the text was part of the province of Virginia; and, as there is no settling an extensive country at once, a few Swedes crept in there, who surrendered the plantations they could not defend to the Dutch, who, having bought the charts and papers of one Hudson a seaman, who, by commission from the crown of England, discovered a river to which he gave his name, conceited they had purchased a province. Sometimes, when we had strength in those parts, they were English subjects; at others, when that strength declined, they were subjects of the united provinces. However, upon king Charles's claim the fleet disowned the title, but resumed it during our confusions. March 12, 1664, Charles II. granted it to the duke of York.

¶ So far from it, that the king confined Holmes when he returned, and did not discharge him, till he made it evidently appear, that he had not infringed the law of nations. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 493, 506. Philips's continuation of Herber's chronicle, p. 513. *Nay, M. de Neuville, hist. de Hollande*, tome iii. p. 241. 249 expressly, that the king made this war, that he might accommodate himself to the disposition of his parliament and people.

The chief difficulty lay in sending such a fleet safely into those seas, before the design could be known in England; and the project formed by them, as it was in contrivance very subtle and fraudulent; so it was executed with equal cunning and success. Admiral de Ruyter was at that time in the Mediterranean, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or at least to defend their merchants from the insults of the piratical states; to which end, as we before observed, Sir John Lawson was also there with a squadron of English ships, and the states requested of King Charles, that these two admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove de Ruyter from thence, and to send him to commit hostilities against us, then acting as their allies; on the coast of Guinea, and in the West Indies. To this he was himself well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and Sir John Lawson about the salute at sea, which the Dutch admiral paid, and Sir John refused to return; alledging, that his orders did not allow him to strike to the subjects of any king or state whatever. In other respects, he assisted the Dutch as friends and allies as much as was in his power<sup>r</sup>.

The majority of the states-general of the united provinces were not for a war with England, and consequently such orders as the ministers of the de Witte party wanted, to authorise de Ruyter, were not to be had from them in a fair and open way; yet; rather than not have them, the Louvestein faction resolved to sacrifice their constitution. De Ruyter had sent home an account of his proceedings against the pirates: they got this report referred to a committee of seven who were in their interests, and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to sail to the coast of Guinea, there to make reprisals upon the English. But, as this order must be read to, and approved by the states, the ministers took care to draw it up in loose and equivocal terms, procuring also the secretary to read it over to them in such a hurry as rendered it altogether unintelligible; then they thrust it among some orders of course, and engaging such as they thought would be against it, in private conversation, it was read

<sup>r</sup> Brandt leeven van Ruyter, fol. 290, 291. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 63, 64. See also the memoirs of Sir J. Lawson.

without being attended to, or its importance apprehended. Lastly, it was brought with a bundle of papers, most of them mere matters of form, to be signed by the president for the week, who, as usual, set his hand to this amongst the rest, without reading. This is a true state of the fact, as reported by the Dutch historians<sup>3</sup>.

When de Ruyter received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers, but, having first got such a supply of provisions as he thought might be necessary, pretended to have sudden information of certain pirates cruising near the Canaries; and, under colour of giving chase to these, he sailed to Cape de Verde, and so far executed his commission, as to oblige the governors for our African company either to surrender or demolish several of their forts. He likewise seized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company: after which he made himself master of fort Cormantin, a place which was built by, and had always been in the possession of the English. But Cape Corfe and Chama (two of the places taken by Sir Robert Holmes) remained unreduced. From the coast of Guinea de Ruyter sailed to Barbadoes, where he attacked a considerable fleet of merchant-ships lying under protection of the forts, but was repulsed with great loss. Then passing over to Montserat, Nevis, and Newfoundland, he took above twenty sail of English ships, and so returned to Holland<sup>4</sup>.

These actions on both sides served to exasperate the two nations, and to hasten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the Dutch in January, and by the English in February, 1665<sup>5</sup>. But, before it came to that, the Heer van Goch was sent by the states to importune the king with memorials and

<sup>3</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 714. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. La vie de Ruyter. Lettres de d'Estades, tome ii. p. 12. See Lord Arlington's letter to Sir Richard Fanshaw, the king's ambassador at Madrid, dated the 20th of September, 1664.

<sup>4</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 530. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 31. Bishop Parker's history of his own time, p. 96. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 76. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 64. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 744. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 7. La vie de Ruyter, p. 191—204.  
<sup>5</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 531. Annals of the universe, p. 114. Gesta Britannorum, p. 506. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 736.



complaints. To which the king's answer was, that he had received no particular information of the affairs in Guinea, and that the two companies must decide their disputes. These complaints of the ambassadors being likewise retaliated by the English merchants, whose incessant representations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of satisfaction, as the constant refusal of the satisfaction demanded was the cause of the open rupture<sup>w</sup>.

Several writers, who have censured king Charles's government, would have us believe, that this war was of his Majesty's procuring: whereas nothing can be more certain than that he was supported in it by advice of parliament, as he had been driven into it by the clamours of the people. The house of commons told him in one of their representations, that the Dutch had injured his subjects to the amount of 800,000 pounds. The king promised to take care of the merchants, and of the nation; and when he found a war necessary, and desired the city of London to lend him 100,000 pounds, they did it very readily, and even repeated the favour as readily, when the king condescended to shew them that the first loan was not sufficient to fit out the fleet. The parliament, as the king had acted in these matters in consequence of their address, and was, by thus acting, on the brink of a war, for which he was unprovided, and had been assisted by the city of London, thought themselves obliged to take notice of this, and therefore both houses named a committee to carry the city their thanks<sup>x</sup>.

These surely are demonstrative proofs, that this was not, as many writers style it, a court war, but a just, and therefore a popular one. Yet it must be allowed, that it was chiefly brought about by the artifices of France, the emissaries of that crown instigating the Dutch, and especially de Witte, who, though a wise man, was their dupe, to do all they did, and at the same time omitting no opportunity of inflaming us against them for what they did. Their design was to engage the two maritime powers in a cruel war, that they might again, as before, weaken and

<sup>w</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 271. Annals of the universe, p. 110. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 735.

<sup>x</sup> History and proceedings of the house of commons, vol. i. p. 81. Coke's detection, part ii. p. 33. Kennet's complete history, vol. iii. p. 271.

waste each other's strength, and so be less able to oppose the designs of the French ministry, one of which was to render France a naval power <sup>1</sup>.

The first action of consequence, that happened after the war actually broke out, was the attacking a Dutch fleet coming richly laden from Smyrna upon the Spanish coast near Cadiz. It consisted of forty merchant-ships, some of them very large, and well provided with ordnance, and their convoy was composed of four third-rate men of war. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English squadron, had with him about nine ships, (his own narrative says but eight). With these he attacked the enemy so successfully, that having killed their commodore Brackel, and taken or sunk four of their richest ships, he drove the rest into the bay of Cadiz, where for some time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the same kind befel the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, out of which about 130 ships were taken. Some of these, however, appearing to be French bottoms, were discharged; but the far greater part were declared good prize <sup>2</sup>.

These heavy misfortunes obliged the Dutch, contrary to their inclinations, and indeed to their usual practice, to lay an immediate embargo on all vessels in their ports, by which their fisheries, and all the annual commerce, were stopped for that season. They likewise settled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the support of the war; and, in order to shew that there ought to be some difference between such as are made by trading na-

<sup>1</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 527, 528. Skinner's continuation of Bates, part iii. p. 75. Annals of the universe, p. 95, 96, 97, 98. Bishop Parker's history of his own time, p. 86. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 25. Coke in his detection, vol. ii. p. 35. is pleased to say, he will not dispute the justice of entering into this war, but, that he may have something to cavil at, condemns the precipitancy with which the government embarked in it, and thinks the crown should first have formed alliances abroad. See a very curious letter of Sir William Temple to his brother in his works, vol. ii. p. 47. wherein he has copiously stated the grounds and occasions of this war, as alledged by all parties. See Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 164, 165. The history and proceedings of the house of commons, vol. i. p. 80—83. Lettres, memoirs, et negociations de monsieur le comte d'Estades, tome i. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 737.

<sup>2</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 529, 530. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 78. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 36. Annals of the universe, p. 114. Gestæ Britannorum, p. 506. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 67.

ons, and those entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirst of dominion; they ordered about fifty English and Scots vessels, which had been seized in their harbours, to be set at liberty; and, on the arrival of those ships in England, the civility was returned by a like release of all the Dutch ships that had been stopped here<sup>a</sup>.

The English fleet was first ready, though the Dutch were the first who began to arm. This fleet of ours consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire-ships and ketches, and had about twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of York, as lord high-admiral, Prince Rupert was admiral of the white, and the earl of Sandwich of the blue. April 21, 1665, the English sailed for the Dutch coast, and on the 28th sent in a squadron so near the shore and harbour of the Texel, that the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month, the fleet was so ruffled by a storm, that it was found necessary to retire towards our own shore.

This opportunity the Dutch took of sending out their fleet, which, by the latter end of May, appeared about the Dogger Sands. They were divided into seven squadrons, the first under Opdam, consisting of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ships; the second under John Everts, of the like force; the third commanded by admiral Cortenaer, consisting of fourteen men of war and one fire-ship; the fourth was under Stillingwert, composed likewise of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, the son of the famous old admiral, made up of sixteen men of war and two fire-ships; the sixth under Cornelius Everts, consisting of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the last commanded by Schram, in which were sixteen men of war and two fire-ships; in all, a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ships, and seven yachts. A mighty fleet, far superior to what the French conceived it possible for the states to fit out, and well furnished with men; but

<sup>a</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 736. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 8. Leeyen van de Witte, p. 252.

this was by the help of their India ships, whence they were mostly taken, partly by persuasion, and partly by force<sup>b</sup>.

The Duke of York being retired with our navy from the Dutch coast when they came out, afforded them an opportunity to fall on our Hamburgh fleet, which they did not neglect; and they were so fortunate therein as to take the greatest part, by which our merchants suffered near two hundred thousand pounds loss. Some attributed this to ill management, others, with more reason, to unavoidable accidents; for they had a convoy, and the duke of York sent the *Roe-ketch* to inform them of his departure, which not meeting this fleet, proved their ruin<sup>c</sup>. This exceedingly exasperated the English, and at the same time raised not a little the spirits of the Dutch.

Admiral Opdam, who commanded the latter, was a prudent as well as a truly gallant commander. The great John de Witte raised him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of Orange, he became his enemy, and as soon as he was out at sea wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with such a peculiar quickness of style, as proved the letter his, though written in the name of the states. Opdam resolved to obey these orders, though contrary to the advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his sending ashore his plate before the engagement: but more so from his expressions on taking the sentiments of a council of war: "I am," said he, "entirely in your sentiments; but here are my orders. To-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel or with cypress:" and in this disposition he failed to find out the English navy<sup>d</sup>. That did not require much time; for the duke of York was no less eager to revenge the loss of

<sup>b</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 536. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 79. Bishop Parker's history of his own time, p. 90. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 78. Annals of the universe, p. 115. Bainsage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 740. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 348. Leeven van de Witte, p. 252.

<sup>c</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 538. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 80. Getta Britannorum, p. 508. Kennet's hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 275.

<sup>d</sup> Bainsage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 742. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. p. 73.

the Hamburgh fleet. On the third of June the English and Dutch navies engaged about three in the morning off Leostoff, when, by an oversight of the Dutch, (as their writers say), the English had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to use as well as keep<sup>e</sup>.

Things went at first very equally on both sides, several squadrons charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of Sandwich, with the *Blue Squadron*, fell into the center of the Dutch fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confusion which ended in a total defeat<sup>f</sup>. The duke of York in the *Royal Charles*, a ship of eighty guns, and admiral Opdam in the *Eendracht*, of eighty-four, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, and his royal highness was in the utmost danger. Several persons of distinction were killed on board his ship, particularly the earl of Falmouth, the king's favourite<sup>g</sup>,

Lord

<sup>e</sup> *Annals of the universe*, p. 116. Philips's continuation of Baker's chron. p.

<sup>g</sup> *Basnage, Le Clerc, Neuville, and other Dutch writers.*

<sup>f</sup> *Earl of Sandwich's journal, MS.*

<sup>g</sup> "The victory and triumph of that day," says the noble historian, "was surely very great, and a just argument of public joy: how it came to be no greater, shall be said anon; and the trouble and grief in many noble families, for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons, could not but be very lamentable, in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other nearest relations: but no sorrow was equal, at least none so remarkable, as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who know his majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had stood in other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears he shed upon this occasion. The immenseness of the victory, and the consequences that might have attended it, the safety and preservation of his brother, with so much glory, on whose behalf he had had so terrible apprehensions during the three days fight, having, by the benefit of the wind, heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after, by the lessening of the noise, as from a greater distance, he concluded that the enemy was upon flight; yet all this, and the universal joy that he saw in the countenance of all men, for the victory and the safety of the duke, made no impression in him towards the mitigation of his passion, for the loss of this young favourite, in whom few other men had ever observed any virtue or quality, which they did not wish their best friends without, and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and considerable part of the victory. He was young, and of insatiable ambition, and a little more experience might have taught him all things of which his weak parts were capable. But they who observed the strange degree of favour he had on the sudden arrived to, even from a detestation the king had towards him, and concluded from thence,

"and



Lord Muskerry and Mr. Boyle, son to the earl of Corke, with one ball, and so near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains; nay, a splinter from the last mentioned gentleman's skull razed his hand<sup>b</sup>. About one, the Dutch admiral blew up, with a prodigious noise; but how the accident happened is uncertain. Some say, a shot fell in the powder-room; others, that Opdam's black blew up the ship, to be revenged of his master for beating him. The most probable account is, that it was occasioned by some accident in distributing the powder. In this vessel, together with the admiral, perished five hundred men, only five of the whole crew escaping; many of those lost were volunteers, of the best families of Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this opportunity of being present in a sea-fight<sup>k</sup>.

A little after this unlucky blow, the Dutch received still a greater. Four fine ships, the biggest of sixty, the least of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire-ship; soon after, three larger vessels by the same accident shared the same fate. The Orange, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence, was also burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon, all fell into confusion. Vice-admiral Stillingwert was shot through the middle by a cannon-ball; vice-admiral Cortenaer received a shot in his thigh, of which he instantly

<sup>a</sup> and more from the deep sorrow the king was possessed with for his death, & what a prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way." *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 512.

<sup>b</sup> Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 538, 539. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 80, 81. *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 509. Echard's history of England, p. 820. The lord Muskerry was eldest son of the earl of Clarendon, and a young nobleman of extraordinary courage and expectation, had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders under the duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer. He was of the duke's bed-chamber. Mr Richard Boyle was a younger son of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hopes, and newly come home from travel, where he had spent his time with singular advantage, and took the first opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 507, 508.

<sup>i</sup> *Annals of the universe*, p. 130. *Bishop Parker's history of his own times*, p. 91. *Bisnaga annales des provinces unies*, tome i. p. 741. *Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies*, tome iii. p. 73. *Neuville histoire de Hollande*, tome iii. chap. 9.

<sup>k</sup> *History of the three Dutch wars*, p. 300.

died.



ried. These ships bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without striking their flags, drew many after them; so that, by eight at night, Tromp, who held out bravely to the last, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ships left with him. This was the most signal victory the English ever gained, and the severest blow the Dutch ever felt at sea<sup>1</sup>.

According to our accounts, which upon a strict examination have always found moderate, the Dutch had eighteen ships taken, (several of which we quitted), and fourteen sunk in this action, besides such as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ships taken, one (their admiral) blown up, and eight burnt<sup>m</sup>. As to our loss, which was far more unaccountable, there is no dispute about it. We lost the *Charity*, a ship of forty-six guns, with most of her men, in the beginning of the fight; had in the whole but two hundred and sixty men killed, and three hundred and forty men wounded: on the other side, they lost at least six thousand men, including two thousand three hundred taken prisoners<sup>n</sup>. Yet some great men of ours bought this advantage to their country at the expence of their blood, such as the earls of Portland and Marlborough<sup>o</sup>, vice-admiral Samson, and Sir

<sup>1</sup> *Bisnaga annales des provinces unies*, tome i. p. 741. *Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies*, tome iii. liv. xiv. *Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel*, p. 166. *Coke's detection*, vol. ii. p. 37. *Skinner's continuation of Bates*, p. 82. <sup>m</sup> *Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle*, p. 538. *Kennet's history of England*, vol. iii. *Echard's history of England*, p. 820. *State letters of Roger earl of Orrery*, p. 99.

<sup>n</sup> *Phillips's continuation of Baker's chronicle*, p. 753. *Echard. Kennet. Lord Arlington's letters*, vol. ii. p. 81. where he says, the dissipating the enemy's fleet, killing their admirals, and forcing them again into their ports, is what we value ourselves most upon; and all this with the loss only of one ship on our side, two hundred eighty-three men killed, and four hundred and forty wounded. The enemy, besides their ships, will find they want at least seven thousand of their men.

<sup>o</sup> "In prince Rupert's ship, (says the earl of Clarendon,) who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved himself with notable courage and conduct, there were many men slain, and some gentlemen volunteers of the best families, whose memories should be preserved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the king had sent him with a squadron of ships, to receive the island of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this

Sir John Lawson, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he survived the battle.

The Dutch ascribe this signal defeat in a great measure to the ill conduct of their own officers and seamen, many of whom, according to the genius of the nation, were severely punished. Thus much is allowed on all sides, that, except sixteen or seventeen of their captains who had served in the former war, they had none of tolerable knowledge, or true courage, most of them being the sons of rich burgo-masters, brought in, to secure their father's interest, by de Witte; who, though he thus incapacitated them for fighting, yet compelled them against reason, and their own opinion, to fight; because, at all events, a battle was for his interest; since, gained, it raised his authority at home; or, lost, it must from abroad bring in his allies the French. This refined policy had well nigh ruined himself and his friends; for the mob rose, and threatened nothing less than a total revolution. At the Brill, admiral Everts was thrown into the river, and with much difficulty rescued by the magistrates from the populace: and such like tumults happened at Rotterdam, and elsewhere P.

There is very little room to doubt, that if there had not been some mismanagement on the side of the English, this, as it was the first, might have been also the last action in this war;

battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him. The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the son of a very wise and worthy father, who died a few months before: and he having a long and intimate friendship with the earl of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himself to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely." See his life, written by himself, vol. ii. p. 509.

P *Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 743. Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 74.* Three of their captains were shot on the 4th of July, two were ordered to have their swords broken over their heads, and declared incapable of serving more in their navy; and the master to vice-admiral Cortenaar was condemned to stand two hours upon a scaffold, with a halter about his neck. *Annals of the universe, page 130. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. page 277.*

For the Dutch fleet fled in great confusion, their captains behaving ill, and their admirals quarrelling about command; so that if the English had pressed them vigorously, as it was in their power, having the wind; many ships might have been either sunk, disabled, or taken, as must have forced a peace; for which there was a very strong party in Holland, who did not like the dominion of the pensionary de Witte, and the dependence in which he held even the states, who seldom ventured to do any thing of importance when he was absent<sup>9</sup>. This great opportunity was lost, through the English fleet's slacking sail in the night, contrary to the express directions of his royal highness the duke, before he went to rest.

It is far from being an easy matter to inform the reader, how this came to pass. But after having examined the point, with as much impartiality, as well as diligence, as the great importance of it deserved, it appears to have stood thus. The duke, in quality of lord high-admiral, had two captains on board his ship, Sir William Penn, who had the rank of a vice-admiral; and captain, afterwards Sir John Harman. Sir William was gone to rest, as well as the duke, so that the command remained in captain Harman, who was himself at the helm, when one Mr. Brounker, who was of the duke's bed-chamber, came and told him, "that he ought to consider, how much his royal highness's person had been already exposed in the action, and how much greater risk he might run, if their ship, which was the headmost of the fleet, should fall in single with those of the enemy, upon their own coasts." Harman heard him, but answered like an honest brave man, as he was, that he could do nothing without orders. Brounker upon this, went to the duke's cabin, and returned with orders, in his royal highness's name, to make less sail; these captain Harman, without the least scruple, obeyed; which created some confusion in the English fleet, several ships being very near running foul on each other<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Wicquefort histoire, MS. des provinces unies, liv. xv. Baskage annals des provinces unies, tome ii. page 272, 273. See also Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Coventry's account of this action, who was secretary to his royal highness.

<sup>1</sup> Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 513. North's examination, p. 110, 120. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 209, 210.

In the morning, the duke expressed surprise and resentment, to find they were at such a distance from the Dutch, that there was no longer any hopes of coming up with them. It then appeared, that either through cowardice, or something worse, Brounker had carried captain Harman orders, which he never received<sup>a</sup>. However, this was concealed from his royal highness, and other excuses made, such as a brisk wind from shore, and their fire-ships being all spent. But the truth was nevertheless very soon whispered, though the duke was not acquainted with it, in less than six months after, upon which he discharged Brounker his service, and would have done more, if the celebrated duchess of Cleveland, then countess of Castle-main, with whom he was a favourite, had not by her interest with the king, protected him<sup>c</sup>. However, at the end of the war, when the House of Commons was out of humour, this affair was mentioned, and inquired into; upon which Brounker, who was a member, was most deservedly expelled, and ordered to be impeached, but that was never prosecuted<sup>d</sup>.

His royal highness left the fleet soon after, and returned to London, to make a report of all things to the king. His majesty having attended his mother to the coasts, went on board the Royal Charles in the river, where he made a strict inquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the state of their ships; and receiving satisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour in time to come, knighted the most considerable commanders, *viz.* admiral Tyldiman, captain Cuttings, captain Jordan, captain Spragge, &c. after which, he directed that all the ships should be repaired with the utmost

<sup>a</sup> Coke's detection, p. 37.

<sup>c</sup> The reader, who consults the authors I have cited, will see very different editions of this story, and I hope agree with me, that it proves the fate of nations may depend on very slight events, as in this case, on a private man's telling a lie; that princes should immediately examine and clear up whatever respects their honour; that resentment operates on most minds. Clarendon is for throwing it on Sir William Coventry; North, upon the Dutch; bishop Burnet, on Sir William Penn. All of these could not be possibly guilty; but for any evidence that has appeared, they might be all equally innocent.

<sup>d</sup> History and proceedings of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 118.

diligence, and the fleet, as soon as possible, be put into a condition to go out again to sea <sup>w</sup>.

The king's command, their generous sense of their late victory, and the news of two rich Dutch squadrons being at sea, quickly brought out the English navy, to the number of sixty sail; and on the fifth of July, they steered from Southwold-bay, into which they put immediately after the last engagement, for the coast of Holland. The standard was borne by the gallant earl of Sandwich, to whom Sir George Ayscue was vice, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman rear-admiral. Sir William Penn was admiral of the white, Sir William Berkley vice-admiral, and Sir Joseph Jordan rear-admiral. The blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whose vice and rear were, Sir Christopher Minnes, and Sir John Harman. The designs they had in view were, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or at least to take and burn the Turkey and East India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence <sup>x</sup>.

They succeeded in neither of these schemes. De Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived safely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet <sup>y</sup>. The Turkey and India fleet, consisting of twenty sail, under the command of commodore Bitter, chose to take the same northern route, in hopes of avoiding the English navy; but having intelligence at sea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impossible, they took shelter in the port of Berghen in Norway <sup>z</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 539. The intelligencer, No. 47. p. 464. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 83. Annals of the universe, p. 115. Journal of the earl of Sandwich. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 82. The queen mother, at parting with the king, prevailed on him to promise her, that the duke should not go to sea again in the next expedition. Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 516.

<sup>x</sup> Annals of the universe, p. 118. Lord Arlington's letters, p. 83, 84. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 277. Richard's history of England, p. 821. <sup>y</sup> Bainsage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 744, 745. Le Clerc histoire des provinces, tome iii. liv. xiv. La vie de Ruyter, p. 250. Lord Arlington's letters, p. 85. Lettres, et memoires du Comte d'Estades, tome ii. p. 250.

<sup>z</sup> Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 84. Annals of the universe, p. 118. Gesta Britannorum, p. 510. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 38. Bainsage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 747.

The port was pretty easy of access, and covered only by an old castle; the Danish governor indeed promised the Dutch to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were disposed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line cross the bay, consisting of their largest ships; and in this posture they waited for the English. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of Sandwich having advice of their being put into Berghen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman with fourteen sail of men of war, and three fire-ships, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was against them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the castle, the line, and the ships; so that at last he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loss of a ship, though he had five or six very ill treated<sup>a</sup>.

The states by this time, partly by threats, partly by punishment, but still more by promises and rewards, had again manned out a stout fleet. Admiral de Ruyter had the command of it, which gave no small displeasure to Tromp; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in appearance<sup>b</sup>. Their great statesman de Witte, not satisfied with directing all things in the Dutch councils, resolved also to direct their fleets; to which end he got himself, and two other deputies, Messrs. Huygens and Boreel, appointed to attend the admiral. A step opposed by all his friends, and directly contrary to the sentiments of the French king, who was afraid, if by any accident he lost M. de Witte, he should not find the states so tractable as they had been for some years past<sup>c</sup>.

The pensionary, however, persisted in this design, and gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before

<sup>a</sup> In order to come as near the truth as possible, I have compared the Dutch commodore's letter with one wrote by the earl of Arlington, secretary of state, dated from Salisbury, Aug. 22, 1665, where the court then resided on account of the plague being in London. Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 86, 87. See also *miscellanea aulica*, p. 359, 360.

<sup>b</sup> *Le Clerc* *histoire des provinces unies*, tome iii. p. 82. *Neuville* *histoire de Hollande*, tome iii. c. 10.

<sup>c</sup> *Bainage* *annales des provinces unies*, tome i. page 745.



the fleet put to sea; and, though I cannot say that this relates to English history, yet, as it has a near relation to naval affairs, I hope the reader will not be displeas'd at my telling him, how de Witte acquired so suddenly this high reputation. When he came on board the fleet in the Texel, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimously of opinion, that they must wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two passages. As to the larger, they said, that two and twenty winds might absolutely hinder a fleet from sailing through it; and that in respect to the latter, it was too shallow for large ships to pass. M. de Witte, who was no seaman, inquired into the reason why so many winds should keep them in, and the next morning demonstrat'd to the pilots upon their own principles, that no winds blowing from more than four of these points, could produce this effect; which experience has since fully justify'd. Yet the wind being at that time in one of these four points, de Witte went the same day and examin'd the Spanish passage with a lead, and having done this, he and Mr. Van Haaren, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out two of the largest ships in the fleet, which they performed very safely, and the rest followed the next day; and ever since this has been call'd DE WITTE'S PASSAGE<sup>d</sup>.

The point he had principally in view was, to bring off the East India fleet from Berghen, which was a very difficult thing, considering the English fleet was then at sea. He found means, however, to pass by them, and arriv'd safely before Berghen, where the Dutch had found a new enemy in their old defender. The Danish governor modestly desired a hundred thousand crowns for the assistance he had given them in the late affair, and threaten'd to sink them without ceremony, if they offer'd to stir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they should sail then without paying the money; but in order to have somewhat towards it, he kept the cannon they had put ashore<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Wicquefort, *histoire des provinces unies*, liv. xv. The Dutch term in the maps was Spanjards Gat, now they call it, Heer de Witte's diep.

<sup>e</sup> Basnage *annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 747. Le Clerc *histoire des provinces unies*, tome iii. liv. xiv.

Thus

Thus far de Witte was very successful; but in his return home, the fleet was scattered by a storm, in which were lost two fire-ships, and some of the merchant-men. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the East India fleet, ships of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five English frigates, which the same storm had separated from our fleet; and soon after, four of their men of war, two fire-ships, and thirty merchant-men, joined our fleet instead of their own, and by this mistake were all taken; which ended the operations of this year<sup>f</sup>.

The French perceiving that the scales were no longer even, but that the Dutch would certainly be destroyed, if left entirely to themselves; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make such a peace as we should prescribe, resolved to declare in their favour. It may not be amiss, in order to shew what sort of an enemy this court has always been, to observe, that immediately upon this declaration, she began to cabal with our republicans, and actually endeavoured to draw general Ludlow from his retreat, that she might send him over to head their friends, as they now called them, on this side the water. By the persuasion of France, the king of Denmark, who had concurred with us in the business of Berghen, and the elector of Brandenburg declared also for the Dutch; but the former was well paid for it, since the states forgave him a debt of six millions of guilders, and undertook to pay him an annual subsidy of one million and a half more, so long as the war should last<sup>g</sup>.

It quickly appeared, that France, by taking this measure, meant to make herself at once a maritime power; for having promised to assist the Dutch with a fleet of six and thirty men of war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by Dutch carpenters, in the Dutch docks; twelve more were made out of

<sup>f</sup> Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 38. Annals of the universe, p. 119. Gesta Britannorum, p. 511. Lettres, memoires, &c. du comte d'Estrades, tome ii. p. 364. Miscellanea aulica, p. 361. <sup>g</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 549. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 85, 86. Annals of the universe, p. 149. Memoires du comte d'Estrades, tome ii. p. 315, 502, 525. tome iii. p. 29, 30, 53, 64. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 38, 59.

large Indiamen, purchased in the same country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of Denmark. Besides this, the French minister, the count d'Estrades, insisted upon the delivering up two East India ships, of which the Dutch had made prizes, and wrested from them many other concessions, to purchase his master's declaration in their favour, agreeable to his secret treaty in anno 1662, which was the genuine source of this war, and a long train of miseries with which this late was afflicted<sup>b</sup>.

When all this was done, the French were for setting on foot a negotiation; but king Charles being then in the true interest of his subjects, was (at least to them) very deaf on that ear. He said, the Dutch had injured England to the amount of two millions; and if they thought fit to pay so much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all. Nay, the king carried it still higher; for he declared, in case he made such a peace with the Dutch, their allies should be left out of it; which, considering the strength of the confederacy, and that the plague then raged in England, seems to prove that this prince did not want spirit enough, when his own good sense told him he was engaged in a right cause; for, at that time, we had not a single ally, but the martial and mercenary bishop of Munster, who, though he gave the Dutch a great deal of trouble, yet did it entirely at our expence<sup>c</sup>.

The next year opened a new scene; the king recalled his ambassador, lord Holles, from the French court, and sent the earl of Sandwich in that quality to Spain: two of the wisest steps in his whole reign; for, by the first, he broke entirely (for this time at least) with that perfidious court; and, in consequence of the second, he concluded the most beneficial treaty

<sup>b</sup> Lettres d'Estrades, tomé ii. Bismage, tome i. p. 770, 771. Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 102. where it appears the French meditated the surprize of two of the seven provinces by the troops said to march for their assistance. <sup>c</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 544. Gesta Britannorum, p. 511. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 1, 34, 35, 36, 81. Echard's history of England, p. 818. Lettres, memoires, &c. du comte d'Estrades, tome ii. p. 390, 406, 409, 415. Letters of Sir William Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 4.

of commerce, that was ever made for this nation <sup>k</sup>. As to naval affairs it was resolved, that the fleet should be commanded by prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle; the former to look after the French, who began to talk very high, and the latter to act against the Dutch <sup>l</sup>.

Before we speak of the consequences of these capital undertakings, it may not be amiss to take some notice of an incident which happened at Lisbon, because it shews the gallant spirit of that age. There were in that port a considerable number of English merchant-men, which were to come home under the convoy of the Guinea frigate. A large French man of war was also there, and the captain daily boasted to the Portuguese what he would do whenever the English frigate put to sea. This coming to the ears of captain Coite, who commanded her, he sent the Frenchman word he would sail the next morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the coast three days, in expectation of being chased, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchant-men, and brought them safe into the river Thames, the Frenchman continuing all the while quiet in the harbour of Lisbon <sup>m</sup>.

Prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet on the 23d of April, 1666, and sailed with it in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the court was informed, that the French fleet, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the assistance of the Dutch. But this rumour of their joining the Dutch, was spread by the court of France, in order to deceive us, and distress the Dutch; themselves in reality having no such intention. Upon the receiving this news, the court sent positive orders to prince Rupert to sail with the white squadron to look out and fight the French; which command that brave prince obeyed, but found it, what many wise people before thought it, a mere

<sup>k</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 545. Annals of the university, p. 137, 139. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. page 62, 63, 75. Vol. ii. page 178. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Éstrades, tome iii. p. 231. Corps universel diplomatique du droit de gens, tome vii. part i. p. 27. <sup>l</sup> Gumbles's life of general Monk, p. 424. The historian's guide, p. 57. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 39. <sup>m</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550.

gasconade, intended to hurt us, and to raise the courage of their new allies, in order to bring them into still greater dangers<sup>n</sup>.

At the same time prince Rupert sailed from the Downs, the Dutch with their whole force put to sea, the wind at north-east, and having a fresh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coasts of Dunkirk, and carried away his highness towards the Isle of Wight; but the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the duke of Albemarle with his two squadrons to an anchor. Captain Bacon in the Bristol first discovered the enemy, and, by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the English fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein, without much debate, it was resolved to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great superiority<sup>o</sup>.

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

<sup>n</sup> Skinner's continuation of Bates, part iii. p. 86. Bishop Parker's history of his own time, p. 101. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 427. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 175, 179, 180, 188, 194. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 39. Lettres, mem. de comte d'Estades, tome iii. p. 79, 113, 129, 135. <sup>o</sup> Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 429. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 39. Bassage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 772. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 13. Leevens der Zeehelden tweede deel, p. 207. Sir John Harman's account of this engagement.



set up. The blue squadron knowing nothing of this, failed on, charging through the Dutch fleet, though they were five to one<sup>p</sup>.

In this engagement fell the brave Sir William Berkley, and his ship, the *Swiftsure*, a second rate, was taken; so was the *Essex*, a third rate; and Sir John Harman, in the *Henry*, had the whole Zealand squadron to deal with. His ship being disabled, the Dutch admiral Cornelius Evertz, called to Sir John, and offered him quarter, who answered, "No, Sir! it is not come to that yet;" and immediately discharged a broadside, by which Evertz was killed, and several of his ships damaged; which so discouraged their captains, that they quitted the *Henry*, and sent three fire-ships to burn her. The first grappled on her starboard quarters, and there began to raise so thick a smoke, that it was impossible to perceive where the irons were fixed. At last, when the ship began to blaze, the boatswain of the *Henry* threw himself on board, and having, by its own light, discovered and removed the grappling irons, in the same instant jumped back on board his own ship. He had scarce done this, before another fire-ship was fixed on the larboard, which did its business so effectually, that the sails being quickly on fire, frightened the chaplain and fifty men overboard. Upon this, Sir John drew his sword, and threatened to kill any man who should attempt to provide for his own safety by leaving the ship. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a short time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the cross-beam fell and broke Sir John's leg, at which instant the third fire-ship bore down; but four pieces of cannon loaded with chain-shot disabled her: so that, after all, Sir John brought his ship into Harwich, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, put to sea again to seek the Dutch. The battle ended on the first day about ten in the evening<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 350. Bishop Parker's history of his own times, p. 101. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 87. Annals of the universe, p. 139. Beshage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 773. La vie de Ruyter, p. 290.

<sup>q</sup> These circumstances are taken from Sir John Harman's relation, who blames the duke's eagerness for fighting, and mentions his own affairs only to shew, how hard the English were put to it. As to the matters of fact in this account, they are confirmed by all the Dutch authors.



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

The third day, the duke of Albemarle, found it necessary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He first burnt three ships that were absolutely disabled: the next caused such as were most torn to sail before; and, with twenty-eight men of war that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear<sup>s</sup>. Sir John Harman, indeed, says he had but sixteen ships that were able to fight<sup>t</sup>. Yet, in the evening, his grace, discovering the white squadron coming to his assistance, resolved to engage the enemy again. In joining prince Rupert, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir George Ayscue, who was on board the Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest ship in the whole fleet, ran upon the Galloper; and being there in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to surrender; and night then falling, ended this day's engagement<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 342. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 282. Echard's history of England, p. 830. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 24. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Estades, tome iii. p. 268. Memoires du comte de Guiche, p. 235. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 275.

<sup>s</sup> See an extract from the journal book of a principal flag-officer in this battle, in Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 430. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 80. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551.

<sup>t</sup> In his narration, an extract of which may be found in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 282. <sup>u</sup> Parker's history of his own time, p. 102. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 345. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Bagnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 776. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Estades, tome iii. p. 269.

On the 4th of June, the Dutch, who were still considerably stronger than the English, were almost out of sight; but the duke of Albemarle, having prevailed on the prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the English fleet charged five times through the Dutch; till prince Rupert's ship being disabled, and that of the duke of Albemarle very roughly handled, about seven in the evening the fleets separated, each side being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement fell that gallant admiral Sir Christopher Minnes, who, having a shot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another shot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain<sup>w</sup>.

This was the most terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the Dutch admirals themselves say; and the pensioner de Witte, who was no flatterer of our nation, yet too quick a man not to discern, and of too great a spirit to conceal the truth, said roundly upon this occasion, "If the English were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; their own fleet could never have been brought on after the first day's fight, and he believed none but theirs could; and all the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt; but that the English courage was invincible<sup>x</sup>." Of this panegyric it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him who made it, or to the English nation.

After all, it is by no means easy to say who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loss of the vanquished. Some Dutch writers talk of thirty-five ships, and between five and six thousand men lost by the English; which is more than half their fleet, and very little less than all their seamen. Their best historians, however, compute our loss at sixteen men of war, of which ten were sunk, and six taken. Our writers say, the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thousand

<sup>w</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Richard's history of England, p. 830. A true narrative of the engagement between his majesty's fleet and that of Holland, begun June 1, 1666, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and continuing till the 4th at ten o'clock at night. Published by command. London, printed by Thomas Newcomb, 1666, fol. <sup>x</sup> Wicquefort hist. des provinces unies, liv. xv.

men: themselves own the loss of nine ships, and that there was a most prodigious slaughter of their seamen <sup>γ</sup>.

The duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his rashness <sup>z</sup>, and great contempt of the Dutch. It seems he was of the same sentiment with Blake, and thought that fighting was, almost on any terms, preferable to running away, in a nation who pretend to the dominion of the sea; and whoever shall consider the reputation we still retain from the glorious spirit of these intrepid men, will scarce think it reasonable to hazard his own character by attacking theirs. It is enough that we live in cooler times, when men may be considered as heroes upon moderate terms: let us, therefore, content ourselves with justifying our own conduct, without censuring that of others, while, in the same breath, we confess that it is no easy thing to imitate it.

The Dutch had once more the credit of appearing at sea before the English, their ships having in these engagements suffered less. They first affected to brave us on our own coasts, and next to go in search of their French allies, who certainly never meant to afford them any real assistance. It was not long before the English appeared. The fleet consisted of eighty men of war, great and small, and nineteen fire-ships, divided into three squadrons: the red under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, who were on board the same ship, Sir Joseph Jordan their vice, and Sir Robert Holmes their rear-admiral. Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white, and had under him Sir Thomas Tyd-

<sup>γ</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 778, 779. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neville hist. de Hollande, tom. iii. ch. 13. See de Ruyter's letters to the states, the Dutch, French, and English accounts of this battle, and Sir George Ayscue's letter to the king, dated from the castle of Lovellein, June 20, 1666, in la vie du Ruyter, p. 290—350. The count d'Eltrales, in his letter to the king of the 17th of June, says, the Dutch took eleven large ships, and burned or sunk ten; that the white squadron was totally destroyed, Sir George Ayscue made prisoner, and his ship burned; that the vice-admiral, commanded by Berkley governor of Portsmouth, of seventy guns, was brought into the Maese, with five others of the like force; that three thousand men perished, and as many made prisoners. In his letter of July 1. he says, De Witte told the states, that the English had lost twenty-four ships, and nine or ten thousand men, and that eighteen ships were so disabled, that they would not be fit for service in a long time. See his letter also of the eighth of the same month. <sup>z</sup> Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 433. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 334.

diman, and rear-admiral Ucburt. Sir Jeremiah Smith carried the blue flag, and his officers were Sir Edward Spragge and rear-admiral Kempthorne<sup>a</sup>. The Dutch, according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and twenty fire-ships, divided also into three squadrons, under lieutenant-admiral de Ruyter, John Evertz, (brother to the admiral who was killed in the former engagement), and Van Tromp<sup>b</sup>.

On the 25th of June, about noon, the English came up with the enemy off the north foreland. Sir Thomas Allen with the white squadron began the battle by attacking Evertz. Prince Rupert and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a desperate attack upon de Ruyter, whose squadron was in the centre of the Dutch fleet, and, after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ship. In this space the white squadron had intirely defeated their enemies, admiral John Evertz, his vice-admiral de Vries, and his rear-admiral Koenders, being all killed, the vice-admiral of Zealand taken, and another ship of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke fought de Ruyter ship to ship, disabled the Guelderland of sixty-six guns, which was one of his seconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more; upon which the Dutch squadron began to fly<sup>c</sup>. However, vice-admiral Van Nes stood bravely by de Ruyter, and his ship received great damage: yet, being at last deserted by all but seven ships, they yielded to necessity, and followed the rest of their fleet as fast as they could.

Admiral de Ruyter's ship was so miserably torn, and his crew so dispirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little resistance, and nothing but the want of wind hindered the English from boarding him. As for admiral Van Tromp, he was enga-

<sup>a</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 91. Anals of the universe, p. 140. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 87, 88. vol. ii. p. 181. <sup>b</sup> Brandt Leeven van de Ruyter, p. 507. Basiage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 781. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. ch. 12. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Estades, tome iii. p. 289, 290. La vie de Ruyter, p. 353. <sup>c</sup> Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 754. Gumble's life of General Monk, p. 439. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 92. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 182. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 282. Echard's history of England, p. 821. and other historians Miscellanea antica, p. 412.

ged with Sir Jeremiah Smith, and the blue squadron at a distance, and so could not assist his friends. As his was the strongest squadron of the Dutch fleet, and Smith's the weakest of the English, we had no great advantage on that side; yet some we had, his vice-admiral's ship being disabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery as long as there was any light<sup>d</sup>.

Admiral de Ruyter continued his retreat that night, and the next day prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle pursued him, with part of the red squadron, with as much vigour as the wind would permit. A fire-ship bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and missed very little of setting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when de Ruyter found himself so hard pressed, and his fleet in such imminent danger, that in a fit of despair he cried out, "My God, what a wretch am I! amongst so many thousand bullets is not there one to put me out of my pain?" By degrees, however, he drew near their own shallow coast, where the English could not follow him. Upon this occasion prince Rupert insulted the Dutch admiral, by sending a little shallop called the Fanfan, with two small guns on board, which, being by force of oars brought near de Ruyter's vessel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at last a ball from the Dutch admiral so damaged this contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briskly, to save their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the wielings, the English went to ly at Schonevelt, the usual rendezvous of the Dutch fleets<sup>e</sup>.

This was the clearest victory gained during the whole war: the Dutch were miserably beaten, and their two great admirals de Ruyter and Tromp had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating circumstances they could devise<sup>f</sup>. In this battle the Dutch lost twenty ships; four

<sup>d</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 780. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. chap. 14. La vie de Ruyter, p. 361. Lettres, memoires du comte d' Estrades, tome iii. p. 336. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 276. <sup>e</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 783. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 14. La vie de Ruyter, p. 368, 369. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 359. <sup>f</sup> Basnage and the other Dutch historians speak largely of this quarrel. See Tromp's letter to the States-  
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four admirals killed, and a great many captains: as to private men, there might be about 4000 slain, and 3000 wounded. The English had only the Resolution burnt, three captains killed, and about 300 private men.

Upon this occasion it appeared, of how little service it is to spread false rumours amongst the populace. The Dutch people had been assured, that the last battle had intirely ruined the naval strength of England, and that their fleet, when it sailed out, was gone to destroy the coasting trade, and to insult the sea-ports of our island. When, therefore, in the space of six weeks, they saw the reverse of this, their own countrymen flying, the English navy stationed on their shore, and their whole commerce at a stand, their fury is not to be expressed. They reproached their governors not only with want of courage and fortune, but also with being deficient in point of probity, and with endeavouring to impose on a nation they could not protect. Their rage, furious as it was, received no small increase from a new misfortune, heavier in itself, and more shameful in its nature, than any they had ever sustained; yet whether so honourable to the English as some have represented it, I will not take upon me to determine, but leave it to the decision of the candid reader, when he shall have read the best account of the matter I am able to give.

On the 29th of July the English fleet weighed anchor, and steered their course for the Ulie; but the wind being contrary, they did not make the island till the 7th of August. Being then come to anchor, prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle re-

general, dated August 13, 1666, in *la vie de Ruyter*, p. 376. See the letter of the count d'Estrades to the king, dated August 12, 1666, in *lettres, memoires du comte d'Estrades*, tome iii. p. 345. *Memoires du comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. p. 278.

\* The Dutch ministers, who in those times preached as if they had the rells of destiny lying open before them, affirmed the fire of London, which happened the September following, to be a judgment from heaven for this action. Some of our own writers are very angry with it, and with Sir Robert Holmes for performing it: but this is quite absurd, since he acted in consequence of the resolution of a council of war, and is therefore commendable in this respect, whatever may be thought of his orders, or his conduct in other things. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 553. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 93. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 441. Annals of the universe, p. 142. Kennet, vol. iii. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 528. Echard's history of England, p. 831. Burchet's naval history, p. 400.

ceived



received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich magazines on the islands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; upon which it was resolved to attack them without delay<sup>h</sup>.

Upon this, a council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the necessary dispositions for this great attempt. There it was resolved, that 300 men should be drawn out of each squadron, two thirds land and one third sea men, under nine captains, and the whole to be executed under the direction of Sir Robert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red, with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both islands at the same time, was to command one division. The ships appointed for this enterprize were five fourth, three fifth rates, five fire-ships, and seven ketches, as Sir Robert Holmes tells us in his relation of the affair<sup>i</sup>.

On the 9th of August, about seven in the morning, this squadron weighed, divided from the rest of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the Buoys, where they met the prince's pleasure-boat called the Fanfan, the crew of which had discovered in the harbour a considerable fleet of ships near the Ulie, which proved to be 170 merchant-ships, the least of which was not of less than 200 tons burden, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed home near 100 of those ships from the northward, some from the Streights, some from Guinea, some from Russia, some from the east countries: the rest were outward-bound ships, all of which likewise were very richly laden<sup>k</sup>.

Sir Robert Holmes, considering that if he should proceed, as his design was, first to attempt a descent on the land, that nu-

<sup>h</sup> The Ulie is an island from which the Dutch fleets usually sail to the Baltic; it has the Texel on the south, and Schelling on the north.

<sup>i</sup> I take this from the account by authority, intitled, A true and perfect narrative of the great success of a part of his Majesty's fleet by their burning 160 Dutch ships within the Ulie. Of this there is an extract in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 282. See also Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 361. Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 754. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 188.

<sup>k</sup> If the reader considers the number, the burden, and the trade, in which these ships were employed, he will easily discern the credit due to the subsequent account of damages.

merous fleet might possibly pour in such numbers of men, as might render the success hazardous, resolved to begin with the ships; and accordingly, having ordered the *Advice* and the *Hampshire* to lie without the Buoys, he weighed with the rest of his fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into Schelling road, where the *Tyger* came to anchor, and immediately Sir Robert went on board the *Fanfan*, and hoisted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him, and there it was ordered, that the *Pembroke* which drew the least water, with the five fire-ships, should fall in amongst the enemy's fleet with what speed they could.

Captain Brown with his fire-ship chose very bravely to lay the biggest man of war on board, and burnt the vessel downright. Another fire-ship running up at the same time to the other man of war, the captain, backing his sails, escaped the present execution of the fire-ship, but so as to run the ship on ground, where it was presently taken by some of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ships clapped the three great merchantmen on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion, which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on board again, and presently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the advantage, and fall in, sink, burn, and destroy all they could, but with a strict command, that they should not plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share, some twelve, some fifteen merchantmen, that, of the whole fleet, there escaped not above eight or nine ships, one of which was a Guineaman of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers: these ships, being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, served to protect four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where it was not possible for our boats to come at them, though even these few were much damaged<sup>1</sup>.

The next day, being the tenth, it was found more expedient to land on the island of Schelling than upon that of Ulic, which

<sup>1</sup> This account agrees very well with what is said on the same subject by the Dutch writers, who speak with horror of this action, the town being inhabited by Mennonites, a sort of Dutch Quakers, who hold the use of arms repugnant to the Christian principle, and are an honest, harmless, industrious kind of people.

was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats; and he debarked with little or no opposition. When he came on shore, he left one company to secure his boat, and with the other ten marched three miles farther up into the country to the capital town called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of 1000 very good houses, where, keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town to prevent any surprize from the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to the place: but finding them somewhat slow in executing that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in order to pillage, he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten his men away, which burnt with such violence, that, in half an hour's time, most part of the town was in a bright flame. This place was reported, by those that were found in it, to have been very rich, and so it appeared by some of the soldiers pockets; but very few people were to be seen there, having had time to escape from the danger, except some old men and women, who were used by the English, after they fell into their hands, with all possible gentleness and humanity<sup>m</sup>.

This blow, and that, too, in many respects, greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, suffered, by burning the town and magazines, the loss of near six millions of guilders; and, if we take the ships and their rich cargoes into this computation, they confess that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions, or 1,100,000 pounds sterling. We need not wonder that this wound cut very deep, and engaged the states to use their utmost diligence in fitting out a new fleet<sup>n</sup>.

But, before we come to this expedition, it may not be amiss to introduce a passage, which hitherto has not found a place in

<sup>m</sup> The damage done by burning of the town of Bandaris is somewhat lessened in the detail given by M. de Neuville in his *hist. de Hollande*, tome iii. p. 287.

<sup>n</sup> *Bassinage annales des provinces unies*, tome i. p. 784. *Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies*, tome iii. p. 151, 152. *Lettres, memoires du comte d'Estrades*, tome iii. p. 360, who says the English burnt 140 merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coast, and that the whole loss was computed at six millions. *Memoires du comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. p. 281. Some writers make the loss sustained by the Dutch still more, *viz.* 11,000,000 guilders, or 1,200,000 pounds sterling. *Lediard's naval history*, p. 397. *Rapin* diminishes the loss, and the number of ships.

our history. The destroying the Dutch ships, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Englishmen, was no English project. One captain Heemskerck, a Dutchman, who fled hither for fear of his being called to an account for misbehaviour under Opdam, was the author of that dismal scene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boasting, in the hearing of King Charles II. of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country, that monarch, with a stern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never presume to appear again in his presence. He sent him, however, a very considerable sum of money for the service, with which he retired to Venice. This instance of magnanimity in that generous prince has been long and highly applauded by the Dutch<sup>o</sup>; why should it be any longer unknown to the English?

As soon as the fleet was ready, the command was bestowed on Michael de Ruyter, Tromp having at that time, in consequence of his dispute with de Ruyter, laid down his commission. This navy consisted of seventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-seven fire-ships<sup>p</sup>. The first design they had was to join the French squadron, which Louis XIV. had promised to fit out for their assistance; in this they were most egregiously disappointed, and after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once chased by a superior English fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at such usage, which, it is said, wrought so powerfully on the mind of the gallant de Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of sickness<sup>q</sup>.

When the French thought the coast was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his squadron, boarded the Ruby, a fine ship of a thousand tons and fifty-four guns, and carrying her in a short time, it so discouraged the French ministry, that they scarce trusted their

<sup>o</sup> Vie l'admiral de Ruyter, partie i. p. 373, 374.

<sup>p</sup> Buissonne annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 785. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iv. liv. 14. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. chap. 14. La vie de Ruyter, p. 419. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 283. Echard, and other writers.

<sup>q</sup> The Dutch writers differ much from the English in respect to these particulars, but their accounts are inconsistent with each other. Besides, if they were superior at sea, how came they not to join the French?

<sup>r</sup> Letters to Sir William Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 131. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 283. Burchet's naval history, p. 400.

away afterwards out of sight of their own shore<sup>s</sup>. But, in the mean time, to convince the English that they were determined to their enemies, though they did not like fighting, they had recourse to stratagem; or, to call the thing by its proper name, they set on foot a dirty conspiracy for seizing the island of Guernsey. In pursuit of this fine scheme, they sent a gentleman, who was governor of one of the fortresses upon their own coasts, to negotiate with major-general Lambert, an old republican, who was prisoner in the island. But the general, it seems, preferred any government to a French one, and therefore, having made a free discovery of these politicians, they were taken and hanged for spies<sup>t</sup>. This, methinks, is sufficient to shew, that both courts were enough in earnest; which, however, is a fact some people shun, and not a few historians now, pretend to doubt.

By the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of this war; which was certainly directly, and at the same time equally opposite to the welfare both of Britain and Holland, and may, therefore, be justly referred to the arts of France, and the very peculiar situation of the grand pensionary of Holland, M. de Witte; a man not more fortunate in his abilities, than unhappy in the application of them. A man who understood the interests of his country thoroughly, and, in his own nature, was certainly inclined to promote them; but having been engaged from his birth in the designs of a faction bent to ruin the authority, interest, and credit of the house of Orange, he came, on account of his royal highness's near relation to it, to have an inveteracy against the English court, which grew so much the more vehement, the less cause there was for it<sup>u</sup>.

He had plunged his country into this war chiefly to gratify his own humour, and to pin himself effectually on France; and now, when his countrymen were almost unanimously desirous of peace, the overtures for which were well received, and re-

<sup>s</sup> Lettres, memoires du comte d'Estades, tome iii. p. 425, 450. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 295.

<sup>t</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 554. Miscellanea aulica, p. 407. Echard's hist. of England, p. 833.

<sup>u</sup> See his character in d'Estade's negotiations, as well as in Basnage, and le Clerc, who is his apologist at least, if not his panegyrist; yet he confesse, that this statesman had never travelled, and was little versed in the history, politics, or interests of other countries. He was a man inflexible, but not infallible.

dily complied with in England, he contrived in his own mind such an extraordinary method of making war, as he thought would effectually raise the reputation of his family; and, at the same time, cut off the head of a very honest gentleman, who, at the request and by the consent of the states, had carried on a correspondence in England for facilitating a peace \*.

The king of Sweden having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both sides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of London, and other national misfortunes, particularly the restlessness of factions, (a mischief from which we are very seldom long free), engaged King Charles to be very earnest as well as sincere in his desires of a peace. The Dutch, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to serve the purposes of their ministry, and many arts had been practised to keep them in it, though it was equally against their interests and their inclinations. Now, therefore, when France found pacific measures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on would serve only to raise the reputation of England, and to obscure their own, as well as ruin the Dutch; a treaty was set on foot at Breda, not only at the desire of the states, but by their express appointment both of time and place, in which they were indulged by King Charles, purely to shew the sincerity of his resolution. Whilst this treaty was thus negotiating, de Witte was resolved to put in practice his base project; which, though executed with success, and esteemed glorious for a moment, yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country, and more especially so to himself and his brother, who, to shew how much it was their own, had the immediate conduct and execution of it \*.

When

\* The matter is very faintly stated in Basnage's annals, tome i. p. 787, but Mr. de Neuville treats M. Buat, who suffered on this occasion, as a downright traitor, though he owns he had formerly served his country with equal integrity and courage. *Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies*, tome iii. p. 153. *Lettres, memoires, &c. du comte d'Elstrades*, tome iii. p. 351, 359, 365, 449, 451. *Memoires du comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. p. 283. *Life of the earl of Clarendon*, vol. iii. p. 629. *Miscellanea aulica*, p. 415. \* *Rasnage annales des provinces unies*, tome i. p. 804. *Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies*, tome iii. liv. 12. *Wauquetfort. Neuville hist. de Hollande*, tome iii. p. 294. *Lettres, memoires du comte d'Elstrades*, tome iii. p. 469, 471, 483, 487. See also tom. iv. King Charles requested the Swedish ambassadors, that he would not treat with



When the pensionary John de Witte was last on board the Dutch fleet, and, in the absence of the English navy, had cruiz'd upon our coast, he took an opportunity of sending several persons to sound the mouth of the river Thames, in order to discover how far it might be practicable to make any attempt herein with large ships; and having by this means found, with what facility the project he had formed might be executed, he resolv'd to proceed in it, notwithstanding the negotiations for peace were then far advanced. He at first opened himself to the count d'Estades, the French ambassador, who communicated the design to his court, where it met with the utmost approbation; and where measures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution.

To this end it was necessary king Charles should be persuaded that there was no necessity of sitting out a fleet for this year, since that would have rendered the design of the Dutch statesman not only difficult and dangerous, but absolutely impracticable. With a view to this, the queen mother (whose advices were always fatal to this nation) was persuaded to write her son a letter, wherein she inform'd him, that his most Christian Majesty, and the states-general, had turned their thoughts entirely

the states, unless they sent a proper person to London with propositions, made, at his request, a suitable provision for his nephew the prince of Orange, and agreed to a proper regulation of the trade to the Indies; that he expected damages for the great losses suffered by the war; an acknowledgment for the herring fishing on his coasts, the nets being dragged on his shore; that he demanded no towns for reduction, but insisted on the guaranty of the emperor and other princes. See also *memoires du comte de Guiche*, liv. ii. and iii. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 565. Lord Arlington's letters, p. 213, 215, 221. Bishop Parker's history of his own time, p. 123. Le Clerc *hist. des provinces unies*, tome iii. liv. 14. p. 193, 194. *Secrete resol. van Haer Hoog. Mog Saterdagh*, 19 Martii, p. 522. Valkenier's *Verwerd Europa*, p. 73. La Vie de Ruyter, 449, 454. Neuville *hist. de Hollande*, tome iii. p. 296. *Memoires du comte de Guiche*, liv. iii. p. 389. *Columna rostrata*, p. 191.

Count d'Estades, who was the great confidant of the pensionary, and to whom the best Dutch writers allow he imparted many secrets of their state, very improper for any foreigner, and much more a French minister, to be acquainted with, tells the king his master plainly, that de Witte hated the peace; 1. Because it would make him less necessary, and so lessen his authority; 2. Because it would be favourable to the interests of the house of Orange; 3. Because he had (though with no ill intention) done many things contrary to the constitution, for which, in a time of peace, he might be very easily called to an account,

towards peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his majesty, by sitting out a great fleet, should alarm them on their own coasts, as in the preceding year. This advice, supported by the intrigues of the earl of St. Albans, and agreeing with the king's temper and circumstances, whose ministers deceived, whose mistresses beggared, and whose courtiers plundered him, against whose measures a party was formed, many of whom, notwithstanding their vehement professions of patriotism, in reality meant little more than places and preferments, we need not wonder he fell so readily into it; for meanly covetous, and squandering needy princes, are alike liable to the greatest foible in governing; the preferring present gain to any future prospect whatever. Notwithstanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, king Charles, by a strange fatality, ordered only two small squadrons for the summer service, in 1667<sup>a</sup>.

Things being thus in a readiness, the last resolution was taken in Holland for the immediate execution of pensionary de Witte's project; and this resolution was signed by the French minister, as well as by the deputies of the states. His most Christian Majesty had promised that a squadron of his ships, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, should assist therein. However, that the issue of the thing might irritate the English against the Dutch only, the French, as usual, waved the performance of their promise; when the matter, however, was so far advanced, that the Dutch found it impossible for them to go back. Yet the English ministers were treating all this time at Breda, where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance of speedily concluding a peace<sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 360. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 97, 98. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Burchet's naval history, p. 297. Miscellanea aulica, p. 394, 395. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 106, 117, 131, 139, 145. Kenner's history of England, vol. iii. p. 287. Echard, p. 838. *Memoires d'Etatades*, tome iii. p. 393, 483, 521.

<sup>b</sup> In this the historians of both nations agree. One would wonder how, after duly considering this fact, any writer can assert, (as Dutch historians do), that de Witte's expedition was necessary to the making of the peace. King Charles had yielded to a treaty at the request of the Dutch; he had left the manner of negotiating it to them; he had disarmed his victorious fleet. What signs, beyond these, could he shew of inclining to peace? but it was plainly calculated to fru-

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The pretence made use of by John de Witte, for fitting out a fleet in the spring, was the mischief which had been done to their navigation by the privateers from Scotland. In order to check these, admiral Van Ghendt was sent with a considerable fleet into the Frith, with orders to burn the coasts, and recover such ships as were in those ports. He appeared before Leith on the 1st of May, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of mischief; but he contented himself with cannonading Burntisland to very little purpose. When the English court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year, and that this expedition was purely to quiet the minds of the people enough disturbed by their late losses. This shews the great folly of trusting an enemy, and ought to be a warning to all British statesmen for the future. If the king at this time had pawned the jewels of the crown, or the crown itself, (as some of his predecessors did), to pay his seamen, and put a strong fleet to sea, he had turned the tables, made a good peace, and passed the remainder of his reign in quiet.

But pensionary de Witte, in the mean time, had hastily manned out a large fleet, under the command of de Ruyter, on board which he intended to have gone in person; but the French protested against this step, and therefore he was at last content to send Cornelius de Witte, his brother. Care had been taken to provide some of the old republican officers to command the troops which were to make a descent; and these also easily procured pilots to conduct the Dutch into our rivers and ports. So wild a thing is faction, which, though always covered with fair pretences of love for the public, will yet lead such as are deluded thereby to the most flagitious actions, and such as visibly tend to destroy, what, by their own principles, they should most vigorously defend<sup>c</sup>.

strate the very ends of peace, by leaving a rancour in the minds of both nations; and this effect it had.

<sup>c</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 560. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 167. Annals of the universe, p. 157. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 197. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 804. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. p. 194. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. chap. 17. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. 23.

The fleet being ready, sailed over to the English coast, where it was joined by Van Ghendt, and consisted then of seventy men of war, besides fire-ships. On the seventh of June they attacked Sheerness, which was at that time unfinished, and in no state of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a considerable quantity of naval stores. Though the court had scarce any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of Albemarle, Sir Edward Spragge, and other great officers, had made all imaginable provision for the defence of the river Medway, by sinking ships in the passage, throwing a chain across it, and placing three large vessels, which had been taken from the Dutch in this war, behind the chain. The Dutch had the advantage of a strong easterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ships at Chatham, in spite of all these precautions so well and wisely taken to preserve them. It was on the twelfth they executed this design; which at last, however, had miscarried, if one captain Brakell, who was a prisoner on board their fleet for some misdemeanor, had not offered (to wipe out the memory of his former mistake) to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed<sup>d</sup>.

He also with great bravery boarded and took one of the English frigates which guarded the passage, soon after the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*, being the ships which, as we before observed, had been taken from the Dutch, were set on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with six men of war and five fire-ships as high as *Upnore-castle*, but were so warmly received by major *Scott*, who commanded therein, and Sir Edward Spragge, from the opposite shore gave them so much disturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return<sup>e</sup>. However, as they came back, they burnt the *Royal Oak*, a very fine ship, and in her captain *Douglas*, whose behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory.

<sup>d</sup> I take these facts from the several accounts in their historians and our own, but particularly from the relations, laid before the house of commons, of this whole affair, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

<sup>e</sup> Parker's history of his own times, p. 124. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 448. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 215. Memoirs of John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 7. State letters of Roger, earl of Ormery, p. 139.

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He had received orders to defend his ship, which he did with the utmost resolution; but having none to retire, he chose to be burnt with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deserted his command. On the fourteenth they carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, notwithstanding all the English could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two Dutch men of war ran ashore in the Medway, and were burnt, which, with eight fire-ships consumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loss acknowledged by the Dutch writers; though it is not improbable that they really suffered much more.<sup>a</sup>

De Ruyter, highly pleased with what he had performed, left admiral Van Nes with part of his fleet in the mouth of the Thames, and sailed with the rest to Portsmouth, in very sanguine hopes of burning the ships there. Failing in this design, he sailed westward to Torbay, where he was likewise repulsed.<sup>b</sup> Then he returned back again to the mouth of the Thames, and with twenty-five sail came as high as the Hope, where our squadron lay, under the command of Sir Edward Spragge. This consisted of eighteen sail; yet, the admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we suffered at first from their fire-ships; but Sir Edward repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir Joseph Jordan with a few small ships, quickly forced the Dutch to retire. The like success attended their attack on Land-guard fort, which was performed by sixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel Doleman, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but governor Darrel, an old

<sup>a</sup> "I could have been glad" (says the ingenious Sir William Temple in his letter to lord Lisle, in his works, vol. ii. p. 40.) "to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate captain Douglas's death, who stood and burnt in one of our ships at Chatham, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said a DOUGLAS quitted his post without order. Whether it be wise in men to do such actions or no, I am sure it is so in STATES to honour them."

<sup>b</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 287. See the duke of Albemarle's narrative of this business, which he presented to the house of commons in the ensuing sessions, in Echard's history of England, book i. ch. 2. p. 839. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 804. Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel, p. 248. Le Clerc, tome iii. Neuville, and other Dutch historians.

<sup>c</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 562.

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cavalier, beat them off with great loss<sup>1</sup>. On the twenty-third, Van Nes sailed again up the river as far as the Hope, where he engaged Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five frigates, and seventeen fire-ships<sup>2</sup>. This proved a very sharp action, at least between the fire-ships, of which the Dutch writers themselves confess they spent eleven to our eight.

The next day the English attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithstanding their superiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire-ship they had left to prevent her being taken. On the twenty-fifth they bore out of the river, with all the sail they could make, followed at a distance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining fire-ships. On the twenty-sixth, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another English Squadron from Harwich, consisting of five men of war, and fourteen fire-ships. They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large ship; but were not able to fire them, though they frightened a hundred of their men into the sea. The rear-admiral of Zealand was forced on shore, and so much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home<sup>3</sup>.

The Dutch fleets, notwithstanding these disappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impression could be made, as had been expected, on the English coasts, continued still hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually signed, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are pretty much at a loss to account for this conduct; but a Dutch historian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius de Witte ordered all our ports, on that side, to be founded, and took incredible pains to be informed of the strength of our maritime forts, and the provision made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which shewed plainly, that though this

<sup>1</sup> They made various attempts upon the coasts of Essex, but it seems with no great success, other than getting a little fresh provision, losing, as our writers assert, as many men as they stole sheep.

<sup>2</sup> Echard's history of England, p. 480. Burchet's naval history, p. 401. Brandt Leeven van de Ruyter, fol. 563.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the authors before mentioned, the reader may consult Ludlow's memoirs, in order to be convinced, that the Dutch, and particularly the de Wittes, had our destruction more at heart than their own safety, and that this Chatham expedition was chiefly contrived, directed, and executed by our own fugitives.



was the first, it was not designed to be the last visit<sup>m</sup> they paid us.

These were certainly very provoking circumstances; and he added to them at his return a strange act of indignity towards the king and the English nation, by representing himself in triumph, and them at his feet, in a pompous picture, which he caused to be hung up in a public edifice, to heighten the insult to the last degree. But before we speak of the peace, and of what followed thereupon in Holland, it will be requisite to give some account of such actions in the war as have not yet been mentioned<sup>n</sup>.

While the whole Dutch fleet was employed in alarming our coasts, Sir Jeremiah Smith was sent with a small squadron northwards; with which, and the assistance of a numerous fleet of privateers, already abroad for their own profit, the Dutch commerce to the Baltic was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into English ports. Thus it may be truly said, that the nations at this time changed characters. The Dutch preferred the insult at Chatham, which, all things considered, was of little or no consequence to them, to the preservation of their trade; and the English endeavoured to make themselves amends for this unexpected loss of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchant-men. Such are the effects which private passions produce in public affairs! The indolence and credulity of king Charles expoied his subjects and himself to this stain on their reputation, and the fury and self-interest of the de Witte faction, betrayed (for the sake of furthering their own purposes) the trade of their country at pre-

<sup>m</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 807. where he adds they waited for, and would have taken our Barbadoes fleet, if they had met it, with a view of creating a fresh breach, or at least availing themselves of their present superiority, and the king's unlucky situation.

<sup>n</sup> These acts of indignity and contempt were not only galling to the king, and such of his subjects as were truly loyal, but they were also such marks of rivetted hate, and implacable prejudice, as disposed that prince more than any thing to receive ill impressions from France; and therefore, how wrong soever his subsequent behaviour might be, (politically considered), yet the Dutch had apparently themselves to blame.

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sent, and its future welfare, to extreme hazard. But let us return from men to things<sup>o</sup>.

The English, in the West Indies, took the island of St. Eustacie, Salia, St. Martin, Bonaira, the island of Tobago, and other places from the Dutch. On the contrary, the Dutch, under the conduct of commodore Krynfen, made themselves masters of Surinam; and the French, assisted by the Dutch, almost deprived the English of their half of the island of St. Christopher's, after several obstinate disputes, and the death of their commander les Salles. Six frigates, and some other small vessels from Barbadoes, sailing from thence to repair this loss, were so ill treated by a violent storm, that they were put out of a condition to execute their design, and two or three of the most disabled ships fell into the hands of the enemy; though, before their misfortune, they had burnt two Dutch ships richly laden, in the harbour of Los Santos. Some authors say, this little fleet was commanded by the lord Willoughby, and that himself was lost in the hurricane. The English were more successful in the neighbourhood of Surinam, where they destroyed the Dutch colony, took a fort belonging to the French, and afterwards made themselves masters of many rich prizes, at the expence of that nation<sup>p</sup>.

The Dutch admiral Evertz, in conjunction with commodore Krynfen, recovered the island of Tobago, and did a great deal of mischief upon the coast of Virginia. In March 1667, Sir John Harman was sent with a squadron of twelve men of war to redress these mischiefs. He performed all that he was sent for, and effectually cleared the seas both of French and Dutch rovers; yet he had not been long there before he found himself pushed by a superior force. The Dutch commodore Krynfen, having embarked on board his squadron thirteen hundred land troops, sailed to Martinico, where he joined monsieur de la

<sup>o</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 564. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 174. vol. ii. p. 228, 231. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. i. p. 218, 220.

<sup>p</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 548, 557. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 49. Annals of the universe, p. 120, 141, 154. Kennet, vol. iii. Echard's history of England, p. 838. Columna rostrata, p. 139. Butcher's naval history, p. 404. Bataigne annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 808, 809.

Barre, who commanded all the forces of the French king in those parts. Their fleet, after this junction, consisted of two and twenty sail of stout ships, with which they went to seek the English squadron upon the coast of St. Christopher's.

On the 10th of May, 1667, an engagement ensued, which lasted, with great vigour, for above three hours, in which the English, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The Dutch historians say, that had it not been for the courage and conduct of the officers of their fleet, the French admiral had been taken; and, on the other hand, it is certain that those officers were so ill satisfied with the behaviour of the French, that they quitted them upon their return to St. Christopher's. The English admiral with his fleet came soon after thither, burnt the French admiral, and six or seven ships in the harbour, and either sunk himself, or obliged the French to sink, all the rest of the ships that were there, except two, and this with the loss only of eighty men<sup>a</sup>.

In the first of these engagements, our writers have observed, that the admiral, Sir John Harman, was exceedingly ill of the gout, so as not to be able to stir. On the first firing, however, he started up, and went upon deck, gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable, and when it was over became as lame as he was before. By these victories he became master in those seas, and took from the Dutch their plantation at Surinam; but, however, it was restored by the treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that treaty for the conclusion of hostilities<sup>r</sup>.

There were three distinct treaties of peace signed at Breda, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the English ministers, who were Lord Holles and Mr. Coventry; which were ratified on the twenty-fourth of August, 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were safe and honourable, at least, though not so glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after such a war. By it the honour of the flag was secured, and the island of Poleron, to prevent further disputes,

<sup>a</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 564. Annals of the universe, p. 159. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. i. p. 218.

<sup>r</sup> Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Columna retrata, p. 191.

was yielded to the Dutch. In the West Indies we kept all that we had taken, except Surinam, and the French were obliged to restore what they had taken in those parts from us<sup>1</sup>.

Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the loss of Poloron, and, in consequence of that, the spice-trade, was not so much owing to this treaty as to the conduct of Cromwell, to whom it was yielded, when, after turning out his masters, he made peace with the Dutch. In obtaining it, he consulted his honour, and seemed to have the interest of the nation at heart. But, knowing of how great consequence it was to the Dutch, he consented that, paying him an annual pension, they should keep it, sacrificing manifestly thereby the public interest to his own. The island being thus out of our possession, and being of greater consequence than ever to the Dutch, they would not at the time of this treaty depart from their pretensions.

It is certain that the king made this peace much against his will, and without obtaining what he sought and expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto were chiefly these. First, disorders in his domestic affairs, which disquieted him with great reason. He found there was a strong spirit of disaffection amongst his subjects, which produced the late misfortune at Chatham; and, in case the war had continued, would have probably had still worse effects. And, secondly, the French king's design was become apparent; and his claim to the greatest part of the Spanish Netherlands openly avowed. If, therefore, the quarrel between Great Britain and Holland had subsisted any longer, the balance of power on the continent must have been immediately and irretrievably lost<sup>2</sup>. Such were the

<sup>1</sup> Corps universel diplomatique de droit des gens, tome vii. part i. p. 40—57. Memoires du comte d'Estades, tome iv. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 146. See the lord ambassador Coventry's letter to Sir William Temple, dated Breda, August 4, N. S. 1667, in his works, vol. ii. p. 133. Miscellanea aulica, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> What I assert above, the reader will find confirmed by two unexceptionable and irrefragable witnesses, whose knowledge cannot be doubted, or credit questioned. As to the disposition of the people to set up a republic again here, and the offers of Holland and France on that head, Ludlow is full in his memoirs, vol. iii. p. 184, &c. As to the king's judgment on the state of affairs, Sir William Temple gives a candid and copious account in his letters, in which also he concurs with the king in his opinion.

true grounds of the peace at Breda; and whoever considers the situation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

We succeeded better in our negotiations this year in other parts. The worthy and wise earl of Sandwich, concluded, on the thirteenth of May, a treaty with Spain, whereby all old differences were settled, the friendship between the two crowns renewed and strengthened, and our commerce much extended<sup>u</sup>. Soon after this, his lordship went to Lisbon, and there, by his mediation, a peace was made between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, by which the latter came to be owned by the former as an independent kingdom, and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might, if longer pursued, have been fatal to both<sup>w</sup>. Towards the close of this year, his majesty sent Sir William Temple into Holland, in order to enter into a stricter correspondence with the states, and to concert with them the means of preserving Flanders from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch in general, and even the pensionary de Witte himself, now saw plainly they had been dupes to France in this war.

This shews that his majesty, for the present, laid aside his resentments for what had been done against him personally by the Dutch; and this for the sake of giving a check to the too great power of France. In consequence of Sir William's negotiation, was concluded the famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland; the most glorious step taken in this reign, and which, steadily pursued, would have crushed at the beginning that ambitious prince, whose projects never ceased disturbing his neighbours, till after being humbled by the arms of Britain, in a succeeding reign, he came to know himself, and

<sup>u</sup> Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 224. See Sir William Temple's letter to the lord-ambassador Coventry, dated May 21, N. S. 1667, in his works, vol. ii. p. 34. See also, p. 313.

<sup>w</sup> Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 236. Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. *Memoires d'Ablancourt*, p. 349—361. *Corps universel diplomatique*, tome vii. part i. p. 70.

deplorable on his death-bed<sup>x</sup>. But, to return to our more immediate business.

The Dutch war being over, his majesty sent Sir Thomas Allen with a stout squadron into the Mediterranean, to repress the insults of the Algerines, who, taking advantage of our differences, had disturbed both the English commerce and the Dutch. The latter sent admiral Van Ghendt with a squadron to secure their trade; and he, having engaged six corsairs, forced them to fly to their own coasts, where probably they would have escaped, if commodore Beach with four English frigates, had not fallen upon them, and, after a close chase, obliged them to run a-ground. In this situation they were attacked by the English and Dutch in their boats, and, being abandoned by their respective crews, were all taken, and a great number of Christian slaves of different nations released. The English commodore presented sixteen Dutch slaves to admiral Van Ghendt, and received from him twenty English by way of exchange; but the Algerine ships being leaky, were burnt. The same year some of our frigates attacked seven of the enemy's best ships near Cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice-admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-six guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggest ship in the squadron, carried sixty, and the least forty. Yet, after a sharp engagement, the vice-admiral was sunk, and the rest forced to retire, most of them miserably disabled<sup>y</sup>. At the close of the year 1669, captain Kempthorne, (afterwards Sir John), in the *Mary Rose*, a small frigate, engaged seven Algerine men of war, and, after a very warm action, forced them to sheer off, being in no condition to continue the fight any longer; of which we have a particular account<sup>z</sup>.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that, considering the Dutch, as well as we, were concerned in attacking these pirates, we have

<sup>x</sup> Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. p. 45—81. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 198. See the duke of Buckingham's character of the earl of Arlington in his works, vol. ii. p. 87. Corps diplomatique, tom. vii. part. i. p. 68. Le siècle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire, tome ii. p. 94, 95. <sup>y</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 569, 578. Annals of the universe, p. 183, 239. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 295. Echard's history of England, p. 857. <sup>z</sup> This account, together with a print representing the whole action, engraved by Hollar, is inserted by Ogilby in his description of Africa, p. 218.



no better account of the war that was carried on against them, or of the force they then had, but what we are left to collect as we can, from the scattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only list I have seen, is of the state of their navy in 1668, and then it consisted of twenty-four ships great and small, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewise six new ships of force upon the stock. Yet this pitiful enemy continued to disturb, and even to distress the commerce of both the maritime powers for several years<sup>a</sup>.

At last, Sir Edward Spragge was sent in 1670, with a strong squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruized for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this he sailed from thence, with six frigates and three fire-ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those corsairs which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way he lost the company of two of his fire-ships; yet, not discouraged by this accident, he persisted in his resolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines aground, and (notwithstanding the fire of the castle) burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which he destroyed another of their ships of war near Teddeller. These and other misfortunes caused such a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and chose another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, on the ninth of December in the same year; and as they were now sufficiently humbled, and saw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England must end in their destruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times<sup>b</sup>.

We are now come to the third Dutch war, (more frequently called the second, because it was so in respect to this reign), and to account for the beginning of it will be no easy matter. It

<sup>a</sup> O. Dapper description de l'Afrique, p. 160—184. Hist. du royaume d'Algier, liv. iii. ch. 14. See also the title ALGIERS in the large historical dictionary in Dutch by Luisius. <sup>b</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 581. Annals of the universe, p. 263. Columna rostrata, p. 203, 204. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 128, 129. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xv. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iii. ch. 21.

has been before shewn, that the last treaty of peace was made by king Charles against his will, and on terms to which force only made him consent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he still retained a dislike to the Dutch. Besides, there had been many other things done, sufficient to give distaste to any crowned head. For instance, their factory at Gambrion in Persia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy, having first dressed up the image in an old second-hand suit, to express the distress in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, so the states-general looked upon themselves as above giving him any satisfaction<sup>e</sup>.

They likewise suffered some medals to be struck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Amongst others, because the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were pleased to arrogate to themselves the sole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes<sup>d</sup>. Here, however, it must be owned, that, in making war upon them at this juncture, king Charles acted too much under the direction of French counsels. He had about him the worst set of ministers that ever cursed this, or, perhaps, any other nation. Men of different faiths, (if bad statesmen have any), and who agreed only in promoting those arbitrary acts, which, while they seemed to make their master great, in reality ruined his, and, if they could have been supported, would have exalted their power<sup>e</sup>.

This infamous crew (for however decked with titles by their master, no Englishman will transmit their names to posterity with honour) were then called the CABAL: and these engaged the king to listen to the propositions of his most Christian majesty,

<sup>e</sup> This was very much insisted on in those days, and the rather, because things of a like nature were practised by the Dutch in Russia and other places. As to the fact before us, we have a long detail of it in *voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, vol. i. p. 775. It is mentioned by *Basnage*, tome i. p. 808. and *de Neuville*, who both own, that it was a base and unjustifiable outrage. Instead, however, of attributing this to the Dutch nation, we ought in justice to refer it to the spirit of the de Witte ministry, which was its true source.

<sup>d</sup> Gerard Van Loon *histoire metallique des Pays Bas*, tome iii. p. 17, 22. <sup>e</sup> The candid and inquisitive reader, if desirous of going to the bottom of this, may consult the very ingenious Sir William Coventry's *England's appeal from the private cabal at Whitehall to the great council of the nation*, London, 1673, 4<sup>to</sup>.

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who, as he had before deceived him to serve the Dutch, so he now offered to deceive the Dutch to gratify our king: and that Charles might not hesitate at this step, Louis le grand betrayed his creature de Witte, and discovered a project he had sent him, of entering into an offensive alliance against England; which, with other articles for his private advantage, most unhappily determined our monarch to take a step prejudicial to the Protestant interest, repugnant to that of this nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in Europe<sup>f</sup>.

By virtue of secret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total destruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to those of France, and the rest to fall to the share of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the Merlin yacht, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to pass through the Dutch fleet in the channel, and, on their not striking to his flag, was commanded to fire, which he did; yet, this not being thought enough, was blamed instead of being rewarded for it; and, for not sufficiently asserting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower<sup>g</sup>. The pretence, however, thus secured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch asleep, as they had done us, when our ships were burnt at Chatham; and this, too, they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their schemes depended. Yet de Witte trusted to this, till, as the dupe of France, and the scourge of his own nation, he fell a sacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once resolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his reprisals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the Smyrna fleet.

This squadron of his majesty's ships was commanded by Sir Robert, who hoisted his flag in the St. Michael, as admiral; the

<sup>f</sup> The cabal was a word very luckily chosen, since it was composed of the initial letters of their titles, which were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. As to the justice of my account of them, the reader may consult Kennet, Echard, Rapin, Temple, Parker, Burnet, and Carte's life of the duke of Ormonde.

<sup>g</sup> Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 333. Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. p. 249.

earl of Osſory in the *Resolution*, as vice-admiral; and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear-admiral, in the *Cambridge*. They cruized in the channel on purpoſe to execute this ſcheme, of which, however, the Dutch had ſome notice, and ſent advice-boats to direct their fleet to ſteer northwards. But theſe inſtructions came too late; for they were already ſo far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a council of war it was reſolved to hold on their courſe. On the 13th of March five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which conſiſted of about fifty ſail of merchant-ſhips, and an eſcort of ſix men of war. When the Engliſh veſſels came near them, they fired in order to make them ſtrike, and lower their topſails, which they reſuſed to do<sup>n</sup>.

Upon this the fight began, which laſted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the Dutch fleet was in a manner ruined; five of their richeſt merchant-men were made prizes, their rear-admiral was boarded by captain John Holmes, brother to the admiral, and taken, but ſoon after ſunk, and the reſt of the men of war were very rudely handled<sup>l</sup>. The Dutch hiſtorians, however, ſet a good face upon the matter, and ſay, that their ſeamen behaved very bravely. This is true, but they ſuffered deeply for all that; and beſides, this was the beginning of hoſtilities, and a neceſſary prelude to the war. So the ſtates underſtood it, and immediately diſpatched deputies hither, and to the French king, to ſue for peace<sup>k</sup>.

In this, as in the former diſpute with the Dutch, ſuch ſhips as had been detained in port were diſmiſſed on both ſides, and, in the miſt of a cruel war, the Dutch profeſſed all imaginable eſteem for the Engliſh nation; and, on the other hand, king Charles offered his royal protection to ſuch as thought fit to quit their country in its preſent calamitous ſituation; and take

<sup>n</sup> Onroerd Nederland, 1. deel. fol. 85. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 393. Coke's deſcription of the four laſt reigns, part ii. p. 67. Vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 2. where the reader may find the relation of captain Ydelmuyde, who, after the death of commodore Hayes, commanded the Dutch fleet.

<sup>l</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 592. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 310. Echard, p. 879. Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. p. 250.

<sup>k</sup> Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 193. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 25. p. 264. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. p. 20, 21.

shelter in his dominions<sup>1</sup>. The war was solemnly declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Westminster<sup>m</sup>, and great pains were taken to impose upon the world a gross and groundless notion, that it was undertaken at the instance, or at least with the concurrence of the people in general; whereas they knew their interest too well not to discern how little this measure agreed with it; and therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain supplies, while the Dutch, in the midst of all their miseries, went on receiving sixty millions of their money (which is between five and six millions of ours) annually from their subjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money cheerfully paid to preserve the commonwealth<sup>n</sup>.

The French king, that he might seem to perform his treaty with the English better than that which in the former war he made with the Dutch, sent the count d'Estrees, vice-admiral of France, with a large squadron, to join the English fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the 3d of May; and immediately afterwards the king went down to Portsmouth, and, to shew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the ship of the French admiral, where he remained some hours. Our fleet in a short time failed to the Downs, the duke of York, as high-admiral, wearing the red, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Soon after

<sup>1</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 585. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 241. An order of privy council, giving orders to the commissioners of prizes to release all Dutch ships, goods, and merchandizes, seized in any of his majesty's ports before the declaration of the war, or which voluntarily came in thither, together with all persons belonging to the same, and giving free leave to all Dutch merchants or others to depart the kingdom, if they think fit, without any incumbrance or molestation, dated Whitehall, May 15, 1672, fol. Bafnage, tome ii. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville, tome iv. ch. 4. See also his majesty's gracious declaration for the encouraging the subjects of the united provinces of the Low Countries to transport themselves with their estates, and to settle in this his majesty's kingdom of England. Given at Whitehall, the 12th of June, 1672, fol.

<sup>m</sup> His majesty king Charles the Second's declaration against the states-general of the united provinces of the Low Countries: published by the advice of his privy council, 1672, fol. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 362. <sup>n</sup> Columna rottrata, p. 215. Bafnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 194. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iv. ch. 4. and other Dutch historians.

the French squadron joined them, their admiral bearing the white flag; and then the fleet consisted of one hundred and one sail of men of war, besides fire-ships and tenders. Of these the English had sixty-five ships of war, and on board them four thousand ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty men. The French squadron consisted of thirty-six sail, on board of which were one thousand nine hundred twenty-six pieces of cannon, and about eleven thousand men. The Dutch, in the mean time, were at sea with a very considerable fleet, consisting of ninety-one stout men of war, fifty-four fire-ships, and twenty-three yachts. On the 9th of May they were seen off Dover, and the 13th of the same month a Dutch squadron chased the Gloucester, and some other ships, under the cannon of Sheerness<sup>o</sup>.

The English fleet were at anchor in Solebay, on the twenty-eighth of May, when the Dutch fell in with them, and, if they had not spent too much time in council, had certainly surprised them. As it was, many of the English captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement began between seven and eight in the morning, when de Ruyter attacked the red squadron in the center, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highness the duke of York, for two hours, forcing his highness at last to remove to another ship. The Dutch captain, Van Brakell, attacked the earl of Sandwich in the Royal James; and while they were engaged, almost all the squadron of Van Ghent fell upon the earl's ships. His lordship behaved with amazing intrepidity, killed admiral Van Ghent himself, sunk three fire-ships and a man of war, that would have laid him on board; but then having lost all his officers, and two thirds of his men, his battered ship was grappled, and set on fire by a fourth fire-ship. Some of his men escaped; yet the earl continued on board till the flames surrounded him, where he perished; but left behind him a name immortal, and which will ever be revered by such

<sup>o</sup> It is generally believed, and indeed with good reason, that count d'Estrees had orders to look on rather than fight; a conduct agreeable to that which had been pursued by the same court in the former war, when they pretended to assist the Dutch; as the reader may perceive, by comparing what is here said with the account before given, p. 314.

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as esteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a statesman, or the integrity of a patriot<sup>p</sup>.

The death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the blue squadron, coming in, though too late, to the earl of Sandwich's assistance, threw this part of the Dutch fleet, which had been commanded by Van Ghent, into very great confusion, and forced them to stand off. This gave an opportunity for the blue squadron to join the red, and to assist the duke of York; who, deserted by the French, was in the utmost danger of being oppressed by the two squadrons of de Ruyter and Bankert. About this time Cornelius Evertz, vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed, and de Ruyter and Allentond narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships; but, when the English thought themselves secure of victory, the scattered squadron of Van Ghent came in to the assistance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day<sup>q</sup>.

All this time the French, who composed the white squadron, instead of seconding the continued efforts of the English, kept as far out of danger as they could, and left our fleet to sustain the whole force of the enemy, at a disadvantage of three to two. But, notwithstanding this vast inequality of numbers, the fight continued with inexpressible obstinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared for the English. Five or six of the enemy's fire-ships were sunk by an English man of war, and Sir Joseph Jordan, of the blue squadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced the Dutch fleet, and thereby spread through it the utmost confusion; while a fire-ship clapped their admiral de Ruyter on board, and it was not without the utmost difficul-

<sup>p</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 584. Parker's history of his own time, p. 150. Memoirs of John, duke of Buckinghamshire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 14. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 240. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 374. A true relation of the engagement of his Majesty's fleet, under the command of his royal highness, with the Dutch fleet, May 28, 1672, in a letter from Henry Saville, Esq; on board his royal highness, to the earl of Arlington, principal secretary of state, dated from on board the prince, near the Middle Ground, June 6, 1672, with a postscript giving an account of the number killed and wounded. Published by authority, 1672, fol. <sup>q</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 207, 208. Le Clerc hist. des provinces, tome iii. p. 314. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iv. p. 55. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 26.

ty that he escaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, de Ruyter, collecting his fleet in the best order he could, fought retreating; and, as the most authentic of the Dutch historians say, quitted the place of fight, and steered northwards<sup>r</sup>.

As the French king had by this time over-run a great part of their country, the states, by the advice of the grand pensionary de Witte, (whose brother Cornelius<sup>s</sup> had been present in this fight, seated under a canopy, as if he had been a sovereign prince), assumed to themselves the honour of beating the English. However, they were so modest as to make no rejoicings for this supposed victory; and the distress their affairs were in might well excuse their departure on this occasion from truth. Their people were already disposed to destroy their governors, through madness, at the sight of the cruelties exercised by the French; and if to these there had been joined the news of a defeat at sea, one can scarce conceive how the republic could have been preserved. As it was, the populace, instead of applauding, insulted Cornelius de Witte on his return, and framing to themselves an imaginary quarrel between him and de Ruyter, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed<sup>t</sup>.

The English, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be desired of a victory, but very dear-bought victory. They carried off the Staveren, a large Dutch man of war; whereas

<sup>r</sup> Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, Baronet, p. 20. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 314. Echard's history of England, p. 883, 884. Annals of the universe, p. 280. Bafnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 209. Leven van de Ruyter, p. 675.

<sup>s</sup> There was on this occasion (says the author of the history of the Dutch war) a fine chair of ivory placed on an estrade, covered with a most magnificent carpet, upon the deck of the ship, called the Seven United Provinces, in which sat Cornelius de Witte in a magistrate's robe, surrounded with an officer and twelve halberdiers in his own livery, with caps on their heads, decorated with green and blue ribbons. By this pompous appearance he pretended to add to the grandeur of the sovereignty of the states he represented, to have an opportunity of observing the motions of the fleet, and the progress of the battle, to animate his men, and to render the dignity of plenipotentiary at sea equal to that of general at land, both in splendour and authority.

<sup>t</sup> Bafnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 207, 210. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 322. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iv. chap. viii. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 40, 55.

the enemy took none of ours. They kept their post, while de Ruyter made the best of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great consequence; while de Ruyter himself, in his letter to the states, did not so much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. Cornelius de Witte, indeed, was of another opinion; but therein his interest dictated rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, our not following the Dutch to their own coasts; and, if we consider the strange and unbecoming behaviour of the French in the battle, this will appear no objection at all.

As to the loss, it was pretty equal on both sides. We had four men of war sunk or disabled, but they were small ships; whereas the Dutch lost three of the best in their fleet; one sunk, another burnt, and the third taken: a fourth, called the Great Holland, commanded by the brave captain Brakell, was entirely disabled. As for the French, notwithstanding all their caution, they lost two men of war, and their rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. Of persons of note, besides the earl of Sandwich, there were slain captain Doby of the Henry, captain Pearce of the St. George, captain V. worth of the Anne, Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the Cambridge, Sir John Fox of the Prince, and captain Hannam of the Triumph. Of our volunteers, there fell the lord Maidstone, Mr. Montague, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harbord, two of the duke of York's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Mr. Trevanian, and many others. Of private men, about two thousand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think fit to publish any list, though their loss without question was as great; since de Ruyter says in his letter, "it was the hardest fought battle that he ever saw."

Most of our writers, even of naval history, pass over in silence the remaining service performed in this year, because it did not answer the mighty expectations of the ministry, by whom the

<sup>u</sup> See the relation written by Henry Saville, Esq; before cited, p. 7. Kennet, Echard, Burchet. See monsieur de Witte's letter to the states of the 8th of June, 1672, and that of de Ruyter of the same date. See likewise de Witte's letter of the 10th of June in la Vie de Ruyter, p. 46, 49, 52. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 325.

most sanguine schemes were contrived. But, as truth ought on all occasions to be preferred to every thing, so I think myself obliged to report fairly the extravagant designs in which we embarked, and the means by which we were disappointed, not more perhaps to our neighbours advantage than our own; for in such wars as are made by princes, through caprice, resentment, or ambition, against the interest of their people, it often happens, that a disappointment of the former proves a kind of victory to the latter \*.

On the return of the Dutch fleet to their own coasts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain so for want of gun-powder, all that was on board being sent to the army. The states perceiving their authority almost lost, and their country on the very brink of ruin, resolved once more to try the force of intreaties; with which view they sent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king †. The business of the former was to shew the danger of the Protestant religion, the apparent and near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe, and the dismal consequences which must follow, even to England, from the further prosecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any satisfaction to his most Christian majesty, that he should require.

The arrival of the deputies in England had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the cabal, treated them with a haughtiness as little agreeable to his natural temper as inconsistent with his dignity. Instead of hearing and giving them an answer in person, as he was wont on such applications, he was pleased to send four of the cabal to confer with them, in

\* Mr. Philips, in his continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 587. mentions our fleet missing the Dutch East India ships; as does also the earl of Arlington, in his letter of August 5, 1672, but speak not one word of this invasion. Bishop Kennet is also silent, and Burchet truly, because there was nothing done, seems unwilling to let his readers know there was any thing intended. Mr. Collier, in his columna rostrata, relates the matter fairly, but in very few words, p. 227.

† Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 375. The Dutch ministers, coming without leave or passport, were, as his lordship writes, ordered to Hampton court, there to remain till the king should think fit to allow them an audience. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 239, 251. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 59.

order to know what proposals they had to make; and, afterwards, sent over with them the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and the viscount Halifax, into Holland, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true design was, to be rid of the deputies, the sight of whom drew the compassion of the nation, who considered the Dutch no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a Protestant people sacrificed to a French and Popish interest<sup>1</sup>.

On the arrival of these lords in Holland, they made most extravagant demands; such as ten millions of guilders for the expence of the war, an annual tribute of one hundred thousand for the liberty of fishing, the perpetual stadholdership for the prince of Orange, and his issue male. All these were moderate articles to the rest; for they insisted on a share in their East India trade, the possession of the city of Sluys in Flanders, and the islands of Cadzant, Walcheren, Goeree and Voorn. After the proposal of these intolerable conditions, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, deserting their colleague, went away to the French camp, and there concluded an agreement in the name of their own prince, without his instructions, with the French king, the principal point of which was, that neither should, upon any terms, make a separate peace with the Dutch<sup>2</sup>. As for the deputies sent to his most Christian majesty, they were answered in the style of a conqueror, and so sent back to spread despair through the country, which they did so effectually, that

<sup>1</sup> I have entered farther into this matter than I should otherwise have done, for two reasons. First, this was the grand expedition, and, had it taken effect, would have put an end to the war, and a period to the republic of Holland. Lewis XIV. was in Utrecht, the bishop of Munster before Groningen, and, had the English landed, the Zealanders were inclined to submit. Secondly, this was apparently the favourite scheme of the cabal. Shaftsbury at home preached up openly the destruction of Holland. Buckingham and Arlington were abroad, intent on putting his doctrine in practice. This attempt therefore was critical, and its miscarriage saved Holland certainly, Britain consequentially, and very probably all Europe!

<sup>2</sup> Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 378. This whole affair is very fairly stated in the complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 315—318, where, from secretary Coventry's remarks, it looks as if these lords acted in their negotiation with the French king, rather as deputies from the cabal, than as ambassadors from Charles II. and, from what followed, one would imagine the king, too, saw their conduct in this light.

the inhabitants drew from thence for their safety; for, seeing no hopes of living any better than in slavery, they generously resolved to lay aside all treaties, and to die free<sup>a</sup>.

In the mean time the French and English fleets, being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land-forces, sailed again for the Dutch coasts, with a design to make a descent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but, not thinking proper to attack them among the sands, they deferred the execution of their design, and blocked up the Maese and Texel; which de Ruyter (having strict orders from the states not to hazard a battle) saw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was resolved to debark, on the isle of Texel<sup>b</sup>, the body of troops on board his fleet. The occasion was favourable in all respects; the French and the bishop of Munster were in the heart of the Dutch territories, so that no great force could be drawn together to resist them on shore; and the coast was so low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a superior force could have secured the Dutch from this invasion.

It was upon the 3d of July this resolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces should have landed the next flood. But Providence interposed in favour of a free people, and saved them from a yoke which seemed already to press upon their necks. The ebb, instead of six, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended descent for that time, and the storm, that rose the night following, forced the fleet out to sea, where they struggled for some time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite lost, returned, without performing any thing of consequence, to the English shore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and, though some of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of superstition, yet I must own, I think their excess of piety, in this respect, very pardon-

<sup>a</sup> Basnage *Annales des provinces unies*, tome ii. p. 241, 246. Le Clerc *hist. des provinces unies*, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville *hist. de Hollande*, tom. iv. liv. xiii. xiv. p. 120, 148. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 60.

<sup>b</sup> The Texel, though a small island, is yet the most considerable of those which, lying in a straight line in the German ocean, cover the mouth of the Zuyder zee.



able; especially if we consider, there could not be a higher stroke of policy, at that time, than to persuade a nation, struggling against superior enemies, that they were particularly favoured by Heaven <sup>c</sup>.

After this disappointment, there was no other action thought of at sea for this year, except the sending Sir Edward Spragge, with a squadron, to disturb the Dutch herring-fishery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became so great a man, contenting himself with taking one of their vessels, when he saw that was sufficient to disperse the rest <sup>d</sup>. But while the war seemed to slumber in Europe, it raged sufficiently in the West and East Indies.

Sir Tobias Bridges, with five or six <sup>e</sup>, and a regiment of foot, from Barbadoes, made himself master of the island of Tobago, taking about four hundred prisoners, and five hundred slaves <sup>e</sup>. On the other side, the Dutch, with five or six hundred men, possessed themselves of the island of St. Helena, lying off the coast of Africa; for the fort not being defensible on the land-side, the English governor and his people, after having several times repulsed the enemy, retired with all their valuable effects on board some English and French ships, as finding it impossible to preserve the island after their landing. But commodore Monday, being sent with four men of war, to convoy the English East India fleet, perceiving on his arrival at St. Helena what had happened, resolved to attempt retaking it: he was the rather induced to this resolution, from his want of fresh water. Accordingly, landing some men on that side of the

<sup>c</sup> Basnage *annales des provinces unies*, tome ii. p. 264. where this extraordinary accident is justly stated, and fairly accounted for. The wonder did not consist so much in an ebb of twelve hours, as in the time in which it happened; for, though the like has fallen out before and since about the equinoxes, yet in July it never happened but at this juncture, when the swelling of the waters in the Y and the Zuyder-see repelled the flood. Lord Arlington in his letters of August 29. and September 26, 1672, mentions the bad weather, but takes no notice of the ebbing of the water.

<sup>d</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 388. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 388. <sup>e</sup> This island, which belonged of right to the crown of England, was however seized and settled (during our troubles) by the Dutch, who bestowed upon it the name of New Walcheren, and rendered it a populous, prosperous, and profitable plantation. See Ruchefort, *histoire naturelle des îles Antilles*, p. 7.

island which is most accessible, and at the same time attacking the fort with his ships, he easily succeeded in his design <sup>f</sup>.

The island being thus recovered, it served the English as a net to inclose and take the enemy's ships, for a Dutch East India vessel, called the Europe, coming to St. Helena, with a new governor on board, was seized. And soon after six others appearing in sight of the island, the English commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were still in possession, caused the Dutch flag to be displayed from the fort; which stratagem had so good an effect, that the East India ships approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken, with an immense quantity of silver on board; as the rest would likewise have been, had not the English discovered themselves somewhat too soon. On the other side, the Hollanders, who attempted the island of Bombay, were repulsed with great loss; but near Massalpatnam, thirteen Dutch men of war, and some other vessels, being rashly engaged by ten English ships, partly men of war, and partly merchantmen, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the Dutch vice-admiral John Frederickson, and the taking of three English merchant ships. So that the loss of the two nations was pretty equal, though possibly the Dutch esteemed themselves gainers <sup>g</sup>.

All this time commerce in general suffered exceedingly on both sides: noble plantations were ruined; and the French, who before this war had very little skill in navigation, and scarce at all understood the art of fighting at sea, as their own writers confess, improved wonderfully in both, at the joint expence of Britain and Holland. Thus their self-interested political end was plainly answered, while the maritime powers were fighting with, and weakening each other, and this, too, as much against

<sup>f</sup> Dapper, description de l'Afrique, p. 495. where the excellency of the air, the variety of fine fruits, and the commodious situation of this island, are amply explained. It was (the Dutch having possessed themselves of the Cape of Good Hope) settled by the English East India Company about twelve years before. <sup>g</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 591. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 425. A relation of the retaking of the island of St. Helena, and three Dutch East India ships, published by authority, 1673, fol. Annals of the universe, p. 300. Columna rostrata, p. 230, 231.

their inclinations as their interests, which it is necessary for us to shew<sup>b</sup>.

As the rancour which the Dutch had discovered against the English, and their most unjustifiable behaviour in respect to the insults offered to the king's person, were not so much owing to their own prejudices as to the arts of the de Wittes; and as they plainly saw, that this war and all its miseries came upon them through the vanity of their governors, and from the resentment king Charles still had for the action at Chatham, contrived by John, and executed by Cornelius de Witte; so they turned their rage upon these two brothers, and the rest of their faction; obliged the states to repeal the perpetual edict, which followed the conclusion of the last war, and took away the office of stadtholder for ever; advanced the prince of Orange to that high dignity, and soon after, in a fit of popular fury, barbarously murdered the de Wittes; as if the blood of these men could have restored that peace, which, in truth, but for their schemes had never been lost. In order to be convinced of this, the reader need only consult the secret resolutions of the states-general, during his ministry, which are published; his letters, and his maxims, all which clearly prove his jealousy of, and aversion to, this nation. The truth is, like too many great ministers, he deceived himself into an opinion, that what was requisite to support his administration, was essentially necessary to the security of his country. Upon this rock he split, ruined himself, and brought the republic to the brink of destruction.

Nay, to shew how thoroughly they were cured of those fatal prepossessions, which had brought upon them the naval force of so potent a neighbour, the people, on the first arrival of the English ambassadors, thronged about them, and cried out, "God bless the king of England! God bless the prince of Orange! and the devil take the states." They hoped, and with great reason, that these testimonies of their sincere desire of peace, the ruin of the Louvestein faction, and the advancement of his nephew, the prince of Orange, would have pacified our king; and they were infinitely concerned when they

<sup>b</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iv. liv. 15.

found themselves mistaken. They did not, however, as before, vent their spleen in violent acts of personal malice, or disrespect towards the king; but contented themselves with carrying on the war with courage and resolution, and, at the same time, omitted no opportunity of signifying their earnest desire of peace<sup>l</sup>.

In England, the credit of the cabal, which had been long lost with the people, began now to decline also with the king; and the parliament, though very loyal, yet in granting a large supply to the king, would not own the Dutch war; but borrowed an expression from the king's speech, and declared what they gave to be for the king's EXTRAORDINARY OCCASIONS. They likewise fell warmly upon matters of religion, and passed an act, since sufficiently famous under the title of the TEST; which putting it out of the power of the Papists to continue in any public employments, lord Clifford was soon after obliged to quit the treasury, and the duke of York immediately declined the command of the fleet<sup>k</sup>.

These were changes, which had a natural tendency to bring things about again into their proper spheres; yet the Dutch war was carried on for another year through the influences of their councils who began it, and, which must appear extremely singular to any man who is a stranger to the arts practised in courts, the very people who promoted the war, secretly practised the defeat of those measures by which alone it could be pursued with honour. For this I know of no reasons that have been assigned, and therefore I venture to speak my own opinion, that it proceeded from a desire in the ministry to gain a pretence for making a peace, from some want of success in the war, when it was to be carried on under the command of prince Rupert, who, though he was too wise to be fond of this service, was yet too honest and too brave a man to neglect his duty<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 315. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. p. 304. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iv. p. 176. E. Vander Hoeven, Leeven Dood van Corn. en Jan de Witte, book ii. p. 346—370.

<sup>k</sup> Andrew Marvell's growth of Popery and arbitrary power in England, London, 1678, fol.

<sup>l</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 404, 405, 406, 409. Coke's detraction, vol. ii. p. 74, 76. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 320. Memoirs of what passed in Christendom from 1672 to 1679, by Sir William Temple.

Notwithstanding it was resolved early in the year 1673, that prince Rupert should command, yet no care was taken to fit out the fleet in time, and much less to shew any degree of confidence, or even complaisance, in furnishing him with such officers as were agreeable to him. Sir Robert Holmes was laid aside, though formerly so much caressed, merely because he was known to be in his highness's favour, and Sir Edward Spragge sent in his stead, who not long after went into France on a secret commission, without prince Rupert's knowing any thing of his business. With the like view, Sir John Harman was appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have survived the great abilities he once had, and besides was so ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or so much as to stir out of his cabin. The prince expostulated in vain against these and many other hardships, of which he could obtain no redress; and therefore in the beginning of the month of April, hearing the Dutch fleet was at sea, and intended to come and sink many hulks filled with lead and stones in the mouth of the river, he with much industry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ships as he could, and with some fire-ships, sailed out and took such measures as prevented them. This was one of the schemes laid in the former war, and, if the Dutch could have accomplished it, would have been attended with very mischievous effects.

About the middle of May the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the sea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the French, who were at Brest, and who freely declared, that they were resolved not to stir till our fleet was in the channel. As the Dutch laboured day and night to strengthen their navy, his highness saw the necessity of joining the French early, and as a proof of his high courage, as well as great skill in maritime affairs, he passed in defiance of the enemy, then riding at the Gun-fleet, through the passage called the Narrow, and this, too, against the wind; which so surpris'd the Dutch, that, seeing the end of their lying there lost, they sail'd back again to their own ports<sup>m</sup>.

The

<sup>m</sup> An exact relation of all the engagements and actions of his majesty's fleet under the command of his highness prince Rupert, and of all circumstances concerning

The grand design of our court was the same this year that it had been the last, that is to say, to make a puissant descent on the Dutch coast; and, with this view, there were a considerable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His majesty and his royal highness the duke of York visited the fleet on the 19th of May, and, in a council of war held in their presence, it was peremptorily resolved to attack the enemy even upon their own coast, in case they could not be provoked to quit it. In pursuance of this determination, prince Rupert stood over towards the coast of Holland, and found de Ruyter with the Dutch fleet, riding within the sands at Schonevelt, in a line between the Rand and the Stony-bank, which was a very advantageous situation; but, notwithstanding that, his highness persisted in his resolution of obeying the positive orders he had received for attacking them<sup>a</sup>.

On the 28th in the morning, about nine o'clock, a detached squadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ships were sent to draw the enemy out, which was very easily done; for de Ruyter presently advanced in good order, and, the English light ships retreating, put their own fleet in some disorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms: the confederate fleet consisted of eighty-four men of war, besides fire-ships, divided into three squadrons, under the command of prince Rupert, count d'Estrees, and Sir Edward Spragge. The Dutch were scarce seventy men of war and frigates, under de Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert<sup>o</sup>.

Most of our own and the Dutch historians agree, that the English, to prevent the French from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ships in this battle with their own: but, in the account published under the direction of prince Rupert, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is said, that the French made little or no sail, but kept in the rear, though they saw the Dutch fleet stretch to the north. By twelve in the morn-

cerning this summer's expedition, 1673. written by a person in command of the fleet, London, 1673, 4to. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 412, 417. See memoirs in the reign of Charles II. by John, duke of Buckinghamshire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 28. <sup>a</sup> La vie de l'admiral Ruyter, p. ii. p. 103, 104, 105.

<sup>o</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 323. Echard's history of England, p. 893. Annals of the universe, p. 300. Burchet's naval history, p. 403. Columba rostrata, p. 233.



ing the detached squadron, before mentioned, engaged Van Tromp, and soon after the prince engaged de Ruyter almost two hours before the French began to fight at all. Then, says the same relation, count d'Estrees engaged de Ruyter, but quickly left him; neither did de Ruyter follow<sup>p</sup>, but went to the assistance of Tromp, whom he very seasonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds which had been long subsisting between them.

The battle was very hard fought on both sides, insomuch that Tromp shifted his flag four times; from the Golden Lion to the Prince on Horseback, from the Prince on Horseback to the Amsterdam, and from the Amsterdam to the Comet, from on board which he dated his letter to the states in the evening. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory distinguished themselves on our side by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince Rupert also performed wonders, considering that his ship was in a very bad condition, and took in so much water at her ports, that she could not fire the guns of her lower tier. The battle lasted till night, and then the Dutch are said to have retired behind their sands<sup>q</sup>.

Both sides, however, claimed the victory: de Ruyter, in his letter to the prince of Orange, says, "We judge absolutely, that the victory is on the side of this state and of your highness<sup>r</sup>." Tromp carried the matter farther, and reported the English to have lost ten or twelve ships. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, says, "I thought it best to cease the pursuit, and anchor where I now am<sup>s</sup>." As to the slain on both sides in this battle, it is reported the Dutch lost vice-admiral Schram, rear-admiral Vlugh, and six of their captains, and had one ship disabled, which was lost in her retreat. On our side fell

<sup>p</sup> An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 8, 9. Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 592. Bassage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 412. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xv. p. 340. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iv. p. 270. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 103.

<sup>q</sup> His highness's prince Rupert's letter to the earl of Arlington, his majesty's principal secretary of state, from on board the Royal Charles, off the Oosterbank, the 29th of May, 1673, distant from East-capel seven leagues, at one of the clock, afternoon, the wind S. S. W. Published by authority, 1673, fol.

<sup>r</sup> See his letter to the prince, dated the 8th of June, 1673, in la vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 105.

<sup>s</sup> Letter to Lord Arlington, before cited, p. 3.

the captains Fowls, Finch, Tempest, and Worden: colonel Hamilton had his legs shot off, and we had only two ships disabled, none either sunk or taken.

The great doubt is as to the conduct of the French. Our writers are positive, that they behaved to the full as ill as they did before; but the Dutch authors say they fought very bravely. The truth seems to be, that the briskest of the French officers made it their choice to fight among the English, where they behaved very gallantly, while those remaining with the count d'Estrees took a great deal of care to keep themselves and their ships safe: and yet they suffered more than either the English or Dutch; for they lost two men of war, and five or six fire-ships, which they knew not how to manage. The French writers are pretty even with us; for they report that matters were but indifferently managed on both sides, and that prince Rupert did not push things as far as he might, because he was averse to the war<sup>t</sup>. In one respect, the Dutch certainly had the advantage, since they prevented the descent intended upon their country, for which service, in case of a clear victory, count Schomberg, with six thousand men, lay ready at Yarmouth<sup>u</sup>.

The Dutch, as they were upon their own coast, had the advantage of receiving quick and great supplies; whereas the wind prevented the English from obtaining the like advantages. Prince Rupert, however, did all that in his power lay, to put the fleet into a good condition, and believing that the Dutch would not be long before they endeavoured to make use of their advantages, he went on board the Royal Sovereign in the evening of the third of June, where he went not to bed all night<sup>v</sup>. His foresight was very requisite; for on the fourth in the morning, the Dutch fleet, by this time at least as strong as the confederates, bore down upon them as fast as the wind would permit. Sir Edward Spragge had so little notion of their

<sup>t</sup> *Basnage annales des provinces unies*, tome ii. p. 415. *Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies*, tome iii. p. 342. *Neuville hist. de Hollande*, tome iv. liv. 27. chap. 2. *Quincy hist. militaire de Louis XIV.* tome i. p. 354. <sup>u</sup> *Lord Arlington's letters*, vol. ii. p. 402. *Memoirs in the reign of Charles II.* by John, duke of Buckinghamshire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 20.: his grace served in the expedition. *Kenner, Echard, and other writers.* *Basnage, Le Clerc, Neuville, and the rest of the Dutch historians.* <sup>v</sup> *An exact relation of the actions of the fleet*, &c. p. 5, 10.

fighting, that taking the brave earl of Ossory, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which lost a great deal of time\*.

As for prince Rupert, he was so much in earnest; that finding his ship's crew, which was but indifferent, raised his anchors very slowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haste to meet the Dutch.

Count d'Estrees, with the white squadron, betrayed no such great willingness to fight, as both our own and the Dutch writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At last, about five in the evening; Spragge and Tromp engaged with great fury. As for de Ruyter; he shewed at first a design of coming to a close engagement with the prince: but before he came within musket-shot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had suffered some considerable damage. Spragge, in the mean time, had forced Tromp to sheer off. He then fell into vice-admiral Sweers's division; which he soon put to confusion; and had a third engagement with Tromp, wherein he shot down his flag. The battle lasted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the Dutch stood to the south-east, and so it ended<sup>†</sup>.

Both sides claimed the victory as before. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, says expressly, "that he pursued the Dutch from two till six the next morning, and seeing no likelihood of reaching them, before they got within their sands, thought a farther pursuit needless." He likewise adds, "that they went away in great disorder, though he could not tell certainly what loss they had received." This is not altogether irreconcilable to de Ruyter's letter, wherein he also claims the victory. "The next day (says he) we saw the enemies were gone; and doubt not but they made to the Thames; we satisfied ourselves with pursuing them half-way,

\* La vie de l'admiral Ruyter, part ii. p. 129. The Dutch valued themselves much on this surprize.

† Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 592. Annals of the universe; p. 301. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 419. His Lordship says this was a pure bravado of the Dutch which they had not the courage to execute equal to their design, and consequently would not stay to be better beaten than they were. Bassage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 415.

“ and then returned to our former station <sup>a</sup>.” In the same letter, however, he owns that they began their retreat as soon as it was dark. The loss on both sides was pretty equal, but was very far from being considerable on either. Admiral Van Tromp, however, was so ill satisfied with the conduct of vice-admiral Sweers, that he accused him to the states <sup>b</sup>. Some of the Dutch and French writers pretend, that prince Rupert did not distinguish himself on that occasion as he used to do; for which they suggest reasons void of all foundation <sup>b</sup>.

The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war to sail for the English coast, in order to obtain supplies, as well of ammunition as provision; through want of which a great many captains complained loudly. Besides, the fleet was so poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land-forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and these being for the most part new-raised men, we need not wonder they did not behave so well as our old-seasoned sailors were wont to do. On the eighth of June, the fleet arrived at the Buoy in the Nore, and on the fourteenth prince Rupert went to London, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to press for such necessary supplies as might enable him to put to sea again without delay <sup>c</sup>.

The Dutch, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences they made after the two last battles to victory, and (which was of much greater consequence) to raise the spirits of the people at such a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at stake, gave out, that their fleet should speedily put to sea again, and attempt some great thing. Insulting the English coast was sometimes mentioned, and then again, the losses they had lately sustained from the French, induced them to think of revenge on

<sup>a</sup> See prince Rupert's letter, before cited. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 323. See monsieur de Ruyter's letter to the states, dated June 17, 1673, in la vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 130.

<sup>b</sup> Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xv. p. 342. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 416. Neuville hist. de Hollande, tome iv. liv. xv. ch. 2. Leven Van Tromp, p. 440.

<sup>c</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 416. Quincy histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tome i. p. 355.

<sup>d</sup> Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 410. An exact relation, &c. p. 10, 11.

that side, and taking some maritime town in France, which might oblige king Lewis to abandon the siege of Maestricht, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange. But while they were amusing themselves and de Ruyter with these proposals, they were informed that Maestricht was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewise ready to put to sea; so that all these grand schemes vanished at once, and they were forced to attend to their old business of defending their own coasts, and protecting their commerce<sup>d</sup>.

About the middle of the month of July, prince Rupert was at sea, having on board the troops intended for a descent, which was still pressed by the real authors of the war. His highness arrived on the Dutch coasts on the twenty-first of the said month, and declining an engagement, stood along the shore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops. On the ninth of August, he took a Dutch East India ship richly laden. This induced de Ruyter to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the English fleet<sup>e</sup>. As soon as his highness perceived it, he commanded the French a particular course, and had thereby an opportunity of discerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay by twice that night; first about eleven o'clock, when the prince sent to count d'Estrees to order him to make sail, which he did till about one o'clock, and then laid his sail to the mast again, which gave a second stop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to send him another message. In those days, when party-spirit ran very high, no body ever suspected the count d'Estrees's courage, which was so well known, and so thoroughly established, as clearly to decypher his orders.

These delays gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but, early on the eleventh of August, bore down upon the confederates, as if he

<sup>d</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 418. Le Clerc, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville, tome iv. liv. xv. ch. 3, 4, 6. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 420.

<sup>e</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 552. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 421. Echard's history of England, p. 894. Burchet's naval history, p. 403. A relation of the engagement of his majesty's fleet with the enemy's on the 11th of August, 1673, as it has been represented by letters from the several squadrons. Published by authority, 1673, fol.

meant to force them to a battle; upon which his highness thought fit to tack, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the French in the van, himself in the center, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this disposition the French lay fair to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected<sup>f</sup>. The English fleet consisted of about sixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of seventy or thereabouts; so that the royal fleets were indisputably superior to that of the republics.

De Ruyter, bearing down with his fleet in three squadrons, prepared to attack the prince himself, while Tromp engaged Spragge and the blue squadron, in which the English admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-sail to his mast, in order to stay for him, contrary to the express order of the prince. This fondness for a point of honour proved fatal to himself, as well as disadvantageous to the fleet. Bankert, with his Zealand squadron, should have engaged the white, commanded by d'Estrees; but it seems the Dutch understood their temper better than to give themselves much trouble about them, for Bankert contented himself with sending eight men of war and three fire-ships to attack the rear-admiral de Martel, who seemed to be the only man that had any real design to fight; and then the rest of the Zealand squadron united themselves to de Ruyter, and fell together upon prince Rupert<sup>h</sup>.

Rear-admiral de Martel, being left not only by the body of the French fleet, but even by the captains of his own division, was attacked by five Dutch ships at once. He fought them for two hours, and that with such courage and success, that having disabled one, the rest were glad to sheer off, and he rejoined the white squadron, where, expostulating with the captains of his own division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral not to observe his motions: and indeed, after he was in the fleet, though some opportunities

<sup>f</sup> An exact relation of the actions of the English fleet under the command of prince Rupert, p. 13.      <sup>g</sup> Columna rostrata, p. 242. Quincy hist. militaire de Louis XIV. tome i. p. 359. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 410.      <sup>h</sup> An exact relation, &c. p. 14. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 343, 344. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 152.



ffered, he thought no more of fighting, and, on his return to France, was sent to the Bastile for what he had done<sup>l</sup>.

The battle between *de Ruyter* and the red squadron began about eight o'clock in the morning, and a multitude of circumstances concurred to threaten the English admiral with inevitable ruin. The French, not satisfied with being mere spectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, suffered the ships, which had attacked *de Martel*, to pass quietly to their own fleet; so that now *de Ruyter's* and *Bankert's* squadrons were both upon the red. *Sir Edward Spragge*, intent on his personal quarrel with *Van Tromp*, had fallen to the leeward several leagues with the blue squadron, and to complete prince *Rupert's* misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, *Sir John Chichele*, with his division; so that by noon his highness was wholly surrounded by the Dutch, being pressed by *de Ruyter* and his division on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the *Zealand* squadron on his broadside to windward. Thus the Dutch wisely employed their force against the enemy that would fight, and took no more notice of the French fleet, than the French did of them, or of prince *Rupert*<sup>k</sup>.

His highness, in the midst of these disappointments, behaved with such intrepidity, and encouraged all his officers so effectually by his own example, that, by degrees he cleared himself of his enemies, rejoined *Sir John Chichele*, and by two o'clock had time to think of the blue squadron, which was now at three leagues distance; and, not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the sail he could towards them, in order to unite with and relieve them. *De Ruyter*, perceiving his highness's design, left firing, and bore away also with his whole force to the assist-

<sup>l</sup> The relation before cited, p. 15. *Coke's detection*, vol. ii. p. 76. *Echard's history of England*, p. 594. *Rafnage annales des provinces unies*, tome ii. p. 423. We shall examine this more fully when we come to speak of the consequences of this battle.

<sup>k</sup> The exact relation, &c. In this piece we have not only the most authentic, but I believe the only authentic account of this engagement, now extant. Prince *Rupert's* letters were usually published, but what he wrote on this occasion was not judged convenient for the people's perusal. The Dutch narrations were calculated to serve a turn, and that penned by *M. de Martel* for the information of the French king, was for many good reasons suppressed.

ance of Tromp; so that both fleets ran down side by side within range of cannon-shot, and yet without firing on either part. About four the prince joined the blue squadron, which he found in a very tattered condition<sup>1</sup>.

At the beginning of the fight, Tromp in the Golden Lion, and Sir Edward Spragge in the Royal Prince, fought ship to ship. The Dutch admiral, however, would not come to a close fight, which gave him a great advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his complement on board, suffered much by the enemy's cannon, and, having the wind and smoke in his face, could not make so good use of his own, as he would otherwise have done. After three hours warm fight, the Royal Prince was so disabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board the St. George, and Tromp quitted his Golden Lion to hoist his flag on board the Comet, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. We have in respect to this, and it is to be wished we had of every battle, a distinct relation of what was performed by each squadron, very particular and clear; and, from the relation of the blue squadron (compared with prince Rupert's) these facts are collected.

The great aim of the Dutch admiral was, to take or sink the Royal Prince: but the earl of Ossory, and Sir John Kempthorne, together with Spragge himself, so effectually protected the disabled vessel, that none of the enemy's fire-ships could come near her, though this was often attempted. At last, the St. George being terribly torn, and in a manner disabled, Sir Edward Spragge designed to go on board a third ship, the Royal Charles; but, before he was got ten boats length, a shot, which passed through the St. George took his boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from the St. George, the boat sunk, and Sir Edward was drowned<sup>m</sup>.

When prince Rupert drew near the blue squadron, he found the admiral disabled, the vice-admiral lying to the windward, mending his sails and rigging; the rear-admiral a-stern of the

<sup>1</sup> Philips, Kennet, Burchet. *Annals of the universe*, p. 301. <sup>m</sup> Parker's history of his own times, p. 156. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 324. *Bisnage annales des provinces unies*, tome ii. p. 420. *Le Clerc*, tom. iii. p. 343. *De Neuville*, tom. iv. p. 300, 301. *La vie de Ruyter*, p. ii. p. 122.

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Royal Prince, between her and the enemy, bending his new sails, and mending his rigging. The first thing his highness did, was to send two frigates to take the Royal Prince in tow. He then steered in between the enemy and the lame ships, and perceiving that Tromp had tacked, and was coming down again upon the blue squadron, he made a signal for all the ships of that squadron to join him: but it was in vain; for, except the two flags, Sir John Kempthorne and the earl of Ossory, there was not one in a condition to move. The French still continued to look on with all the coolness imaginable; and notwithstanding the prince put out the blue flag upon the mizen-peek, which was the signal to attack, set down in the general instructions for fighting, and known not only to all the English captains but also to those of the white squadron, yet they remained, as before, wholly inactive. But, to give some kind of colour to this conduct, the count d'Estrees, after the battle was in a manner over, sent to know what this signal meant<sup>a</sup>.

About five in the evening, de Ruyter, with all his flags and fleet, came close up with the prince, and then began a very sharp engagement. His highness had none to second him but the vice and rear of the blue, Sir John Harman, captain Davis, and captain Stout, of his own division, Sir John Holmes in the Rupert, captain Legge in the Royal Katharine, Sir John Berry in the Resolution, Sir John Ernle in the Henry, Sir Roger Strickland in the Mary, and captain Carter in the Crown; in all about thirteen ships. The engagement was very close and bloody till about seven o'clock, when his highness forced the Dutch fleet into great disorder, and sent in two fire-ships amongst them to increase it, at the same time making a signal for the French to bear down; which, even then, if they had done, a total defeat must have followed: but, as they took no notice of it, and the

<sup>a</sup> An exact relation, &c. p. 18, 19. where it is affirmed, that count d'Estrees sent this message after night had parted the fleets. The officer who wrote that account says very judiciously, that the sending to inquire the meaning of the signal was cunningly done: but one of de Ruyter's sailors seems to have had as much penetration as the French ministry had artifice; for, upon one of his companions asking him what the French meant by keeping at such a distance, "Why, you fool," said he, "they have hired the English to fight for them; and all their business here, is to see that they earn their wages." So transparent to honest men are the boasted politics of this court!

prince saw that most of his ships were not in any condition to keep the sea long, he wisely provided for their safety, by making with an easy sail towards our own coasts<sup>o</sup>.

This battle ended as doubtfully as any of the rest; for the Dutch very loudly claimed the victory now, as they did before, and with full as much reason. The truth is, it seems to have been a drawn battle, since the Dutch, notwithstanding all their advantages, did not take or sink a single English man of war, and killed but two captains, Sir William Reeves and captain Havard, besides our gallant admiral Sir Edward Spragge, and no great number of private men. On their side they lost two vice-admirals, Sweers and Liefde, three captains, and about one thousand private men. The consequences, indeed, which, from the prudence of the admiral, they drew from this battle, were exceeding great; for they opened their ports, which before were intirely blocked up, and put an end to all thoughts, by removing the possibility, of an invasion<sup>o</sup>.

It would be equally unsatisfactory and unjust to conclude this account of the last battle fought in this last Dutch war, without taking particular notice of the grounds upon which I have represented the conduct of the French in so bad a light. I must in the first place declare, that I have no intent to asperse the nation in general, much less to injure the particular character of the noble person who commanded, and who afterwards gave signal proofs of his true courage, and able conduct, as a sea-officer, as in this engagement he gave undoubtedly the highest demonstration of his steadiness in obeying orders. Those I blame are such as drew up his instructions, and consequently were alone answerable for his behaviour. The French were and are a brave nation; but it has been their great misfortune to suffer by perfidious ministers, who have broke their national faith, both in war and peace, so often, that it is in a manner become proverbial, like the *fidēs Punica* of old. For the truth of what I have advanced in the present case, I have the testimony of friends and enemies, nay of themselves too, which I think is sufficient to put

<sup>o</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 593. Kennet, Echard. Burchet, Rapin. P. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 345. Quincy, tome i. p. 359. Neuville, tome iv. liv. xv. ch. 6. L. vic de Ruyter, p. ii. p. 157—159.

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the matter out of doubt. The conduct of Lewis XIV. is thus represented by honest Andrew Marvel. He first practised the same art at sea, when he was in league with the Hollanders against us, his navy having never done them any service; for his business was only to see us batter each other. Now he was on the English side, his business was to sound our seas, to spy our ports, to learn our building, to contemplate our manner of fighting, to consume ours, to preserve his own navy, to increase his commerce; and to order all things so, that the two great naval powers of Europe being crushed together, he might remain arbitrator of the ocean.

This behaviour was complained of by Prince Rupert in such strong terms, that his letter was suppressed, though at other times his accounts, which were constantly very plain and very modest, were instantly published<sup>a</sup>. All the Dutch writers agree in giving the same account; and indeed, if they did not, the conduct of their admirals might sufficiently justify this to have been their sense of the thing, since it is impossible to conceive, that admiral Bankert would have sent eight small ships to attack a squadron of thirty large ones, if from their former conduct, and their countenance then, he had not been well assured that fighting was not much their business<sup>b</sup>.

Lastly, poor admiral Martel, who was too much a man of honour to be in the French ministers secrets, wrote a fair relation of the battle, and sent it to the French court, concluding with these words: "That if count d'Estrees would have fallen in with a fair wind upon de Ruyter and Bankert, at their first engaging, when in numbers they much exceeded the prince; they must of necessity have been inclosed between his highness and d'Estrees, and so the enemy would have been entirely defeated<sup>c</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> Columna rostrata, p. 243. Secret history of Europe, history of the Dutch war.

<sup>b</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 423. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 344, 345. Neuville, tome iv. p. 302.

<sup>c</sup> Exact relation, &c. p. 17. P. Daniel flurs over all these battles in his hist. de la milice Françoise, tom. ii. p. 489. and again in his hist. de France, tom. x. p. 111. he crowds the three battles into a paragraph of so many lines, and says, they were fought with little order, and small regard to reputation, by all parties.

Soon after this battle, the English fleet came into the Thames, and the French Squadron, about the middle of September, failed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that it was the middle of November before they reached Brest. When Prince Rupert returned to court, he joined his representations to those of other worthy patriots, who were desirous that peace, as soon as possible, should be restored, to which the king was, at this time, no longer averse. There had, through the mediation of Sweden, been some conferences held at Cologne; but they had not proved so effectual as was expected: the states-general also had written to his majesty, but in terms that, instead of making things better, had rather widened the breach. After this battle, however, they condescended to write another letter, wherein they shewed their earnest desire of peace, and their true sense of the obstacles which had hitherto retarded it<sup>c</sup>.

In this letter they spoke very freely to the king of his ministers and of his ally; they shewed him how glorious, as well as how advantageous a step a separate peace must prove, which would give umbrage only to the French, and content to all the great powers of Europe beside: and further to incline his majesty to this, they suggested the base and insidious behaviour of his allies in the late sea-fights, and the offers that had been already made them by France of a separate peace, without any respect had to his majesty. These, with the propounding of fair conditions, had such a weight with the king, that he proposed the terms offered to his parliament; and, on their passing a vote, "humbly desiring him to proceed in a treaty with the states, in order to a speedy peace," he directed Sir William Temple to negotiate with the marquis del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador, who was provided with full powers from the states-general for that purpose; and, at three meetings, the treaty was concluded and signed, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties<sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>c</sup> Basnage *Annales des provinces unies*, vol. ii. p. 458—469. where these letters are inserted. The earl of Shaftsbury was now disgraced, the Earl of Arlington was inclined to pacific measures, and the king soon saw this was his true interest.

<sup>d</sup> Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 459—467. Sir William Temple's letters to the prince of Orange, to the duke of Florence, and to Sir John Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 288—292, 293. Bishop Parker's history of his own time.

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While this treaty was upon the carpet at home, there happened an accident in the Mediterranean, which, though of little consequence in itself, yet, from certain circumstances that attended it, deserves to be recorded. The Dutch admiral Evertz, being in those seas with his Squadron, it happened that captain de Witte, in a man of war called the *Schaerlaes*, which carried thirty-six pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with captain Harman, in the *Tyger*, a small English frigate which had been careening at Tangier, and came with him into the harbour of Cadiz, where the Dutchman also careened. The Spaniards jesting with captain de Witte, and telling him that he durst not fight the English captain, and that this made them so good friends; admiral Evertz heard it, and thereupon told de Witte, that he must, for the honour of his nation, challenge captain Harman. He did so; and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, sixty mariners and seventy soldiers. Captain Harman had but one hundred eighty-four men in all; however, at a day's notice he stood to sea, and fairly engaged the Dutch frigate, in sight of the town<sup>w</sup>.

Their ships were within pistol-shot before either of them fired; and then captain Harman's broadside brought the Dutchman's main-mast by the board, and killed and wounded him fourscore men. The English captain followed his advantage, entered the enemy's vessel with his resolute crew, and became master of the ship in an hour's time; but she was quite disabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The English had only nine killed, and fifteen wounded; amongst whom was their brave captain, by a musket-shot, which went in at his left eye, and out between the ear and the jaw-bone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived several years after<sup>x</sup>. Thus the maritime powers, though their interest was,

p. 159. Sir Richard Bulstrode's memoirs, p. 236. Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 458—470, 498. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xv. p. 338. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iv. lib. xv. ch. 10. p. 333.

<sup>w</sup> Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 470. where his lordship, then secretary of state, takes notice to Sir William Godolphin, our ambassador at the court of Madrid, that his majesty had been acquainted with captain Harman's behaviour, and was extremely pleased with it.

<sup>x</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 595.

and must ever be the same, did their utmost, from false notions of honour, to destroy each other, and answer the ends of their common enemy; till the voice of the people, both in England and Holland, roused their governors to a just sense of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which has lasted ever since.

This treaty of peace was signed at London, February 9, 1674, and thereby those differences were all adjusted, which had so often and so long disturbed both states<sup>†</sup>. In the first place, the business of the flag was regulated according to the king's sense of his rights, which the states, till now, would never admit. In their treaty with Cromwell, they did indeed stipulate, that their ships should salute the English; but then this was expressed in such loose terms, as afforded the Dutch room to suggest, that the doing it was no more than a point of civility. As the treaties of 1662, 1667, and 1668, were all, in a manner, built on this sandy foundation, the case had been hitherto the same, and asserted to be by the states: but now the thing was put out of all dispute; and what was before styled courtesy, was here confessed to be a right. The extent of the British seas were particularly mentioned; and the states undertook, that not only separate ships, but whole fleets, should strike their sails to any fleet, or single ship, carrying the king's flag, as the custom was, in the days of his ancestors<sup>\*</sup>.

The East India trade was likewise settled so as to prevent subsequent debates, and not leave either party at liberty to encroach on the other. As to lesser matters, commissioners were to meet on both sides at London to decide them; and, in case they did not agree in the space of three months, then the queen of Spain was to arbitrate. Such of the planters as had been restrained by the Dutch at Surinam were to be left at their full liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their effects. Places taken on

<sup>†</sup> See the proposals from the states-general to the king of Great Britain, printed by authority, 1673, 4to. *Life of Sir William Temple*, p. 200. *Corps diplomatique du droit des gens*, tome vii. p. i. p. 253.

<sup>\*</sup> The whole of this matter is very judiciously explained by Bishop Parker in his history of his own times, p. 159. and the entire article is to be found in the proposals made by the states themselves, which shews how great a point was carried in the concluding this treaty.

both sides were by this treaty to be restored, and the states general were to pay his majesty eight hundred thousand patacoons at four payments, the first immediately after the ratification of this treaty, and the other three by annual payments.

By a particular treaty it was agreed, that the English regiments in the French service should be suffered to wear out for want of recruits, and by a secret article it was settled, that neither side should assist the enemies of the other either by land or sea<sup>a</sup>. We may guess how acceptable this treaty was to the states, by the present made to the Spanish ambassador for negotiating it, which was sixteen thousand crowns, and the gratification of six thousand, which were given to don Bernardo de Salinas<sup>b</sup>. Thus ended the last of our Dutch wars, which, though made against the interest and will of the people, terminated highly to their advantage, whereas the former war, though it was begun at the instance of the nation, ended but indifferently; so little correspondence is there between the grounds and issues of things<sup>c</sup>.

The corsairs of Tripoli having for some time committed great outrages on the English trade, Sir John Narborough was sent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reason. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, so that no ship

<sup>a</sup> I take what I have here given the reader from a very accurate and authentic writer, who has left us the best political memoirs of Europe that are extant; I mean the sieur du Mont in his *memoires pour servir a la histoire de la paix de Ryswick*, tome ii. p. 272, &c.

<sup>b</sup> *Bisnage annales des provinces unies*, tome ii. p. 499. *Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies*, tome iii. liv. 15. *Neuville histoire de Hollande*, tome iv. p. 333. It is proper to observe, that, though the treaty was negotiated by Sir William Temple, it was not signed by him, but by the following committee of council, viz. the lord-keeper Finch, the lord-treasurer Latimer (afterwards earl of Danby, and duke of Leeds), the duke of Monmouth, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Arlington, and secretary Coventry.

<sup>c</sup> In consequence of this, a treaty of commerce was concluded between his majesty and the States general at London, Dec. 1, 1674; by the eighth article of which (in pursuance of former treaties) free ships were to make free goods, which has made great noise of late. Upon this article two remarks may be made: 1st, That at this time it was in our favour; so that the king or his ministers were not over-reached: 2dly, This clause extends only to such places as either party might trade to in time of peace; but in time of peace the Dutch were not allowed to trade to the French islands, and, therefore, by this treaty they can claim no such liberty in time of war.

could go in or come out, he manned all his boats, and sent them under the command of lieutenant Shovel (afterwards Sir Cloudesley, the famous admiral) into the harbour, where he seized the guardship, and afterwards burnt the following vessels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour, viz. the White Eagle crowned, a fifty gun ship, the Looking-glass, which carried thirty-six, the Santa Clara of twenty-four, and a French vessel of twenty; after which, he safely returned to the fleet without the loss of a single man. This extraordinary action struck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them instantly sue for peace, which, however, did not immediately take place, because they absolutely refused to make good the losses sustained by the English. Sir John thereupon cannonaded the town, and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vast magazine of timber, which was to have served for the building of ships. When all this failed of reducing these people, Sir John sailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for some time, returned suddenly upon the enemy, and distressed them so much, that they were glad to submit to a peace on the terms prescribed <sup>d</sup>.

However, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, some of their corsairs, returning into port, not only expressed a great dislike thereto, but actually deposed the Dey for making it; and, without any regard thereto, began to take all English ships as before. Sir John remaining still in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what passed, suddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli, and began with such violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late disturbance to condign punishment <sup>e</sup>.

In 1679, we had some differences with the Algerines on account of their making prize of English ships, under pretence that they were not furnished with proper passes. Upon this Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to demand satisfaction; which he procured, as it must always be procured, by

<sup>d</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. lii. p. 335. Annals of the universe, p. 331, 347. Corps universel diplomatique, tome vii. part. i. p. 319. <sup>e</sup> C. Linnæi ruffinæ, p. 252.

dint of force. This peace, however, did not last long; for, in a year or two, they committed the like outrages: upon which, commodore Herbert, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington, went thither with a few ships, and compelled them to make satisfaction for what had passed, and to give the strongest assurances of their acting in another manner for the future. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the last in this reign.

There is yet one transaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the strong and expensive fortress of Tangier. We have already shewed how that place came into the hands of the English, and what pains were taken to preserve it. In the space of twenty years it cost the nation an immense sum of money; and yet many doubted, all things considered, whether, after all, it was of any real use to us or not. When we first had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which there was a fine mole run out at a vast charge. Several societies, or copartnerships, which undertook to perfect this work, raised great sums for that purpose; and, after wasting them, miscarried. At last, however, all difficulties were in a manner overcome, and this work finished in such a manner, that it might be said to vie with those of the Romans. But the house of commons, in 1680, having expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison kept there, which they suspected to be no better than a nursery for a Popish army; and discovering, withal, no thoughts of providing for it any longer, the king began, likewise, to entertain thoughts of quitting, destroying, and bringing home his forces from thence. He endeavoured to keep this as secret as possible; however, the lord Arlington is said to have given some hint of his majesty's intention to the Portuguese ambassador, who expressed great discontent thereat, and was very desirous that it should be again delivered into the hands of his master.

But king Charles doubting, not without reason, whether the king of Portugal would be able to maintain the possession of it against the Moors, and foreseeing the terrible consequences of such a port falling into their hands, notwithstanding the offer of

f Annals of the universe, p. 269, 278 Columna rostrata, p. 252. Boucher's naval history, p. 404, 405.

large sums, persisted steadily in his first resolution. In 1683, the lord Dartmouth was constituted captain-general of his majesty's forces in Africa, and governor of Tangier, and sent, as admiral of an English fleet, to demolish the works, blow up the mole, and bring home the garrison from thence; all which he very effectually performed: so that the harbour is, at this time, entirely spoiled; and, though now in the hands of the Moors, is a very inconsiderable place. One circumstance attending its demolition deserves to be remarked, because it shews the temper and spirit of the king. He directed a considerable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if (through the vicissitudes of fortune, to which all sublunary things are liable) this city should ever be restored, there might remain some memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of Britain. Thus, through disputes between the king and parliament, whatever party-suspensions might suggest, the British nation lost a place and port of great importance<sup>s</sup>.

It is on all hands confessed, that never any English, perhaps I might, without distinction of countries, say, any prince, understood maritime concerns so well as Charles II. He piqued himself very much on making, as occasion offered, minute inquiries into whatever regarded naval affairs: he understood ship-building perfectly, made draughts of vessels with his own hands<sup>b</sup>; he was no stranger to the conveniencies and inconveniencies of every port in his dominions. He listened to proposals for making a yard, dock, and arsenal, at Christchurch in Hampshire<sup>c</sup>. He once intended to restore and improve the haven at Dover<sup>k</sup>. He caused a survey of Guernsey to be made; and had actually the plan drawn, of a harbour, mole, and citadel, which were to have been constructed in that island; and which would have

<sup>s</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 376, 408. Echard, p. 994, 1040. Burchet, p. 405.

<sup>b</sup> See the duke of Buckinghamshire's charter of Charles II. Welwood's memoirs, p. 146. Bishop of Rochester's history of the royal society, p. 149, 150.

<sup>c</sup> Captain Yaeranton's England's improvement, vol. i. p. 41. If the Clarendon interest had continued; this, which was once strongly in contemplation, would probably have been carried also into execution.

<sup>k</sup> A discourse of sea-ports, principally of the port and haven of Dover; written by Sir W. Raleigh, and addressed to queen Elisabeth. To which is added, proposals and remarks upon the same subject, written by command of Charles II. London, 1700, 40.



been all of infinite use and benefit to this nation<sup>1</sup>: but he was so expensive in his pleasures, the jealousies raised against him were so strong, he was so much in the hands of favourites and mistresses, he was so frequently and so egregiously betrayed by both, and his finances, through his whole reign, were so cramped, and in such disorder, that he was not able to accomplish any one of these great designs; which, nevertheless, it is not improper should be here succinctly remembered.

But, in respect to the royal navy, which through his whole reign claimed his peculiar attention, he was more fortunate. On his entering into possession of his kingdoms, it was commonly believed, from the fine appearance of the squadron that convoyed him from Holland, his marine was in excellent order; and, for reasons of state, the king himself encouraged and confirmed that opinion: but the fact, notwithstanding this, was quite otherwise. After the death of Cromwell, the funds for the fleet were diverted to various other purposes; the stores were in a great measure exhausted, in fitting out admiral Montague's squadron to the Baltic; the small remains of arms and ammunition were issued, by the rump, for suppressing Sir George Booth; the confusions that ensued, gave opportunities to embezzle what little matter was left, and there remained no authority to restrain, much less to repair these mischiefs. This accounts for the king's finding things, in reference to the fleet and ordnance, in so weak and defenceless a condition; and explains likewise his conduct in covering it as carefully as it was possible, to prevent either domestic or foreign enemies (of both which he had enough) from availing themselves of this his weak and distressed situation. It was to conceal this that he demanded nothing from parliament; but, putting both departments into the hands of those in whom he could entirely confide, supplying them, from time to time, with such sums as he could borrow, he, with much silence and secrecy, rectified all things; so that, at the opening of the first Dutch war in his reign, the navy and ordnance both were in perfect order, and all parts of the ser-

<sup>1</sup> The reverend Mr. Falle's account of Jersey in the introduction, from the memoirs of the sieur de Samarez.

vice provided for in an ample and regular manner<sup>m</sup>. But though this was truly the state of ships and stores at his restoration, yet, in respect to men, it was far otherwise. The sailors were numerous, brave, and well-disciplined: as to commanders of every rank, no navy was ever better furnished, as they had been picked by the long parliament, trained under Blake, Monk, and Ayscue; inured to hardships, flushed with victories, covetous of honour: the superior officers were all of distinguished merit, and abundance of very able men employed therein. It must likewise be confessed, to the honour of his government, that he preserved them in their several posts, without any respect to party: which, without question, contributed not a little to the increase of our naval power<sup>n</sup>.

How intent he was, for the first ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency this way, appears from all the candid histories of those times, from the collections of orders, and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy while the duke of York was admiral, published of late years, and in every body's hands<sup>o</sup>; and, in a short and narrow compass, from the speech made by the lord-keeper Bridgeman; who affirmed, that, from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to less than half a million a-year<sup>p</sup>. But, after the second Dutch war, the king grew more saying in this

<sup>m</sup> Continuation of the life of Edward earl of Clarendon, p. 146. where the reader may meet with an ample, accurate, and authentic account of this matter.  
<sup>n</sup> Such as Sir George Ayscue, Sir William Batten, Sir John Lawson, Sir Richard Stayer, Sir William Penn, and many others.  
<sup>o</sup> The title of this book is, *Memoirs of the English affairs, chiefly naval, from the year 1660 to 1673*, by his royal highness James, duke of York, London, 1729, 8vo.

<sup>p</sup> *Happy future state of England*, by Sir Peter Pett, p. 185. The design of this speech was to induce the house of commons to grant a supply for this particular service of increasing the royal navy; and, after having shewn the great importance of such a proceeding, his lordship goes on thus: "My lords and gentlemen, his majesty is confident, that you will not be contented to see him deprived of all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his kingdoms, nay, even to all Christendom, in the repose and quiet of it; that you will not be content alone to see your neighbours strengthening themselves in shipping so much more than they were before, and at home to see the government struggling every year with difficulties, and not able to keep up our navy equal with theirs. He finds that, by his accounts from the year 1660 to the late war, the ordinary charge of the fleet, *communibus annis*, came to about 500,000 l. a year; and it cannot be supported with less."

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article; and yet, in 1678; when the nation in general expected a war with France, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty, has left us a particular account of its state in the month of August that year; which, as it is very short, I think it may not be amiss to insert it.

ABSTRACT of the FLEET.

Rates.	Number.	Men.
1	5	3135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1400
6	7	423
Fire-ships,	6	340
<hr/>		
Total,	83	18323

Of these seventy-six were in sea-pay, the store-houses and magazines in complete order, and, which is still more to the purpose, thirty capital ships were then actually in building, (eleven newly launched, and nineteen upon the stocks); and that the reader may frame a just notion of the increase of the navy, during this part of the king's reign, I must observe, that, at mid-summer 1660, the whole fleet of the nation consisted but of sixty-five vessels of all sizes, as appears by an original letter under the hand of Mr. Secretary Coventry<sup>r</sup>. But, after this period of time, I mean from the date of the list, the king finding himself extremely distressed at home, and, consequently, in a situation perplexed enough abroad; was persuaded, or rather compelled, to alter the management of his navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himself easy in his civil government; Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. Pepys, and several other old officers of the navy,

<sup>r</sup> Memoirs relating to the state of the royal navy for ten years, by Samuel Pepys, Esq; p. 6. : Memoirs of English affairs, chiefly naval, p. 12.

having been so unfortunate to incur the displeasure of the house of commons, by whom they were committed<sup>s</sup>.

This new administration, with respect to naval affairs, subsisted for about five years; and, if it had continued five years longer, would, in all probability, have remedied even the numerous and mighty evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole royal navy, and so leaving no room for future mistakes. It was a just sense of this that induced the king, in 1684, to resume the management of the fleet into his own hands, to restore again most of the old officers, and to undertake the bringing things once more into order: but before any considerable progress could be made in so great a work, his majesty died, and left the care of it to his successor<sup>t</sup>.

The trade of the nation I have heretofore shewed to have been in a very declining situation at the time of the restoration; I have also observed, that it was much helped by several treaties of peace made soon after<sup>u</sup>; and though I am far from denying, that, through the king's too strict intercourse with France, his running counter, in many respects, to the interests as well as inclinations of his best subjects, and that dissolute spirit of luxury and corruption, which, if not introduced, was at least countenanced and encouraged by the king's temper and practice, might hinder our trade from reaching that height which otherwise it would have done<sup>w</sup>.

Yet, upon the whole, I am fully persuaded, that, during his whole reign, we were very great gainers thereby; and this, I think, I can make clearly appear. In the first place, the former Dutch war was most certainly undertaken for the sake of trade; nor can it be conceived, that, in the second, the Dutch would have pushed as they did, from any other motive than an apprehension that, from rivals, we should become their superiors in commerce; to which, from the very genius of their state, they could not patiently submit. In the next place, let us consider

<sup>s</sup> The history and proceedings of the house of commons, printed for Richard Chandler, vol. i. p. 260.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 78, 85.

<sup>u</sup> Memoirs of the royal navy, by Mr. Pepys, p. 10. <sup>w</sup> The world's mistake in Oliver Cromwell, written by Slingby Bethel, Esq; who, in the latter end of the treatise, does justice to this king's administration in respect to commerce. Coke's detection of the four last reigns, p. iv. p. 205.

the mighty losses sustained in the space of fifteen years by the plague, the fire of London, and the two Dutch wars. They have been computed, by men much better skilled in political arithmetic than I pretend to be, at little less than twenty-seven millions <sup>x</sup>.

But supposing them to have amounted only to twenty millions, the nation must have been reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty and distress, if she had not been relieved by the vast profits of her foreign trade. This it was that repaired the loss of our people in a surprising manner, raised the city of London, like a phoenix, brighter and more beautiful for having been in flames, and increased our shipping to double what it was at the time of the king's coming in. These are facts agreed on by the greatest men that ever handled subjects of this nature, grounded on such evidence as could not deceive them, and justified by effects which even posterity may contemplate, and from thence discern the wisdom and truth of their computations <sup>y</sup>.

The East India Company were exceedingly favoured and protected, especially in the beginning of this reign; the African company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vast profits to the proprietors and the nation <sup>z</sup>. Many of our plantations were settled by his majesty's favour; such as Pennsylvania, Carolina, &c. <sup>a</sup> Others were restored to this nation by his arms; such as New York, and the Jerseys <sup>b</sup>; and all had such encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may guess from what a modern writer (no way partial to this prince) says of Barbadoes; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred sail of ships, produced two hundred thousand pounds a-year clear profit to this nation, and maintained one hundred thousand people there and here <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> By Sir William Petty in his political arithmetic, who without question understood the grounds of that art as well as ever any man did. Dr. Davenant also was of the same mind, and says expressly, that these losses might be computed at between twenty-four and twenty-seven millions. Discourses on the public revenue and trade of England, vol. ii. p. 44.

<sup>y</sup> See Pett's happy future state of England, Sir William Petty's political arithmetic, and his essays, Dr. Davenant's book before cited, and his essay upon the probable methods of making people gainers in the balance of trade.

<sup>z</sup> See a general treatise of naval trade and commerce, vol. ii. chap. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Curfou's compendium of the laws and government of England, p. 512.

<sup>b</sup> See the British empire in America, under those titles.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 166, 167.

These are high calculations; but I believe the person who made them is able to justify them, and therefore I make no question that Sir William Petty was in the right, when he calculated our exports at ten millions *per annum*<sup>d</sup>. This agrees very well with the state of our customs, which fell then little short of a million, though in 1660 they were farmed for four hundred thousand pounds, as they were once let by queen Elizabeth at thirty-six thousand. Dr. Davenant, an excellent judge in these matters, having duly weighed all the calculations I have mentioned, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience, pronounces the balance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a-year; and less, I think, it could not well be<sup>e</sup>. The bounds prescribed to this work will not allow me to say more on this subject, and I must have violated the duty I owe to truth and my country, if I had said less.

We are now to speak particularly of the most remarkable among those illustrious persons, whose gallant actions at sea have been already occasionally mentioned in this history; men, who, in point of military and civil virtue, have deserved as well of their country as men could do, and whose fame, therefore, ought to be transmitted to posterity with due respect. Amongst these, in the first place, let us take notice of him to whose loyalty we owe the virtues and services of all the rest.

### MEMOIRS of General GEORGE MONK, Duke of Albemarle, and Knight of the Garter.

**I**F the intrinsic worth of a man's actions were sufficient to secure the applause of succeeding times, there would be little occasion to enter minutely into the memoirs of this great soldier and seaman; and, on the other hand, if there be any thing laudable in removing those shades which the envious are always labouring to throw over the reputation of the worthy, then certainly no man's life would claim greater attention than his of

<sup>d</sup> Political arithmetic, p. 244.

<sup>e</sup> Discourses on the public revenues and

trade of England, vol. ii. p. 47.

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whom I am speaking, the merit of whose services scarce raised him more friends, than the glory of them excited detractors.

He was by birth a gentleman, descended on the father's side from an ancient and honourable family, settled from the time of Henry III. at Potheridge in Devonshire; and, by the female line, sprung from the victorious Edward IV. <sup>f</sup> He was the second son of Sir Thomas Monk, a man whose qualities and virtues deserved a better fortune; for time, in doing honour to his family, had almost worn out his estate. His son George was born on the 6th of December, 1608; and his father, having not much wealth to give, intended him from his childhood for the sword, and therefore bestowed on him such an education as was requisite to qualify him for the profession of arms, for which he gave a proof of his capacity when he was scarce able to wield them <sup>g</sup>.

In the first year of the reign of king Charles I. his majesty, who had then in view a war with Spain, came down to Plymouth, in order to inspect the naval preparations that were making there. Sir Thomas Monk had a mind to pay his duty to his prince, though his debts (derived rather from his ancestors extravagance than his own) made him somewhat afraid of the law. To remedy this evil, he sent his son George to the under-sheriff of Devonshire with a considerable present, desiring that, on so extraordinary an occasion, he might be safe from any insult while he attended the king. The sheriff took the present, and granted his request, but, soon after receiving a larger from

<sup>f</sup> The first notice that I believe the world ever had of this matter, was from a pamphlet, printed in 1659, intitled, "The pedigree and descent of his excellency general Monk, setting forth how he is descended from King Edward III. by a branch and slip of the white rose, the house of York, and likewise his extraction from Richard king of the Romans." This was published with a view, I suppose, to countenance a design some people had entertained of inclining the general to assume the crown himself, instead of restoring the king. The fact, however, is true as to his descent, which may be seen in Dugdale and other authors. But this descent could not possibly give him any title to the crown, since the lady Frances Plantagenet was first married into the family of Basset, and had issue of that marriage; and, which is still more to the purpose, her father Arthur, viscount L'Isle, was only natural son to Edward IV. We cannot wonder, therefore, that so thinking a man as general Monk despised such a pitiful strain of flattery on a circumstance otherwise very honourable to his family.

<sup>g</sup> These particulars are taken from the life of general Monk, written by Dr. Gumble, his life by Dr. Skinner, and what is said of him in Prince's worthies of Devon.

one of his creditors, took him in execution in the face of the county. George Monk, whose youth led him to think this a strange action, went to Exeter, and after expostulating with the pettifogger, who was altogether insensible as to reproaches, took his leave of him in a more intelligible language, and caned him so heartily, that he left him in no condition of following him. This adventure sent him on board the fleet, which, under the command of lord Wimbleton, shortly after sailed for Cadiz, when he was in the seventeenth year of his age: and thus he began, as he ended, his service to his country at sea<sup>b</sup>.

In this voyage he served as a volunteer under his near relation, Sir Richard Greenville: the next year we find him with a pair of colours, under the brave Sir John Burroughs, in the unfortunate expedition to the isle of Rhe. Such unlucky beginnings would certainly have daunted a less resolute mind than that of Mr. Monk, who was distinguished, in his youth, by a steadiness of temper which he maintained to his dying hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by passion, or chilled by fear.

In 1628, being then completely of age, he went over to Holland, and served in the regiment of the earl of Oxford, and afterwards in that of the lord Goring, who gave him the command of his own company, before he was thirty years of age. In this service, Mr. Monk was present in several sieges and battles, and pursuing steadily the study of his profession, became a complete master therein. In the last year of his stay in Holland, his winter-quarters were assigned him in Dort, where the magistrates punishing some of his soldiers, for matters rather proper for the inspection of a court-martial, captain Monk expostulated the matter so warmly, that the point came to be decided by the prince of Orange, who, though he in a like case had given judgment in favour of Sir Richard Cave, (and thereby missed the captain), now, to gratify the people, gave it for the burghers; which so disgusted Monk, who under a calm behaviour concealed a very high spirit, that he soon after threw up his commission, and never saw the Dutch more as a friend<sup>c</sup>.

On

<sup>b</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 11.      <sup>c</sup> Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 4. Journal of the expedition to the isle of Rhe, in lord Laufflow's works.

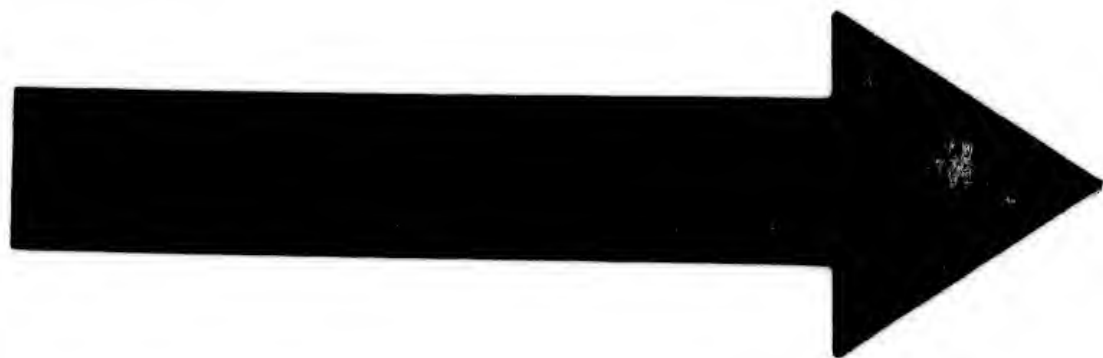
On his return home, he found his country in great confusion, a war newly broke out with the rebellious Scots; and an army raising to chastise them; in which he served as a lieutenant-colonel, under the earl of Newport; and, if his advice had been taken, things had not ended as they did\*. When the war blazed out in Ireland, in 1641, he, through the favour of his cousin, the earl of Leicester, then lord-lieutenant, was appointed to command his own regiment; in which post he did great service, and might have been governor of Dublin, but for the jealousy of the earl of Ormonde<sup>1</sup>.

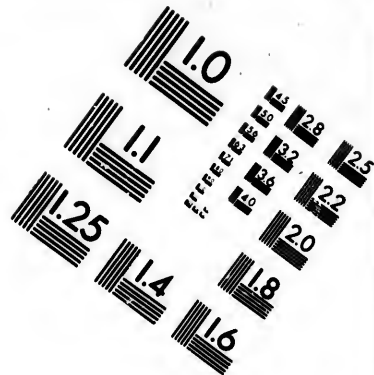
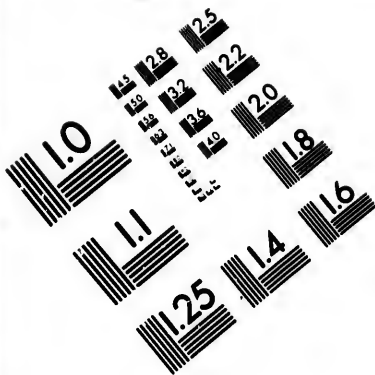
In 1643, he returned into England to serve his majesty, to whom he was introduced at Oxford, and honoured with a conference which lasted some time, and which satisfied the king how ill he had been used by his ministers, who, upon some dirty intelligence from Dublin, prevailed upon his majesty to take away his regiment, and give it to major Warren; a man of so much honour, that they found no small difficulty in prevailing on him to accept it. To make colonel Monk some amends, the king constituted him a major-general of the Irish brigade, and then sent him to his command; which he had not enjoyed long, before he, with many other officers, were surprized by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and sent prisoners to Hull; from whence, by special direction of the parliament, he was transferred to the Tower of London, where he remained several years a prisoner, in circumstances narrow enough; though his brother, who was a

works, vol. iii. p. 253. in which is the following passage: "July 28. The day following Mr. Monk came from England through the main, (passing the army which lay before Rochelle with great hazard of his life), and brought a message by word of mouth, from the king to my lord duke, with intelligence of thirty or forty sail of ships, with three or four thousand men, preparing in France." Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 102. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 899.

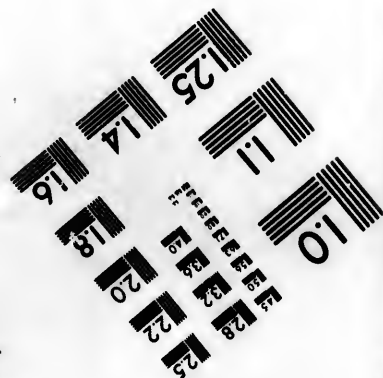
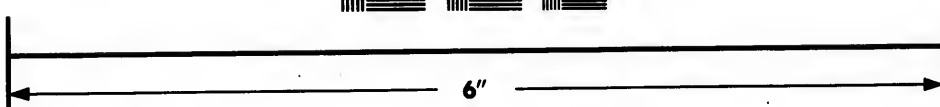
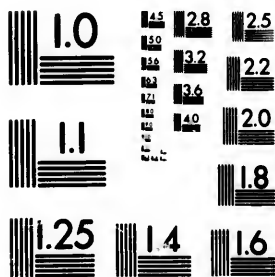
\* Skinner's life of Monk, p. 18. where he asserts, that lieutenant Monk was one of the few officers who seconded the earl of Strafford in his desire of fighting the Scots, instead of treating with them, which at all events must have served the king's purpose: but his tenderness for his countrymen ruined him, and, by bearing so much from rebels in one kingdom, he invited a rebellion in another.

<sup>1</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 21. Ludlow tells us in his memoirs, p. 77. that, when Ormonde sent him over, he ordered him to be confined in the ship, because he had made a scruple of serving against the parliament with forces raised by their authority. This shews, that general Monk was not such a soldier of fortune as Burnet and some other writers would make him, but that he had always a great respect to principle.





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royalist, and consequently the less able, did what he could for him, and his generous master sent him from Oxford one hundred pounds in gold; which was a large sum out of so low an exchequer<sup>m</sup>.

In 1646-7, when the fury of the civil war was over, by the total ruin of the king's affairs, colonel Monk accepted a commission under his relation the lord L'Isle, whom the parliament had appointed to the government of Ireland. When, in consequence of this, he obtained his liberty, he went, before he left the Tower, to pay his respects to the venerable doctor Matthew Wren, lord bishop of Ely; and, having received his blessing, the colonel took his leave in these words: "My lord, I am now going to serve the king, the best I may, against his bloody rebels in Ireland; and I hope I shall one day live to do further service to the royal cause in England<sup>n</sup>." At this time, however, he was not very fortunate; for, after a short stay in that kingdom, he returned with lord L'Isle, whose difference with the marquis of Ormonde hindered either of them from serving their country effectually: but colonel Monk did not long remain idle in England; for the parliament knew his abilities too well, and had too quick a sense of the state of Irish affairs, not to employ him in the only service to which he was inclined: and thus he returned a third time into Ireland, with the title of commander in chief of the English forces in the north<sup>o</sup>; where, in conjunction with colonel Jones and Sir Charles Coote, he took Athboy, Portlester, Ballyfannon, Naber, and Ballyho. Afterwards, with the assistance of Sir Price Coghrun, and lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, he surpris'd Car-

<sup>m</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 25. See also the preface by Dr. Webster, where there is a letter from Mr. Monk to his elder brother, dated from the Tower, Nov. 6, 1644, acknowledging the receipt of 50 l. and desiring the like sum.

<sup>n</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 28. PARENTALIA, OR MEMOIRS OF THE FAMILY OF THE WRENS, viz. of Matthew bishop of Ely, Christopher dean of Windsor, but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren, late surveyor-general of the royal buildings, &c. compiled by his son Christopher, and published by his grandson Stephen Wren, Esq; fol. London, 1750, p. 27. where this remarkable incident is related at large. See also Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 48, who says he had it from that reverend prelate's own mouth.

<sup>o</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 123. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 227. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 25. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 319.

rickfergus, the head of the Scots quarters in that kingdom, and in it major-general Monroe and his troops, who was drawing them out, with an intention to join the forces of his nephew, Sir George Monroe, in Scotland<sup>p</sup>. This action and success, says Whitlocke<sup>q</sup>, was one of the first that brought colonel Monk into extraordinary favour with the parliament, who began to have more confidence in him than they had formerly, since his revolt to them. A letter of thanks was sent to Monk, his officers, and soldiers; he was likewise appointed governor of Carrickfergus, and five hundred pounds were ordered him, as a reward for his good services. As to major-general Monroe, he was conducted to England, where, upon his arrival, he was committed to the Fleet; the officer, major Brough, who had the care of him, receiving two hundred pounds, by command of the parliament, for his attention in that particular.

As for our colonel, he pursued the path he was in with patience; and though it was a very difficult thing to manage such a divided authority, yet the prudence of Monk enabled him to surmount this difficulty, and many others, some of which were yet greater. He was forced to make war without money, which he did so effectually, as to reduce Owen Roe O Neile to the utmost distress, by carrying off provisions where that was practicable, and burning them where it was not. Yet, in the spring of the year 1649, colonel Monk found himself in so weak a condition, by the desertion brought on his army through the detestation the soldiers had of the king's murder, that he was constrained to enter into a treaty with this Owen Roe O Neile; which certainly saved the few troops he had under his command, and thereby preserved the parliament's interest in that country<sup>r</sup>. However, it gave such offence, that, on his return, he was subjected to a strict inquiry by the house of commons; who, after a very full hearing of the matter, came to a resolu-

<sup>p</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 275, 339. Cox's history of Ireland, p. 196, 203. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 27.

<sup>q</sup> Memorials, p. 339, 341. See also Carte's collection of original letters and papers respecting the affairs of England, from the papers of the Ormonde family, London, 1739, 8vo. 2 vols. vol. i. p. 172.

<sup>r</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 359. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 391. Heath's chronicle, p. 238, 239. Davies's history of the civil wars of Great Britain and Ireland, ch. xc. The moderate intelligencer, N<sup>o</sup>. 221.

tion against the treaty, but in justification of Monk's intention therein, which, though but a partial censure, some think the general never forgot<sup>1</sup>.

I must own, this appears to me one of the darkest parts of his history; but what I find most probable is, that the parliament's resolution was intended purely to wipe off the odium of having treated with an Irish Papist, and that colonel Monk did nothing therein but under direction: and this, I think, sufficiently appears from the parliament's having carried on a private treaty with an agent of O Neile at London<sup>2</sup>, and from the style of their resolution, in which, though they declare the fact to be criminal, yet they admit the man to be innocent; which I conceive he could not well be, unless he had known their intentions<sup>3</sup>.

Oliver Cromwell was now intrusted with the sole direction of the Irish war, and Monk was out of all employment; which might have straitened him in his private fortune, if his elder brother had not died without issue-male, by which he inherited the estate of the family. About this time also he declared his marriage, or perhaps somewhat later; for it seems he did not care the world should know he had a wife, till he was in possession of a competent fortune to maintain her<sup>4</sup>. His repose was of no long continuance; for, in the year 1650, Cromwell, when he was about to march into Scotland against the king, engaged him to accept of a new commission.

Skinner and some other writers talk, upon this occasion, of a secret fate which over-ruled him in this action<sup>5</sup>; nay, some of

<sup>1</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 419. Moderate intelligencer, from June 7 to 14, 1649, N<sup>o</sup>. 221. History of Independency, p. iii. p. 226. Cox's history of Ireland, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 294, 295.

<sup>3</sup> The resolution is in these words: "That this house doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of colonel Monk in the treaty and cessation made between him and Owen Roe O Neile; and that this house doth detest the thoughts of closing with any party of Popish rebels there, who have had their hands in shedding English blood. Nevertheless, the house being satisfied, that what the said colonel Monk did therein was, in his apprehension, necessary for the preservation of the parliament of England's interest; that the house is content the farther consideration thereof, as to him, he laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in question."

<sup>4</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 33. Lives English and foreign. Thurloe's papers, vol. i. p. 470.

<sup>5</sup> Life of general Monk, p. 36.

them would insinuate, that it was purely to revenge the treason of the Scots against king Charles I. that he took arms against them now, when they were fighting to restore king Charles II. <sup>1</sup> But I must freely own, that it appears to me the highest impiety to charge upon the providence of God what would be thought weakness in man, as, on the other hand, I see no reason why we should sacrifice truth to our zeal for any person, or any cause. I revere Monk as much as any man, and yet I must speak it as my opinion, that he deserted his principles upon this occasion, that he might gratify his ambition. Cromwell was so sensible of his merit, that he took a very unusual way to provide him with a regiment, by drawing six companies out of Sir Arthur Hasle- rig's, and six out of colonel Fenwick's; and, to secure him still farther, he made him lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and thus he was again embarked with the parliament through the interest of their general <sup>2</sup>.

In this expedition Cromwell, though he was a very knowing and great officer, certainly run into a dangerous error, which he discovered somewhat of the latest, and then began to retreat to- wards Dunbar, the Scots pressing hard upon his rear. Finding himself distressed, he called a council of war, in which opinions were divided, till general Monk delivered his in these words: " Sir, the Scots have numbers and the hills; those are their " advantages: we have discipline and despair, two things that " will make soldiers fight; and these are ours. My advice, " therefore, is, to attack them immediately; which if you fol- " low, I am ready to command the van." His proposal being accepted, he began the attack, and, as Ludlow acknowledges, was the sole instrument of that victory which gained Cromwell so great reputation <sup>3</sup>.

The following summer he spent in reducing the best part of Scotland, and particularly the town of Dundee, which made a good defence; he took it, notwithstanding, by storm, put six hundred of the garrison to the sword, and committed other acts of severity, which, however necessary they might be to his private interest, were certainly detrimental enough to his public

<sup>1</sup> Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 34, 35.      <sup>2</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 274. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 327. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 466.  
<sup>3</sup> Skianer's life of Monk, p. 38. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 329.

character,

character, the thing itself rendering him terrible to the royalists; and the manner of it gave distaste to general Ludlow, and all the sober men of that party<sup>b</sup>. The fatigue of so much business, and perhaps some extraordinary agitations of mind, threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness: upon this he applied for leave to return into England; which having obtained, he went to Bath, recovered his health, and, coming to London, found himself named a commissioner for bringing about an union between Scotland and England, in which, without doubt, he was properly employed, since few people at that time knew the interest of both nations better than he did<sup>c</sup>.

The Dutch war gave a new occasion for removing general Monk from his command in Scotland, to employ him on board the fleet. The death of colonel Popham made way for this: it was necessary to supply his loss, by sending an experienced officer in his stead, and this induced the parliament to cast their eyes upon Monk. He was now near forty-five years of age, which seemed a little of the latest to bring a man into a new scene of life; yet it must be remembered, that he was bred in a maritime county, and had served at sea in his youth; so that the preferment was not absolutely out of his way; or, if it was, he soon made it appear, that he could easily accommodate himself to any service that might be beneficial to his country.

We find him with the fleet in May 1653, and on the second of June he engaged that of the Dutch, being on board the Resolution with admiral Deane, who, in the beginning of the action, was killed by a chain-shot, a new invention generally ascribed to de Witte<sup>d</sup>. Monk with great presence of mind threw his cloak

<sup>b</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 40. where he slips over the matter without any particular notice. Lives English and foreign, p. 137. where it is expressly said, that he put the governor Robert Lumdsdale, and eight hundred of his garrison, to the sword. Sir Philip Warwick in his memoirs, p. 361. says, the governor was barbarously shot, after quarter given, by a fanatic officer. General Ludlow in his memoirs, vol. i. p. 365. affirms quite the contrary, viz. that he stormed Dundee, and, being entered, put five or six hundred to the sword, and commanded the governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood. Unjustifiable severity to men engaged upon principle!

<sup>c</sup> Gumble's and Skinner's life of Monk. <sup>d</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 45. Whitlocke's memoirs, p. 557. Lives English and foreign, p. 139. Mercurius politicus, N<sup>o</sup>. 158. p. 2515.

over the body, and having fetched two or three turns, and encouraged the men to do their duty, ordered it to be removed into his cabin. The dispute continued two days, and ended at last in a complete victory gained by the English. The Dutch, it is true, denied this, and the states went so far as to send a letter to their foreign ministers, directing them to assert, that it was but a drawn battle<sup>c</sup>: yet Van Tromp in his letter acknowledges the contrary, and lays the blame on the want of ammunition, and the base behaviour of many of his captains<sup>f</sup>. This is certain, that Monk discovered, upon this occasion, such a spirit of pushing things to the utmost, as gave him great reputation.

He soon increased this, by engaging the Dutch again on the 29th of July, where he likewise fought two days, and gained a second complete victory, as we have elsewhere shewn<sup>g</sup>, and shall therefore insist only on a few particulars relating to his personal conduct in this place. The Dutch fleet was far superior to his, and yet he not only attacked them, but engaged with thirty sail of light frigates, while the rest of the fleet were astern, and could not get up. The 30th proved a foul day, and so prevented any further fighting; on the 31st the Dutch had a supply of twenty-five large ships, which did not hinder Monk (who now commanded in chief) from attacking them, though he knew they had another great advantage, *viz.* a number of fire-ships, whereas he had none: nay, as if he had been secure of victory, he gave orders that no ship should be taken, or quarter given; for he saw that sending off ships to convoy them weakened his own fleet, and thereby lessened the effects of their victories<sup>h</sup>. His judgment appeared to be right, from the consequence of this battle, in which the loss of the Dutch, especially that of their gallant admiral Van Tromp, was so great, that it would not admit of any disguise; but the states were forced

<sup>c</sup> The reader may find this letter in Thurolo's papers, vol. i. p. 273. <sup>f</sup> This letter is also printed in the same collection, vol. i. p. 270. <sup>g</sup> See p. 35.

<sup>h</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 240. Heath's chronicle, p. 340.



to send their ministers hither, to conclude a peace upon any terms that could be got <sup>1</sup>.

After this, he was sent upon the coast of Holland, to destroy all the pretences of the Dutch, in case they had set up any, and to make their people sensible that they were thoroughly beaten. On his return to London, he found the little parliament sitting, by the authority of general Cromwell, which assembly treated Monk, however, so kindly, that the general began to be jealous of him, till, upon repeated conversations, he was thoroughly persuaded that Monk thought them, what he was willing every body should think them, a crew of ignorant enthusiasts; and then he became perfectly easy, and took Monk into his favour, who, notwithstanding all this kindness, declared himself against the peace intended with the Dutch; which Cromwell, nevertheless, made, having, in order to that, taken upon him the title of Protector.

To this great change the states contributed not a little by their ambassadors, who represented to general Cromwell, that the parliament he had been pleased to call were a set of men fitter for Bedlam than the government of a state, with whom it was impossible to treat or conclude any thing; but that, if he would assume the government, they would submit to any terms he should think reasonable<sup>k</sup>. When he was once fixed in his protectorate, and felt the weight of governing three kingdoms, he began to think of easing himself, by sending proper officers into two of them: and, in this partition, Scotland fell to the share of general Monk. It was in the spring of the year 1654, that Cromwell took this resolution, and Monk, readily accepting the commission, went down thither in the month of April the same year <sup>l</sup>.

He found the kingdom in the utmost confusion, the English army very small, and very ill governed, being under the com-

<sup>1</sup> Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. 12. Neuville, tome iii. liv. x. ch. 11, 12. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 499. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 469.

<sup>k</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 349—353. Davis's history of the civil wars, ch. 99. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 51. See Cromwell's commission to general Monk, dated April 29, 1654, in Thurloe's state papers, vol. ii. p. 222.

<sup>l</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 494. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 504. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 589.

mand of colonel Deane, a timorous man, and one that knew not how to direct any thing in such a critical conjuncture. A great part of the nobility were in arms for the king; and as to the rest of the people, they were split into innumerable parties, by quarrels amongst their ministers<sup>m</sup>. The general shewed himself a true servant of Cromwell; he not only pursued the business of the war indefatigably, but, by setting a price on the heads of the principal cavaliers, filled their minds with such distrusts, that they ever after acted in such a manner as shewed they were in confusion<sup>n</sup>. He settled garrisons and magazines in the most distant parts of the nation, using such severity towards all who resisted, and such lenity to all who submitted, that in a very short time he subdued the whole kingdom.

When the war was once over, he fixed himself at the house of the countess of Buccleugh, at Dalkeith, within four miles of Edinburgh; where, while he governed the kingdom more absolutely than most of its monarchs had done, he lived with all the moderation of a private man, and made husbandry and gardening his sole amusements<sup>o</sup>. Cromwell sent down a commission, empowering certain persons to direct civil affairs, under the title of a Council of State, consisting of the lord Broghill, who was president, colonel Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle, colonel William Lockhart, colonel Adrian Scroop, colonel John Wethum, and major-general Disbrow<sup>p</sup>. The majority of this council concurred with Monk in every thing; so that, in the main, the civil as well as military power was in his hands: and he managed it in such a manner, that the people had not either reason or inclination to complain; but, on the

<sup>m</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 360, 361. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 590, 591, 592, 597. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 342, 343.

<sup>n</sup> See this proclamation, signed G. Monk, and dated at Dalkeith, May 4, 1654. In it he mentions major-general Middleton, the earl of Athol, the earl of Seaforth, the lord-viscount Kenmure, and major-general Dalziel, for the killing of whom, or bringing them in prisoners to an English garrison, he offered 200 pounds a head. This proclamation is in the late collection of Thurloe's state papers, vol. ii. p. 267.

<sup>o</sup> Skinner's continuation of Batet, p. 103. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 86, 87. Ld. Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 505. <sup>p</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 374. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 69. Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 711, 727.

contrary, were very thankful and contented. He seems, however, by his letters, to have been strongly and steadily attached to Cromwell; since we find, that he not only communicated to him all that he could discover of the king's intelligence there with others, but sent him also the copy of a letter, written by king Charles II. to himself; which hitherto has been always mentioned as a proof of Monk's early affection for the king's service, on a supposition, that, though he did not answer, he concealed it; which supposition is now clearly and absolutely overturned<sup>2</sup>. Yet all his precaution did not secure him from the jealousy of the protector, who was actually contriving how to remove him, when death put a period to his projects. A little before his end, however, he wrote the general a long letter, concluding with the following postscript, which, I conceive, affords us a better picture of Oliver than is any where to be met with, and, which is no less singular, drawn by his own hand<sup>3</sup>.

P. S.

“ There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in SCOTLAND, called GEORGE MONK, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce CHARLES STUART. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me.”

Yet, as a creature of Cromwell's, he was hated by the commonwealth party, and a conspiracy had been formed against him by colonel Overton, in which Sindercome had undertaken to murder the general, who afterwards made a like attempt upon Cromwell; but Monk having discovered and disappointed the plot, contented himself with sending the authors of it up to London<sup>4</sup>. The principal cause of the protector's jealousy was, the kindness shewn by the general to the Scots, for finding them

<sup>2</sup> This letter of king Charles II. to Monk is dated Colen, Aug. 12, 1655, and was communicated to Dr. Peter Barwick by Monk's son, as a proof of his father's early loyalty: but it appears from Thurloe's papers, that Monk gave an account of every thing that passed in Scotland, and particularly sent him up this very letter, with many others.

<sup>3</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 72. The mystery and method of his majesty's happy restoration laid open to public view, Lond. 1680, 8vo, p. 22. <sup>4</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 132.

of his own temper, that is to say, of a civil, though reserved nature, he admitted them freely to his presence, of what party soever they were.

Immediately on Oliver's death he proclaimed Richard, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true, viz. that his father had directed him to be governed chiefly by Monk's advice; whereas he was scarce in his senses, when he appointed him to the succession. This, however, was very well judged in the new protector, and seemed to bespeak his advice in such a manner, as that he could not, consistent with the deep regard he professed for his father, refuse giving it him; and therefore the general, some time after, sent it by his brother-in-law. The paper is yet remaining<sup>u</sup>, and will convince whoever reads it, that Monk, though a very plain man, was a very sound politician, and, like an honest and sensible counsel, gave the clearest and best opinion, upon his intricate and perplexed case, that it would bear. If Richard could have supported himself at all, it would have rivetted Monk in his favour; who, however, might doubt the possibility of that, when he gave it. He judged rightly, that, if things went well, it would do him much good; and, if they went ill, it could do him no hurt. The further to conciliate Monk's friendship, the protector sent down commissary Clarges, brother to lady Monk, laden with promises: which, however, had no effect upon the wary general, who received his commands respectfully, wrote a civil answer to Thurloe's smooth letter, and took all the care he could to secure his command in Scotland, till he saw what turn things in England would take; it having been his opinion, that, if Oliver had lived much longer, he would have been shaken in his seat<sup>w</sup>.

The succeeding troubles in England, therefore, were very far from surprising him: on the contrary, they were precisely what

<sup>u</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. vii. p. 363, 372. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 94, 95. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 75.

<sup>w</sup> See the character of the protector, as drawn by the noble historian in his history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 646. Discourse concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell, by Abraham Cowley, in the 2d volume of his works. The world's mistake in Oliver Cromwell, by Singsby Bethel, Esq. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 95. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 68.

he looked for and expected; and it was very easy to foresee, that, in consequence of them, some attempts might be made to restore the king. It would be beside the design of this treatise; it would require much more room than we have to spare; and, after all, it would be in a great measure needless, considering what has been already written on the subject, for us to enter minutely into the intrigues that were used, while general Monk was in Scotland, to bring him into that interest: we shall content ourselves, therefore, with saying, that he acted in this matter with the utmost prudence and circumspection; so that what the earl of Clarendon and bishop Burnet have suggested, that he was a man of slow parts and slender abilities, ought to be considered rather as the effect of their prejudices, than of the general's conduct.

The truth is, they were both out of this secret; that is to say, the former had no hand in it, and the latter never so much as heard of it; which was reason enough for them to write as they did. The general's council consisted chiefly of ladies. He corresponded in England with the lady Savile; he managed all Scotland by the assistance of the countess of Buccleugh, and consulted much, in regard to his personal conduct, with his wife, a woman of quick parts, and a thorough royalist. He had, besides, some confidants, who will appear to posterity more worthy of the trust he reposed in them, for having never boasted of the assistance they gave him, as others did, who afforded him much less. Among the first, I reckon his wife's brother, Dr. Clarges,

\* The curious reader may consult the life of dean Barwick, wherein he will find the best accounts that were ever published of this matter; and yet the earl of Clarendon says nothing of the services of this Dr. John Barwick, though no man was better acquainted with them than himself; which shews, that there are some things in which that history is not altogether to be depended on.

† It is clear from what Lord Clarendon says, that he was altogether unacquainted with the general's intentions, and could only collect his design from his manner of acting. His reservedness, therefore, to so haughty a man, might well enough induce him to speak so coldly as he does of the general's performances. Yet he does not pretend to enter deeply into his character, as Burnet does, who must know much less of it, and that only from conversation in a court where Monk's patriotism, and severity of morals, had left him few friends, and created him many enemies.

colonel

colonel Cloberry, and general Morgan; amongst the latter, his chaplains Price and Gumble, with many others<sup>2</sup>.

In the management of all great undertakings, the surest signs of a true genius is, the disposition of its several parts. This shews the first mover; this marks the ruling character, that superiority of skill and conduct which denominates a man truly wise and great. Let us see, then, what it was Monk was to overthrow, what to establish, and what force he had to do it with. He was to change a settlement, new indeed in itself, but in appearance so much the stronger, having all the authority in the three kingdoms, a veteran army of upwards of thirty thousand men in England and Ireland, and a victorious fleet on its side. He was to restore a lost cause, in the opinion of its best friends; a cause which he durst not so much as own; a cause against which himself had done much, and the troops he commanded more; all which he was to do with a body of between five and six thousand men, which were so far from being better troops than those they were to oppose, that, in reality, they were not their equals. Yet, with the blessing of God, he performed what he proposed, he triumphed over all these difficulties, and he did this by a just distribution of the several parts of his scheme, any one of which, had it been omitted or misplaced, had ruined the whole.

He secured Scotland behind him, raised a sufficient sum of money to put the first springs in motion, and excited such a spirit in his army, as fitted it for the present work<sup>3</sup>. Next, he took care to stir the humours in the body-politic, to rouse and animate all the parties in the nation, that they might move, act, and shew their humours and their strength. He set up Fairfax against Lambert, and broke his veteran army by shewing them

<sup>2</sup> The capital secret of the restoration was, the general's forming the design of it, which he did in Scotland, and, by the assistance of the countess of Buccleugh, drew all the loyal nobility to confide in him; a thing of which bishop Burnet knew nothing, though it was in truth the great spring of the affair, and the clearest proof, that the general acted sincerely and uniformly through the whole expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 702. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 809. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 222, 223.

their



their old general <sup>b</sup>. He made use of honest Dr. Price to feed the royalists with hopes, while his own actions could give them none <sup>c</sup>. By the talkative Mr. Gumble he wrought upon the commonwealth's men: by gracious and yet general answers he kept himself well with all parties, without declaring for any <sup>d</sup>. He prevailed with the parliament to part with a better army than his own, merely from the opinion of his being their best friend <sup>e</sup>: when he came to London, he shewed himself the very best of their servants, by obsequiously performing the dirtiest of their work, and, proving them thereby to be the worst of masters, he paved the way for outing them of their authority <sup>f</sup>. Thus he went beyond them in their own arts, outstripped them in cunning, and having the city and the country, as well as the fleet and the army, on his side, he gave law to those who had been so long dictators <sup>g</sup>.

By recalling the secluded members, he of a rump made them a house, and, by their own consent, fairly dissolved that long parliament, which might otherwise have been everlasting <sup>h</sup>. After doing all this, he did still more: he refused the kingdom, when it was offered him by the distracted republicans, to keep it from its right owner; and then our old enemies the French would have lent him their assistance to have hindered the return of a monarch, who they foresaw, unless they missed him, must be the first in Europe; and this they did as politicians, though that monarch was a grandson of France <sup>i</sup>. But Monk generously

despised

<sup>b</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 412. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 139: MS. papers of Sir Philip Monckton in the possession of his worthy descendant the right honourable the lord viscount Galway. Parliamentary intelligence, N<sup>o</sup>. 6. p. 65.

<sup>c</sup> Mystery and method of his majesty's happy restoration, p. 84. <sup>d</sup> Mr. Gumble had a hundred pounds given him for bringing Monk's letter from Newcastle, and was recommended also by the house of commons to be a fellow of Eaton college. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 692, 693. Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, and other writers. <sup>e</sup> Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. iii. p. 27. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 375. <sup>f</sup> Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 236. Sir Richard Bulstrode's memoirs, p. 209. Heath's chronicle, p. 437. Mercurius politicus, N<sup>o</sup>. 607.

<sup>g</sup> See the authors last cited, as also Kennet, Echard, Rapin, and all our historians. <sup>h</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 720, 721. Heath's chronicle, p. 438, 439. Public intelligence by order of parliament, N<sup>o</sup>. 608, 609. A perfect journal of every day's proceedings in parliament, N<sup>o</sup>. 1, 2, 3. Mercurius publicus, 470, N<sup>o</sup>. 612.

<sup>i</sup> Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 693. Sir Arthur Haselrig offered to procure a hundred thousand hands to subscribe to his title, if he would

assure

despised a diadem to which he had no right, and, with equal greatness of mind, refused to make any terms with him to whom it belonged<sup>k</sup>. He saw the folly of cobbling constitutions, and pretending to take power from one set of men to give it to another: he chose therefore, like a wise and honest man, to fix things upon their old bottom, and to leave the king's power, and the people's freedom, to be discussed in the only assembly that could have a right to meddle with them<sup>l</sup>.

Thus was the restoration begun, prosecuted, and perfected, by Monk; who received, as favours from the king, his titles, preferments, and fortune; all which, to be sure, he might have had in another way. And yet this is the man whom almost all our histories treat as having only second-rate parts, acting as he was prompted by men of brisker tempers, and invited by favourable occasions; as a horrid dissembler, though he refused to take the engagement, and was never concerned in the war against Charles I.; as an avaricious all-grasping person, though it is confessed that he asked NOTHING from his sovereign, to whom he gave ALL; as a man utterly unfit for business, who yet had shewn himself a great captain in Ireland, an excellent governor in Scotland, and a profound statesman in England, not to mention his reputation as an admiral, acquired by humbling Holland; but it is one thing to merit a character, and another to purchase it. The latter was not Monk's talent: he provided for his relations and friends, but he was no encourager of flatterers; and, withal, being a bad courtier, he was seldom called for after the restoration, but when he was necessary; and this happening

assume the government. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 252. Price's history of the restoration, p. 128. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 426.

<sup>k</sup> Mr. Locke, on the credit of the earl of Shaftsbury, has published a very strange story in relation to the conduct of this great man, as if he had agreed with the French ambassador to take upon him the government; which story is reported at large by Echard in his history, p. 757. But this, as it is incredible in its nature, so it is improbable in its circumstances, and supported by no authority in the world but that of a vain man, who was desirous of taking the merit of the restoration to himself.

<sup>l</sup> The very enemies of Monk have always allowed him this eminent service of restoring the king without conditions, to which we owed that ten years calm succeeding the king's return; whereas, if he had submitted to conditions, we must, from the nature of things, have relapsed into confusion immediately.

pretty

pretty often, leads us to the rest of his history; in which we shall still find him appear with honour, and perform with success.

The command of the army was continued to the duke of Albemarle, as long as there was, properly speaking, an army to command: he was, likewise, made master of the horse, and one of the king's bed-chamber<sup>m</sup>. Bishop Burnet, as also the noble historian, have said abundance of invidious things of him; and this will make it necessary to shew how false they are, and how little credit is due to their insinuations against this great man's character. The former says he was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature, (bad words these in a bishop's mouth, who at other times could say soft things of the ladies); and adds, that he soon lost all personal regard, by becoming useless<sup>n</sup>. When he was created a duke<sup>o</sup>, the king settled seven thousand pounds a-year on him, though one hundred thousand pounds a-year had been proposed before the restoration took place<sup>p</sup>. When he was called up by writ to the house of lords, he was attended by almost the whole house of commons to the door: a very unusual mark of respect, which could only be due to extraordinary merit, and must have flowed from their sense of it<sup>q</sup>. Various plots were framed, immediately after the king's return; and, in all these, the duke of Albemarle's life was particularly aimed at: this seems to be a strong proof of his consequence; and, if we were to demand another, we cannot desire a better than what all the histories of those times tell us; *viz.* that these insurrections were chiefly suppressed by his activity, at the head of his own faithful regiment<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 712. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 372. <sup>n</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 92. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 46.

<sup>o</sup> His elevation to the peerage was so acceptable to that august body, that, upon notice given of it to the house by the lord chancellor, they ordered the lord great chamberlain of England, and the lord Berkeley, to wait upon his majesty to return him their thanks for the honours he had been pleased to confer upon the duke of Albemarle. Journal of the house of lords.

<sup>p</sup> Gamble's life of general Monk, p. 306. Price's history of the restoration, p. 9. Ld. Lansdown's works, vol. ii. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 272. <sup>q</sup> Heath's chron. p. 455. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 314. Kennet, Echard. Heath's chronicle, p. 471, 472, 512. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 73. Bishop Parker's hist. of his own time, p. 21—20. Philips's continuat. of Baker's chron. p. 734. Mercurius politicus, N<sup>o</sup>. 3. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 137.

His success, in this respect, gave him an opportunity of deserving as much from the nation by his patriotism, as ever he did from the king by his loyalty. It was suggested in council, that these tumults shewed how little use could be made of trained bands; and therefore, that it was fit a part of the army should be kept up. The duke said, "this could not be done without giving the people a jealousy of the king; and that the best way to gain their affections, was to rely upon them." I leave the reader to judge, with what decency this man could be said to forfeit all personal regard, and to become in a short time useless.

But the bishop is not content with barely characterising this noble person; he charges him with three glaring crimes, which, as they relate to the most eminent actions of his life, we shall briefly consider. The first is, the murder of the marquis of Argyle. This nobleman was questioned, before the parliament of Scotland, for concurring with the late rebellious powers: he pleaded, that he complied with them only, and made a very strong defence<sup>t</sup>; but the bishop says, that Monk having several letters of his, which fully shewed that his inclinations, as well as his actions, were with the prevailing party, he sent these down, which were read in parliament; and, by this breach of private friendship, he brought the marquis to the block<sup>u</sup>.

Now, to this I say, that the fact cannot be true, for many reasons. I shall mention only a few. 1. The marquis, in his defence, complains, that he was surpris'd into being present at Oliver's proclamation, as protector, by general Monk's sending for him to the council, without letting him know what was to be done. Would he have complain'd of this, and have pass'd by the letters; or would not this complaint have been ridiculous, if there had been any such letters<sup>w</sup>? 2. The marquis died with an appeal to God for the sincerity of his defence, and wrote a letter to the king, affirming the same thing, a copy of which I have seen<sup>x</sup>. Would so wise a man, as the marquis certainly

<sup>s</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 322.

<sup>t</sup> The proceedings against him may

be found in the 2d volume of state trials, p. 417.

<sup>u</sup> Burnet's history of

his own times, vol. i. p. 125.

<sup>w</sup> State trials, vol. ii. p. 431.

<sup>x</sup> By the favour of his nephew, the honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell. In this letter the marquis insists on his loyalty in very high terms; and indeed ther

certainly was, have done this, if, as Burnet says, his own letters had made the thing so plain, that his friends had nothing to say? 3. This does not at all agree with Monk's character. He was an advocate for mercy to the regicides in the house of lords; he was silent on the bench at the Old-Bailey, when commissioned to try them; and, which is much more to the purpose, he saved Sir Arthur Haselrig's life and estate, (the bitterest personal enemy he had in the world), by owning a promise to him, which some say he never made. This seems to shew him of no betraying spirit<sup>y</sup>. 4. There was no occasion for Argyle to write any such letters, for Monk never was in England after Oliver became protector: and it is hard to understand, why the marquis should apply to him in Scotland, when he could so easily have an audience of Cromwell in London, where he often was<sup>z</sup>. 5. The thing is now out of all doubt; for, by the publication of Thurloe's papers, it appears that Monk never considered the marquis in this light, but always represented him as a secret friend to the king, and an active enemy to the protector's government<sup>a</sup>.

The second imputation on the duke of Albemarle's conduct is, his recommending the match with Portugal<sup>b</sup>. It is admitted, that this proposition might possibly be made by the Portuguese ambassador to the duke of Albemarle, before the king's actual return to his dominions, and that he proposed it to his majesty as a measure proper for extending the trade, and increasing the influence of his subjects abroad. It is likewise true,

is all the reason in the world to believe he never meant any thing more, in his proceedings in Scotland, than to restrain the power of the crown within due bounds.

<sup>y</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 319, 320.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. ch. 7.

<sup>a</sup> See the correspondences of Argyle and Monk in the iiii, ivth, and vth volumes of Thurloe's state papers; and thence it will plainly appear, that there was no harmony between them, and consequently no ground to suppose, that the marquis would lay himself open to him by his letters.

<sup>b</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 166. Coke's detection of the four last reigns, book iv. ch. i. p. 8. Echard's hist. of England, from a MS. of Sir Robert Southwell, p. 800. The points insisted on are, 1. That the first motion came from general Monk, who constantly promoted this marriage; 2. That the chancellor had incontestible intelligence of the infant's incapacity of having children; 3. That upon this he warmly and passionately opposed it in a cabinet council, which he prevailed on the king to call upon this subject.

that

that his grace thought the acquisition of Tangier a very considerable thing; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider that, in Cromwell's time, there was a project of getting it into our possession. If, therefore, the duke of Albemarle was for this match from right motives, and with a view to the interest of his king and country, as it is plain he was, it is very hard to arraign his behaviour upon consequences, which, it is certain, he could not foresee, and very probably had never considered.

Besides, another queen might have been childless as well as Catherine, and have brought the nation no advantage at all; whereas it is certain, that our close conjunction with Portugal has been very beneficial to us as a trading people, and that our acquisitions of Bombay and Tangier became useless, or at least inconsiderable, entirely through our own fault, from the perpetual struggle of factions amongst us, which have been always our greatest misfortune; and therefore, to attribute these to the conduct of Monk, or to condemn him for advising a treaty of marriage, which was thoroughly canvassed in, and approved by the parliament, is as unreasonable as it is unjust<sup>c</sup>.

Thus the thing stood in the first edition of this work; but we are now in a condition to clear up all difficulties, from the authority of the noble person, in the needless justification of whose character that of the duke of Albemarle has been unjustly aspersed<sup>d</sup>. We are assured by him, that the first overture, in relation to the infanta of Portugal, was made to his majesty by the lord chamberlain, that is, the earl of Manchester; and, it seems, from the beginning was well received. The king next consulted with the chancellor himself, and afterwards with a private committee, of which the duke of Albemarle was no member<sup>e</sup>. There that business came to such maturity, that the Conde de Mello, the Portuguese minister, was sent home, in

<sup>c</sup> This matter was warmly, and, as most people thought, fully discussed in three quarto pamphlets by the ingenious lord Lansdown, the indefatigable Mr. Oldmixon, and the learned Dr. Colebatch of Trinity college in Cambridge, all of which I perused attentively, that I might do no injustice to any.

<sup>d</sup> Earl of Clarendon's life, p. 78. of the folio edition.

<sup>e</sup> This committee was composed of the chancellor, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Manchester, and secretary Nicholas; and therein his Majesty declared, he had consulted the earl of Sandwich, and Sir John Lawson, as to the situation and importance of Tangier.



order to bring with him those securities and assurances that were necessary to the conclusion of the treaty. It was during his absence that an opposition was set on foot by baron Batteville, or, as his countrymen the Flemings call him, baron Watteville, the Spanish minister, and his friend the earl of Bristol, who prevailed upon the king to give him a commission to go in search of a princess worthy the king's bed, to some of the courts of Italy &c. Upon the return of the Portuguese minister, with the title of marquis de Sande, the negociation was renewed; and the Spanish minister, who had been imprudent enough to publish aspersions on the infanta of Portugal, in the English language, and even to throw them out of his window amongst the guards, was ordered to quit the kingdom\*. The matter was then laid before the whole privy-council, where, without doubt, the duke of Albemarle was present; and then it was unanimously approved. This unanimity so much pleased the king, that he took notice of it as a good omen, in his speech from the throne, at the opening of the next sessions of parliament, and was congratulated upon it by both houses<sup>a</sup>. Hence it is evident, that the duke of Albemarle had no particular concern in this business; that the chancellor was very early consulted; that he considered the insinuation to the prejudice of the infanta as an invention of the Spanish minister<sup>b</sup>, and was so far from protesting against this marriage, that he promoted it; and, whatever calumny might afterwards suggest, promoted it, no doubt, from very just and laudable motives<sup>c</sup>.

\* The count d'Estades, though so well acquainted with the intrigues of this court, thought the earl of Bristol was sent on this idle errand by the chancellor, in order to get him out of his way; but the fact was quite otherwise.

<sup>a</sup> The indiscreet conduct of this minister was the source of the greatest disgrace, and some of the heaviest misfortunes, the court of Spain ever received. So true it is, that the honour always, and often the safety, of every state, is intrusted to every ambassador she sends.

<sup>b</sup> Baker's chronicle, p. 749. This speech was made May 8, 1661.

<sup>c</sup> Earl of Clarendon's life, p. 437, mentions the queen's miscarrying twice; the first time (as the king affirmed, of his own knowledge, to the queen his mother) of a son. Lady Wyche, who attended near her person, asserted, she was able to have born children at the king's death.

<sup>k</sup> The circumstance of the duke of York's having children by the chancellor's daughter, gave a colour to the aspersions on the chancellor for promoting the king's marriage, and the desire of vindicating him has been the motive to aspersing other characters.

The last point to which we are to speak, regards the sale of Dunkirk, in which the bishop assures us<sup>1</sup>, that the censure thrown upon the lord-chancellor Clarendon was unjust, since he relied intirely upon the sentiments of Monk. In this he does not, however, go so far as another writer; who affirms, that the chancellor and the treasurer protested against it; which, he says, is a point that may be cleared by inspecting the council-books<sup>m</sup>. Echard seems to lay the blame upon the earl of Sandwich<sup>n</sup>, and is also positive, that the chancellor and treasurer were the two ministers who opposed the measure, Monsieur d'Estrades, the French plenipotentiary, who transacted this important affair, on the part of his master, and who, in his letters to Louis XIV. at the time, gives a very distinct and particular account of what happened through the whole of the negociation, set things in a very different light<sup>o</sup>. He produces a letter from the chancellor, dated June 29, 1662, delivered to him by Mr.

<sup>1</sup> In all altercations of this sort, it is but just to let men speak for themselves. History of his own times, vol. i. p. 172, 173. the bishop says, "The matter under debate was, whether this place [Dunkirk] ought to be kept or sold. The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by France, said, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the king to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The earl of Clarendon said, he understood not those matters, but appealed to Monk's judgment, who did positively advise letting it go for the money that France offered.—So it was sold; and all the money that was paid for it was immediately squandered away amongst the mistress's creatures." The facts are, 1. That the military men acted as if corrupted by France. 2. The chancellor Clarendon was passive, relying on Monk's opinion. 3. His opinion was positive, to let it go for what France offered. 4. Upon his advice it was sold. 5. And the money squandered amongst the countess's creatures.

<sup>m</sup> Coke's detection of the four last reigns, book iv. p. 8. and upon his authority bishop Kennet relies; complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 255. See also his own account of the sale of Dunkirk, and by whom charged upon Clarendon, p. 259. <sup>n</sup> History of England, p. 781, 801. <sup>o</sup> This is a quite different book from the lettres, memoires, et negociations de monsieur le comte d'Estrades, in five vols. 12mo, printed at Brussels 1709, which were stole out of the French king's library by John Aymond, and which contain letters and dispatches from 1663 to 1668. The work here referred to is intitled, ambassades et negociations de monsieur le comte d'Estrades, en Italie, en Angleterre, et en Hollande, depuis l'annee 1637 jusqu' en l'annee 1662. A Amsterdam, chez J. F. Bernard, 1718, 12mo. An English translation of which appeared in 1753 in 8vo, printed for R. Willock in Cornhill, and contains many curious and important passages relating to England.

Beling,

Beling<sup>p</sup>, who was to explain to him that noble person's intention, the king and his lordship having both written, two days before, to invite him to take England in his way to Holland, where he was then going ambassador<sup>q</sup>. Upon his arrival, he was informed, that the motive of desiring his presence was, to enter into a treaty for the sale of Dunkirk. He says expressly, that the chancellor told him, that the king's necessities obliged him to this step; that he was the only person of the council in that sentiment: that he was to bring over Monk, the treasurer, and the earl of Sandwich, which he could not hope to do, if a round sum was not offered<sup>r</sup>. The French king, in a letter to d'Estades, expresses great uneasiness at the secrets being communicated to the other lords<sup>s</sup>. At length, when the treaty was advanced, the king of England, on the first of September, gave full powers, under his hand, to the chancellor, the treasurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, to proceed therein, and to conclude it<sup>t</sup>. It was signed, accordingly, on the 27th of October, 1662, by the commissioners on both sides; and, in a letter dated November 6, count d'Estades tells the king, his master, that king Charles, the duke of York, and the chancellor, were the only persons from whom he had met with no opposition; and, in consequence of this, and much more to the same purpose, that monarch wrote a letter to his brother of England, and another to the chancellor, to thank them for their obliging conduct in that affair<sup>u</sup>.

The chancellor himself, who best knew his own thoughts, and who could certainly give the clearest account of his own

<sup>p</sup> This Mr. Beling, though a Papist, was in great confidence with chancellor Clarendon, acted as interpreter between him and count d'Estades, was in the whole secret of this negociation, and for this was recommended by his minister, to Lewis XIV. for a present which he received. <sup>q</sup> Ambassades d'Estades, p. 387. English translation, p. 218.

<sup>r</sup> An incautious writer might cite this as a proof out of the chancellor's own mouth, that he alone was the author of this measure, and not either the general, the treasurer, or the earl of Sandwich. But, though the chancellor might say so, it was not true, at least, if we believe his own account, but was thrown out partly to force d'Estades to make a greater offer. The chancellor did not want address, but d'Estades had more.

<sup>s</sup> Ambassades d'Estades, p. 430, 431. English translation, p. 241, 252.  
<sup>t</sup> Kennet's chronicle, p. 760. where the commission is preserved. <sup>u</sup> Ambassades d'Estades, p. 508. English translation, p. 297.

actions, places the whole of this affair in another point of view<sup>w</sup>. He ascribes the original motion, for the sale of Dunkirk, to the French king, to the lord high-treasurer Southampton; and, upon his communicating it to the chancellor, he expressed himself very warmly against the proposition. He next informs us, that a cabinet-council was called, at which his majesty, the duke of York, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, were present, as well as himself and the treasurer, at whose request this meeting was appointed, and who humourously advised his majesty to take away the chancellor's staff, for fear he should make a rough use of it when he knew the subject they were met upon. In this cabinet-council the sale of Dunkirk was debated, and resolved for the reasons which the chancellor mentions in his memoirs<sup>x</sup>. This was previous to the inviting over d'Estrades, who had been in England, and treated with the chancellor upon affairs of state before, and had so far recommended himself to the king and the chancellor, as he was indeed a minister of great address, that they were both desirous of treating with him again. What the chancellor said to d'Estrades, was to engage him to raise his price; for he at first talked only of two millions, because that was the sum at which it had been valued by Cromwell, as has been mentioned in another place<sup>y</sup>; however, he was afterwards brought to offer three millions, and at last to add two millions more for the artillery, ammunition, military stores, and the materials for building; which sum, it appears, that all the commissioners, except the chancellor, thought too little, and upon that account concluded the bargain with reluctance<sup>z</sup>. This drew an immediate odium upon the chancellor. His bitterest enemy, the earl of Bristol, put it the next year into his accusa-

<sup>w</sup> The earl of Clarendon wrote a vindication of his own conduct against the accusation of the house of commons, dated at Montpellier, July 24, 1668. This may be found in his tracts, and his account of this transaction, p. 33. See also his memoirs, p. 201.

<sup>x</sup> The reasons are inserted also in the vindication, and in effect were these: 1. That the place, being no harbour, was of little utility; 2. That the charge of keeping it was more than the crown could afford; 3. That the keeping it would necessarily involve the nation in a war. <sup>y</sup> See p. 21. in the notes.

<sup>z</sup> So the count d'Estrades says expressly, and complains extremely of the trouble given him in wording the treaty by the other commissioners, and commending highly the assiduity of the chancellor, though he knew it rendered him obnoxious.

tion against him: the people called the house he was building **DUNKIRK HOUSE**; and it was mentioned afresh in the articles that were framed against him, by the house of commons, upon his disgrace<sup>a</sup>.

The discussing this matter having led me so far, I think myself obliged to go a little farther, that I may not seem to have exculpated the duke of Albemarle at the expence of other counsellors, who, in my conscience, I think as innocent as he. The true state then of the matter, at least to me, appears to have been this: The revenue settled upon the king, in customs, excise, and hearth-money, amounted to one million two hundred thousand pounds, and the constant stated expence of the king's government to upwards of one million four hundred thousand pounds, though that of his household came but to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds<sup>b</sup>. There was consequently a deficiency of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds a-year<sup>c</sup>. The weight of this, as the chancellor well observes, being chiefly felt by the treasurer, suggested to him the inquiry into the utility and worth of Dunkirk; and finding, or believing he had found, good reasons for the parting with it, he was thereby led to make the proposal, as it would take away one half of the annual exceeding, and, at the same time, furnish the king with a large sum of money, of which he was then in the greatest want<sup>d</sup>. This measure seems to have been taken about a year after the king's restoration; and, we may be sure, was taken without any sinister or iniquitous views, since it came from the great and good earl of Southampton, whose character was never yet aspersed<sup>e</sup>. It has, indeed, been said, that the king was

<sup>a</sup> See the earl of Bristol's articles in the complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 265. Echard, p. 809. See also Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 249. Proceedings in the case of Edward earl of Clarendon, 1700, 8vo.

<sup>b</sup> See this stated at large from the earl of Halifax's MSS. in Ralph's history, vol. i. p. 89.

<sup>c</sup> This would have been the case, if the funds, given by parliament, had actually produced what they were given for; whereas they fell short no less than three hundred thousand pounds.

<sup>d</sup> Earl of Clarendon's life, p. 202.

<sup>e</sup> The king, at the instance of general Monk, made Sir Edward Harley governor of Dunkirk immediately after his return, and would have constituted him governor for life, consequently had then no thoughts of selling it. When he had, he removed him by warrant, dated May 22, 1661.

removed to it chiefly out of consideration for certain ladies; and, perhaps, when this comes to be explained, there will not appear to be any great harm in that: for these ladies were, the queen his mother, the queen his consort, and the princess Henrietta Maria his sister, who was to be married to the duke of Orleans, and for whom a portion was to be provided out of this money <sup>f</sup>.

If the reader is desirous of knowing how this came to be afterwards considered in so foul a light, and why so much pains had been taken to shift the odium from one minister upon another, it will be necessary to observe, that, at the time of the transaction, there were no very loud complaints, but they grew up afterwards from a variety of causes. 1. The cabal formed against the earl of Clarendon represented this as a base and corrupt measure, because they were pleased to style it his measure: and every minister that is to be removed by a faction, must first be placed in the blackest light <sup>g</sup>. 2. The Spanish party joined themselves to these: they did not consider whether the measure was right or wrong, as it regarded England; but they knew that it was injurious to Spain, and therefore they heartily joined in decrying the minister, to whose account it was placed <sup>h</sup>. 3. The French court, though at the time the bargain was made they had pretended a perfect indifference, whether Dunkirk was delivered up to Spain, annexed to the crown of England, or

<sup>f</sup> Upon reviewing this evidence, it appears, 1. That the French king was displeas'd at the negotiations being communicated to the military men; and consequently had not corrupted them. 2. The chancellor managed the whole transaction, brought it to bear, and for this had the thanks of the French king. 3. Monk was not satisfied with the price, or privy to the sale, till the price was settled. 4. Upon the treasurer's proposal, the design of selling Dunkirk was taken up, carried on, and concluded, not by Monk, but the chancellor. 5. The money was carefully expended, and not squandered. Clarendon's life, p. 205.

<sup>g</sup> See the earl of Clarendon's vindication against the eleventh article of the charge against him by the house of commons. Coke, Kennet, Echard, Burnet as before cited. Sir Thomas Osborne, who was afterwards duke of Leeds, affirmed, on the authority of a great lord whom he did not name, that the chancellor made a bargain for the sale of Dunkirk nine months before it was known. See Chandler's debates of the house of commons, vol. i. p. 208.

<sup>h</sup> It appears evidently from d'Estades's letters, and indeed from all the authentic papers of that time, the chancellor was pushed by the Spanish party, who had the earl of Bristol at their head, a man of great parts, and who was particularly able in intrigue.



demolished, yet, after they were once possessed of it, they magnified its importance, and the great policy of their monarch in procuring it<sup>i</sup>. 4. The Dunkirk that was thus sold, was by no means the Dunkirk that it afterwards was: Lewis XIV. spent many millions sterling<sup>k</sup> in improving and fortifying it; not because the place deserved it, but that it was the only port by which he could annoy us<sup>l</sup>. 5. After it was thus improved and fortified, all those inconveniencies taken away which made it useless in our hands, and a multitude of works raised, for which England would never have been at the expence; it became such a thorn in our sides, and we were made so thoroughly sensible of its importance, in the situation it then stood, that it is no wonder at all posterity believed whatever they were told, of the iniquity of selling this place, and heartily detested the ministers, whoever they were, by whom the measure was taken; though certainly they did not, indeed could not, perceive the consequences.

But, however, the state of the king's affairs, the difficulty and expence of keeping the place, and the impossibility of foreseeing then what afterwards happened, taking in also the known characters of the persons concerned; may excuse them from any suspicion of corruption, or ill intention in this transaction: yet the sale of Dunkirk to the French is a thing never to be vindicated. For it was not acquired by the king's arms; and, therefore, whatever right he might have to restore, it is not easy to discern how he could have any to sell it. In the next, the house

<sup>i</sup> As much indifference as the French king expressed about the place, while the negotiation was depending, he vaunted sufficiently the advantage accruing to him from the bargain, as soon as it was made. His troops took possession November 28, 1662. He made his public entry, and caused *TE DEUM* to be sung in his presence on the 2d of December. He caused two medals to be instantly struck. On the reverse of the first was, *Providentia principis Dunquerque recuperata*; i. e. "By the skill of the prince Dunkirk recovered:" on the reverse of the second (a jetton or counter) a brazen tower with a golden shower falling on it with these words; *Sic vincit amicos*; i. e. "Thus we get the better of our friends." As if this had not been insulting enough, a third was struck the next year, with the brazen tower and golden shower again, with this legend; *Ichu fulminco potentior*; i. e. "By a stroke surpassing thunder:" on the reverse, Justice menacing two harpies with her sword, and these words; *Harpys pellere regno*. See Gerard van Loon hist. metallique, tome ii. p. 499.

<sup>k</sup> Rouhinvilliers etat de la France, tome i. p. 347. <sup>l</sup> See the importance of Dunkirk considered, and other tracts in the reign of queen Anne.

of commons had prepared and passed a bill for annexing it to the crown of England, which would have thrown the charge of maintaining it upon them: and though it is true, that the motive to this bill has been misrepresented, by supposing it was meant to hinder what afterwards happened, whereas, in fact, it took its rise from the Spanish ambassador's demanding it, in a peremptory manner; yet, assuredly, it shewed the sense of the nation was for preserving it. Lastly, the merchants, even at the time it was sold, expressed great apprehensions of the mischiefs that might be done to trade, by privateers fitted out from thence: and these were reasons sufficient to have deterred the king, and his ministers, from parting with it, unless by consent of parliament; which, if we consider what afterwards happened in regard to Tangier, it will not appear impossible that they might have obtained; and, whether they could or not, they ought at least to have desired.

When the first Dutch war broke out in 1664, we find the duke of Albemarle's name among the lords of the council subscribing the proclamation<sup>m</sup>: and there seems to be no reason to doubt, that he was very hearty in that measure: whereas the chancellor, and the treasurer, were both extremely against it<sup>n</sup>. The duke of York, as we have before seen, at the commencement of the war, commanded the fleet in person: and, upon this occasion, he devolved the whole administration of the admiralty on the duke of Albemarle; and this with such circumstances of confidence, as evidently demonstrated his sense of his grace's capacity and fidelity<sup>o</sup>. This, added to all his former employments,

<sup>m</sup> The reader will find the proclamation at large in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 172.

<sup>n</sup> Life of the earl of Clarendon, p. 200.

<sup>o</sup> This epistle deserves the reader's perusal, because it is a direct proof of the falsehood of the assertion, that the duke of Albemarle lost his credit soon after the restoration. It runs thus: "My lord-duke of ALBEMARLE, having formerly by the king's approbation desired you to take the care of giving all necessary orders for the affairs of the navy during my absence, in the same manner as I ought to do if present, I should not now need to repeat it to you, were it not to acquaint you, that I have not only by word of mouth, but also by writing, given the principal officers and commanders of his majesty's navy directions to execute all your commands. I desire you, if you find any commanders or other officers negligent in the dispatch expected from them for his majesty's service, not to be sparing in using your authority for their punishment, whether by displacing them, or such other way as you shall think fit. I have com-

employments, might have sufficiently marked the confidence reposed in him, and have even rendered the conferring on him any other charge, a thing not at all expected: and yet, when the plague broke out in the succeeding year, and the king saw himself obliged to leave his capital, he entrusted the care of it, of his subjects, and the chief concerns of his kingdom, to this good duke, who resided at the Cock-pit near Whitehall, and, with the assistance of the earl of Craven, and some other public-spirited persons of distinction, took care of the health, the properties, and the government of the inhabitants of this great city; distributing daily the vast charities that were raised for the supply of the distressed: giving audience to all who had any business with him, directing the affairs of the navy, while we were engaged in a war of such consequence, and giving a constant account of whatever happened to the king and his ministers at Oxford<sup>p</sup>. Such was the courage, such were the labours, of this great man, who, in the midst of devouring infection, did, in a manner, the whole business of the nation: and yet this is he who is said to have forfeited all personal regard, and to have become useless in a short time after the restoration.

While he was still charged with all these fatiguing offices, the king, in the spring of the succeeding year, sent for him suddenly to Oxford. He went thither post; and on his arrival, after paying his compliments to his majesty, and giving him a succinct account of the posture in which he had left affairs at London, he was told, that the intent of sending for him thither was, to make him joint admiral of the fleet with Prince Rupert; and that he must immediately prepare to go to sea. He desired a day's time to consider of it; in which space he consulted with his friends, who were almost unanimously against his accepting

"manded my secretary to leave with you all such things as may be necessary for your information; if any thing be wanting, upon the least intimation it shall be supplied. So bidding you heartily farewell, I am, &c.

"March 22, 1664-5.

JAMES."

This letter was transcribed from a MS. in the hands of the late lord Frederick Howard.

<sup>p</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 331—333. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 414—419. The earl of Clarendon gives quite another account of this matter, and assures us, that, being informed it was highly for the king's service, the duke of Albemarle accepted at once, and even offered (if it was thought necessary) to serve under Prince Rupert.

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that command. They said, that he had already established his character as a soldier, seaman, and statesman; and that it was unreasonable, at his time of life, for him to stake all the honours he had won on the fortune of a day: that the Dutch were already driven into that fury which made them most dangerous at sea; and that attacking them now was quite another thing than it was at the beginning of the war: that, in short, the loss of a battle would exceedingly tarnish his reputation; whereas a victory gained could add very little thereto.

The duke thanked them for the respect they had shewn for his person and character, but at the same time added, "these were out of the case; that he valued neither farther than they were useful to his country; and that he was determined to obey the king's commands, since he was sure he either should accomplish them, or die in the attempt<sup>9</sup>." Having accepted this commission, he returned to London the third day; and though the war and the plague had both made great havock amongst the seamen, yet it was no sooner known, that the duke of Albemarle was to command the fleet, than great numbers offered themselves to the service, because, as they phrased it, they were sure, "honest George" (for so they called the duke) "would see them well fed, and justly paid<sup>r</sup>."

His grace, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, used such diligence in equipping the fleet, that on the 23d of April, being St. George's day, they took leave of the king, and fell down the river in one of the royal barges to join the fleet. When they arrived in the Downs, the king received intelligence, that the French had fitted out a stout squadron to join with the navy of the states; upon which he was prevailed upon to send down positive orders to Prince Rupert to sail, with twenty of the best frigates in the fleet, to fight the French squadron before it could join the Dutch. This, without question, had been a right measure, if the king's intelligence had been well founded; but, as in truth there was no such French squadron, so the taking away so great a part of the fleet exposed the remainder exceedingly. Some have suggested, that there was treachery in this; and in-

<sup>9</sup> Memoirs of the Dutch wars. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 335. Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 471. <sup>r</sup> Memoirs of the Dutch wars, p. 39-

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deed, from Sir John Harman's letter, giving an account of the battle which ensued, one would apprehend, that he was of this opinion<sup>s</sup>. It is, however, easy to account for the thing otherwise; and, by laying all circumstances together, I must own myself persuaded, that this intelligence proceeded from the arts of the French, who, by pretending to equip a great squadron, and to send it early to sea, thought to amuse both us and the Dutch, and engage us, by dint of these preparations, to take false measures, in which they succeeded; for the Dutch fleet actually expected to be joined by them, as certainly as Prince Rupert did to meet them<sup>t</sup>.

The duke of Albemarle, commanding now alone, discovered, on the 1st of June, the Dutch fleet, consisting of about seventy-six sail of large ships; whereas his grace had not more than fifty. We have already given an account of this battle<sup>u</sup>, and shall here therefore confine ourselves to such circumstances as concern the duke's personal behaviour. He immediately called a council of war, composed of some of the gallantest men that ever bore commands in the English navy; and there, "In regard several good ships, besides the Royal Sovereign, then at anchor in the Gun-fleet, (neither fully manned nor ready), would, upon their retreat, be in danger of a surprizal by the enemy, and that such a course might make some impression upon the spirit and courage of the seamen, who had not been accustomed to decline fighting with the Dutch, it was at last unanimously resolved to abide them, and that the fleet should presently be put in readiness to fall into a line<sup>v</sup>." Thus it appears, that this was an act done by the whole council of war, and upon very rational motives; so that to charge the duke with running too great a hazard, from his contempt of the Dutch, is treating his memory ill, without any just grounds<sup>w</sup>. The first day the enemy

<sup>s</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 287. <sup>t</sup> Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 138. De Neuville: vie de Ruyter. <sup>u</sup> See p. 107. <sup>v</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 340.

<sup>w</sup> Bishop Burnet says, that the English fleet, by the end of the fight, was quite unrigged, and were in no condition to work themselves off; so that they must have been all taken, sunk, or burnt, if Prince Rupert had not come in good time.—The court gave out that it was a victory, and public thanksgivings were ordered; which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had

enemy gained little or no advantage, notwithstanding their great superiority, this was intirely owing to the duke's example, who, though he was once obliged to be towed out of the line, yet, after making the necessary repairs in his rigging, bore into the center of the Dutch fleet, where he engaged de Ruyter with incredible fury<sup>y</sup>, hoping his own success might have opened a path to victory.

The next morning the duke called a second council of war, in which he delivered himself thus: "If we had dreaded the number of our enemies, we should have fled yesterday; but, though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the enemy feel, that, though our fleet be divided, our spirit is intire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own element, than to be made spectacles to the Dutch. To be overcome is the fortune of war, but to fly is the fashion of cowards. Let us teach the world, that Englishmen had rather be acquainted with death than with fear<sup>z</sup>."

The engagement began about eight, and continued till it was night; but our fleet suffered so much, that in a council of war, held in the afternoon, it was resolved to make a fair retreat, which the duke performed the next day with great prudence and honour. In the evening of that day, Prince Rupert with his squadron came in; and the duke's fleet endeavouring to join it, the Royal Prince, commanded by Sir George Ayicue, ran a-ground, and was burnt by the enemy. Before night, however, the English fleets joined; and then it was unanimously resolved in a council of war, that it would be injurious to his majesty's honour, and the reputation of the British fleet; to suffer the

had in one respect reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole fleet. History of his own times, vol. i. p. 377, 379. This account is visibly false; for if the Dutch could have destroyed our whole fleet, and were forced to their off without doing it, this was a victory, the enemy's purpose being defeated. But the Dutch admiral owned the fact to be otherwise, and that the duke with the English fleet (before Prince Rupert's arrival) were aggressors, to the last.

<sup>y</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 341. <sup>z</sup> See his history of the composing the affairs of England by the restoration, &c. p. 88. Echard's history of England, p. 930.

Dutch



Dutch to return with any appearance of an advantage, and that therefore they should attack them the next day as early as possible, which was accordingly done, when the duke, notwithstanding his hard service in the three former engagements, passed, in conjunction with the prince, five times through the enemy's fleet, and had in all probability beat them at last, if by an unlucky accident the prince's ship had not been disabled, and soon after the duke's, which, however, did not hinder their firing upon the Dutch till it was dark <sup>a</sup>.

Two days after, the fleet returned to our own coast, and the prince and duke to London. On the report of this extraordinary action, many took the liberty, as his friends foresaw they would, to censure the duke of Albemarle's conduct; but the king, having thoroughly examined the matter, declared himself fully satisfied with his behaviour: adding, that it was grounded upon reason and necessity; and that the honour of the nation was deeply concerned in it: that he had thereby given the greatest instance of his own, and of the English valour; and had raised the reputation of our naval force to such a height of glory as would render it for ever terrible to its enemies, as well as relied on and respected by its friends <sup>b</sup>.

The Dutch fleet, having suffered less, was again very soon at sea; but they had not been long upon our coast, before, to their amazement, the English fleet came out of the Thames, and then they stood over to their own. On the 24th of July, both fleets were in sight of each other; and the next day, by six in the morning, a bloody battle began, wherein the English gained a clear and complete victory, and the Dutch were driven into their ports. Upon this there followed the burning of the town of Brandaris, as our people called it, by Sir Robert Holmes; where the enemy's loss, as Mr. Echard tells us, on the authority of a good MS. in the paper-office, fell very little short of a million sterling <sup>c</sup>. This was the last great action performed at sea by the duke of Albemarle.

On his return, he found the city of London lying in ashes; a misfortune which, however, redounded to his reputation; since the people said openly in the streets, as he passed, that "if

<sup>a</sup> See p. 110.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 111.

<sup>c</sup> History of England, p. 837.

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“his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt:” which is such an extravagant mark of veneration and affection for his person, as could arise only from their perfect satisfaction in regard to what he had formerly performed: and it must also add much to his character, in the opinion of all true judges of merit, that he was recalled from the command of the fleet by his majesty, purely to quiet the minds of the people upon this misfortune<sup>d</sup>.

In the spring of the year 1667, the king had some new advices given him, in regard to the management of his navy, which were by no means approved by the duke of Albemarle. The drift of them was this: that, as the Dutch were chiefly supported by trade, as the supply of their navy depended upon trade, and, as experience shewed, nothing provoked the people so much as injuring their trade; his majesty should therefore apply himself to this, which would effectually humble them, at the same time that it would less exhaust us, than sitting out such mighty fleets as had hitherto kept the sea every summer.

Sir John Lawson was particularly fond of this doctrine, which, by degrees, grew acceptable to the king; not so much from a persuasion of its being just and reasonable, as from a sense that it suited with his own condition; the vast expences of his court rendering it very difficult to raise such sums as were requisite to keep up the navy. Besides, there was a peace then treating, and the king had the strongest assurances given him from the French court, (on purpose to betray and mislead him), that the Dutch would fit out no fleet that summer; and, upon these motives, the king took a fatal resolution of laying up his great ships, and keeping only a few frigates on the cruize<sup>e</sup>.

The de Wittes, who had perfect intelligence of all that passed here, and who, perhaps, wanted not some friends to propound such destructive measures as were then pursued, immediately availed themselves of this opportunity; and, having first amused the king with an attempt in Scotland, grounded on their resent-

<sup>d</sup> See Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, his sermon, intitled, the Christian's victory over death, preached at the duke of Albemarle's funeral the 30th of April, 1670, in St. Peter's church in the abbey of Westminster, London, 1670, 4to, p. 12. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 366.

<sup>e</sup> See p. 121, 122.

ment, as it was said, for the injuries done their trade by privateers from thence; they, in the midst of summer, came with a formidable fleet, piloted by our own traitors, into the mouth of the Thames, and on Thursday the 11th of June, 1667, appeared before Chatham <sup>c</sup>. In this trying circumstance, the most dishonourable to the English nation that perhaps ever happened in any reign, the duke of Albemarle was immediately thought of as the fittest person to raise the spirits of the people by his presence, and to defeat the enemy's designs by his conduct. He did all, and even more than could be expected from him, to frustrate the scheme of the de Wittes; but such a panic had struck the people, and such a want of capacity was visible in those who had the direction of the king's yards, that his orders were very indifferently obeyed <sup>e</sup>.

He caused, however, several ships to be sunk in the narrow passage by the Mussel-Bank, and took such other precautions as were of much service; and, had he been well seconded, there is the greatest reason in the world to believe the Dutch had reaped no great credit from this undertaking; at least, this was the opinion of the parliament, who highly approved the duke's conduct; and, on the narrative he presented them in relation to this affair, they impeached commissioner Pett, relying implicitly, as to facts, on the credit of what his grace was pleased to tell them <sup>b</sup>: so that it was a just observation, and, at the same time, a well-turned panegyric, of a learned prelate, when he said of the duke's behaviour in this unlucky business, "That even where  
" the issue of the whole matter was not very prosperous, God  
" was pleased to order his part so, that he came off with in-  
" mortal honour and reputation <sup>l</sup>."

: After the Dutch war was over, and the king much inclined to do his people a pleasure, he thought fit, on the decease of the earl of Southampton, to put the treasury into commission: yet, that it might not be surmised the public was in any danger from the loss of so great and so good a man as the treasurer was uni-

<sup>c</sup> See p. 124.

<sup>e</sup> See his grace's account of this matter presented to parliament, which may be found in several books, but particularly in the history and proceedings of the house of commons, printed for Chandler, vol. i. p. 114.

<sup>b</sup> See the heads of this impeachment in Echard, p. 853.

<sup>l</sup> Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, in his funeral sermon on the duke of Albemarle.

versally allowed to be, the duke of Albemarle was put at the head of that commission: and this was the last mark of royal favour in this kind which he received; for losing his health suddenly, (that till then he had surprisngly retained, in the midst of so many and so great fatigues), he chose to retire from public business, and to spend the remainder of his time in attending that dissolution which appeared to be at no great distance<sup>k</sup>.

Yet, having some relief from his distemper, which was a dropsy, by the assistance of one Dr. Sermon of Bristol, and, when he relapsed again, continuing long in a declining way, he still shewed much loyalty to the king, and a very warm affection for his country. Many visits he received from his majesty and the duke of York in his last sickness, whom he always entertained with strong and plain, but, at the same time, decent discourses on the impossibility of supporting the royal authority any other way than by pursuing the true interest of the nation. He was likewise attended by the most considerable persons in both houses of parliament, whom he exhorted to maintain, in their legislative capacities, a good correspondence with the crown and with each other. This, he said, was the only way to serve the people: for if once the passions of private men, or, which was the same thing in another dress, the particular interest of parties came to influence their debates, the public would reap no good fruits from them. With the same presence of mind he regulated the private concerns of his family, causing his only son to be married to the daughter of lord Ogle in his chamber, on the 30th of December 1669, and on the 3d of January following he quietly yielded up his breath sitting in his chair, when he had lived near threescore and two years<sup>l</sup>.

After speaking of him so fully in his public, it may not be amiss to say something of so great a man in his private capacity, the temper of his mind, and his abilities natural and acquired. As to his person, he was a strong well-built man, of a good

<sup>k</sup> Skinner's life of Monk, p. 369.

<sup>l</sup> Gumble's life of Monk, p. 461,

464. Annals of the universe, p. 235. Echard's history of England, p. 863. Lord Arlington in his letter to Sir William Temple, dated January 7, 1670, says, the gazette will tell you of the loss we have had of my lord-general, and the resentment his majesty hath of it. I pray God we may not need the wishing him alive again.

presence, and very able to endure fatigue. The advantages he derived from nature were much strengthened by his manner of living. He was always an early riser; his private devotions, and whatever domestic concerns he had to manage, being constantly attended to, and dispatched by seven o'clock; when he gave audience, without distinction, to all who desired it, and constantly made an end (if it was in his power) of every poor man's business on the spot. He was an enemy to all oppression in the army, and used frequently to say, that his officers should have power to command and to protect, but not to terrify or pillage the soldiers<sup>m</sup>. He was a strict observer of discipline, of which he gave a signal instance at the end of the first Dutch war in Cromwell's time. The seamen came to the navy-office in crowds to demand their prize-money: he told them, that there were fifteen hundred ships to be sold, and that, as soon as they were sold, they should have their money, with which they seemed to be satisfied; but in the afternoon there came four or five thousand of them armed towards Whitehall, which Monk hearing, met them at Charing-cross in company with Cromwell and some other officers, where, without much expostulation, he drew his sword, and wounded several of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his word, who never broke it; which had such an effect upon them, that, forgetting their former fury, they tamely retired, and were afterwards very honestly paid<sup>n</sup>.

He was extremely moderate in his way of living, eating but one meal a-day, and that homely, and heartily. He despised and hated drinking; and having settled his affections on the woman he married, was a tender and constant husband through the course of his life. As a father, he shewed more of passion than in any part of his character; for, on the loss of his second son George, in Scotland, he gave way to his grief to such a degree, as surprised all who were acquainted with the firmness of his temper in other respects<sup>o</sup>. His valour was very singular, for he was fierce without losing his temper, and had an extra-

<sup>m</sup> See Gumble's life of Monk, p. 467. which, in these circumstances, deserves the more to be depended on, since the author was a constant eye witness of what he wrote.

<sup>n</sup> Lives English and foreign, p. 144. where it is said he cut off a man's nose, and gave him sol. as a satisfaction.

<sup>o</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 70. Gumble, p. 475.

ordinary measure of patience, joined with boundless courage; and these qualities he possessed as much as ever, even in the decline of life. In the second Dutch war, a chain-shot took away his breeches, yet he never altered his countenance or his place. In the Chatham business, apprehending the Dutch would land, he exposed himself in the midst of their cannon-shot, that his example might keep others to their duty, and defeat the design of the enemy, as it did; and when a person of distinction expostulated with him on this head, and would have persuaded him to retire; he answered very coolly, "Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago."

His capital virtues were, prudence and modesty: the former enabled him to perform the great things he did, and the latter restrained him from ever valuing himself on the great things he had done. He was equally dear to the king, and to the nation; and it was his peculiar felicity, that he had the affection of both without incurring the jealousy of either. He would have retired immediately after the restoration, if his country could have spared him; and when he saw it could not, he served it as cheerfully as before. He served it, in how many capacities? He commanded the army in chief, when the king and the nation's safety depended upon that command. He was put at the head of a commission for managing the treasury, or rather settling it. His activity was necessary for suppressing all insurrections; his presence was thought requisite in the highest courts of justice. If he was intrusted by the king with the army, he was likewise intrusted by the duke with the fleet. He had the care of the city, when visited with the plague; the command of the navy, when we made war with France and Holland at the same time. He was sent for to recover the minds of the citizens after the fire; he was sent to meet the threatening invasion of the Dutch;

P Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 342. The duke of Buckinghamshire gives us a much stronger proof of his resolution, on his own knowledge; for he says the duke of Albemarle declared, at the beginning of the action, that he was sure of one thing, *viz.* that he would not be taken, and that he saw him charge a little pocket-pistol with powder, which his grace believed he would have fired into the powder-room, in case the Dutch had boarded him. See his memoirs, prefixed to his works, p. 6.

9 Gumble's life of Monk, p. 450.

and



and as he made way for the treasurer Southampton, so, on his death, he was thought the only man that could replace him. Well, then, might secretary Nicholas, that able and faithful servant of the crown, say, (and he said it when the duke had done a few only of these great things), "That, independent of his merit in the restoration, the duke of Albemarle, by his indefatigable zeal, and successful services afterwards, had merited more than his prince could do for him<sup>r</sup>." Such was the man whom his master was not ashamed to call his FATHER; because indeed, he was the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY<sup>t</sup>!

When his son went to wait upon the king with the ensigns of the order of the garter, his majesty was pleased to restore them to him; the king likewise directed the duke's body to be removed to Somerset-house, where it lay for many weeks in state, and on the last day of April was removed, with great funeral pomp, to Westminster-abbey, and there interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel<sup>u</sup>. Yet, as if his fame had stood in need of no such support, a monument was neglected; only those who have the care of the place preserve his figure in wax, and think it sufficient, to raise the admiration of every loyal spectator, to say, "This is general MONK!"

He left behind him an only son, Christopher duke of Albemarle, to whom both king Charles and king James shewed great respect. It must be confessed, that he had not his father's abilities either in the cabinet or in the field; but he was a generous, good-natured man, and lessened considerably the very large estate

<sup>r</sup> Gumble's life of Monk, p. 407. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 318. Lord Lansdown's works, vol. ii. p. 267. The reader will observe, that secretary Nicholas was a strict dependent on the chancellor Clarendon, who had no great love for the duke of Albemarle.

<sup>s</sup> Lives English and foreign, p. 198. It was said of him after his decease by the king, that the duke of Albemarle never over-valued the services of general Monk. What those services were, appears in the preambles to the patents of the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Bath, where the restoration is ascribed to them by the king himself.

<sup>t</sup> Kenner's history of England, vol. iii. p. 297. Historian's guide, p. 77. The bishop of Salisbury's sermon before cited. It may perhaps deserve the reader's notice, if we remark, that his grace John, duke of Marlborough, then ensign Churchill, attended at this funeral, and is the last person mentioned in the London Gazette, which describes that solemnity.

that

that was left him, by indulging pleasures his father despised<sup>u</sup>: yet he had many good qualities, and particularly that of sheltering and encouraging merit in distress. He gave a singular instance of this in supporting captain Phipps, afterwards Sir William Phipps, and governor of New England. He came over to make a proposal for fishing on a wreck on the coast of Hispaniola, and made the design appear so highly probable, and at the same time so practicable, that king Charles the Second granted him a ship called the *Algier Rose*, and furnished him with whatever was thought necessary for the undertaking; which, however, failed of success, and captain Phipps returned as poor and as positive as ever<sup>w</sup>.

He endeavoured to obtain from king James II. (who by this time was on the throne) another ship, but to no purpose; afterwards he set on foot a proposal for making it a private adventure, for which he was at first laughed at, till the duke of Albemarle engaged in the design, and advanced a considerable sum of money towards fitting him out. He quickly completed the rest, and in the year 1687 sailed in the *Bridgewater Merchant*, a ship of two hundred tons, on the same scheme, proposing to make an equal distribution of the profits on twenty shares, into which the expence of the undertaking was divided<sup>x</sup>.

He was more lucky in his second enterprize, though not till his patience was almost worn out, and afterwards prosecuted his design with such success, that in a short space he returned to England with three hundred thousand pounds in silver. On his arrival there wanted not some who would have persuaded the king to seize his ship and cargo, under pretence that captain Phipps had not given an exact information, when he applied for his licence, and the royal assistance: but his majesty generously answered, that he knew the captain to be an honest man, and a man of honour, and that, if he had brought home twice as much treasure, his proprietors should divide it. His majesty farther expressed his satisfaction, by knighting him<sup>y</sup>. The duke of

<sup>u</sup> Lives English and foreign, p. 196.

<sup>w</sup> Life of Sir William Phipps,

Knt. by Increase Mather, London, 1697, 12mo. § v. p. 10.

<sup>x</sup> Lives

English and foreign, p. 196.

<sup>y</sup> Life of king James II. p. 302.

Albemarle had for his share ninety thousand pounds, and Sir William about twenty thousand pounds <sup>a</sup>.

This piece of good fortune is thought to have engaged the duke of Albemarle to ask king James for the government of Jamaica, which he obtained: but, if it was with a view to reap farther advantages from that or other wrecks, he was disappointed; for whether it was that the treasure was exhausted, or that, the ship being broken up, the sea by degrees dissipated its contents, certain it is, that nothing of consequence could afterwards be obtained from that wreck <sup>a</sup>. His grace's free way of living, especially in regard to the bottle, rendered that a very unfit climate for him to live in; and therefore we need not wonder, that he did not long enjoy his government, but died in the year following without issue; and so this noble family became extinct <sup>b</sup>.

#### MEMOIRS of Admiral MONTAGUE, afterwards earl of Sandwich, and knight of the garter.

**F**AME belongs of right to all those who have deserved well of society; but the supreme degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of such illustrious persons as have been martyrs for their country, and voluntarily died either to serve or to preserve it. If this be a just position, as must be allowed by every man who thinks, then the noble person, whose memoirs are at present to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by Britons. His life was an uniform scene of patriotism and public spirit; his death so extraordinary a strain of exalted courage, that, as few facts in modern history come near it, so none in more ancient and less corrupted times can be justly said to exceed it.

<sup>a</sup> There was on this occasion a fine medallion struck, with the faces of the king and queen on one side, with their titles, and on the reverse a ship at anchor, and the boats fishing on the wreck: the inscription, *Semper sibi pendet hamus*; the sense is, "Always watch, you'll something catch:" the exergue, "*Naufraga reparata*;" i. e. "the shipwreck repaired." The duke of Albemarle, to shew his sense of Sir William's integrity, gave lady Phipps a cup of gold worth a thousand pounds.

<sup>a</sup> British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 319. Echard's history of England, p. 1024.

<sup>b</sup> British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 320.

To speak of the antiquity or nobility of this family, would be an idle waste of words; the very name of Montague is sufficient to inform every intelligent reader of all that I could say on that subject.

Mr. Edward Montague was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward lord Montague of Boughton<sup>c</sup>. He was born July 27, 1625<sup>d</sup>; and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, came very early into the world, and into business; especially if we consider the times in which he lived, and the qualities necessary for men to be distinguished in them.

He married, when little above seventeen, the daughter of Mr. Crew, afterwards lord Crew of Stene<sup>e</sup>; and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the parliament than his father Sir Sidney Montague was, who had been expelled his seat for refusing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of Essex, and giving such a reason for it as it was easier to punish than answer<sup>f</sup>, received a commission, dated August 20, 1643, to raise and command a regiment under the earl before mentioned. This colonel Montague, though but eighteen, performed; and, the interest of his family being very extensive, he took the field in six weeks.

He was present at the storming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions in the course of that lamentable war. He was likewise in the battle of Marston-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; inso-much that soon after, when the city of York demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles; which must

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 729. Warwick's memoirs, p. 221. <sup>d</sup> Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 290. <sup>e</sup> Dugdale's baronage, vol. iii. p. 492.

<sup>f</sup> Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 281. He told the speaker, "he would not swear to live with that nobleman, because he was an old man, and might die before him, nor would he swear to die with him, since the earl was going with an army against the king, which he did not know how to free from treason, and therefore could not tell what end that great man might come to." Warwick's memoirs, p. 221. The parliament's expelling this gentleman merely for declaring his sentiment, is complained of in one of the king's declarations as a most arbitrary proceeding. Clarendon's history, vol. iii. p. 106.

have been the pure effects of personal merit, since he was then but in his nineteenth year<sup>g</sup>. We find him the next in the battle of Naseby, and in the month of July, 1645, he stormed the town of Bridgewater<sup>h</sup>. In September he commanded a brigade in the storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable service; and, on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the articles of the capitulation, granted to prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament<sup>i</sup>; the news of which, in conjunction with colonel Hammond, he was appointed to carry; for which a thanksgiving was ordered<sup>k</sup>.

But after all this warm service in the army, at an age when few people have seen one, he shewed no inclination to make the sword the supreme power; but when, by the artifices of their leaders, the soldiers declared against the parliament, and in June 1647 impeached eleven of its most worthy members, he forbore going to the house, where, when chosen, he sat as knight for Huntingdonshire. His acquaintance, however, with Cromwell, the court paid him by that artful man, and his own generous unsuspecting temper, drew him in to accept a seat at the board of treasury, and into a share of the transactions in those times, with which he was very much dissatisfied upon reflection. After the Dutch war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with Blake, in his expedition into the Mediterranean<sup>l</sup>.

Admiral Montague found abundance of difficulties to struggle with, at the very entrance on this affair; many of the officers being displeased with the service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few, influenced by their scruples, insisted on laying down their commissions. He managed this intricate business with great prudence and dexterity, so as to shew a due and steady regard to discipline, without, however, running into any acts of severity: and this had a very happy effect; since, by that time he came to sail, the fleet was pretty well settled, and the officers in general disposed to act in obedience to orders<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Rushworth's historical collections, vol. v. p. 637.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. vol. vi.

p. 56.

<sup>i</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 86. Davies's history of the civil wars,

p. 164. Rushworth's collections under the year 1645. p. 83, 86.

<sup>k</sup> White-

locke's memorials, p. 166.

<sup>l</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 413.

See p. 53, 54.

<sup>m</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. iv. p. 579, 571, 589, 594.

In the spring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himself and his colleague, Blake, meditated many great things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but, after attentively considering the port, it was resolved, in a council of war, that such an attempt was impracticable. Then Gibraltar was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in case it could be reduced. Admiral Montague, in a letter to secretary Thurloe, gave his judgment of this project with great sagacity. According to his sentiments, the only method of taking that fortress was, to land a body of forces on the isthmus, and thereby cut off the communication of the town with the main; and, in this situation, to make a brisk attempt upon the place. Yet, as a proof of the fallibility of human understanding, we find, in this very letter, a proposal for sending five thousand land-forces, on account of the hasty disposition of the seamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual service on shore<sup>n</sup>. When this place, however, long after, was actually taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the sailors, and to that impetuosity in particular which admiral Montague imagined would be a hindrance in any enterprize of this kind.

When cruizing before Cadiz appeared to be of no great advantage, the fleet stood over to the opposite shore of Barbary, in order to repress the insolence of the Tripoli and Sallee rovers, which was found no very easy task; and therefore admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his desire, that we should have some good port in Africa, which he believed might answer various ends, and especially conduce to the preservation and augmentation of our trade in the Levant. Hence, I suppose, grew the first notion of getting Tangier into our hands, of which, a year or two after, there was great discourse, as well as of the benefits that would redound to the nation from the possessing it; and this in all probability might recommend the Portugal match so much to the favour of the earl of Manchester, who, it is likely, depended therein on the judgment of admiral Montague. At this time, however, we find our admiral more inclined to take that or some other place from the Portuguese by force; for he enter-

<sup>n</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. v. p. 67—69.



tained a very bad opinion of their sincerity, though at last the terror of the English fleet compelled them to make such a composition as satisfied the protector, and disappointed Montague in his favourite design of attacking their Brasil fleet.

The warmth he expressed in the discharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade by the carrying on the Spanish war, of which he gives a fair and clear account in one of his dispatches to the secretary, wherein he complains, that he saw the Dutch, Hamburgers, and Genoese, carrying on a mighty trade with Spain, which, as he observes, it was impossible for them to hinder, without engaging the state in a war with all the world, and therefore proposed, that a squadron of light frigates only might be kept in those seas, and that the fleet should be employed somewhere else to more advantage.

However, the protector's orders being positive, they returned towards autumn into the road of Cadiz, where, in September following, captain Stayner made prize of the galleons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, admiral Montague sent into England as soon as they were taken; and, when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, desiring at the same time, that some persons might be sent down to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, in order to take charge of the silver, and to make a farther search into the contents of the galleons.

<sup>o</sup> Thurloe's papers, vol. v. p. 124, 125.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 170.

<sup>q</sup> This letter is directed to secretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the Naseby, at sea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it he says, "There have been some miscarriages, by the ships that did take the ships of Spain; but I shall delay to tell of them here; and I judge the best way to improve mercies of this kind is, to look forward: however, that is my business at this time. The silver they brought, is on board this ship, and the vice-admiral; in the admiral, we have five hundred and fifty sours of silver, and boxes of plate, and nine pieces of silver not well refined, like sugar-loaves. In the vice-admiral there is a hundred and twenty-four sours of silver, all which we judge may produce near two hundred thousand pounds: I hope I speak the least, and that it will make much more. In the galleons holds, also, there is that space between the main-mast and the bulk head of the bread room, not yet summed." Thurloe's state papers, vol. v. p. 509.

The money, thus taken from the Spaniards, was, though undeservedly, the most popular act in all Cromwell's administration, and therefore, the utmost pains were taken to give the populace a very high idea of this advantage. The silver was carried in open carts, and ammunition waggons, through Southwark, to the Tower of London; and, to make a shew of entire confidence in the people, these waggons had no greater guard than ten soldiers<sup>r</sup>. As for admiral Montague, he had all the compliments paid him, upon this occasion, that it was possible for him to desire; the protector caressed him exceedingly; the parliament, as we have elsewhere observed, returned him thanks by their speaker, and some other honours he had received, if with industry he had not declined them<sup>s</sup>.

In 1657 he was appointed to command the fleet in the Downs, and went accordingly on board it in the latter end of the month of July. The design of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and facilitate the enterprize on Dunkirk; and in all these he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of the marshal de Turenne, where he had a conference with him, in order to determine the properest method of carrying on the war, and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the channel till the beginning of winter<sup>t</sup>. All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with the protector, and to have had the strictest intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral entertained serious thoughts of retiring from public business. What the reason of this was, cannot, at this distance of time, be certainly recovered; but in all probability, the sense he had of the strange service he was put upon in assisting the French, and distressing the trade of all the rest of the world, made him uneasy<sup>u</sup>. One thing is remarkable, that, how much soever he disliked the orders that were sent him, he executed them with the utmost punctuality; so that

<sup>r</sup> This appears from a letter of the Dutch ambassador Nieupoort, to the states-general, dated Nov. 17, N. S. 1656. Thurloe's state papers, vol. v. p. 269.

<sup>s</sup> Lord Sandwich's journal, MS. See also p. 54. in the notes.

<sup>t</sup> These facts are collected from various letters in the sixth volume of Thurloe's state papers.

<sup>u</sup> We have these particulars in a very curious letter from lord Broghill to Mr. Montague, dissuading him from retiring. Dated from Youghall, Nov. 20, 1657. Thurloe's state papers, vol. vi. p. 622.

the Dutch, whose ships he searched for silver, made a heavy complaint against him <sup>w</sup>.

We may likewise gather, from his letters to Cromwell, and the instructions he received, that he was not a little embarrassed about the protector's future designs; and yet it is plain enough, that Richard desired the admiral should rather regulate things by his own discretion, than be able to justify himself, in respect to his conduct, from the letter of his orders. This particularly appears in the business of the flag; upon which that protector wrote him an epistle with his own hand, commanding, in express terms, that he should insist upon the honour of the flag from all nations, within the limits of the British seas, and yet telling him as expressly, that he knew not what those limits were; adding, at the same time, that he was to execute these orders with caution, since peace and war depended on them <sup>x</sup>.

After the death of Oliver, and the setting up of Richard, admiral Montague was fixed upon to command the great fleet sent to the north, which, as it was in itself the wisest and best measure entered upon in those times, so this fleet was beyond comparison the most considerable that had been fitted out since the Dutch war; and therefore I think myself obliged to give a short account of it <sup>y</sup>. The *Naseby*, on board which the admiral hoisted his flag, carried seventy guns, and six hundred men; the *Resolution* had the like number of men, and eighty guns; there were fourteen ships carrying each fifty pieces of cannon and upwards, twenty-eight forty gun ships, or near it, four of thirty guns, besides twelve smaller vessels, carrying from twenty-two to twenty-eight pieces of cannon; in all sixty ships, and on board them eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty men <sup>z</sup>.

The admiral went on board in the spring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral Opdam, to inform

<sup>w</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. vii. p. 256.

the reader may find Richard Cromwell's letter, of five lines, on this important subject.

<sup>y</sup> As to the true grounds of fitting out this fleet, and the ends it was intended to answer, consult Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 730. Heath's chronicle, p. 416. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 363. Bates's eleucus motuum, p. ii. p. 229, 230.

<sup>z</sup> This account I take from two lists in Thurloe's collection, and from one in MS.

them of the motives that had induced the protector to send so strong a fleet into the Baltic, and that his instructions were not to respect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace<sup>a</sup>.

Before the admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which left him no real power, but obliged him to act in conjunction with their commissioners, colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon; and at the same time they took an occasion to shew they had no great kindness for him, by giving away his regiment of horse; so that we may suppose he left England in none of the warmest dispositions for their service<sup>b</sup>. When he arrived in the Sound, he took his share with other ministers in negotiation, and made it sufficiently evident, that he had a genius as capable of shining in the cabinet, as of commanding at sea or on shore. While he was thus employed, king Charles, being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and strict conjunction with the protector's family, thought this a proper time (that family being entirely laid aside) to make a trial of his affections, and therefore sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and the other from chancellor Hyde, to be delivered to him, if possible, without the privity of his colleagues.

The scheme was rational, and well laid, but the messenger very indifferently chosen. He was one whose loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in those perilous times, when wise men kept it close in their hearts; and it was with some difficulty that the admiral preserved him from suffering by his indiscretion. Yet these letters, and the persuasions of a near relation of his, who undertook to state the merits of the royal cause fairly, had such an effect on admiral Montague's mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, and returned with all that warmth and sincerity incident to great minds, conscious of former failings. The service the king expected from him was sailing speedily back to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other persons of distinction, who were disposed to hazard their lives for the service of their coun-

<sup>a</sup> These letters are in Thurloe's state papers, vol. vii. and in lord Sandwich's journal.

<sup>b</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. viii. p. 575, 581.

try; on weighing which proposal, Mr. Montague found it so plausible, that he resolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution, conceiving that, if this opportunity was missed, another equally promising might not quickly happen<sup>c</sup>.

Colonel Algernon Sidney was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration: he soon discerned some change in Mr. Montague's conduct, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he missed very little of coming at his whole secret. The admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and close speech, in which he shewed them plainly the little hope there was of doing any thing for the honour of England, by remaining where they were; that to fight they had no authority, and, if they were to remain neuter, they might as well sail home. He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his and their native country of the great struggles between the army and the parliament, whence he took occasion to hint, that themselves had a great stake there, and that, if a new government was to be settled, some respect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with saying, that he readily submitted his sentiments to a free debate, and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing must be noted; provisions were already become scarce, it was very difficult to obtain supplies; and therefore, if they resolved to stay, they must resolve also to live at short allowance.

The question was soon decided; and, in consequence of the council's opinion, admiral Montague weighed immediately, and sailed to England<sup>d</sup>. On his arrival he found things in a very unexpected and disagreeable situation; Sir George Booth close prisoner in the Tower, the parliament restored to their authority, and a warm charge against himself come to hand from colonel Sidney. Immediately on his arrival he set out for London, attended the parliament, and gave there an account of his conduct with so much wisdom and eloquence, that even such as disliked it knew not what to object, and were therefore very well satisfied with dismissing him from his command, to which Lawson

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon's history, vol. vi. p. 730, 731.  
p. 426. Memoirs of the rebellion, a MS.

<sup>d</sup> Heath's chronicle,

was appointed, a rigid Anabaptist, and one in whom they had the greatest confidence<sup>c</sup>.

After such an escape, Mr. Montague, as it was very natural, withdrew to his own estate, with a design to enjoy, in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life: this made him concern himself very little, if at all, in the following public transactions before Monk's coming into England. After this, when that general shewed a desire that admiral Montague should be restored to his command, he sent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he sent his majesty a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force. He likewise desired to know, whether the king had any assurance of the general; but was, at the same time so cautious, as to desire no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations stood<sup>f</sup>.

On his coming on board the fleet, he found things strangely altered; for Lawson, from whom he expected most opposition, was become as ready to serve the king as himself: upon which he laid by all reserve; and, as soon as he received his majesty's letter, directed to himself and general Monk, he sailed with the fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three ships to attend the parliament-commissioners. This was a very warm testimony of his affection for the king's service, and as such was received by his majesty: but when it was observed, that the parliament-commissioners looked upon it as a mark of disrespect, the king was pleased to cover Mr. Montague, by sending him an order that was antedated. Soon after, he had the honour to convoy his majesty to England, who, within two days from his landing at Dover, sent Sir Edward Walker, garter king at arms, to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribband and George of the most noble order of the garter, which he presented him on the 28th of May, in the morning, in his ship, then riding in the Downs<sup>g</sup>.

Among the honours conferred on such as had been particularly instrumental in restoring his majesty to his just rights, our

<sup>c</sup> See p. 60.      <sup>f</sup> Clarendon's history, vol. vi. p. 764.      <sup>g</sup> Walker's historical account of the knights of the garter, a MS. p. 104. pence Joh. Antis arm. See also p. 61.



admiral had his share; and by letters patent, dated the 12th July 1660, he was created baron Montague of St. Neots, in the county of Huntingdon, viscount Hinchinbrooke, in the same county, and earl of Sandwich in Kent, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, made master of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow seas; and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord high-admiral of England. At his majesty's coronation his lordship carried St. Edward's staff, and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal ministers, as well as the person chiefly intrusted with the care of the fleet<sup>b</sup>. He constantly attended the council, when any transactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate, and always gave his opinion like a good subject and a true patriot. When the marriage with the infanta was concluded, he brought her majesty over, and performed other services, as has been already mentioned<sup>i</sup>.

His lordship has been aspersed for joining, as is surmised, with the duke of Albemarle, in the project for giving up Dunkirk to the French. I have already examined this affair so fully, that I shall say but little of it here, and only as it relates to this noble person. The thing was proposed but by halves at the council; and, at first, the strength and importance of the place was only canvassed: upon which the earl of Sandwich (who knew it as well as any man) said, that the coast of Dunkirk was generally so tempestuous, and the ground so rolling, upon every storm, that there never could be any certain steerage to the port<sup>k</sup>. This was the truth, and nothing more; yet was the earl far from proposing that it should be put into the hands of the French, though he judged it too expensive for his master to keep; and therefore he declared for demolishing it<sup>l</sup>. How this proposition came to be rejected, I cannot say; but it is plain, that though the earl of Sandwich did not set a higher value up-

<sup>b</sup> Pat. 12 Car. II. Phillip's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 739, 739. Kenoet's chronicle, p. 417. in which there is a complete relation of the coronation; at which ceremony his lordship, in conjunction with the dukes of Buckingham and Albemarle, and the earl of Berkshire, assisted in holding a rich pall, of cloth of gold, over the king's head, during the time that prince was anointing by the archbishop.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 83.

<sup>k</sup> Which is the expression mentioned by Echard.

<sup>l</sup> The French king takes notice of this, in his answer to Count d'Estades of August 27.

on Dunkirk, than, in the condition it was then, the place deserved; yet he never desired to see it fall into the hands of the French, as has been very falsely, and, I very much suspect, maliciously asserted.

When the Dutch war began, in 1664, the earl of Sandwich went heartily into the measure, as conceiving it for the honour and interest of England; and when the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high-admiral, his lordship commanded the blue squadron; and, by his industry and care, abundance of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their Bourdeaux fleet<sup>m</sup>. In the great battle fought on the 3d of June 1665, wherein the Dutch lost their admiral Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed, a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the conduct of the earl of Sandwich; who, about noon, fell with the blue squadron into the centre of the enemy's fleet, and thereby began that confusion, which ended soon after in a plain flight<sup>n</sup>. Most of our historians agree, that if this victory had been properly pursued, the Dutch fleet had been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage is, as I have elsewhere observed<sup>o</sup>, by some, without just grounds, charged on the duke of York. On the return of the English navy, his majesty, at the request of the queen-mother, declared the duke should not expose his person again on board the fleet; but that the command of it should be left to the earl of Sandwich; who was ordered to employ his utmost diligence to put it, as speedily as possible, in a condition to return to the Dutch coast; which he accordingly performed<sup>p</sup>.

The earl of Sandwich sailed on the 5th of July with sixty men of war to the coast of Holland, wearing the royal standard of England, and having under him several of the bravest seamen that perhaps ever bore the English flags. Finding the Dutch fleet not at sea, and having information that both their East India and Smyrna fleets were to return north about, he resolved to steer

<sup>m</sup> See p. 92.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 95.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 99—101. where this

affair is treated very copiously.

<sup>p</sup> Philips, Kennet, Echard. In the

earl of Clarendon's speech, as chancellor, to the parliament at Oxford, October 10, 1665, the keeping the duke at home is represented as a mark of the king's tenderness for his royal highness's person.

for the coast of Norway, in hopes of meeting with them: nor was this a difficult thing, since it was soon after known, that they had taken shelter in the port of Berghen<sup>9</sup>. We have already given some account of this action, but reserved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs, the rather, because the attempt on the Dutch fleet in the harbour of Berghen was the occasion of our war with Denmark, which some have ventured to charge on the earl of Sandwich, as brought about by his ill management; whereas, in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour, as we shall shew in few words, because our naval historians are very unaccountably silent on this head.

Sir Gilbert Talbot was then envoy at the court of the king of Denmark; and he, finding a disposition in that prince to fill his coffers at the expence of the Dutch, proposed to him, as the most effectual way of doing it, seizing on their fleets in his harbour, which would indemnify him for all the losses he complained of, and bring into his treasury many millions of dollars. The king of Denmark readily embraced the project, and insisted only on one objection, which was, his own want of force to execute it. Sir Gilbert immediately answered this by saying, that he did not doubt but the king of England would furnish him with a fleet sufficient to make prize of all the Dutch ships, on condition that the profit of the enterprize should be divided between them; to which his Danish majesty very readily assented. This proposal, being transmitted to the English court, was as willingly closed with, and advice thereof sent to the earl of Sandwich. As this was a transaction very little to the king of Denmark's honour, so he insisted upon it, that the agreement should not be put into writing: and this nicety it was that spoiled the whole affair; for, when the earl of Sandwich had intelligence of de Ruyter's being

<sup>9</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 541. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 277. Burchet's naval history, p. 399. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xiv. "A true and perfect narrative of the late secret negotiation in Denmark, by Sir Gilbert Talbot, MS." This piece was in the hands both of bishop Burnet and Mr. Echard, who have made use of it in their histories. I have likewise consulted another piece, published by authority, intitled, "A true deduction of all the transactions between his majesty of Great Britain, and the king of Denmark;" which differs, in many respects, from Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation.

retired with the East India fleet into Berghen, he resolved not to slip so fair an opportunity, but to sail thither with the utmost expedition. He sent, however, Mr. Worden, a gentleman of distinction, to Sir Gilbert Talbot, to inform him, that he was determined not to lose the opportunity of attacking the Dutch fleet, and therefore desired that he would send him a distinct account of the nature of the king of Denmark's engagements, that he might the better know what he was doing. Sir Gilbert took some pains to comply with this request, but by various unlucky accidents they were all frustrated, and the earl of Sandwich arrived in those seas, without hearing any thing from the envoy\*.

Sir Thomas Tyddiman, being sent with a stout Squadron to block up the port of Berghen, appeared before it on the 1st of August, 1665. The first thing he did was to send a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the design, and to inquire what orders he had. To this the governor answered, that as yet he had none, but that he expected them by the post in two or three days, and therefore desired the English would desist from making any attempt for that time. The same evening, however, the castle fired upon the English fleet, and did some mischief; and the Dutch were suffered by the governor to bring seventy pieces of cannon on shore to fortify their line. Admiral Tyddiman, perceiving this, immediately called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers, who, after a full and free debate, resolved to lose no time, but to attack the Dutch fleet the next morning; and this for three reasons. 1. Because the Danish governor had not given them any direct answer, or promised them any sort of favour or assistance. 2. If the Dutch had farther time given them to fortify themselves, an attempt might become impracticable. 3. That the grand Dutch fleet was now at sea, and might probably come into their relief†, before the Danish governor would acknowledge his receiving orders.

This resolution taken, Sir Thomas Tyddiman gave all his captains strict charge, that they should not fire against the castles or ports, and should also be very careful to direct all their

\* Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation before cited.

† Deduction of all trans-

actions between his majesty of Great Britain, &c. p. 11.

shot

retired

shot low at the hulls of the Dutch ships, to prevent, as far as they could, any damage happening to the town that lay behind the ships; both which orders all the seamen did unanimously agree were performed, according as, in the several conferences with the governor, those directions were promised to be given. The dispute continued till near eight of the clock, during which time, it is true, the castle hung out a white flag, but to what intent the English could not guess; for the seamen, whose station was nearest to it, agreed also in this point, that the castle never left firing from some quarter or other. They were led to imagine from thence, that the Dutchmen, who might have been taken in for the strengthening the castle, had fired against the general's orders during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were at least three hundred of them there.

The greatest mischief that the English received was from the artillery in the castle, which by accidental shots cut some hawfers that kept the first line together: and so, to avoid falling foul one on another, they were forced from their stations, and, when they were out of the reach of the Dutch guns, the fort upon the outmost point on the starboard side played upon them afresh, the guns of which the English had once silenced during the engagement; but, being remounted, they, in their going off, had many of their men killed by them: notwithstanding which, the English came that day to anchor within the rocks of Norway, five leagues distant from Berghen, having no pilots that could shew them anchoring hold nearer for so many ships together.

While the English were repairing their ships, the Danish governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negociation, affirming, that now he had received his master's orders, and was content to afford them what assistance he could. But, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to trust to these promises<sup>u</sup>; and therefore, on the last of August, the earl sailed with the

<sup>u</sup> True deduction of the transactions between his majesty of Great Britain, &c. p. 11, 12. It must be allowed, that these facts are contradicted by the MS. account of Sir Gilbert Talbot, to which both Echard and Burnet have adhered, and, consequently, lay all the blame on Sir Thomas Tyddiman and the earl of Sandwich. But, besides the Deduction's being a public paper, owned by king Charles II. and consequently more authentic than Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation, there

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the rest of his fleet towards the coast of Holland; but, suffering much by a storm, his ships were forced back again to the northward; and on the 4th of September he met with four Dutch East Indiamen, and several other of their merchant-ships under a good convoy; and, though the stormy weather favoured their escape, yet he took eight men of war, two of their richest East India ships, and twenty sail of their merchantmen. On the 9th also a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen sail of the enemy, the greatest part of which they took, with four men of war; and above a thousand prisoners<sup>w</sup>.

On his return the earl was received by the king with distinguished marks of favour; but his royal highness's conduct in the great engagement on the 3d of June being much censured, and the king declaring the duke of York should go no more to sea, as the earl's behaviour in the same action had been much applauded, lest his continuance in the sole command of the fleet might be interpreted to the disadvantage of the duke, and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embassy to be sent into that kingdom, his majesty dispatched the earl of Sandwich to the court of Madrid to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal<sup>x</sup>. This negotiation was a work of equal difficulty and importance: we had many things to ask from Spain in favour of trade, and there was nothing to which the Spaniards were less inclined than to make peace with Portugal, and, in order to that, to own it for an independent kingdom. The earl of Sandwich, however, managed his business with such address, that he concluded a most advantageous treaty for us with the court of Spain, consisting of forty articles, and this, too, in a surprising short space of time, if we consider the nature of Spanish

there is in the former a copy of the governor's letter, which flatly contradicts the substance of the same letter given in Sir Gilbert's account, which I take to be, at bottom, rather an apology for his own conduct. The truth seems to be, that the earl of Sandwich considered this whole negotiation as a dishonourable thing; and indeed it is very apparent, that if no respect at all had been had to this agreement, but the English had attacked the enemy's fleet without giving them time to fortify themselves, the whole, or at least the greatest part, must have been either sunk or taken.

<sup>w</sup> See p. 104.

<sup>x</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 545.



negociations; for his lordship arrived at Madrid on the 28th of May, 1666, and the treaty was signed the 13th of May, 1667<sup>†</sup>.

His lordship applied himself next to the other part of his commission, and by insisting principally on the interests of Spain, and making it evident that the continuance of the Portugal war would be the total ruin of their affairs, and that a peace might be made without the least prejudice to their honour, at that juncture, he so far prevailed as to gain the queen of Spain's consent, that a treaty should be set on foot under the mediation of the crown of Great Britain. The great and unusual confidence, reposed in him upon this occasion, was managed with such dexterity by the earl of Sandwich, that, in three weeks after his arrival at Lisbon, he concluded a peace between the two nations to their mutual satisfaction. This treaty was signed the 13th of February, 1668<sup>‡</sup>; and as it was extremely advantageous to the Portuguese, (who, considering the distracted state of their government, had very little reason to expect so fortunate an event), it was no less honourable in the mediation to the crown of Great Britain.

Upon the conclusion of these treaties, the earl of Sandwich was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands, and his great services acknowledged in such terms as they most certainly deserved; which letters do no less honour to the memory of the princes who wrote them, than his to whom they were written. Many of the dispatches, penned by his lordship in this embassy, have been made public, and remain so many indelible marks of his wisdom, integrity, and public spirit. They serve also to shew how unnecessary a qualification cunning is in a public minister; for they are written with a plainness that cannot be counterfeited, and manifest in their composition a strength of genius capable of carrying its point, by setting truth in a strong as well as proper light, without the assistance of any of those little arts, which are so much and so undeservedly admired in modern politicians.

As he was too quick-sighted to be deceived, he had too much candour to impose on any with whom he transacted; and, when this temper of his became thoroughly known, he was able to do all things in Spain: for, being well informed of the nobility of

<sup>†</sup> See p. 131.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibid.

his birth, and his great actions at sea, and having themselves received repeated proofs of his strict regard to honour, they readily believed every thing he said, and willingly assented to whatever he proposed. After the conclusion of the treaty with Portugal, he returned again to Madrid, where he spent some time in settling affairs, and confirming that court in the opinion, that Britain was its most useful and natural ally, and, then taking his leave, arrived September 19, 1668, at Portsmouth<sup>a</sup>. On his return to court, he was received with all imaginable testimonies of respect by the king and duke, who were equally solicitous in fixing him to a good opinion of those measures upon which they were then entering.

The intercourse with our colonies by this time was become very considerable; and, growing daily more and more advantageous to the nation, his majesty was graciously pleased to erect a council for inspecting matters relating to trade, and for the special encouragement of the plantations. As this was in itself a very popular act, so king Charles, who knew as well as any prince the art of pleasing his subjects, when he thought fit to practise it, judged it convenient to put at the head of this new council a man as acceptable in his character, as the project was in its nature; and this determined him to the choice of the earl of Sandwich, who, August 3, 1670, was sworn president of the council of plantations; and in that quality he swore the duke of York, prince Rupert, the duke of Buckingham, and other persons of the highest quality, who were declared members thereof<sup>b</sup>. In this capacity, as well as in that of vice-admiral and privy-counsellor, he gave no small disturbance to the CABAL: for, in the first place, he was a sincere and zealous Protestant; next, he was a true Englishman, loyal to his prince, but steady in the cause of his country, an enemy alike to faction, and to every thing that looked like arbitrary power. He was, besides, for regarding no qualification but merit in the preferments of the navy, declaring upon all occasions against shewing favour to the relations of peers, or other persons of distinction, to the prejudice of such as had served longer or better. This rendered him

<sup>a</sup> Pointer's chronological historian, vol. i. p. 226. of that date.

<sup>b</sup> See the gazette

the darling of the fleet, who, after the death of the duke of Albemarle, looked upon him as their father and protector; which, however, gained him a great many enemies amongst such as could not bear the thwarting of their private interests, though for the sake of the public good. The secret histories of those times (to which I must own I do not always give credit) insinuate, that his royal highness the duke of York was displeas'd with him: but, however that might be, it is very certain, that the king had always a just sense of the earl of Sandwich's services, and shew'd him upon every occasion, as much favour and esteem as he did to any of his subjects<sup>c</sup>.

On the breaking out of the third and last Dutch war, his lordship went to sea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue squadron, the French admiral, count d'Estrees, commanding the white. The fleet was at sea in the beginning of the month of May; and towards the end of that month came to an anchor in Southwold bay, in order to take in water. We are told, that on the 27th, which was Whitmonday, there was great merry-making on board the fleet, and many officers and seamen were permitted to go on shore, and were at Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. Things being in this situation, and the weather withal very heazy, the earl of Sandwich delivered it as his opinion, at a council held in the evening, that, the wind standing as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being surpris'd by the Dutch, and therefore he thought it advisable to weigh anchor, and get out to sea: to this the duke of York, it is said, made such an answer as seem'd to hint, that the earl spoke out of fear; which insinuation, if really made, was certainly both barbarous and unjust<sup>d</sup>. I cannot say who it was that first reported this story; but of this we may be positive, that, as it is reported by a certain author, it could not possibly be true<sup>e</sup>.

Several

<sup>c</sup> Bishop Parker's history of his own times, p. 151.  
history, p. 883. Columna rostrata, p. 217.

<sup>d</sup> See Echard's

<sup>e</sup> This author is bishop Burnet, who, in the history of his own times, says, "I say nothing of the sea-fight in Solbáy, in which de Ruyter had the glory of surprising the English fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the usual disorders of the 29th of May; which he prevented, by engaging them on the 28th."—It is an odd whim of this prelate, that, because people might be dispos'd to be drunk on the 29th, they should be out of their wits on the 28th. Now the truth of the mat-

Several very judicious persons have inclined to think, that it was framed long after the transaction, in order to heighten some circumstances which we shall presently relate.

On the 28th of May, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the Dutch; upon which his royal highness made the signal for weighing anchor, and getting out to sea; and, the occasion being of so pressing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The blue squadron, however, was out first, and in good order, the red next, and the white, in its proper station, much a-stern. The earl of Sandwich, in his fine ship the Royal James, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon and about eight hundred men, began the fight, and fell furiously on the squadron of van Ghent: this he did, not from a principle of distinguishing himself by an act of heroic valour; for he knew his character was too well established to need that; his view was, to give the rest of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain Brakel, in the great Holland, a sixty-gun ship, depending on the assistance of his squadron, attacked the Royal James, but was soon disabled, as were several other men of war; and three fire-ships were sunk. By this time most of his men were killed, and the hull of the Royal James so pierced with shot, that it was impossible to carry her off.

ter was, that the feasting happened on the 27th, because it was the Monday in Whitfun-week; but some people have a great mind to set a black mark upon the 29th of May, and on the character of general Monk for the same reason. Yet let us once more hear his lordship:—"The admiral of the blue squadron was burnt by a fire-ship, after a long engagement with a Dutch ship, much inferior to him in strength. In it the earl of Sandwich perished, with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage, to which he was provoked by an innocent reflection the duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing near the shore, and avoiding an engagement; as if in that he took more care of himself than of the king's honour."—We have seen above, that the earl's advice was, to put to sea, that they might engage the sooner, and not be surpris'd. The Dutch gazette treated the earl's memory better than this bishop; for in it we find, "The earl of Sandwich engaged for several hours with many of our men of war, disabled seven of our ships, among which was lieutenant-admiral Van Ghent's, vice-admiral Van Nul's, and captain Brakel's; and after putting off three fire-ships, was at last burnt by the fourth."

If I take this from Mr. Savil's letter to the earl of Arlington, then secretary of state, and published by authority.

In this distress he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral, Sir Joseph Jordan, if that gentleman had not been more solicitous about assisting the duke: when, therefore, he saw him sail by, heedless of the condition in which he lay, he said to those who were about him, "There is nothing left for us now, but to defend the ship to the last man;" and those who knew him readily understood, that, by the last man, he meant himself. When a fourth fire-ship had grappled him, he begged his captain, Sir Richard Haddock, and all his servants, to get into the boat, and save themselves; which they did: yet some of the sailors would not quit the admiral, but staid, and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in spite of all their efforts, they could not do; and so they perished together, the ship blowing up about noon<sup>a</sup>. The Dutch writers give a different account of this matter: they say, that the earl, and one of his sons, were smothered in the long-boat, by the crew jumping in upon them<sup>b</sup>; which cannot be true, since the genuine cause of the earl's remaining on board was, his apprehension that he might be taken in the long-boat, and made a spectacle to the Dutch; the same thought which occurred to the duke of Albemarle, and determined him, in case no other way was left, to blow up his ship and himself.

Such as ascribe this resolution to the resentment of what his royal highness had said the evening before, asperse one great man's character, in order to tarnish another's. It is a strange pleasure that some malevolent people take, in attributing the noblest actions to the worst motives, and always presuming that to be the spring of a man's conduct, which seems least fit to be so. In this case, from the temper of the person, and the circumstances attending his death, there is the highest reason in the world to presume, that he sacrificed himself from a principle of public spirit. Why, then, should we be so inhuman, as to fancy he did it from private pique? The ancient Romans would have had nobler notions: they would have said, he devoted himself for his country, and merited, by his manner of dying, the victory which ensued.

<sup>a</sup> Gazette, May 30, 1672. See also p. 122.

<sup>b</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tom. ii. p. 208. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. p. 325.

His lordship's body was found, near a fortnight afterwards; and the king testified, by the honours he paid to the corpse, how much he admired the man, how sensible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the dust of his ancestors, the remains of such as died gloriously in their country's service. The fact stands thus in the Gazette;

Harwich, June 10.

“ This day the body of the right honourable Edward earl  
 “ of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, discovered  
 “ floating on the sea, by one of his majesty's ketches was taken  
 “ up, and brought into this port; where Sir Charles Littleton,  
 “ the governor, receiving it, took immediate care for its em-  
 “ balmng, and honourable disposing, till his majesty's pleasure  
 “ should be known concerning it; for the obtaining of which,  
 “ his majesty was attended at Whitehall, the next day, by the  
 “ master of the said vessel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's  
 “ order, was sent to present his majesty with the George found  
 “ about the body of the said earl, which remained, at the time  
 “ of its taking up, in every part unblemished, saving some im-  
 “ pressions made by the fire upon his face and breast: upon  
 “ which his majesty, out of his princely regard to the great  
 “ deservings of the said earl, and his unexampled performances  
 “ in this last act of his life, hath resolved to have his body  
 “ brought up to London, there, at his charge, to receive the  
 “ rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits<sup>1</sup>.

“ The earl of Sandwich's body being taken out of one of his  
 “ majesty's yachts at Deptford on the 3d of July, 1672, and  
 “ laid in the most solemn manner in a sumptuous barge, pro-  
 “ ceeded by water to Westminster-bridge, attended by the king's  
 “ barges, his royal highness the duke of York's, as also with  
 “ the several barges of the nobility, lord-mayor, and the sever-  
 “ ral companies of the city of London, adorned suitable to the  
 “ melancholy occasion, with trumpets and other music, that  
 “ sounded the deepest notes. On passing by the Tower, the  
 “ great guns there were discharged, as well as at Whitehall;  
 “ and, about five o'clock in the evening, the body being taken  
 “ out of the barge at Westminster-bridge, there was a procession

<sup>1</sup> Gazette, June 13, 1672.



“ to the abbey-church with the highest magnificence. Eight  
 “ earls were assistant to his son Edward, earl of Sandwich, chief  
 “ mourner, and most of the nobility and persons of quality in  
 “ town gave their assistance to his interment in the duke of Al-  
 “ bemale’s vault, in the north side of king Henry VII.’s cha-  
 “ pel, where his remains are deposited.”<sup>k</sup>

After this account of the respect shewn by his sovereign to his dead body, it may not be amiss to subjoin some instances of the tribute paid by illustrious persons to his memory. We will begin with the late duke of Buckinghamshire, who, having given us an account of the battle in Southwold-bay, concludes it thus :  
 “ The enemy had no success to boast, except the burning our  
 “ Royal James, which, having on board her not only a thou-  
 “ sand of our best men, but the earl of Sandwich himself, vice-  
 “ admiral of England, was enough almost to style it a victory  
 “ on their side, since his merit as to sea affairs was most extra-  
 “ ordinary in all kinds.”<sup>l</sup> Bishop Parker, after a pompous de-  
 tail of this bloody dispute, proceeds in these words : “ The  
 “ English lost many volunteers, and ten captains of ships :  
 “ amongst these were the earl of Sandwich, and Digby son of  
 “ the earl of Bristol, who almost alone fought with the third  
 “ squadron of the Dutch : yet at length, when Digby was shot  
 “ through the heart, and the ship that he commanded was  
 “ bored through with innumerable shot, the seamen with diffi-  
 “ culty brought her into the harbour ; but Sandwich, having  
 “ miserably shattered seven of their ships, and beat off three  
 “ fire-ships, at length, being overpowered with numbers, fell a  
 “ sacrifice for his country ; a gentleman adorned with all the  
 “ virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices ; of  
 “ high birth, capable of any business, full of wisdom, a great  
 “ commander at sea and land, and also learned and eloquent,  
 “ affable, liberal, and magnificent.”<sup>m</sup> Gerard Brant, who is  
 never partial to any but his own countrymen, after a full account  
 of the valour with which the earl defended himself, and which  
 he styles unfortunate courage, is pleased to say ; “ Such was the

<sup>k</sup> Gazette, July 4. 1672.  
 ii. p. 15.

<sup>l</sup> Duke of Buckinghamshire’s works, vol.  
<sup>m</sup> Bishop Parker’s history of his own times, p. 151.

“ fate

“ fate of this noble peer, who was vice-admiral of England; “ a man equally brave, knowing, and of a most engaging behaviour; one who had rendered his sovereign the greatest services not only in the field, but in the cabinet, and as an ambassador in foreign courts.”<sup>o</sup> Sir Edward Walker, who wrote an historical account of the knights of the garter, a work which it were to be wished his successors in his office had continued with like impartiality, gives the earl of Sandwich this character: “ He was a person of extraordinary parts, courage, fidelity, and affability, and justly merited all the honours that were conferred upon him.”<sup>o</sup>

These testimonies from friends and foes, (for the duke of Buckinghamshire and the bishop of Oxford, a party not much inclined to favour the earl of Sandwich), from strangers as well as his own countrymen, are incontestible proofs of this great man's abilities; and therefore I was in some doubt, whether I should add the following poetical compliment to his memory; but when I considered, that it might prove a hint to some abler poet to do justice to so sublime a subject, I thought the reader would not be displeas'd with the sight of a few lines, which have not hitherto been published.

## E P I T A P H.

ADORN'D with titles, but from virtue great,  
 NEPTUNE at sea, and NESTOR in the state;  
 Alike in council and in fight renown'd;  
 Oft with success, with merit always crown'd:  
 No heart more honest, and no head more wise,  
 A SOLDIER, SEAMAN, STATESMAN, here he lies!  
 Tho' brave, yet gentle; though sincere, not rude;  
 Justice in camps, in courts he truth pursu'd.  
 Living, he rais'd a deathless, spotless name;  
 And, dying, soar'd above the reach of fame.

<sup>n</sup> Vie de Ruyter, liv. xi.  
 garter, MS. before cited.

<sup>o</sup> Historical account of the knights of the

Reader,

Reader, if *English*, stop the falling tear!  
 Grief shou'd not wait on him who felt no fear:  
 He wants not pity—cou'd his ashes speak,  
 These gen'rous sounds wou'd from the marble break:  
 "Go, serve thy country, while GOD spares thee breath;  
 "Live as I liv'd, and so deserve my death."

WE ought next to say something of prince RUPERT, who commanded the English fleet often, and with great applause. To run through his memorable adventures would take up too much time, and deviate likewise from the intention of this treatise: we shall therefore touch briefly upon those circumstances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a sea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of some faithful historian, who may incline to transmit them to posterity in the manner they deserve. For though it cannot be denied, that this prince had his failings, and that these might have some bad effects on the affairs of king Charles I. yet it must likewise be confessed, that he did that monarch great services, and that his errors have been much heightened by the skill as well as partiality of some who have decried them.

He was the third son of the elector palatine, some time styled king of Bohemia, by the princess Elifabeth, eldest daughter to king James I. and was consequently nephew to king Charles I. His education, like that of most German princes, especially younger brothers, qualified him for arms; and such as have been least inclined to favour him admit, that he was extremely well fitted in respect both to natural abilities, and acquired accomplishments, for a great commander<sup>p</sup>. When the unhappy civil wars broke out here, he came and offered his sword, when scarce of age, to his uncle, and through the whole war behaved with great intrepidity; and, on many occasions, his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary success<sup>q</sup>: to reward

<sup>p</sup> The fairest character I have met with of this gallant prince, is in Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 226. which is transcribed by Echard into his history. The reader may likewise consult Clarendon, Whitlocke, and the other historians of those times.

<sup>q</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. ii, p. 674. the noble historian informs us, that his majesty reserved the command of general of horse for his nephew; having disposed of that of the foot to Sir Jacob Astley, and that of the army to the earl of Lindsey.

which,

which, as well as that posterity might have a just idea of the sense his majesty entertained of his great merit, that prince, having first elected him into the most noble order of the garter, did, by his letters patents, bearing date at Oxford, the 19th of January, in the 19th year of his reign, make him a free denizen; and, on the 24th of the same month, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of England, by the title of earl of Holderness, and duke of Cumberland<sup>r</sup>. When the war was over, he went abroad with a pass from the parliament<sup>s</sup>; but when the fleet revolted to the prince of Wales, he readily went on board it, where he distinguished himself by vigorous counsels; which, however, were not followed; but, on the return of the fleet to Holland, the command of it was left to him. He then sailed to Ireland, where he endeavoured to support the king's sinking cause; but was quickly pursued by the parliament's superior fleet, under Popham and Blake, who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of Kinsale, whence he escaped, by boldly pushing through their fleet; an action as successful in the event as brave in the intention<sup>t</sup>.

After this escape, he proceeded to the coast of Spain, where, at first, he was treated with some respect; but when it was known that the parliament had a better fleet at sea, and were very intent on pursuing and crushing his highness, the Spaniards became afraid of shewing him any mark of favour: and therefore, when two or three of his ships were distressed, and ran ashore, they plundered them, and pressed the men into their service<sup>u</sup>. This we need the less wonder at, if we consider that captain Young burnt the Antelope, one of the prince's ships, in the harbour of Helvoetsluys, without any respect to the au-

<sup>r</sup> Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 471.      <sup>s</sup> See the third article of the treaty for the surrender of Oxford to Sir Thomas Fairfax, in Whitlocke's memorials, p. 210, 213—215.

<sup>t</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 137. See also p. 184. Moderate intelligencer, N<sup>o</sup>. 221. says, the prince and his brother had been at Wexford, and other havens, with a view of obtaining sailors to man their ships, the better to enable them to beat off those belonging to the parliament, who blocked them up; but that a strong south-west wind, which then happened to be in that quarter, would, in all likelihood, save them the trouble.      <sup>u</sup> See p. 11.

thority of the states-general, even in their own ports<sup>w</sup>; and this, it is said, inclined them to a war with England. For observing the temper of the parliament, and the growth of their naval power, it was easy for the Dutch to foresee, that nothing but a vigorous resistance could defend their trade, or preserve them from subjection.

From the coast of Spain the prince sailed to Lisbon, and was quickly followed thither by Blake, with a squadron of eighteen sail. We have already given some account of this expedition<sup>x</sup>, and of his being at last forced by Blake to leave that port, and betake himself again to the Mediterranean; and therefore here I shall only observe, that it was chiefly the high respect paid to prince Rupert's person, that enabled him to keep the sea with his squadron, which was now become too small to be called a fleet<sup>y</sup>. On the 5th of November, 1650, general Blake destroyed the *Roebeck* and the *Black Prince*, two of the best ships he had remaining, while his highness in the *Reformation*, and his brother, prince *Maurice*, in the *Convertine*, or, as other writers say, in the *Swallow*, sailed into the Adriatic sea, and, after taking some prizes, returned, after Blake's departure, into the port of Toulon, where they disposed of them, paid their sailors, and provided for a more distant expedition<sup>z</sup>.

It must be observed, that though this kind of behaviour in prince Rupert exasperated the parliament against him, and was, in reality, as I have elsewhere owned, a very unjustifiable practice; yet it was, on the other hand, the source of the parliament's power at sea, which they would otherwise have scarce

<sup>w</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 207. Heath's chronicles, p. 254. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 410, 412, who says, that complaint being made to the states, by the king, of this base action, they ordered, that his majesty, if he pleased, should be at liberty to do the like to any of the vessels belonging to the parliament, in any of the harbours within their dominions.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. See also lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 340. Brief relation of affairs civil and military, N<sup>o</sup>. xiv. p. 152. *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 131, 147.

<sup>z</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 275. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 475, 476. Amongst other inconveniencies flowing from this practice, the prince's example was no small one. When he condescended to live by privateering, no body was ashamed to take up the trade; so that from Brest, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Scilly islands, there issued whole fleets of corsairs.

thought of maintaining; but finding themselves on a sudden on bad terms with Spain, embroiled with France, disliked by the Dutch, and at open war with Portugal; they were obliged to cultivate a naval force with their outmost care; in which, as they applied themselves to it with diligence, it must be admitted they were very successful, and had quickly so many squadrons well manned at sea, as made them terrible to all the world<sup>a</sup>.

Prince Rupert's squadron, in the spring of the year 1651, sailed again for the Streights, consisting then of no more than five men of war, and two fire-ships. There he began to take Spanish ships, by way of reprisal, for the respect they shewed the parliament, till, finding himself hard pressed by Penn, he resolved, having indeed no resource besides, to follow his brother into the West Indies. This project was owing to the lord Willoughby's engaging Barbadoes and the Leeward islands to declare for the king, when all other colonies, except Virginia, had submitted to the parliament. This design might possibly have proved more successful, if prince Rupert, on his arrival in those parts, had applied himself to the preservation of the West India trade; but, instead of this, both he and prince Maurice continued to cruize upon the Spaniards, till the latter perished at sea, and the former found his ships in such a shattered condition, that it was absolutely necessary for him to return into Europe; which accordingly he did, and, in the close of the year 1652, arrived safely in Brittany, where he disposed of his prizes, paid his seamen as far as it would go, and for the present laid aside his command as an admiral<sup>b</sup>. His conduct on this occasion is very harshly represented by the earl of Clarendon, who, as he never lived in any great terms of friendship with him, might possibly conceive worse of his proceedings than they deserved. This is certain, that the noble historian was greatly mistaken in what he says of the prince's deserting the king's service on his going back into Germany; for we have undeniable testimonies of the contrary, and several letters of his are yet extant, whereby it appears

<sup>a</sup> Let the reader compare what I have observed, with the facts mentioned by Whitlocke, Ludlow, and Carrington, in his life of Cromwell, and he will see the truth of it immediately.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 513—515, 520—522, 527. See also p. 12.



that he negotiated with several princes of the empire on his majesty's behalf, and behaved towards him on all occasions, in his exile, (after the quarrel at Paris), with all the duty and deference that he could have shewn him on the throne<sup>e</sup>.

On the king's restoration, prince Rupert was invited into England, where the king, who had an affection for him, gave him various offices worthy of his high birth. With a view of honouring the society of the Inner Temple, his royal highness the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorset, and Sir William Morrice, one of the secretaries of state, were pleased to be admitted of that house, the duke of York being then called to the bar and bench<sup>d</sup>; and, on the 4th of November in the same year (1661), his highness prince Rupert, Thomas earl of Cleveland, Jocelyn lord Percy, John lord Berkley of Stratton, and other persons of rank, condescended to honour the society in like manner<sup>e</sup>. On the 28th of April, 1662, the prince, together with George duke of Buckingham, and John lord Middleton, were sworn members of the privy-council<sup>f</sup> also in the December following, when the statutes of the royal society were presented to the king, who was pleased to superscribe himself their founder and patron; his royal highness the duke and prince Rupert at the same time declared themselves fellows<sup>g</sup>. By this time his highness's fire was in some degree qualified, and his judgment became cooler, and fitter for the discharge of great employments; when therefore, in the year 1666, the king intrusted him, in conjunction with the duke of Albemarle, to command the fleet, he discovered all the great qualities that could be desired in an admiral; for, by his happy return to the fleet, on the 3d of June, he ravished from the Dutch the only victory they had the appearance of gaining, and afterwards, on the 24th of June, beat them effectually, pursued them to their own coast, blocked up their harbours, and made them sensible of the superiority of English courage, when not oppressed by

<sup>e</sup> This is very evident, from abundance of letters in Thurloe's state papers, which represent his highness as a busy agent for the king; and particularly from a letter of his to king Charles II. dated Heidelberg, February 6, 1656, vol. i. p. 694.

<sup>d</sup> Dugdale's orig. jurid. fol. p. 158.

<sup>e</sup> Kennet's chronicle, p. 555.

<sup>f</sup> Mercurius publicus, N<sup>o</sup>. 17. p. 272. Annals of the

universe, p. 54.

<sup>g</sup> Sprat's history of the royal society, p. 148.

numbers<sup>h</sup>. In the autumn of the same year, having the sole command of our fleet, and understanding that the Dutch were endeavouring to join a French squadron of forty sail under the duke of Beaufort, he followed them closely into Bolloign road; upon which, to avoid another battle, they hauled in so near the shore, as in all probability they must either have been burnt or sunk, if a sudden storm had not forced the prince to return to St. Helen's bay. But, in the mean time, Sir Thomas Allen with his squadron fell in with part of the French fleet, and used them so roughly, that they were glad to betake themselves to port, and lay aside all thoughts of joining their allies<sup>l</sup>.

On his highness's return home he was kindly received by the king, and grew into great esteem with the nation. He always steered cautiously between the factions at court; and, having so near a relation to his majesty, his highness never thought of strengthening his interest by entering into intrigues: yet, on the other hand, he never declined any occasion that offered of shewing himself a firm Protestant, and a true patriot, though he knew that this conduct would expose him to the aspersions of some who were not much inclined to be his friends. But the king, who was obliged to govern too often by parties, was far from disliking his cousin's conduct, since it gave him an opportunity of using his counsels, and engaging his services, with the general approbation of his people, which otherwise he could not have done. In other respects, the prince was very loyal, and would never be persuaded, even by such as had a great influence over him, to go into any of those measures, which, though covered with specious pretences, served in reality only to distress the king, and to distract his subjects.

After the breaking out of the last Dutch war, and the passing the test-act, his highness was drawn from his retirement to take upon him once more the command of the fleet. The duke of York had resigned his office of lord high-admiral; the earl of Sandwich and most of the old admirals were dead; so that none could, with any decency, be called to that important charge but himself<sup>k</sup>. He had never lived on any terms with the ministry

<sup>h</sup> Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 355. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 49. Echard, p. 831.

<sup>l</sup> See p. 118, 119.

<sup>k</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 591. Echard's history of England, p. 893. Burchet's naval history, p. 403.

who were styled the CABAL; and indeed it was impossible he should; for they were all persons of the utmost art, and he was one of the plainest men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themselves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make such dispositions in the fleet as were fittest to render the admiral uneasy, from a prospect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own<sup>l</sup>. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of York, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character would oblige his royal highness. There needed no more to set these folks to work: they began to find fault with every order he gave, and to misrepresent every measure he took; but the prince quickly convinced them, that, instead of hurting his character, they would by such conduct totally destroy their own<sup>m</sup>.

By his brisk getting out to sea in the month of April, he shewed, that he could be active in age as well as youth; and, by sailing over to the Dutch coast, he discovered a readiness to fight, which was the old characteristic of an English admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of May, 1672, in which we had the advantage; but it may not be amiss to copy a short paragraph from the prince's own letter, which shews the modesty of his nature, and withal his strict honour, and noble impartiality, since it relates to the behaviour of one who, he knew, did not like him: "Sir Edward Spragge also  
 " on his side maintained the fight with so much courage and  
 " resolution, that their whole body gave way to such a degree,  
 " that, had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven  
 " them into their harbours, and the king would have had a  
 " better account of them. The case being thus, and the night  
 " approaching, I judged it fit to stand a little off, and to anchor  
 " here where I now ride."<sup>n</sup>

The next engagement happened on the 5th of June, in which the advantage was more plainly on the side of the English, as is evident from prince Rupert's letter, which was immediately pub-

<sup>l</sup> See an exact relation of the engagements and actions of his majesty's fleet under prince Rupert.

<sup>m</sup> Echard, Burnet, history of the Dutch war.

<sup>n</sup> This letter makes a single folio leaf, and is dated at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the 29th of May, 1673.

lished; but, after this engagement, he found the fleet to be so miserably destitute of all necessaries, and, which was worse, so indifferently manned, that he thought fit to return home. This measure, though very necessary, might have been liable to some misconstruction from posterity, if by accident we were not furnished with a true key to it, which was this: The prince had often complained before, and the officers of the navy had constantly persuaded the king, that there were no grounds for his complaints; which put his highness under the necessity of taking this step, that the thing might be put out of dispute, and the fleet out of wants. As this shewed his spirit, (for he brought the king himself to look upon the ships), so he gave afterwards as strong a proof of his judgment, by carrying the whole fleet through the Narrow on the 19th of July, and appearing on the Dutch coast almost as soon as they had received certain intelligence of his returning to his own <sup>o</sup>.

On the 11th of August he fought the last battle that was fought against this enemy, of which we have already given so full an account <sup>p</sup>, that, in respect to the fact, we can add nothing here: on his return from his command, the king expressed some coolness, which was owing not more to the arts of his highness's enemies, than to the quickness of his letter in relation to the last fight, and the behaviour of the French <sup>q</sup>; but the king's

<sup>o</sup> The members of the office of ordnance vindicated themselves, notwithstanding the king's view; but whoever shall consider that vindication attentively, will perceive that it is extremely artificial, and calculated rather to screen themselves, than to clear up the truth of the fact.

<sup>p</sup> See p. 156.

<sup>q</sup> The reader may guess at the particulars of this letter, from the following paragraph of the exact relation, &c. in which they are summed up almost in his own words. " In the midst of so many intrigues of opposition here at home, " so many delays of his commission, so few powers contained in it, such scanty " number of seamen, so little assurance of divers chief commanders, such failure of provisions, such want of ammunition and all other necessaries, such " deceit of navy officers, such non-observance of orders at sea amongst his own " English, and so manifest defections of the French; not to be staggered in his " resolution, nor to be put out of all patience and prudence in action, nor to " abate of his affection and zeal for the honour and service of his majesty, the " safe-guard and interest of religion and the kingdom; in a season when so many " Popish projectors played a game under board, and above too; will be an ever- " lasting argument of his highness's valour and renown, and must needs be a " strong obligation upon the king, the parliament, and the people of England, " who are now left to judge, whether it was not a wonderful good providence

king's displeasure quickly wore out, as the interest of the CABAL began to decline. After this the prince led a quiet and (in a great measure) a retired life, mostly at Windsor-castle, of which he was governor, and spent a great part of his time in the prosecution of chematical and philosophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors † with applause for his skill in painting, and celebrated by one ‡ of the most judicious of our own for his invention of mezzo-tinto prints, since risen, from their softness and beauty, into so high esteem. He likewise delighted in making locks for fire-arms, and was the inventor of a composition called, from him, PRINCE'S METAL. He communicated to the royal society his improvements upon gunpowder, by refining the several ingredients, and making it more carefully, which, as appears upon several trials reported to that learned body, augmented its force, in comparison of ordinary powder, in the proportion of ten to one; an invention, which, though too expensive for common occasions, deserves to be remembered, because in particular cases it may be of singular utility †. He also acquainted them with an engine he had contrived for raising water, and sent them an instrument, of which he made use, to cast any platform into perspective, and for which they deputed a select committee of their members to return him their thanks †. He was the inventor of a gun for discharging several bullets with

“ of God, or one of the most memorable pieces of service ever done at sea, to  
 “ surmount all these difficulties, and even envy itself; and, after all, to bring  
 “ home the fleet royal of England, without the loss of one man of war, to her  
 “ own shore in safety, in despite of all enemies that designed otherwise by sea and  
 “ land.”

† Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, tom. i. p. 177.

‡ Sculptura, or the history and art of calcography in copper; with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works. To which is annexed, a new manner of engraving, or mezzo-tinto, communicated by his highness prince Rupert to the author of this treatise, (i. e. J. Evelyn, Esq;), London, 1662, 8vo. chap. vi.

† Original register of the royal society, vol. ii. p. 283. Sprat's history of the royal society, p. 259, where, by mistake, this powder is said to be twenty times as strong as the common; whereas the most exact proportion is, as 21 to 2. Grew's catalogue of rarities in Gresham-college, p. 366, mentions an instrument for assaying and comparing the strength of powder, contrived and presented to the royal society by prince Rupert.

‡ Dr. Birch's history of the royal society, vol. i. p. 285, 329.

the

the utmost speed, facility, and safety, which was generally and justly admired <sup>w</sup>. The royal society received likewise from his highness the intimation of a certain method of blowing up rocks in mines, and other subterraneous places <sup>x</sup>. The very ingenious and indefatigable Dr. Hook has preserved another invention of his for making hail-shot of all sizes <sup>y</sup>. He devised a particular kind of screw, by the means of which, observations taken by a quadrant at sea were secured from receiving any alteration by the unsteadiness of the observer's hand, or through the motion of the ship <sup>z</sup>. He had also, amongst other secrets, one that was very curious, and, if preserved, might be very beneficial, which was that of melting or running black lead, like a metal, into a mould, and reducing it back again into its original form <sup>a</sup>.

As to his public character in the last ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot, which was owing to the innate honesty of his temper, and not to his having any liking to intrigues. He gave indefatigable attention to whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good. He was a great promoter of the trade to Africa, and a principal protector of the royal African company, as a proof of which, before the first Dutch war (in this reign) he offered his majesty to sail with a squadron to the coast of Guinea, in order to vindicate the honour of the crown, assert the just rights of the company, and redress the injuries done to the nation: but the king, unwilling to hazard his person at such a distance, and in so sickly a climate, though he received the motion kindly, would not consent to it, but contented himself with taking an officer of his recommendation, (captain Holmes), under whom the squadron was sent <sup>b</sup>. He was an active member of the council of trade. It was owing to his solicitations, after being at great expence not only in the inquiry into the value, but in sending ships thither, that the Hudson's bay company was erected, of which he was the first governor appointed by the

<sup>w</sup> This account was given by Sir Robert Moray, who lived in great intimacy with his highness. <sup>x</sup> Dr. Birch's history of the royal society, vol. i. p. 335.

<sup>y</sup> Sprat's history of the royal society, p. 258. Micrographia, p. 22.

<sup>z</sup> Dr. Birch's history of the royal society, vol. ii. p. 58. <sup>a</sup> This was

intimated to the society by Dr. afterwards Sir Christopher Wren; who, exclusive of his excellent skill as an architect, was one of the most distinguished virtuofos of that age; and, as such, in great esteem with the prince.

<sup>b</sup> Life of the earl of Clarendon, p. 215. See also before, p. 86.



charter<sup>c</sup>. In memory of him, a considerable opening on the east side of that bay, in Terra de Labrador, is called Rupert's River. In general, his highness was a great friend to seamen, and to all learned, ingenious, and public-spirited persons, and assisted them with his purse, as well as afforded them his countenance. He was concerned in the patent for nealed cannon, in a glass-house, and other undertakings for acquiring or improving manufactures, for which some have censured him as giving encouragement to projectors<sup>d</sup>. But surely this censure is very ill placed, since, without such patrons, industry and ingenuity would want support, and many useful inventions, many valuable discoveries, barely emerge, and then sink again into oblivion. But strict justice has been done to his highness's many virtues, and amiable qualities, by abler and more impartial judges<sup>e</sup>, especially in that excellent character of him by the elegant pen of bishop Sprat<sup>f</sup>. In respect to his private life he was so just, so beneficent, so courteous, that his memory remained dear to all who knew him. This I say of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in Berkshire speak in raptures of prince Robert.

He died at his house in Spring-gardens on the 29th of November, 1682, in his grand climacteric, leaving behind him a natural son, usually called Dudley Rupert, by a daughter of Henry Bard viscount Bellemont, though styled in his father's last will and testament Dudley Bard. He received the first tincture of letters at Eaton school, where the gentleness of his temper, and the modesty and amiableness of his behaviour, procured him universal esteem. His genius, however, inclining rather to arms than study, he was placed under the care of that celebrated mathematician Sir Jonas Moore at the Tower. Here he continued till the demise of the prince, when he made a tour into Germany to take possession of a considerable fortune which had been bequeathed to him. He was very kindly received by the palatine family, to whom he had the honour of being so nearly allied. In 1686 he made a campaign in Hungary, and distin-

<sup>c</sup> See the charter of the Hudson's bay company, dated May 2, 1670, An. xxii. c. 11. <sup>d</sup> North's examen, p. 52. <sup>e</sup> Evelyn on medals, p. 167. Wren's parentali, p. 213. Sorbeire, relation d'un voyage fait en Angleterre, p. 24. <sup>f</sup> History of the royal society, p. 259.

guished himself at the siege of Buda, where he had the misfortune to lose his life, in the month of July or August, in a desperate attempt made by some English gentlemen upon the fortifications of that city, in the twentieth year of his age, and, though so young, had signalized his courage in such an extraordinary manner, that his death was exceedingly regreted. The prince left also a natural daughter, the lady Ruperta, by Mrs. Margaret Hughes. This lady Ruperta afterwards married general Howe, and is since deceased <sup>g</sup>.

MEMOIRS of SIR JOHN LAWSON, Vice-admiral of the Red Squadron.

A MAN of real integrity, who acts always from the dictates of his reason, will be sure to raise a high character, and to be justly esteemed even by those who differ from him ever so widely in sentiments. There is an irresistible force in a solid understanding, that, when informed by the lights of experience, supplies all defects in education, triumphs over error, and, atoning for all past mistakes, procures unlimited confidence, and the most sincere regard. Both these assertions will appear to be founded in truth, from the following particulars, which, though no pains have been spared, are all we have been able to collect in relation to Sir John Lawson. But, as even these are considerably more than were in the former editions, it is hoped they will give the judicious reader great satisfaction. For, since medals and monuments have been neglected, in regard to both which our neighbours the Dutch, though a nation eminently frugal, were wisely munificent <sup>h</sup>, it becomes a necessary act of piety to preserve every thing relating to the actions of these great men, in order that posterity, reaping the fruits of their achievements, naval power, and extensive commerce, may at least know to whom they stand obliged, and how they were obtained.

<sup>g</sup> Wood's fasti Oxoniensis, vol. i. col. 268. Echard's history of England, p. 1023. Historian's guide, p. 148. <sup>h</sup> Evelyn of medals, p. 73—75. Buisson annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 306, 315, 316. Gerard van Loon histoire metallique des pays bas, vol. ii. p. 360, 529. iii. p. 176.

As for this eminent commander, he was the son of a person in low circumstances at Hull, and bred to the sea, either on account of his own taking a liking to it, or that it best suited with his father's situation; who, perhaps, knew not otherwise how to provide for him. In process of time he obtained a ship by his merit; and serving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain therein, for his extraordinary desert. He served with great fidelity against all their enemies, so long as the parliament retained their power; and, towards the end of the war carried a flag, together with Penn, under Monk.

In 1653, he commanded a fleet of forty-four sail, which were sent over to the coast of Holland; and in this expedition, by taking a scarce credible number of prizes, his acceptable service had a great influence in making the peace. On the change of the government, and Cromwell's assuming the supreme power to himself, he was continued in his command, and treated with very much respect; but, it seems, his principles did not incline him to act so steadily under the new government as he had done under the old. As to church affairs he was an Anabaptist; and, in respect to civil government, he was known to be from principle a republican. In all probability he received these tinctures early, and, like many other well-meaning, though misled, people, thought pursuing his own prejudices to be persevering in a good cause. He was certainly very honest in his conduct during the civil war, acting altogether upon conscientious motives, which led him to dislike the protector's government, though not to resist it; for he thought, that a man might lawfully serve his country under any authority: and indeed this was Blake's notion, and for the honour of the men, and the benefit of this nation, that of most of the sea-officers of those times.

It is very certain, that the protector Oliver had early intelligence of Lawson's disaffection. Colonel Overton, who had plotted against Monk in Scotland, had, in some of his conferences with his friends, mentioned vice-admiral Lawson as a person

<sup>i</sup> Lloyd's lives of excellent persons, p. 647. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 471, 502, 564.

<sup>k</sup> See Ludlow's memoirs, p. 466. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 591, 526, 606. Miscellanea Aulica, p. 159.

<sup>l</sup> This appears from several informations given against him to Thurloe, of which notice will be afterwards taken.

upon whom they might depend; yet, for all this, he was employed and intrusted to command a fleet for the channel service in 1655<sup>m</sup>. But the Spanish war had the same effect upon him that it had upon many officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injustice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into schemes against the protector. True it is, that Cromwell had no just motive for attacking Spain; but the grand reason why the republicans resented this so warmly was, because the crown of Spain had made greater advances to the parliament, than any other foreign power<sup>n</sup>.

There were at the same time a very formidable body of men, who conspired also against Cromwell on the most enthusiastic principles, and were styled fifth-monarchy men. With these Lawson, Okey, Rich, and other officers, thought fit to join, because they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the present tyranny. Secretary Thurloe, however, had such early and such clear informations of all their proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing: on the contrary, April 10, 1657, major-general Harrison, admiral Lawson, and several others, were committed; which put an end to their intrigues<sup>o</sup>.

When he recovered his liberty, he judged it proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he should ever be employed again: but, upon the first news of the return of admiral Montague with his fleet from the Baltic, the parliament resolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide, and therefore sent for Mr. Lawson, declared him vice-admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival<sup>p</sup>. In his privacy

<sup>m</sup> This information to Monk is in Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 185. wherein president Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haselrig, colonel Pride, colonel Cobbet, colonel Ashfield, and other officers, are also named.

<sup>n</sup> The reader may find this matter largely and clearly explained in a treatise intitled, "The world mistaken in Cromwell," which is reprinted in the first volume of state tracts in the reign of Charles II.

<sup>o</sup> Amongst Thurloe's state papers, vol. vi. p. 184, there is a very large discourse on this matter, which seems to have been a report made to the house of commons. This is wrong referred to in the index, where vice-admiral Lawson is said to be one of the fifth-monarchy men; whereas, from that very paper, it appears, that he was one of a committee appointed by the discontented officers in the army, to confer with these fifth-monarchy men; amongst whom was Venner, who afterwards made a desperate attempt against king Charles II.

<sup>p</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 690. Ludlow's memoirs, p. 666.

he had conversed with some understanding cavaliers, and came to have a true notion of the folly of shifting from one form of government to another, and the great crime of subverting the constitution of one's country, to which an absolute obedience is due. As soon, therefore, as he heard of general Monk's march into England, he resolved to co-operate with him; and, knowing that nothing could be done but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon that head; for which he received their solemn thanks<sup>a</sup>.

When Monk came to London, and many people doubted what course he would take, admiral Lawson said to general Ludlow, "That, since the Levite and the priest had passed by without helping them, he hoped they had now found a Samaritan who would." This Ludlow understood in his own sense; but it was certainly meant in another. The lieutenant-general himself understood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. William Prynne, out of his great loyalty to the house of Stuart, had given the clerk, without order of the house of commons, a clause for excepting out of the bill of indemnity such as had taken the oath for abjuring that family, in the council of state, he was severely reprimanded by Dr. Clarges, brother to general Monk, because he foresaw that this would affect admiral Lawson, to whom the general was previously engaged<sup>b</sup>. Indeed, as to the vice-admiral, he came very early and very heartily into the restoration; so that, when the earl of Sandwich acknowledged his services in this respect to the king in Holland, he was much caressed, received the honour of knighthood, and was always looked upon as a man sincerely attached to the crown; which was confirmed by all his succeeding actions<sup>c</sup>.

On the king's return, the fleet, as we have already shewn, claimed his early and his earnest attention. Henry VIII. erected the navy-board, which consisted originally only of the four great officers, *viz.* the treasurer of the navy, the comptroller, the surveyor, and the clerk of the acts<sup>d</sup>; but under succeeding reigns,

<sup>a</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 704. Whitlocke's memoirs, p. 693.

<sup>b</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, p. 811.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. vol. iii.

<sup>d</sup> p. 24. <sup>e</sup> Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 768. Kenner, vol. iii. p. 238. Echard. Columna rostrata, p. 146. and particularly Sir Philip Warwick, in his memoirs, p. 415.

<sup>f</sup> Sir William Monson's naval travels in Churchill's voyages, vol. iii. p. 321.

As the business of the board was exceedingly increased, others were occasionally added, with the simple title of commissioners. This method was followed by the long parliament, and afterwards by the rump, who appointed twenty-one, of whom fourteen were out of their own body, and seven who were not members; and of these vice-admiral Lawson was one<sup>w</sup>. This board being broken by their dissolution, king Charles contented himself with adding to the four standing officers of the navy, four commissioners at the recommendation, as the earl of Clarendon assures us, of the duke of York, which were the lord Berkley, Sir John Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and Sir William Penn, with each of them a pension of five hundred pounds a-year<sup>x</sup>. This gave them equal power with the old members, whenever they attended at the board, but assigned them no particular employments, or fixed in any degree their attendance, but left his majesty at full liberty to send them to sea as admirals, when, where, and as often as his affairs required<sup>y</sup>.

Immediately after the restoration he was sent as vice-admiral to the earl of Sandwich, when he went to fetch queen Catherine from Portugal, and was afterwards employed in the Mediterranean against the Algerines, to whom he did considerable damage, and so effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to send any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been disappointed in his expectation from de Ruyter, who, with his Dutch squadron, was sent on the same errand<sup>z</sup>. These admirals differed about a salute which de Ruyter paid Lawson, and Lawson refused to return, as being bound up by his instructions. After this, there was no harmony between them: the Dutch admiral took the first opportunity of quitting this service, and slipping away to Guinea, which was highly resented by king Charles, and alledged as one of the causes of the Dutch war.

That it may not be from hence supposed, Sir John Lawson's refusing to salute de Ruyter proceeded either from pride in him,

<sup>w</sup> Mercurius politicus, Jan. 28. 1659-60.

<sup>x</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 247.

<sup>y</sup> At this time we had scarce any board but this; and therefore this was considered as very convenient means of granting an admiral a comfortable subsistence, for employing his talents in the service of his country, when not at sea.

<sup>z</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 526, 528. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 273.



or from any captious disposition in those who drew his instructions, it will be proper to set this matter in a true light. The Dutch, to prevent the ceremony, to which they were tied by treaty of saluting English ships in their own seas, from passing for an acknowledgment of our sovereignty in those seas; affected to pay them that respect where-ever they met with them, that so it might appear to be no more than a mere compliment to an ally, and not a mark of submission to a superior. The court of England very well understood this; and therefore, at his departure from the earl of Sandwich's fleet, Sir John had general orders not to strike his flag to the ships of any prince or state whatever. Soon after this accident he received instructions to return home, and to leave the command of his Squadron to captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Allen, who was appointed to finish the war he had begun against the Algerines<sup>a</sup>.

On his arrival in England he found the Dutch war broke out, and that the king had sent for him in order to serve under the duke of York; his brother, as rear-admiral of the red. Sir John was very grateful for this honour, but at the same time told his majesty, that he could shew him a more compendious way of bringing the Dutch to reason; than by sitting out great fleets. He observed, that in the last Dutch war they were infinitely more distressed by the captures he made after the last great battle, than they had been by all the operations of the war; and he added farther, that the reason of this was not hard to find, *viz.* that they were able as a state to fit out great fleets in less time, and at much less expence, than it was now possible, or probably ever would be, for his majesty to do; and their subjects willingly contributed to this, because they saw the necessity, and were sensible of the good effects: but if very large numbers of their merchant ships were taken, if their commerce in general was rendered precarious, and many of their traders by these misfortunes became beggars, they had no remedy; and that therefore this was the tender part in which they might be hurt, and in which, if they were hurt, they must make a peace on such terms as his majesty should think fit to prescribe.

<sup>a</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 712. Phillips's chronicle, p. 528.

This advice was rejected at that time, because his royal highness was resolved to go to sea, and it was not thought consistent with his honour to stand on the defensive, and avoid fighting the Dutch fleet: but after Sir John Lawson was dead, and the experience of the war made it exceeding burdensome to the king, he began to reflect on the counsel he had given him, and resolved to pursue it; but wanting proper directions in the execution of this scheme, and, to speak the truth plainly, having many dishonest servants, who pretended to have their ships well manned, when they had scarce sailors enough to manage them<sup>b</sup>, (for so the thing appeared on a parliamentary inquiry), this design, as we have seen elsewhere, miscarried; and yet this miscarriage remains a stain on the memory of Sir John Lawson, in the judgment of some writers<sup>c</sup>.

In all things relating to the fleet, after the war was declared, his royal highness the duke, likewise, consulted daily, says the noble historian, for his own information and instruction, with Sir John Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and Sir William Penn, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in several battles. Upon the advice of these men, the duke always made his estimates and all propositions to the king. There was somewhat of rivalry between the two last, because they had been in equal command; therefore the duke took Sir William Penn into his own ship, and made him captain of it, which was a great trust, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke, and so extinguished the other's emulation, the other two being flag-officers, and to command several squadrons. Lawson, however, was the man of whose judgment the duke had the best esteem; and he was in truth of a man of that breeding, (for he was a perfect tarpawlin), a very extraordinary person. He understood his profession incomparably well, spoke clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough, when he was contradicted. Ayscue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted

<sup>b</sup> See the history and proceedings of the house of commons, printed for Chancellor, vol. ii. p. 118. in which there is a resolution of the house of commons, that, notwithstanding his majesty had 18,000 men in pay in dispersed ships in 1667, there was not a sufficient number of ships left to secure the rivers Medway and Thames. . . . <sup>c</sup> See Skinner's life of Monk, p. 367.

his understanding, if it had been ever sharp. He was of few words, yet spoke to the purpose, and to be easily understood. Penn, who had much the worst understanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a gentleman. He had got many good words, which he used at adventure; he was a formal man, and spoke very leisurely, but much, and left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. These are the judicious Clarendon's characters of these three great seamen, with whom he was personally and intimately acquainted; and therefore his own words are retained.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York sailed with a grand fleet to the coast of Holland, himself carrying the red flag, prince Rupert the white, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Towards the latter end of the engagement, which happened off Leostoff on the memorable 3d of June, that day twelve years in which they had been beat by Monk; Lawson, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was by a musket-shot in his knee disabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured so hard to gain. He did not, however, die till some days after, viz. June 29, 1665; when he had the satisfaction of knowing that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, so he died with glory.

We shall here subjoin the earl of Clarendon's account of this extraordinary person in his life lately published, and that in his lordship's own words: "There was," says he, "another almost irreparable loss this day in Sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell; and finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke to desire him to send another man to command his ship, which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal, and they made haste to send him on shore as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for some days there was hope of his recovery; but shortly, his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

" He

“ He was indeed, of all the men of that time, and of that  
 “ extraction and education, incomparably the modestest and  
 “ wisest man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of  
 “ Yorkshire, near Scarborough, of that rank of people who  
 “ are bred to the sea from their cradle; and a young man of  
 “ that profession he was when the parliament first possessed  
 “ themselves of the royal navy: and Hull being in their hands,  
 “ all the northern seamen easily betook themselves to their ser-  
 “ vice: and his industry and sobriety made him quickly taken  
 “ notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another,  
 “ till, from a common sailor, he was promoted to be a captain  
 “ of a small vessel, and from thence to the command of the best  
 “ ships.

“ He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, some  
 “ of which were very stupendous, and in all the battles which  
 “ Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a  
 “ signal officer, and very much valued by him. He was of that  
 “ class of religion which were called Independents, most of  
 “ which were Anabaptists, who were generally believed to  
 “ have most aversion to the king, and therefore employed in  
 “ most affairs of trust. He was commander in chief of the fleet  
 “ when Richard was thrown out; and, when the contest grew  
 “ between the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet  
 “ into the river, and declared for that which was called the  
 “ parliament; which broke the neck of all other designs, though  
 “ he intended only the better settlement of the commonwealth.

“ Nor, after the restoration, did any man perform his duty  
 “ better. He caused all persons, how well qualified soever, who  
 “ he knew were affected to a republic, to be dismissed from the  
 “ service, and brought very good order into his own ship, and  
 “ frequented the church-prayers himself, and made all the sea-  
 “ men do so. He was very remarkable in his affection and  
 “ countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the  
 “ king, and never commended any body to the duke to be  
 “ preferred but such, and performed to his death all that could  
 “ be expected from a brave and an honest man.

“ It looked like some presage that he had of his own death,  
 “ that, before he went to sea, he came to the treasurer and the  
 “ chancellor, to whom he had always borne much respect, and

“ He

“ spoke to them in a dialect he had never before used; for he  
 “ was a very generous man, and lived in his house decently and  
 “ plentifully, and had never made any the least suit or pretence  
 “ for money. Now he told them, that he was going upon an  
 “ expedition in which many honest men must lose their lives;  
 “ and though he had no apprehension of himself, but that GOD  
 “ would protect him, as he had often done in the same occa-  
 “ sions, yet he thought it became him, against the worst, to  
 “ make his condition known to them, and the rather, because  
 “ he knew he was esteemed generally to be rich. He said, in  
 “ truth he thought himself so some few months since, when he  
 “ was worth eight or nine thousand pounds; but the marriage  
 “ of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune  
 “ much above him, Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hamp-  
 “ shire, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out of  
 “ tenderness to his son, had consented, it had obliged him to  
 “ give her such a portion as might in some degree make her  
 “ worthy of so great a fortune; and that he had not reserved  
 “ so much to himself and wife, and all his other children, which  
 “ were four or five, as he had given to that daughter; he de-  
 “ sired them therefore, that, if he should miscarry in this en-  
 “ terprize, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds  
 “ a-year for her life; if he lived, he desired nothing; he hoped  
 “ he should make some provision for them by his own industry;  
 “ nor did he desire any other grant or security for this two  
 “ hundred pounds yearly than the king’s word and promise, and  
 “ that they would see it effectual. The suit was so modest, and  
 “ the ground of making it so just and reasonable, that they wil-  
 “ lingly informed his majesty of it, who as graciously granted  
 “ it, and spoke himself to him of it with very obliging circum-  
 “ stances; so that the poor man went very contentedly to his  
 “ work, and perished as gallantly in it, with an universal la-  
 “ mentation. And it is to be presumed, that the promise was  
 “ as well performed to his wife. Sure it is, it was exactly com-  
 “ plied with whilst either of those two persons had any power.”

It is worth observing, that all the writers of those times,  
 though they differ widely in respect to many characters, concur  
 in commending Sir John Lawson as a brave, honest, loyal com-  
 mander,

mander, and as a very able and understanding seaman; and, as such, deserves to be honourably remembered<sup>d</sup>.

SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE was descended from a good family in Devonshire, and was born in the parish of Widscombe in that county, in the year 1620. His father, being a royalist and in low circumstances, was glad of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading vessel belonging to Topsham, with whom he lived very happily for some years; and, being a young man of good natural abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge in his profession, by which, and by the favour of his master, he grew into great credit with the most eminent traders in Exeter, in whose service he made various voyages into the Mediterranean, with large profit to them, and no small reputation to himself<sup>e</sup>. In the beginning of our wars with Spain, he distinguished himself by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large Spanish man of war, commanded by a knight of Malta; and, though the odds was very great, yet captain Kempthorne defended himself gallantly, till all his ammunition was spent, and then, remembering that he had several large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better serve to annoy than enrich the enemy, and therefore ordered his men to load their guns with silver, which did such execution on the Spaniards rigging, that, if his own ship had not been disabled by an unlucky shot, he had in all probability got clear. At last, however, overpowered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into Malaga.

The knight, to whom he was prisoner, treated him with the utmost kindness and civility, carried him home to his house, gave him the free use of it, spoke of him with much respect, commended his valour to every body, and declared, that he never knew a man who deserved higher preferment; and after a short stay in this manner, which I can scarce call a confinement, he sent him to England. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate such a passage as this, without the proper circumstances of names and dates; but, when these have been slighted by such

<sup>d</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 415. Continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 538. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 276. Echard's history of England, p. 817. <sup>e</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 437.



as first committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards easily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation, since, upon the credit of this action, captain Kempthorne laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes. Having premised this, we may proceed to the second part of this adventure. Some years after, the same knight of Malta was taken in the Streights by commodore Ven, and brought prisoner into England, where he was committed to the Tower: this afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did at his own expence, and furnished him with every thing necessary to return to Spain; an action generous and grateful in itself, and which could not fail of doing our English commander great honour<sup>f</sup>.

After the restoration, captain Kempthorne had some merit to plead, his father having quitted the profession of the law, to serve as a lieutenant of horse in the king's army, which honest and loyal act proved his total ruin. Whether this or any personal interest which his son might have, brought him into the navy, it is not easy to say; but, soon after the king's return, he was provided with a ship, *viz.* the *Mary Rose*, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ship he went as convoy to a considerable fleet of merchantmen into the Streights, and in the month of December, 1669, met with a squadron of seven Algerine men of war: by his prudence and courage he preserved, however, all the vessels under his care, and obliged the enemy to sheer off, after leaving behind them several of their men, who had boarded the *Mary Rose*, and were brought by captain Kempthorne into England<sup>g</sup>.

This gallant action justly intitled him to a flag; and yet it was some years afterwards out-done, with great satisfaction to the captain: for his son, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the *King's Fisher*, a frigate of forty-six guns, and two hundred and twenty men, engaged seven Algerines, three of which carried as many guns as the whole squadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was several times boarded, made them weary of their underta-

<sup>f</sup> Remarkable sea deliverance, p. 52.  
 this engagement cited before, p. 349.

<sup>g</sup> See the particular relation of  
 king,

king, and carried the king's ship safe into a Spanish port, where himself died of his wounds<sup>b</sup>.

As for our hero, he was in both the Dutch wars, and behaved so well, that, upon the duke of Albemarle's taking the command of the fleet in 1666, he carried one of the flags; and in the succeeding war he served as rear-admiral, and had the honour of knighthood<sup>i</sup>. He spent the latter part of his life in a post both of profit and reputation, *viz.* commissioner of his majesty's navy at Portsmouth: and yet it is said, that he was disgusted (as is frequently the case) at his being thus laid aside, and precluded, as he understood it, from any farther promotion which his merit might have intitled him to in the navy. We have no account of the motives which might induce the court to slight a man of Sir John Kempthorne's merit; only we are told, that he was a very zealous Protestant, and, having been chiefly raised by the favour of prince Rupert, it is probable his interest declined with that of his highness. However it was, it has been transmitted to posterity, that his sharp sense of his disappointments shortened his days: and thus a man, who had with such courage ventured his life for the honour of the crown, and had done such signal service to the nation, was sacrificed to some low, secret, pitiful court-intrigue, and left to wear away his life in a little employment, which would have been esteemed a high promotion by a person of a money-loving temper, and who had less passion for glory than this worthy gentleman, who ended his days on the 19th of October, 1679, when he wanted but one year of threescore. His body lies interred on the north side of the altar in the great church at Portsmouth; and I have heard, that some of his posterity are yet remaining in Devonshire<sup>k</sup>. This Sir John Kempthorne had an elder brother, captain Simon Kempthorne, who also distinguished himself at sea, but of whose actions I can say nothing particular: I shall therefore content myself with having thus endeavoured to preserve his NAME.

The care taken by the Dutch, as I have more than once hinted before, to preserve the memories of those who have eminently served the state, by burying them at the public expence, erecting

<sup>b</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 438.

<sup>i</sup> Phillips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Burchet's naval history, p. 200. Kennet's history of England, vol. III. p. 282.

<sup>k</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 439.

for them magnificent tombs, adorning these with honourable inscriptions, settling pension on their family, and by such acts of gratitude obliging all historians, as well as putting it into their power to relate whatever concerns such persons carefully and distinctly, can never be enough commended. It is indeed one of the greatest instances of the wisdom of their government, since it supports and encourages public spirit, maintains the power, and secures the reputation of the republic, which are things of the highest consequence to society, and the source of that liberty and happiness by which they are so gloriously distinguished from their neighbours. Happy had it been for us, if a like spirit had prevailed here! I should not then have been obliged to apologize so often for omissions, which I find it impossible to supply, nor would there have been occasion for this remark, to excuse the shortness of those accounts, which I am yet to give, of some of the greatest seamen who lived in this reign, and who by their gallant behaviour justly merit the praise of succeeding times.

MEMOIRS of SIR GEORGE AYSCOUGH,  
or, as generally written, AYSCUE, Admiral of  
the White.

AN intrepidity, which no danger can either dismay or distract, is that kind of temper which distinguishes our sea commanders, and has exalted the Howards, Greenviles, Blakes, and several others that might be named, into the rank of heroes. It is a disposition that peculiarly endears an officer to seamen, who never fail to imitate his example; and from a resolution of this kind such amazing and almost incredible events have flowed, as shew that high courage, when accompanied with cool and steady conduct, in which intrepidity consists, is very different from either rashness or obstinacy, and may be justly considered as the standard of military virtue, and therefore the best intitled to fame. This rare and admirable quality, if the evidence of friends or foes can establish the possession of it incontestibly, was never more conspicuous than in Sir GEORGE AYSCUE, whose merit was so great, and so generally understood, that he was preferred without envy; nay, his preferments were attended with  
such

such universal applause, as at length, which often happens in popular states, rendered him obnoxious to his masters. This did not hinder his appearing again in a higher station with equal reputation; and, having often vanquished enemies, he, in the last action of his life, triumphed over fortune.

He was a gentleman of an ancient and worthy family, settled at South Kelsey in Lincolnshire<sup>1</sup>. His father, William Ayscough, or Ayscūe, Esq; was one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber to Charles I.<sup>m</sup>, by whom himself, and his elder brother Sir Edward Ayscūe, were knighted. By intermarriages he stood allied to some as respectable families as any in the north, particularly the Savilles of Thornhill, the Cookes of Wheatly in Yorkshire<sup>n</sup>, the Williamsons of Markham in Nottinghamshire<sup>o</sup>, and many others. At the breaking out of the civil war, Sir Edward and Sir George Ayscūe both adhered to the parliament<sup>p</sup>, by whom the former was appointed one of their commissioners to reside with the Scots army in 1646<sup>q</sup>, and the latter continued in his command in the navy, and always treated with the utmost deference and respect; which made such an impression upon him, that he remained attached to him with inviolable fidelity, though he had not been promoted in their service; or, except those testimonies of esteem, had received any marks of their favour.

When a great part of the fleet revolted in the summer of 1648, and set colonel Rainborough on shore, who was sent to take the command, Sir George Ayscūe preserved his ship the Lion for the parliament; and brought her into the river Thames, of which he gave them notice<sup>r</sup>. This important service at so critical a conjuncture was received with great satisfaction, and he was desired, with captain Moulton, to sail over to the coast of Holland, to watch the motions of the ships then under the prince of Wales<sup>s</sup>. The next year he was declared admiral in the Irish seas, and directed to relieve Dublin, which was a thing of the utmost consequence. This he very successfully performed, as

<sup>1</sup> Camd. Britannia, p. 408 where the name is written Ashcough. <sup>m</sup> Aubrey's antiquities of Surrey, vol. iii. p. 121, 122.

<sup>n</sup> Baronetage of England, vol. i. p. 159. iii. p. 279. <sup>o</sup> Thornton's antiquities of Nottinghamshire, p. 386.

<sup>p</sup> Lloyd's loyal sufferers, p. 706. <sup>q</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 184. <sup>r</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 317.

<sup>s</sup> Baker's chronicle continued by E. Philips, p. 740. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 368. Heath's chronicle, p. 176.

also many other services; which induced them to continue him in that office for another year, in which space he did all, and even more than they expected; for which they honoured him with their thanks, and assured him they would retain a suitable sense of what he had done in support of the English and Protestant interest in that kingdom<sup>t</sup>.

The war, at least as far as it was a sea war, being brought to a conclusion in Ireland, the parliament found themselves at liberty to make use of their fleet elsewhere, and thereupon resolved to reduce the island of Barbadoes, which was held for king Charles by the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had served them long; but when he saw they meant to subvert the constitution, quitted them, and went to king Charles II. in Holland, by whom he was declared vice-admiral of the revolted fleet, and afterwards governor of the Leeward islands<sup>u</sup>. In order to accomplish this, orders were sent to Sir George Ayscue to form a squadron, which he was to man and victual as soon as possible, and then proceed to Barbadoes: but, before he was in any readiness to sail, those orders were countermanded. The reason of this was, the parliament had information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the isles of Scilly put into their hands; and therefore it was thought necessary to reduce those islands first. Blake and Ayscue were employed in this expedition in the spring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and success. They had but a small body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a considerable force in the island of St. Mary, commanded by some of the best officers in the late king's army; so that, if things had been decided by the sword, the dispute must have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John easily perceived that this must end fatally in respect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command, and therefore entered into a treaty with general Blake and admiral Ayscue, who used him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions: after which Blake returned to England, and Ayscue prepared for his voyage to Barbadoes<sup>w</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 385, 406.

Britain and Ireland, ch. xcvi. p. 325—327.

<sup>u</sup> The civil wars of Great Britain, vol. vi. p. 465. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 493, 495. See also

p. 13, 14.

<sup>w</sup> Clarendon's history of the

The parliament, when they first heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleased, as indeed they had very just reason, since privateers from thence did so much mischief, that scarce any trade could be carried on with tolerable security: but, when the conditions were known, some great men changed their opinions, and gave Blake to understand, that he and his colleague had been too forward; so that it was doubtful, whether the parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake said, that, if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had not done it without good reason; that, in the first place, it saved the effusion of English blood, and next, that there was a strong squadron of Dutch ships at no great distance, the commander of which had offered Sir John one hundred thousand pounds to put these islands into his hands; that, if the parliament did not approve of his conduct, he should be sorry for it, and would take care to prevent a mistake of that sort for the future, by laying down his commission, as he was confident Sir George Ayscue would likewise do\*. Upon this, there was no more said of the articles, which were very punctually and honourably complied with, and Sir George received orders to sail immediately to the West Indies; which he obeyed.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of October 1651, and became quickly sensible of the difficulty of that enterprize. His own force was very inconsiderable in comparison of that of the island: the governor was a man of quality, good sense, and well beloved, and had assembled a body of near five thousand men to oppose him†. In spite of all these difficulties, he was determined to do his utmost to reduce the place; and how well he succeeded, the reader may learn from the following succinct relation of general Ludlow.

“ Sir George opened a passage into the harbour, by firing  
 “ some great shot, and then seized upon twelve of their ships  
 “ without opposition: the next day he sent a summons to the  
 “ lord Willoughby to submit to the authority of the parliament  
 “ of England; but he, not acknowledging any such power, de-  
 “ clared his resolution to keep the island for the king’s service.  
 “ But the news of the defeat of the Scots and their king at

\* Lansdown’s prose works, vol. ii. p. 256, 257.

† See p. 188.



“ Worcester, being brought to Sir George Ayscue, together  
 “ with an intercepted letter from the lady Willoughby, con-  
 “ taining the same account, he summoned him a second time,  
 “ and accompanied his summons with the lady’s letter, to assure  
 “ him of the truth of that report. But the lord Willoughby  
 “ relying upon his numbers, and the fewness of those that were  
 “ sent to reduce him, being in all but fifteen sail, returned an  
 “ answer of the like substance with the former. Whereupon Sir  
 “ George Ayscue sent two hundred men on shore, commanded  
 “ by captain Morrice, to attack a quarter of the enemy’s that  
 “ lay by the harbour, which they executed successfully, by ta-  
 “ king the fort and about forty prisoners, with four pieces of  
 “ cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again.  
 “ At this time, the Virginia fleet arriving at Barbadoes, it was  
 “ thought fit to send a third summons to the lord Willoughby;  
 “ but finding that neither this, nor the declaration sent to them  
 “ by the commissioners of parliament to the same purpose, pro-  
 “ duced any effect, Sir George Ayscue landed seven hundred  
 “ men from his own and the Virginia fleet, giving the com-  
 “ mand of them to the same captain Morrice, who fell upon  
 “ thirteen hundred of the enemy’s foot, and three troops of  
 “ their horse, and beat them from their works, killing many of  
 “ their men, and taking about one hundred prisoners, with all  
 “ their guns. The loss on our side was inconsiderable, few  
 “ of ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty  
 “ wounded. Yet these successes were not sufficient to accom-  
 “ plish the work, there being above five thousand horse and  
 “ foot in the island, and our Virginia fleet preparing to depart  
 “ for want of provisions.

“ In this conjuncture colonel Muddiford, who commanded a  
 “ regiment in the island, by the means of a friend that he had  
 “ in our fleet, made his terms, and declared for the parliament.  
 “ Many of his friends, following his example, did the like, and,  
 “ in conjunction with him, encamped under the protection of  
 “ our fleet. Upon this the most part of the island were inclined  
 “ to join us; but the lord Willoughby prevented them, by pla-  
 “ cing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and designed to  
 “ charge our men with his body of horse, wherein he was much  
 “ superior to them, had not a cannon-ball, that was fired at  
 “ random,

“ random, beat open the door of a room where he and his  
 “ council of war were sitting, which, taking off the head of the  
 “ centinel who was placed at the door, so alarmed them all,  
 “ that he changed his design, and retreated to a place two miles  
 “ distant from the harbour. Our party, consisting of two thou-  
 “ sand foot and one hundred horse, advancing towards him, he  
 “ desired to treat; which being accepted, colonel Muddiford,  
 “ colonel Collyton, Mr. Searl, and captain Pack, were ap-  
 “ pointed commissioners by Sir George Ayscue; and by the  
 “ lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Pierce, Mr. Charles Pym, co-  
 “ lonel Ellis, and major Byham.

“ By these it was concluded, that the islands of Nevis, Anti-  
 “ gua, and St. Christopher's, should be surrendered to the par-  
 “ liament of England; that the lord Willoughby, colonel Wal-  
 “ rond, and some others, should be restored to their estates;  
 “ and that the inhabitants of the said isles should be maintained  
 “ in the quiet enjoyment of what they possessed, on condition  
 “ to do nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. This  
 “ news being brought to Virginia, they submitted also, where  
 “ one Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of mine, served the par-  
 “ liament in the like manner as colonel Muddiford had done at  
 “ Barbadoes<sup>2</sup>.”

Sir George Ayscue returned to Plymouth on the 25th of May, 1652, with great reputation<sup>3</sup>. The Dutch war, which broke out while he was abroad, was now very warm, and Sir George was forced to take a share therein, though his ships were, with so long a voyage, extremely foul, and in a manner unfit for service: yet, when general Blake sailed to the north, he performed glorious, indeed almost incredible things; for in July he took five Dutch merchantmen, and afterwards attacked a fleet of forty sail under the convoy of four men of war, took seven, burnt three, and forced the rest on the French shore. On the 16th of August, 1652, the Dutch attempted to surprize Sir George with

<sup>2</sup> Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 385—387.

<sup>3</sup> In Lilly's astrological predictions for 1653, we have this account of what passed in the preceding year: “ May 25, Sir George Ayscue, knight, returned safe from the western  
 “ islands to Plymouth, to the great joy of the people, having reduced all the  
 “ western isles, and taken from the Dutch above forty sail of ships.” White-  
 “ locke's memorials, p. 534. Davies's civil wars of Great Britain and Ireland,  
 p. 329.

a great fleet, who was just then returned from convoying a rich fleet of East India ships into Plymouth. Though he was much inferior in strength, he fought notwithstanding, and at last, with considerable loss, forced them to retire<sup>b</sup>. After this, he continued to behave vigorously against the enemy; and though his services were not very well received by the parliament, yet both the seamen and the people agreed that he had acted like a HERO. Of this we have a strong testimony in Lilly's almanack, which was a kind of oracle in those days<sup>c</sup>.

In some short time after this, the parliament thought fit to consider Sir George's former services, and to vote him, as a reward, three hundred pounds a-year in Ireland, and also three hundred pounds in money; but they thought proper, at the same time, to lay him aside, under pretence that the honour of the nation was some way affected by the loss he had suffered in the late fight in Dover road: but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own historians, but the Dutch writers also, agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occasion; and so far was the honour of the nation from being at all injured by any loss he sustained, that this very action was then, and still is, considered as one of the strongest proofs of the invincible courage of the English at sea<sup>d</sup>. Nay, immediately before he was dismissed from his command, he gave a most extraordinary proof of his courage; for he protested against Blake's retreat, after he had been worsted in the battle of the 29th of November, and declared, he thought it more honourable to perish at sea, than to retire in the fight of an enemy; and upon this occasion he in-

<sup>b</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 539—541.

<sup>c</sup> This passage occurs in his observations on August 1653, and runs thus: August 16, 1652, Sir George Aycue, near Plymouth, with fourteen or fifteen ships only, fought threecore sail of Dutch men of war, and thirty shot in the hull of his own ship. Twenty merchant (I suppose merchantmen converted into) men of war never came in to assist him; yet he made the Dutch give way. Why our state shall pay those ships which fought not, we of the people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his actions."

<sup>d</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 323. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 421. Columna rostrata, p. 101. Bassage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 260. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome ii, p. 322, 324. La vie de Ruyter, p. i. p. 19, 20.

timated a design of throwing up, which gave his enemies so fair an opportunity of taking away his commission <sup>c</sup>.

The true grounds of the parliament's displeasure towards him, though they did not care to own it, was the fair agreement he had made with the lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, and the largeness of those articles of capitulation which he had granted him. They thought he might have been sufficiently cautioned by the resentment they had shewn on the treaty he made with Sir John Greenville, and were therefore the more deeply touched with this, which they looked upon as a second offence <sup>f</sup>. Another reason for their inclining to lay him down softly was his great influence over the seamen, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. In this transaction they were too wise for themselves; for they parted with a man who was certainly firm to their interests, disobliged the sea-officers, who knew not what to think of such a proceeding, and lost the affection of the sailors, as appeared very soon after, when general Cromwell turned them out of doors, the whole fleet concurring in the approbation of that measure; which shews how dangerous a thing it is to sacrifice a man of known merit to secret distrusts <sup>g</sup>.

After this the admiral led a retired life, without concerning himself with public affairs. The grant he had of an estate in Ireland, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with Henry Cromwell who then governed that kingdom, and who conceived from thence so great an esteem for him, that he wrote expressly to secretary Thurloe, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment then in agitation, and in any thing else which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced person <sup>h</sup>. Yet it doth not appear, that he was ever employed, or perhaps chose to be employed, in the protector's service; for I find him in 1656 at his seat in Surrey, which is thus described by Whitlocke: "The house stands environed with ponds, moats, and water, like a ship at sea; a fancy the fitter for the master's humour, who was himself so great a seaman. There, he said, he had cast anchor, and intended to spend

<sup>c</sup> Columna rostrata, p. 101.

<sup>f</sup> Heath's chronicle, p. 323.

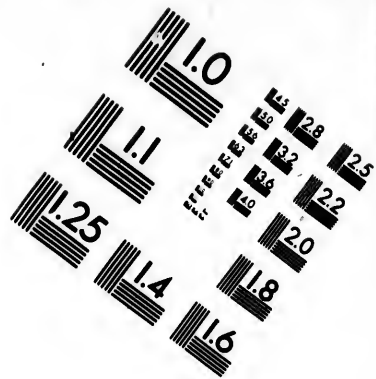
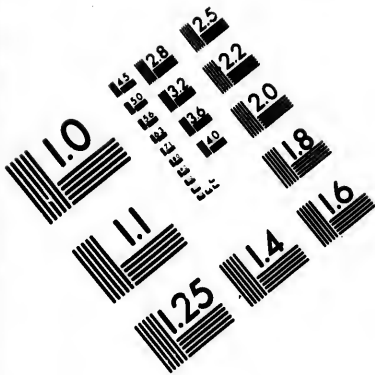
<sup>g</sup> See

the postscript to Lilly's almanack for 1654.

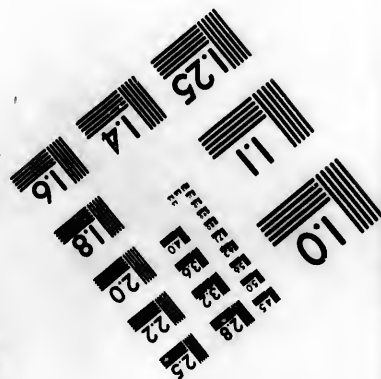
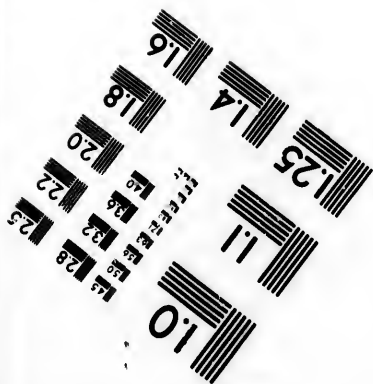
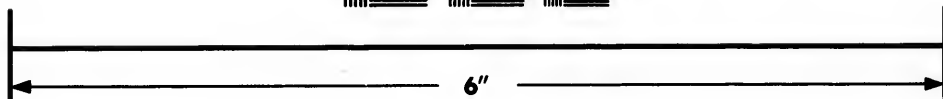
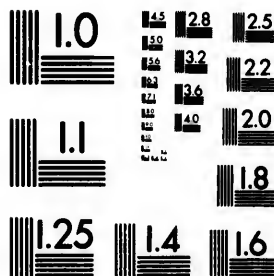
<sup>h</sup> This letter is printed

amongst Thurloe's state-papers, vol. iv. p. 198.





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“ the rest of his life in private retirement<sup>l</sup>.” He charged his resolution, however, for which, if I mistake not, this visit laid a foundation; since Whitlocke went, in company with the Swedish ambassador, and Sir George was afterwards prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to Sweden; where he was to be admiral<sup>n</sup>.

This scheme, of sending him into the north, was one of the last formed by the protector Oliver. He had always kept a close correspondence with Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, from the time that prince mounted the throne; and drew many advantages from this conjunction. He saw, therefore, with great regret, the success of the Dutch in settling the affairs of the north, and their awing his ally, the king of Sweden, by keeping a strong fleet in the Baltic. He had his reasons for avoiding a second war with the Dutch; and yet he could not think of abandoning the Swedes<sup>l</sup>. At last, therefore, he took a resolution of sending a stout squadron, well manned, under the command of vice-admiral Goodson, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George Ayscue, as we have shewn in another place<sup>m</sup>; the latter having accepted of a commission in his Swedish Majesty's service; by which stroke of policy, the protector thought he should avoid all disputes with Holland, and yet do as much for the Swedes as they could desire<sup>n</sup>. But this squadron sailing too late in the year, the ice prevented

<sup>l</sup> Whitlocke's memorials, p. 649. where there is a long account of a very curious conversation, on maritime affairs, between the ambassador and the admiral.

<sup>k</sup> Thurloe's state papers, vol. vi. p. 260.

<sup>l</sup> Basnage

annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 345. where there is a better account of Cromwell's designs than I have found in any of our own historians.

<sup>m</sup> See

p. 59.

<sup>n</sup> How much the news of this project alarmed the Danes, will appear from the following letter of their minister to secretary Thurloe, dated September 27, 1658; when, in prosecution of Oliver's design, Richard had resolved to send Ayscue to Sweden.

“ May it please your lordship,

“ Talk has been this many months, that Sir George Ayscue, and ten or twelve sea-captains, were to take service under the king of Sweden, which I could not be induced to believe, thinking the said Ayscue would not turn a mercenary soldier of another prince; whilst the war in his own country lasted: if he could not be satisfied with that wealth and honour he has got,

“ etc,

prevented its arrival at Copenhagen: however, admiral Ayscue proceeded to Sweden by land, and was treated with great marks of esteem and favour by his Swedish majesty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's decease, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660<sup>o</sup>; so that Sir George Ayscue had no manner of concern in the last troubles in England.

He returned home soon after the restoration, and was received with all the respect that was due to a man of his high rank and merit. He was, as we have already mentioned, appointed one of the commissioners for regulating the affairs of the navy, and in high esteem with the duke of York, who always consulted him in whatever regarded maritime concerns. When the Dutch war broke out, in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the blue squadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665<sup>p</sup>. On the duke of York's return to court, and the earl of Sandwich's hoisting the royal flag, Sir George Ayscue served as vice-admiral of the red, and was very fortunate in making prizes<sup>q</sup>.

In 1666, when prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded, Sir George Ayscue, in the Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, bore the white flag, as admiral of that squadron, having Sir William Berkley for his vice, and Sir John Harman for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the first of June, he did remarkable service, not only against the enemy, but in the preservation of such of the English ships as were disabled by their superior force. With the same successful diligence he acted the two next days; but towards the evening of the third, when prince Rupert appeared with the frigates under his command, and a signal was made for the fleet to join, Sir George Ayscue's ship unfortunately

"ten, and live a retired and quiet life. But I have been deceived in my opinion, and find, that certainly he and the said captains are to depart in a few days; they to command each a man of war, and Sir George the whole Swedish fleet." Thurloc's state-papers, vol. vii. p. 412.

<sup>o</sup> Histoire de Suede, par Puffendorf, tome iii. p. 30. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 677, 698. Burchet's naval hist. p. 397. <sup>p</sup> Echard, p. 820. <sup>q</sup> Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 571. Annals of the universe, p. 119. Burchet's naval hist. p. 399.

ran upon the *Galloper*, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, surrounded by his enemies, and unassisted by his friends, he was, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, compelled by his own seamen to strike; upon which, the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off the *Royal Prince*, set her on fire<sup>r</sup>.

This capture of Sir George Ayscue, gave the enemy great satisfaction. They carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at last shut him up in the castle of Louvestein, where he continued for some months<sup>s</sup>. After his return, which was in November, when he was graciously received by his majesty, he went no more to sea, but spent the remainder of his days in quiet<sup>t</sup>. But where, or when, this great and gallant seaman concluded his life, I have not hitherto been able (with certainty) to discover.

### MEMOIRS OF SIR EDWARD SPRAGGE, Admiral of the Blue.

**T**HERE are some men great in a particular way, to a degree of eminence, that exempts them from any blame, though possibly defective in many others. Education and habit alter men frequently, and nature herself sometimes infuses qualities into the breasts of men, which particularly disposes them to a certain kind of life, and as apparently disables them from following other pursuits: but it very rarely happens, that a man is alike equal to various, and even to opposite employments. Alcibiades is celebrated, by antiquity, for his peculiar felicity in this respect. In the camp, in the court, in the closet, he was equally able, and esteemed. He was a soldier, a seaman, a statesman, a courtier, a man of business, or a man of pleasure, as circumstances required; and, in every character he assumed,

<sup>r</sup> Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 653. Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 430, 431. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. iii. p. 90.

<sup>s</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 776. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 141. La vie de Ruyter, p. 345. See Sir George Ayscue's letter to the king, dated from the castle of Louvestein, June 20, 1666.

<sup>t</sup> Annals of the universe, p. 161.

he so far excelled, as to seem born and designed for that alone<sup>u</sup>. The same thing his contemporaries, his companions, those who knew him, and the world too, perfectly well, affirm of Sir Edward Spragge, who, with a fine person, and a gentle temper, had as solid an understanding, and as bold a spirit, as any counsellor or captain of that age<sup>w</sup>.

With all these advantages, with the favour of the duke of York, with the merit of so great services, as he certainly rendered his country, and with the still superior merit of dying gloriously in his country's service, which indeed procured his remains an interment in Westminster-abbey<sup>x</sup>; he was not honoured with a tomb, or any memorial (as far as I can yet discover) where he was born, of what family, or how he attained to his first preferment; which are circumstances that ought to have been recorded, of so great and gallant a man, and which, in or nearer his own times, might have been easily known. But since these are not, at present, to be retrieved, we must be satisfied with those notices which have connected his actions with our public history: and these, we shall find, will abundantly make good what we have already observed, and induce us to regret the want of more particular memoirs; because it is a kind of political justice, to preserve the private history of those who have deserved well of the public.

We find him a captain, in the first engagement with the Dutch, after the restoration, on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein he behaved with great reputation, and so far recommended himself to the favour of the duke of York, that, upon his majesty's visiting the navy, and going on board the Royal Charles, he received the honour of knighthood<sup>y</sup>; which encouraged him to expose himself still more freely. He was likewise in the four-days battle in June 1666, where he was particularly taken notice of by the duke of Albemarle; and in the succeeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of July, he carried a flag under Sir Jeremiah Smith, admiral of the blue squadron; who engaged Van Tromp, shattered his vice-admi-

<sup>u</sup> Justin. *Histor. lib. v.* His life by Plutarch, and also by Cornelius Nepos.  
<sup>w</sup> Bishop Parker's *hist. of his own times*, p. 126. Dryden's *annus mirabilis*, stanza clxxiv. Evelyn of medals, p. 160.  
<sup>x</sup> Antiquities of the abbey-church of Westminster, vol. i. p. 214.  
<sup>y</sup> See p. 100.

ral, so that she was absolutely disabled; and, having ruined the rigging of his rear-admiral, and killed its commander, contributed greatly to the glory of that day<sup>2</sup>.

He distinguished himself, likewise, very remarkably in the close of that war, in the unlucky business at Chatham, where he was employed, by the duke of Albemarle, to maintain the fort of Sheerness, attacked by the enemy on the 10th of June, 1667: and though it was unfinished, his garrison very small, and the place in no state of resistance; yet he continued to defend himself, till it would have been an act of rashness to expose his garrison any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual service by land, he set himself to collect as great a force as he could by sea. This amounted to no more than five frigates, seventeen fire-ships, and some tenders; and yet when the Dutch admiral, Van Nes, came up the river again, after their attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward Spragge engaged him about the Hope. The fight was very unequal; but there being, at first, little or no wind, Sir Edward laid hold of that advantage; and, by dexterously towing his fire-ships, burnt eleven or twelve of theirs, with only six of his own; but the wind stiffening, he was at last obliged to shelter himself, from the enemy's unequal force, under the cannon of Tilbury-fort.

The next day, the weather being favourable, he attacked the Dutch again, in his turn; and, by the happy management of his fire-ships, put them into such confusion, that, after a short dispute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their last fire-ship themselves, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they prosecuted their retreat, but with Sir Edward Spragge's squadron of fire-ships in their rear. He followed them to the river's mouth, where they met another squadron of fire-ships from Harwich, which put them in such danger, that above a hundred men in the Vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large man of war, leaped overboard, and were drowned. This was the last action, on our side, in that war<sup>3</sup>.

In 1668, the constable of Castile being appointed governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Sir Edward Spragge was sent over

<sup>2</sup> See p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 125—129.



to compliment him upon that occasion, and to enter into some further negociations for the success of the new measures, in which Sir Edward is said to have been deeply engaged<sup>b</sup>. The truth is, he was raised and supported by the favour of the duke of York; so that he devoted himself wholly to his service, and was thought to have a large share in his confidence. Some have from thence reported, that he was a Papist; of which there is little probability, since we find him sent to sea with prince Rupert, in 1673, when the Test had driven the duke of York, and others of his religion, from their posts<sup>c</sup>. This advancement of Spragge I mention here, only to obviate the objection to him on the score of religion: for before I speak of his behaviour in the last Dutch war, I must take notice of his employment in the Mediterranean, after his return from his negociation in Flanders.

There had been several squadrons sent to chastise the Algerines, both by the English and Dutch; but very few of them had been able to effect any great matter; they, generally speaking, contented themselves with some slight action, to the prejudice of these corsairs, and then concluded a peace; which was usually broken by that time they, with their squadrons, were returned home<sup>d</sup>. The consideration of this, together with the loud complaints of the merchants, induced the court to fix upon Sir Edward Spragge to command a squadron in those seas, in hopes of his meeting with greater, or making

<sup>b</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 569. Lord Arlington, in his letter to Sir William Temple, dated London, December 11, 1668, says, "The bearer, Sir Edward Spragge, is sent, by his majesty, to the constable of Castile, to compliment his excellency upon his arrival in Flanders; where, because it is possible you may either meet him, the said Sir Edward, according to your late credential, or send to him, in order to something in his majesty's service; I thought I could not do less than, in a few lines, let you know, that he is a brave man, and hath long served his majesty faithfully, (particularly with much gallantry in the last Dutch wars); that you may, on all occasions, put that value upon him which is his due, and which shall be always acknowledged by," &c. Sir Edward returned to Whitehall, from his embassy, on the 29th of January following. Annals of the universe, p. 209.

<sup>c</sup> Echard's hist. of England, p. 893. Annals of the universe, p. 300. Hist. of the Dutch war, p. 45. An exact relation of the actions of his majesty's fleet under prince Rupert, p. 5.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 132.

more use of his success than his predecessors, from his known courage and resolution; for it is confessed, by the writers of those times, that Sir Edward greatly resembled the earl of Sandwich, and concealed, like him, a high and daring spirit, under the most captivating address, and most polished behaviour.

He sailed from England, on this expedition, in the spring of the year 1671, with five frigates, and three fire-ships, and there might be as many more ships in those seas; so that, in all, his fleet consisted of about twelve sail. In the latter end of the month of April, he had intelligence that there were several Algerine men of war in Bugia bay; on which, he called a council of war, when it was resolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In pursuance of this resolution, he sailed thither; but, in his passage, had the misfortune to have the Eagle fire-ship disabled by a storm; and, soon after, one of his ships springing her main-mast, was obliged to bear away for the Spanish shore. Sir Edward, however, persisted in his design, refitted the Eagle, and bore into the bay of Bugia with a brisk gale, not doubting that he should be able to fire the ships: but by that time they got within half-shot of the castle and forts, it fell a dead calm; and when the wind rose again, it proved contrary.

On the 2d of May, they were able to do nothing, for the same reason, the wind changing every half hour; upon which, Sir Edward resolved to make an attempt upon them in the night with his boats, and the smallest of his fire-ships, which rowed as well as a long-boat. About twelve o'clock that night, he executed his project, sending in all his boats, and the Eagle fire-ship, under the command of his eldest lieutenant Mr. Nugent; but the night proving very dark, and the high land obscuring the ships as they drew near them, they passed by; and lieutenant Nugent leaving one of the boats with the fire-ships, besides her own, rowed in, to discover the enemy, leaving orders, with the captain of the fire-ship, to come to an anchor, in case he found shoal water. The lieutenant had not left them a minute before he perceived himself within pistol-shot of the ships; and, concluding the business now as good as done, steered

ed off again to find the fire-ship, and, to his amazement, saw her all in flames <sup>e</sup>.

The enemy taking the alarm at this, the lieutenant was forced to row off with his boats; and so this promising advantage vanished, which had given hopes of burning all the Algerine men of war, without the loss of a man. The next day, the enemy unrigged all their ships, and made a strong boom with their yards, top-masts, and cables, buoyed up with casks, for which they had all the leisure and conveniency they could wish, the wind hindering the English from doing any thing; and, to try the admiral's patience to the very utmost, it so fell out, that by a drunken gunner's firing a pistol, his other small fire-ship was destroyed; so that he had now none left but the *Little Victory*, which drew too much water to enter that part of the bay where the Algerines lay <sup>f</sup>.

On Monday the 8th of May, 1671, there appeared a considerable body of horse and foot in the neighbourhood of the bay, which were soon after discovered to be an escort to a very large convoy of ammunition sent from Algiers to the ships; on the safe arrival of which, they fired all their cannon, to testify their joy. Sir Edward Spragge considering this, and not knowing what future reinforcements they might receive, resolved to take the earliest opportunity of making his last and utmost effort; and, in order thereto, directed the *Victory* to be lightened, so that she might not draw above eight feet. About noon, there sprung up a fine breeze to the east; upon which, the admiral gave the signal for the men of war to draw into a line, and bear up into the bay; immediately after, the wind sunk at once, so that they despaired of doing any thing <sup>g</sup>.

But about two the gale sprang up again, and the ships bore in, as they were directed. The admiral came to an anchor in

<sup>e</sup> In those days, our fire-ships and bomb vessels were by no means so perfect in their construction, or so secure against accidents, as they are now.

<sup>f</sup> This bay the Romans called the Numidian gulf. The town of Bugia was built by them, and the walls still remain. Don Alonzo de Peralta, the Spanish governor, surrendered it, in the xvth century, to the Algerines; for which he lost his head.

<sup>g</sup> Shaw's travels, p. 44. Strabo calls this place Sarda, the Romans Saldis; and the true orthography of the modern name is Boejeiah; the sound of which is preserved in Bugia.

four fathom water, close under their castle-walls, which fired upon him continually for two hours. In this space he sent in his own pinnace, and those of the *Mary* and the *Dragon*; these cut the boom, though not without considerable loss. Lieutenant Pin, who commanded the *Mary's* boat's crew, had eight wounded with himself; lieutenant Pierce of the *Dragon* was also wounded, with ten of his men, and one killed. In the admiral's own pinnace there were seven killed, and all the rest wounded, except Mr. Harman, who commanded it<sup>a</sup>.

The boom being cut, the fire-ship went in, and getting up athwart their boltsprits, their ships being a-ground, and fast to the castles, she burnt very well, and destroyed them all. Captain Harris who commanded her, his master's mate, gunner, and one of his seamen, were desperately wounded with small shot, and this at their entrance; so that probably the whole design had proved abortive, if the admiral had not with great prudence commissioned Henry Williams (then one of his master's mates, but who had formerly commanded the *Rose* fire-ship) to take the charge of the vessel, in case the other was disabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him<sup>b</sup>.

This loss was irreparable to the Algerines, who had picked out those seven men of war, that were here burnt, on purpose to fight Sir Edward Spragge; had furnished them with their best brass ordnance from on board all the rest of their vessels, with between eighteen and nineteen hundred chosen men double-officered, under the command of old Turkey their admiral, of whom between three and four hundred were killed, the castles and town miserably torn, and a vast number of people in them slain and wounded; and, which much increased the misfortune, all their surgeons chests were burnt on board their ships, so that numbers died for want of having their wounds dressed. Besides the men of war, (of which we shall give a list), there were burnt a Genoese ship, a small English prize, and a settee<sup>c</sup>.

An

<sup>a</sup> Sir Edward declared he had never seen a bolder attempt, or one better executed by officers and seamen.

<sup>b</sup> *Annals of the universe*, p. 263. *Atlas geograph.* vol. iv. p. 191. *Burchet's naval history*, p. 402.

<sup>c</sup> This account of Sir Edward Spragge's expedition is taken, first, from his instructions,

An exact LIST of the ALGIER SHIPS burnt in BOUJEDIAH, or BUGIA Bay, with their number of guns, and age of the vessels, May 8, 1671.

Ships names.	Commanders.	Guns.	Years old.
White Horse,	Tabark Rays,	34	4
Orange Tree,	Courhaly,	34	4
Three Cypress Trees,	Caram Hammet,	34	$\frac{1}{2}$
Three Half Moons,	Brayham Tagrin,	28	2
Pearl,	Brayham Turco,	26	8
Golden Crown,	Halua Tagrin,	24	$\frac{1}{8}$
Half Moon,	Hammett,	24	$\frac{1}{2}$

In this engagement Sir Edward Spragge had only seventeen men killed, and forty-one wounded; which makes the victory still more extraordinary, and is a very full proof how necessary a steady and constant temper of mind, as well as a brisk and active courage, is in an officer who bears supreme command at sea. What the consequences were of this memorable action, and how well Sir Edward by his prudence improved the advantage that had been thus gained by his arms, we have already shewn<sup>l</sup>, and shall not therefore repeat it here, but proceed to his conduct in the last Dutch war, in which he was remarkably distinguished<sup>m</sup>.

After having performed, with equal honour and success, the business for which he was sent into the Mediterranean, he returned, in the beginning of the year 1672, with the squadron under his command. The Dutch war was then meditated by

instructions, published in the memoirs of English affairs, chiefly naval, p. 100; which instructions are dated at Richmond, the 14th of June, 1670, and several other papers in the same book; adly, from Sir Edward's own letter, dated May 11, 1671, and published by authority under the title of "A true and perfect relation of the happy success and victory obtained against the Turks of Algier at Bugia, by his majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean under the command of Sir Edward Spragge, &c. Printed in the Savoy by Thomas Newcomb, 1671."

<sup>l</sup> See p. 133.

<sup>m</sup> It may not be amiss to remark here, that, in all our wars with the pirates of Algiers, the Spaniards allowed us the free use of the harbour of Port Mahon, as to the champions of the Christian cause, and protectors of the commerce of the Mediterranean; and thither Sir Edward repaired to refit, before he returned home.

our court, but had not as yet broke out. Sir Robert Holmes, who had been the principal instrument in bringing on the first Dutch war, was employed also to begin this, by attacking the Smyrna fleet, which was then expected home. On the 12th of January, Sir Edward Spragge met with Sir Robert Holmes's Squadron near the Isle of Wight; and, upon Sir Robert's inquiring news, Sir Edward very frankly told him, that he had failed several days with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that in a day or two's time they might be certainly expected <sup>a</sup>.

Sir Robert Holmes was very well pleased with this news, but took great care to say nothing that might give him the least intimation of his having any orders to attack them, though, if he had so done, and required Sir Edward's assistance, he could not possibly have failed of taking or destroying that whole fleet, which was reckoned to be worth a million and half sterling, and on the taking of which the king depended for a supply towards carrying on the war. But Sir Robert, averse to sharing any part of the reputation that might be acquired by this action, used his utmost diligence that no body should have any hand in the execution of it but himself, in which, however, he had no success: and, as this blasted his reputation with the world, so it produced a quarrel between him and Sir Edward Spragge, which could never afterwards be composed <sup>o</sup>.

When his royal highness the duke of York had resolved to take upon himself the command once again of the English navy, Sir Edward Spragge was chiefly depended on for assembling the fleet, and preparing all things for the reception of his royal highness, as I find by an order directed to him as commander in chief of his majesty's fleet, dated June 15, 1672 <sup>p</sup>; and he performed his part so well, that by the end of the month all things were completely ready, and his highness was invited on board, who joined him soon after, together with the earl of Sandwich, and other persons of distinction. He was present in Solbay fight

<sup>a</sup> See the growth of Popery, by Andrew Marvell, where we are told, Sir Edward Spragge's Squadron was still in sight when Sir Robert Holmes attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that captain Legge made sail after him to bring him back to their assistance, till called away by a gun from his own admiral.

<sup>o</sup> Memoirs of John, duke of Buckinghamshire, vol. ii. p. 11. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 307. Coke's detection of the four last reigns, b. iv. p. 61. <sup>p</sup> Memoirs of the royal navy, p. 246.



the 28th of May, and distinguished himself therein by sinking a Dutch ship of sixty guns: during the rest of that campaign he behaved with his accustomed diligence, and returned with great reputation after it was over, which very probably determined the court to employ him (as they did) the next year in so high a station<sup>9</sup>.

When the duke of York, by the passing of the TEST act, was obliged to part with his command, and the court, to gratify the desires of the nation, lay under an absolute necessity of making use of prince Rupert, they took care to secure the fleet notwithstanding, by employing on board it such officers only as they could best, and his highness could least trust. Sir Edward Spragge was to carry the BLUE flag, instead of Sir Robert Holmes whom his highness proposed; and, because there had been a difference between these two admirals, the court thought fit to lay Holmes intirely aside, though he was a very active man, and had been much in their confidence<sup>r</sup>. Before the fleet put to sea, Sir Edward was sent with the character of envoy extraordinary to France, where he was received with all possible respect, exceedingly caressed during his stay, and, at his taking leave, had a present made him of great value. His business was to renew the treaty with that court, to settle the rules that were to be observed on the junction of the French and English fleets, and to restore the old friendship between the courts, which seemed to be somewhat injured by the late proceedings in England<sup>s</sup>. As no circumstances of Sir Edward Spragge's negotiation or instructions were ever communicated to prince Rupert, it gave him fresh grounds of dislike; so that, when Sir Edward came to hoist his flag, there was a great coldness between them<sup>t</sup>.

This did not hinder our admiral's doing his duty very gallantly in the engagement which happened on the 28th of May, 1673,

<sup>9</sup> The secret histories of those times say, that the miscarriage of the design on the Smyrna fleet overset the schemes of the CABAL, who hoped thereby to make the two nations irreconcilable, to have embarked the merchants and the people in the quarrel, and to have obtained, by the sale of the cargo, a fund for the campaign, which otherwise they scarce knew how to get.

<sup>r</sup> True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, &c. p. 5.

<sup>s</sup> Annals of the universe, p. 307. Columna rostrata, p. 233.

<sup>t</sup> True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 9.

wherein he fought Van Tromp seven hours, forced him to go from the Golden Lion into the Prince on Horseback, and thence into the Amsterdam, from that into the Comet, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by de Ruyter <sup>u</sup>. Sir Edward also twice changed his ship. These circumstances are not mentioned at all in the account which was published after Sir Edward's death; but in prince Rupert's letter to the earl of Arlington the matter (notwithstanding the quarrel betwixt them) is very fairly stated. "Sir Edward Spragge," says his highness, "did on his side maintain the fight with so much courage and resolution, that their whole body gave way to such a degree, that, had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and the king would have had a better account of them <sup>v</sup>."

In the battle of the 4th of June, Sir Edward is generally blamed for coming, just before the engagement began, six miles in his boat to receive his highness's orders <sup>x</sup>: however, after he returned, he behaved with great resolution, forced Van Tromp, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his ship, and would inevitably have either taken or destroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the admiral. The hazard that he ran, provoked him so against vice-admiral Sweers, that he accused him to the states-general. Prince Rupert in his letter takes no notice of Sir Edward Spragge's behaviour at all; and, though it is very certain that he had the advantage of Van Tromp in this action, yet even that is concealed by an author who pretends to more than ordinary knowledge of all that passed. The Dutch writers confess his bravery, and own he pushed them hard; and Tromp in his letter to the states says, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark <sup>y</sup>.

In the third battle, which happened on the 11th of August, Sir Edward Spragge with the BLUE squadron was in the rear, where it is said, that notwithstanding he had promised prince

<sup>u</sup> Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 411. See also p. 151. of this volume.

<sup>w</sup> See that letter printed by authority, and dated from on board the Royal Charles, off the Oyster bank, May 29, 1673.

<sup>x</sup> True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 10, 11.

<sup>y</sup> The writer above-mentioned is the author of the relation so often cited, who had himself a command in the fleet. Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 415. Le Clere, tome ii. p. 341. See also p. 153.

Rupert not to part from his side, yet, being provoked by Van Tromp, he laid his fore-top sail to the mast to stay for him, and, having engaged his squadron, continued fighting for many hours at a distance from the body of the fleet. Sir Edward was at first on board the Royal Prince, and Van Tromp in the Golden Lion; but after a dispute of about three hours, in which the Dutch admiral always avoided, as much as possible, coming to a close fight, Sir Edward's ship was so disabled, that he was forced to go on board the St. George, as Van Tromp for the same reason did on board the Comet. Then the fight between them began again with greater fury than before: at last the St. George was so battered, that Sir Edward thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the Royal Charles; but, before his boat had rowed ten times its own length from the St. George, it was pierced by a cannon-shot; upon which the crew endeavoured as strenuously as men could do to get back again; but, before that could be effected, Sir Edward was drowned, his hands taking so strong hold on the side of the boat, that, when it came to float, he was found with his head and shoulders above water<sup>z</sup>.

This glorious though untimely end had the brave Sir Edward Spragge, who thereby made good what he promised the king when he took leave of him, that he would either bring him Van Tromp alive or dead, or lose his own life in the attempt<sup>a</sup>. These admirals, indeed, seem to have had a particular passion each to overcome the other; for they had constantly fought in every battle from the time that Sir Edward Spragge succeeded the earl of Sandwich, and Van Tromp came again to command the Dutch fleet in the room of Van Ghent. The Dutch writers speak of his death with visible regret, and own, that he was one of the bravest men and best commanders that ever fought at sea<sup>b</sup>: our own writers are profuse in the praises they bestow on his valour, and therefore I shall content myself with citing only one testi-

<sup>z</sup> An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, &c. p. 14—21. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 593. Annals of the universe, p. 302. Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 22. See also p. 158.

<sup>a</sup> Echard's history of England, p. 894. <sup>b</sup> Brandt leeven Van de Ruyter, p. 860, 861. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tom. iii. p. 345. Vie de l'admiral de Ruyter, ii. partie, p. 155. The Dutch in this action had two very brave officers, viz. captain David Zweerts and Jan Paulz Van Gelder, killed, in whose honour they struck magnificent medals.

mony in his favour, which shall be that of bishop Parker, who describes the last scene of his life thus :

“ There was a remarkable fight between Spragge and Tromp; “ for these having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out “ of hatred but a thirst of glory, they engaged with all the rage, “ or, as it were, with all the sport of war. They came so close to “ one another, that, like an army of foot, they fought at once “ with their guns and swords. Almost at every turn, both their “ ships, though not sunk, were yet bored through, their cannon “ being discharged within common gun-shot: neither did our “ ball fall in vain into the sea, but each ship pierced the other, as “ if they had fought with spears. But at length, three or four “ ships being shattered, as Spragge was passing in a long-boat “ from one ship to another, the boat was overturned by a chance “ shot, and that great man, not being skilled in swimming, was “ drowned, to the great grief of his generous enemy, who, after “ the death of Spragge, could hardly hope to find an enemy “ equal to himself. But thus it happened, that when that brave “ man had overcome so many dangers, his country being now “ victorious and safe, no honour remained for him to receive, “ but the reward of a glorious death<sup>c</sup>.”

We will take this opportunity of mentioning what became of the vessel which Sir Edward Spragge first quitted, and on board which he chose to hoist the blue flag. This was the *ROYAL PRINCE*, a first rate, of the burden of fourteen hundred tons, carrying one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and seven hundred and eighty men<sup>d</sup>. She was exceeding well built, in perfect good order, and allowed to be as fine a ship as any in either of the fleets. Before Sir Edward left her, all her masts were gone, most of her upper tire of guns were disabled, four hundred men killed, and in other respects very little better than a wreck. In this situation, a large Dutch man of war bore down upon her with two fire-ships, resolved to burn, sink, or take her. The first lieutenant, giving all for lost, ordered the colours to be struck,

<sup>c</sup> Bishop Parker's history of his own times, p. 157. The same prelate in another part of his history tells us, that Sir Edward Spragge was a person the love and delight of all men, as well for his noble courage, as the gentle sweetness of his temper, p. 126.

<sup>d</sup> Thus this vessel stands in the list of the royal navy, A. D. 1672.

and the men to shift for themselves; but the gunner, Mr. Richard Leake, a bold determined man, who had before given the strongest proofs of conduct and courage<sup>c</sup>, ordered the lieutenant to quit the deck, took the command himself, sunk the two fire-ships, forced the man of war to sheer off, and brought the ROYAL PRINCE, wreck as she was, safe into port<sup>f</sup>. This gentleman, who was father to the famous Sir John Leake, was, for these and other services, made keeper of the ordnance stores, and master-gunner of England<sup>g</sup>; a man, whose name lived long in the memories of seamen, and should live for ever, could my pen confer immortality<sup>h</sup>.

These were amongst the great men who carried the glory of the English arms so high, and who effectually supported the honour of the flag. If the reader misses the memoirs of some whose actions are mentioned in our history, it is because they belong to another place, in consequence of their having survived this reign, and that unfortunate one which succeeded it; but these are at least the principal heroes to whom were owing our distinguished victories, which raised our reputation so much, extended our commerce so far, and might have brought us much greater advantages, if our domestic divisions had not in some measure frustrated their labours, and defeated our expectations from those naval successes, which all of them hazarded, and many laid down their lives to purchase<sup>i</sup>. A memorable misfortune this! and which we ought never to forget, if we desire to avoid feeling the effects of so wretched a conduct, with a short explication of which, as a necessary comment on what has been already said, we shall conclude this chapter<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 560.  
true way of manning the fleet. London, 1707, 4to.

<sup>f</sup> The old and  
<sup>g</sup> Chamberlayne's

present state of England, 18th edition, p. 616.

<sup>h</sup> Actions like these do honour to our seamen, to the British nation, and add lustre to naval history.

<sup>i</sup> The administration, in the beginning of the king's reign, had so little confidence in the parliament, that they parted with Dunkirk, rather than ask for money to keep it. The parliament, toward the close of his reign, had so little confidence in the administration, that they forced him to blow up Tangier. The first Dutch war was made, by advice of parliament, against the sense of ministers; the second, at the persuasion of ministers, against the sense of parliament: from that time factions prevailed, the public debt began, and public confusion ensued.

<sup>k</sup> Compare Sir William Temple's memoirs, Coke's detection, Kennet's complete history, North's examen, and Dr. Welwood's memoirs.

The two Dutch wars were very disagreeable to a great part of the nation, through an apprehension of their consequences; and therefore the gallant exploits performed by our seamen, and the advantages gained by the last peace, which has secured us from any subsequent quarrels with that nation, were not, at least generally, looked upon in the light they deserved; but such as did their duty, and acted vigorously in their stations, were disliked, and treated as the servile creatures of a court, ready to attempt any thing for which they received orders <sup>l</sup>.

This was certainly very injurious usage, and such as must have contributed to sink the spirits of many. The true merit of a soldier, or seaman, certainly consists in executing vigorously the orders he receives; and things are carried too far, when we pretend to make them accountable for those orders; because, if this maxim should be once established, such consequences must inevitably flow from it, as would be far more detrimental to society, than the affording a certain measure of applause to such gallant actions as might be performed upon wrong principles <sup>m</sup>.

Of this I might give a flagrant instance, by referring to a certain history, where Sir Robert Holmes is severely censured for doing what a council of war directed; and some persons, who had been attainted by parliament, are justified, and commended for assisting the Dutch to invade this nation, and to destroy our ships at Chatham; which is a doctrine of a very dangerous nature, and directly contrary to that true public spirit which ought to influence all men, and all parties, to bear whatever may be required of them for their country's good, and to forbear avenging themselves upon her, whatever provocations, from their rulers, they may receive <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 307. North's examen, p. 51. Coke's detection of the four last reigns, p. ii. p. 39.

<sup>m</sup> This was the sentiment of Montague, Blake, and Ayscue; for which they were never censured.

<sup>n</sup> Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 531, 565. Bagnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 784. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 151, 152, 194—196. By comparing these passages, the reader will see, that the Dutch authors are far from writing with spleen, or resentment of these transactions: so different is party rage, from national attachment!



After having pointed out this error on one side, I shall, with equal freedom, lay open one, no less criminal, on the other: I mean the court's too great regard for France, which was highly detrimental to the trade of these nations; and had well nigh been the destruction of our navy. It is a monstrous thing to assert, and yet there are too strong proofs of this truth for us to avoid saying, that the administration in the latter part of king Charles's reign, from the time his notions had a wrong turn given them by the CABAL<sup>b</sup>, favoured too much the French schemes, for the advancement of their commerce, to the prejudice of ours; in doing which, they issued such orders to the officers of the navy, as made them justly obnoxious to parliament; though very able men in their stations, and thereby created such an alteration in the management of things, as added the ruin of our shipping, to the hurt done our trade: whereas, if the court had acted honestly, and the nation been of one mind, we might certainly have given law to Europe, and become, even then, the greatest maritime power the world ever saw<sup>c</sup>.

We lost, by these errors, those advantages at that time; and the sense of this omission ought to be of service to us now. The fleet, at the death of king Charles II. was recovering, indeed, but very slowly<sup>d</sup>. It is time to see how a prince, who took care of nothing else, prosecuted that work with diligence, and raised our navy to a better state than ever it was before.

<sup>b</sup> This appellation, which will everlastingly remain; was first fixed on that ministry by a pamphlet intitled, England's appeal from the private cabal at Whitehall to the great council of the nation. London, 1673. 4to, by Sir W. Coventry. (Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 793.) Coke, however, ascribes it to secretary Trevor.

<sup>c</sup> See Andrew Marvell's growth of Popery, with the lists of ships taken by French privateers, the reports from the committee of council, and the king's orders. See likewise the character of Sir Ellis Leighton, who was intrusted to solicit the restitution of those ships in France, as given by bishop Burnet, of his own knowledge, vol. i. p. 300, 356, 360. See also Sir Richard Bulstrode's memoirs.

<sup>d</sup> Secretary Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy, p. 23—22. Sir Peter Pett's future happy state of England, p. 186. Sir D. North's life, p. 173.

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L I V E S  
 OF THE  
 A D M I R A L S:  
 INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
 N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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## C H A P. XVII.

The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN, during the reign of King James II. containing an account of the methods made use of for restoring and improving the fleet; their success, and the king's disappointment in his endeavours to prevent an invasion from Holland.

**F**EW princes have struggled with greater difficulties, before they ascended their thrones, than king James II. and few ever sustained a greater load of trouble afterwards. He succeeded his brother the 6th of February, 1685, with the general acclamations of his subjects, who expected great things from a king who came to the throne with such advantages<sup>a</sup>. He was then turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and strengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in business; an able

<sup>a</sup> Echard's hist. of England, p. 1049. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 187, 189. Lond. Gaz. of February 6. N<sup>o</sup>. 2006.

economist: in fine, a prince who, if he had conducted public affairs with the same ease and dexterity which he shewed in the management of his private concerns, his reign must have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troublesome and unfortunate<sup>b</sup>.

It was his great foible, that he was constantly influenced by foreign councils, which is a thing the English nation cannot endure; and, indeed, it is impossible they should: for as our constitution differs from the constitution of all the states upon the continent, it is simply impracticable to govern us well, by any other system of politics than our own<sup>c</sup>. King James knew this well enough; and yet his fondness for the Popish religion, threw him into the arms of France, and engaged him, while a subject, to act as a tool; when a king, to rule as a viceroy to Lewis XIV. and this at a juncture, when, if he had been of the religion of his fathers, and had complied with the desires of his people, he might have given law to that haughty monarch, and been esteemed the deliverer of Europe<sup>d</sup>. His bigotry blinded him; some of his ministers abused his confidence; till, by a series of bad management, he made his affairs desperate, and lost the affections of his people, which soon lost him all.

Yet, as wrong as his conduct was, in almost every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs, deserves to be transmitted to posterity with just applause. He had long exercised the office of lord high-admiral, in the reign of his brother, and understood it thoroughly; he knew, too, the disorders which had crept into the whole economy of the fleet, in the six years immediately preceding his accession; and he was well acquainted, besides, with the difficulties the late king had found, in discovering and applying remedies to these mischiefs.

<sup>b</sup> Coke's detection of the four last reigns, book v. p. 7. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 189, 200. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 292, 293.

<sup>c</sup> Montesquieu de l'esprit des loix, liv. xi. chap. vi. liv. xix. chap. xxvii.

<sup>d</sup> S. Puffendorfi rerum Brandenburgicarum hist. lib. xviii. Echard's history of England, p. 1049. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 523.

As soon, therefore, as he was seated on the throne, he began to consider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only set right for the present, but also be put into such a settled course, as that they might not suddenly go wrong again<sup>c</sup>. With this view, he consulted Mr. Pepys, and some other considerable persons, on whose abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was necessary to be done, to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he first assigned a stated fund of four hundred thousand pounds a-year, payable quarterly out of the treasury, for the service of the navy; and then issued a special commission for settling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into such a method, as might need few or no alterations in succeeding times<sup>f</sup>.

This commission was the wisest act of his whole reign, and answered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be, expected from it. It was grounded, as to form, on a commission which had issued, for the same purpose, in the reign of his grandfather, of which we have taken notice more than once<sup>g</sup>. As the then commissioners of the navy were men of fair character, though they had been so unlucky in the management of their office, the king would not remove them, but caused their names to be inserted in this commission, which superseded their own, with the addition of a few old servants, though new commissioners, on whose skill and vigilance he depended. The old commissioners were, the lord viscount Falkland, Sir John Tippets, Sir Richard Haddock, Sir Phineas Pett, Sir John Narborough, Mr. Southerne, Sir Richard Beach, Sir John Godwin; the new ones, Sir Anthony Dean, Sir John Berry, Mr. Hewer, and Mr. St. Michael<sup>h</sup>. This commission was dated the 17th of April, 1686, and by it the commissioners were directed to inquire into, and remedy all the disorders that were then in the

<sup>c</sup> Chamberlayne's present state of England, xvith edit. p. ii. p. 176—181. where the reader may find a clear, as well as copious account, of the state of the navy at the king's accession.

<sup>f</sup> Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy, p. 31—41. containing his own succinct, candid, and perspicuous proposition to his majesty, on which this whole reformation was grounded. <sup>g</sup> See before, in this work, vol. i. p. 484.

<sup>h</sup> This was an unacceptable service to the new commissioners; but when they once were in, they acted vigorously.

navy, to restore it, in every respect, to good order, and from time to time to report the proceedings to his majesty and the privy-council, as they were particularly enjoined in that commission<sup>l</sup>.

The commissioners vested with these powers lost no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inspection into the state of the navy, inquired strictly into the causes of past miscarriages, with respect rather to things than men, and taking such measures for the immediate remedy of the mischiefs they discovered, that the old ships were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and amended; the yards properly supplied with the ablest workmen; all the store-houses filled with whatever was requisite, bought at the best hand, and, in all respects, the best in their kind; the estimates brought into proper order, and the whole economy of the navy reduced into so clear a method, that it was impossible any officer could be ignorant of, or mistaken in, his duty, the public service suffer in any of its various branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated, without an immediate discovery of the offender<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> The whole of this account is taken from Mr. Pepys's memoirs relating to the state of our royal navy of England; wherein he tells us, that the following qualifications were chiefly considered in the choice of the new commissioners, pursuant to a memorial addressed by him to the king, and which was drawn by his master's express directions, *viz.*

“ I. A practised knowledge in every part of the works and methods of your navy, both at the board, and in your yards. The not discerning of which, (and the others that follow), appears to have cost your royal brother and you, within the forementioned five years, above half a million. II. A general mastery in the business and accounts, though more particularly those incident to the affairs of your navy. III. Vigour of mind, joined with approved industry, zeal, and personal aptness for labour. IV. An entire resignation of themselves, and their whole time to this your service, without liability to avocation from other business or pleasure. V. Lastly, Such credit with your majesty for integrity and loyalty, as may (with the former conditions) lead both yourself, and my lord treasurer, to an entire confidence of having all done, that can be morally expected from them, in the advancement of your service, and the circumspect and orderly dispensing and improving of your treasure.”

<sup>k</sup> The regulations, in respect to naval affairs, when the king himself acted as admiral, assisted only by Mr. Pepys, as secretary, at five hundred pounds *per annum* salary, are allowed, by all seamen, to be as judicious and effectual, and at the same time as gentle, and as practicable, as can be desired.

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That all this might more fully and indisputably appear, (besides the reports directed by the commission being duly made), the commissioners engaged his majesty to visit, in person, the yards, docks, store-houses, &c. which, considering his perfect acquaintance with naval affairs, made it impossible he should be deceived; and then, having demonstrated the justice of their conduct, by leaving the navy much increased, in perfect order, and with sea-stores valued at four hundred thousand pounds, they laid down their posts, their commission being superseded with a just approbation of their conduct, by letters patent under the great seal, October 12, 1688. Thus, in little more than two years time, this great reform was made, all the officers of the navy in general paid, to a farthing, and a saving made to the public, of three hundred seven thousand five hundred and seventy pounds, nine shillings and fourpence; and this for the inconsiderable expence of six thousand pounds paid to the new commissioners<sup>1</sup>.

While this commission subsisted, the king issued new instructions to the officers commanding his ships of war: these are dated the 15th of July, 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public service, securing discipline, and preserving proper memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains, and superior officers, to deposite a perfect copy of their journals with the secretary of the admiralty. As many things in these regulations, might seem to bear hard upon commanders, and to deprive them of those emoluments which their predecessors had long enjoyed, his majesty was pleased to grant them very considerable favours; such as a settled allowance for their tables<sup>m</sup>, several advantages in respect to prizes, &c. and, in the close, graciously condescended to promise to take special notice of, and amply to reward, every instance of courage, care, or diligence, in any of his officers,  
upon

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the royal navy, p. 155. a small treatise little known, but, nevertheless, of inestimable value.

<sup>m</sup> The reader may form a proper conception of the importance of this regulation, by considering the following table; which shews the proportion maintained in this new allowance, so as to make it a just equivalent for the perquisites taken away by this instruction.



upon proper attestations deposited with the secretary of the admiralty<sup>a</sup>.

We need not wonder, that, in consequence of so unwearied an attention, the British fleet was in very good order when king James had the first notice of the prince of Orange's design; but we may be justly surpris'd at the strange management of maritime affairs from that time. A Squadron of ships was indeed immediately ordered to sea under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, then rear-admiral of England, who was perhaps the most improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the seamen, by the readiness he had shewn in bringing priests on board the fleet. His Squadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned; and when he complain'd of it, and desired to have soldiers at least sent on board, even this was very slowly complied with, considering the importance of the service<sup>o</sup>.

By his instructions he was to have remained in the Downs; but conceiving that to be a very improper station for the service he was expected to perform, after consulting with the captains in whom he could best confide, he certified as much to the court, and offer'd it as his and their opinion, that it would be better for the fleet to remain at the buoy of the gun-fleet, near Harwich. The king, as soon as he received this advice, sent for lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry, captain John Clements, the three elder brothers of the Trinity-house at Deptford, and Mr. Pepys, to whom he communicated Sir Roger Strickland's

Rate.	Present wages.		Present victualling.			A additional grant for his table.	
	l.	s.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.
1	273	15	12	3	4	250	0
2	219	00	12	3	4	200	0
3	182	00	12	3	4	166	5
4	136	10	12	3	4	124	5
5	109	10	12	3	4	100	0
6	91	00	12	3	4	83	0

<sup>a</sup> *Memoirs of the royal navy*, p. 124, 225. It were to be wish'd something of this nature could again take place.

<sup>o</sup> Hornby's caveat against the Whigs, p. ii. p. 50. where he tells us, that, on the first celebrating mass on board one of his majesty's ships, it occasion'd such an uproar and mutiny in the fleet, that it was as much as the officers could do, to prevent the sailors from sacrificing the priests to Neptune.

letter,

letter, and, in consequence of their joint advice, sent the admiral orders to sail out of the Downs with the first easterly wind, and place himself between the north Sand-head and the Kentish Knock, there to continue under sail in the day-time, and at anchor in the night, in order to observe the Dutch fleet, and to gain the best intelligence of them he could, in pursuance of the instructions which were then sent him<sup>p</sup>.

When the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was directed to retire to the buoy in the Nore, and lord Dartmouth was ordered to sea with such a reinforcement as made the whole fleet under his command consist of forty men of war, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire-ships. This fleet being at the gun-fleet, and ready in all respects to sail, a council of war was called, wherein Sir William Jennings, who commanded a third rate, proposed to put to sea, and stand over to the Dutch coasts, as the shortest and surest way to prevent an invasion. This proposition, however, was rejected by a great majority, and so it was resolved to continue there. The true ground of this, as Mr. Secretary Burchet<sup>q</sup> fairly tells us, was the secret resolution of the greatest part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in case he had come up with the Dutch fleet, from doing them much damage: and thus it appears how ineffectual fleets and armies are, when princes have lost the confidence of those who serve in, or command them.

It may not now be amiss to cast our eyes over to Holland, in order to consider the force preparing there for this invasion. His highness the prince of Orange had about his person abundance of English noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Pawlet, Elan, and Dumblain, admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, colonel Sidney, Mr. Ruffel, Sir Rowland Gwyn, major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harbord, Mr. Ferguson, and, besides the general officers of the states, the marshal Schomberg, count Charles, his son Mr. Caillemotte, younger son to the marquis of Rouvigni, and two or three hundred French refugees<sup>r</sup>. The fleet

<sup>p</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 411. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 527. Echard's history of England, p. 1112, 1120. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 280. <sup>q</sup> Naval history, p. 414. <sup>r</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. i. p. 762. Echard's history of England, p. 1116. Father Orleans's

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Orleans's

fleet that was to carry these consisted of about fifty sail, most of them third or fourth rates, and the transports were about five hundred. These, with twenty-five fire-ships, made up the whole navy: the land-forces embarked, were four thousand horse and dragoons, and ten thousand foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the captains of these vessels were Dutch, yet the chief command was given to admiral Herbert<sup>1</sup>, who very lately commanded the English fleet; and this with a view either to engage ships to come over, or at least to encourage the seamen to desert.

In order to do this more effectually, Herbert first addressed a letter to his countrymen in the sea service, and then stood with the Dutch fleet over to the Downs, in order to look at the English squadron, and try what effects his exhortations had produced<sup>2</sup>. At that time his success did not promise much; and, after a fortnight's cruising, he returned to the Dutch coasts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worse of his own, than when he sailed. But, for all this, his epistle did almost as much service as the force he commanded; for, though the desertion was inconsiderable, yet by degrees the sailors lost their spirits, and their officers began to cabal, and to consult, not how they should execute the orders they had received, but how they might best take their measures to secure the fleet.

On the 19th of October, 1688, the prince went on board, and the whole fleet sailed that night; but the next day, the wind turning north, and then settling in the north-west, it was found impossible to struggle with it, and therefore on the 21st the fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a storm<sup>3</sup>. On the first of November the fleet sailed again. The prince intended to have gone northwards, and to have landed his forces in the mouth of the Humber; but a strong east wind rendered this im-

Orleans's history of the revolutions in England under the family of the Stuarts, p. 310. <sup>1</sup> Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 409. Mercur's

historique et politique, tome v. p. 1236. See our memoirs of admiral Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington, in vol. iii. p. 298, 299. <sup>2</sup> An impartial

account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, London, 1691, 4to, p. 12, 13. where the admiral's letter is printed at large.

<sup>3</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 526. Life of king William, p. 134. Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 277, 280. The history of the desertion, or an account of all the public affairs in England from the beginning of September 1688 to the 12th of February following. By Edmund Bohun, Esq;

practicable, and seemed to direct them to a better course. His highness then sailed westward, the same wind which brought him to the English coast keeping in the king's ships, though they were come down so low as the gun-fleet. There in a foggy day they passed the English navy undiscerned, except a few transports which sailed in sight, while the English fleet rode with their yards and top-masts down, and could not, by reason of the extraordinary violence of the wind, purchase their anchors.

On the 4th of November at noon, it was resolved on board the Dutch fleet, that part of the ships should go into Dartmouth, and the rest into Torbay; but in the night the pilots overshot both, and then it was determined to go into Plymouth, which, if they had done, might have proved fatal; but the wind, suddenly turning from east to south, corrected the error of their pilots, and brought them safe into Torbay, where the army was immediately landed, and the prince made the necessary dispositions for drawing the country gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him<sup>w</sup>.

As soon as the wind would permit, the earl of Dartmouth, a gallant, loyal, and active officer, weighed with the English fleet, and stood to sea with a resolution to follow and fight the Dutch. Secretary Burchet and bishop Burnet seem to contradict each other in what they say on this subject. The secretary informs us, that lord Dartmouth came before Torbay with his fleet, and gave the Dutch an opportunity of seeing what his strength might have enabled him to do, if he had inclined to treat them as enemies<sup>x</sup>. The prelate on the contrary says, that lord Dartmouth assured him some time after, that, whatever stories the Dutch might have heard either of officers or seamen, he was confident they would have fought very heartily<sup>y</sup>.

This seeming contradiction may, however, be easily reconciled; for this disposition of fighting is to be referred to the time when the English first got to sea; and then, if they had come up with the Dutch fleet, it is very probable they had come to

<sup>w</sup> Echard's history of England, p. 1121. An impartial account of some remarkable passages, &c. p. 15. Memoirs of Sir John Kereby, p. 281. The history of the desertion, p. 59.

<sup>x</sup> Memoirs of transactions at sea during the war with France, beginning in 1688, and ending in 1697, by Josiah Burchet, Esq; London, 1703, 8vo, p. 19.

<sup>y</sup> History of his own times, vol. i. p. 789.

blows, and the business had been decided by a battle: but when the wind, turning to the south, carried the prince's fleet into Torbay, it forced the English fleet back, and, afterwards rising into a storm, ruffled them so much, that it was two or three days before lord Dartmouth came again before Torbay; and then it was that, as Mr. Burchet says, he shewed the Dutch a fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The seamen had time in this space to consider what they were doing, and such of the officers, as were well affected to the prince's design, had an opportunity of working upon them, and disposing things for his service; and thus that naval force, which the king had cultivated with so great care, and on which he depended so much, proved of little or no use, as well as his army: so difficult a thing it is to bring Englishmen to enslave England!

As to the conduct of the king after the arrival of the Dutch fleet, it was so unaccountable in itself, and so much has been said of it by other writers, that it is absolutely unnecessary for me to insist upon it<sup>2</sup>: I shall only observe, that it was very strange he paid so little attention to the fleet, since, if we except the care he took in sending away his family, it does not appear, that he issued any orders relating thereto; which will seem still the more extraordinary, if we consider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whose fidelity he could absolutely depend, but also an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the sailors. In all probability, he was deterred from taking any measures of this sort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the service of the royal navy rose on a sudden, and, without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out a regiment of regular troops quartered at Rochester and Chatham, and declared for the Protestant religion, and the prince of Orange.

It is also not improbable, that the king was discouraged from making any applications to the seamen, in whom he had formerly shewn much confidence, by the revolt of Guernsey and Jersey, where the people, and especially the sailors belonging to the vessels in their harbours, seized several Popish officers, who had

<sup>2</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. Echard, Sir John Reresby's memoirs. See likewise the memoirs of his grace John, duke of Buckinghamshire, vol. ii. p. 91.

been sent thither to discipline their militia, and on other pretences; and this upon the first news of the invasion here<sup>a</sup>. To say the truth, the sea-faring people all over the nation, but particularly in Bristol and London, declared unanimously and vehemently against his measures<sup>b</sup>, and did all in their power to prevent the most obnoxious of his ministers, such as chancellor Jefferies<sup>c</sup>, and father Petre, from making their escape; which can be attributed to nothing but the just sense they had of the iniquitous measures these people had pursued; for, as to themselves, they had no particular grievances.

But, what is still more strange, the king made no use of the French power at sea, though he was in the strictest alliance with that court. A French fleet, if fitted out at that juncture, might have made the Dutch more cautious, even while this invasion was under their deliberation, or if a French squadron had joined his own navy, as in his brother's time, when we were engaged in the last Dutch war, this must have had a great weight: for though, in the former case, the French squadrons, as we have shewn, never did any good, yet now the circumstances of things being altered, and the French king so nearly concerned in breaking a confederacy, which he knew to be forming against him, and of which this was the first apparent act, as well as in succouring so firm and so useful an ally, there is reason to believe his officers and seamen would have acted heartily and harmoniously<sup>d</sup>.

Besides, the French naval power (without our king's assistance) was now become quite another thing than it was in the Dutch war, since very lately they had fought the Dutch upon equal terms in the Mediterranean with honour, and consequently

<sup>a</sup> Falle's history of the island of Jersey, p. 125, 126.

<sup>b</sup> History of the

desertion, p. 84, 88. Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 295. Echard, p. 1130.

<sup>c</sup> Memoirs of John, duke of Buckinghamshire, vol. ii. p. 99. A complete history of the life of George lord Jefferies, London, 1689, 4to, p. 70.

<sup>d</sup> Quincy, hist. militaire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 141. There are two causes assigned for this conduct of the French: the first, that Barillon, the French ambassador here, assured his master it would cost a long and bloody civil war to de-throne king James; so that he might take his own time to relieve him: the second, that his minister M. de Louvois, led by his own interests, turned the arms of France against the house of Austria, which left the republic of Holland at full liberty to employ their fleet and forces in the service of the prince of Orange.



other pretence here. To say so, but particularly and vehemently to prevent the Earl of Jefferies, which can be attended with the iniquitous consequences, they

of no use of the strictest alliance at that juncture, while this in-land squadron had when we were we had a great French squadrons, the circumstances so nearly con- w to be forming apparent act, as y, there is reason acted heartily and

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were capable of fighting them elsewhere, as the states very well knew, and would have been unwilling to run any such hazard. But, above all, in so delicate a conjuncture, the appearance of a large French fleet would have compelled his own to fight, and in all probability would have raised again the spirits of the timid, and put suspected captains on exerting themselves to wipe away the imputations of their enemies. The engaging the Dutch on any terms, was that at which he ought chiefly to have aimed; for an action must have done him service, by rousing the spirits of his sailors, who would then have banished all diffidence, and considered nothing but the support of the English reputation. These obvious advantages he missed, either from a strong persuasion that his own force was more than sufficient to repel the invaders, or, as it is commonly reported, by the advice of the earl of Sunderland, who discouraged the having recourse to foreign assistance, from arguments drawn from the king and nation's safety; and so the king, when he wanted them most, had not either a fleet of his own or of his allies at his devotion; which if he had, it is not improbable he might have turned the tables again, and forced the Dutch off the coast.

The mistakes committed on this side were heightened in their appearance by the great caution and wise management on the other, as well as by the foreseen and unforeseen consequences of the whole transaction. The embarkation was made with ease; the passage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the descent in the fittest place in England for landing of horse; so that it was performed without difficulty as well as without danger. Bishop Burnet<sup>f</sup>, therefore, says truly, that these lines from Claudian were very happily applied to the prince of Orange's expedition;

*O nimum dilecte Deo! cui militat aether,  
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.*

“ Oh heav'n-protected chief! whom skies defend,  
“ And on whose call submissive winds attend.”

<sup>e</sup> Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 276, 280, 317. Echard's history of England, p. 1115. See the earl of Sunderland's letter to a friend in London, dated March 23, 1689. <sup>f</sup> History of his own times, vol. i. p. 790.

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In Holland they triumphed on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the states, and the most eminent news-writer they then had, made this observation on the success of the prince's enterprize, in his reflections on the history of Europe for November 1688: "The expence bestowed on the fleet and army, set out from Holland, is a sign they are morally assured of the success of the expedition, which I am apt to think has been a long time in agitation, though it was carried with that prudence and secrecy, as not to be discovered till it could be no longer concealed." When skill, industry, and zeal were visibly on the part of the prince, and weakness, irresolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king's measures, it was impossible things should continue long in dispute, or that his highness, who knew so well how to use all the advantages that were in his hands, should not prevail.

When lord Dartmouth saw the disposition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to serve his master, he wisely yielded to necessity; and, sailing once again into the Downs, and there holding a council of war, it was resolved first, to dismiss from their commands all such officers as were known to be Papists, or suspected so to be, and then to send up an address to his highness, setting forth their steady affection to the Protestant religion, and their sincere concern for the safety, freedom, and honour of their country. Not long after this the ships were dispersed, some to the dock-yards to be dismantled and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired, and such as were in the best condition for the sea were appointed for necessary services<sup>b</sup>.

These were all the exploits performed by the English navy during the reign of a prince, who, while a subject, had served and acquired a reputation at sea, who understood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this fleet was useless to him, yet it was of the highest advantage to the nation. If he had been less careful in this respect, if he had left the navy in a low condition, nay, if he had left it as he found it at his brother's decease, it would have been impossible

<sup>a</sup> Mercure historique et politique, tome v. p. 1246.  
moirs, p. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's me-

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for us to have withstood the naval power of France, which had been for several years growing, and about the time of the revolution, or a little before it, had attained to its greatest height!

As it was, the king left behind him as numerous, and in every respect as complete and well-furnished a navy, as England had ever seen; so that, when the French came out with such a strength as amazed all the world, it surpris'd indeed, but did not fright us; we were quickly in a condition to look them in the face: and the subsequent part of this work will shew, that notwithstanding the mighty change that had happened in a short time abroad, and the pains almost every where taken to create a naval force, yet we were as able to assert our sovereignty in our own seas, and to maintain the honour of our flag every where else, as in any preceding period.

I SHALL conclude this chapter by exhibiting to the reader's view an exact account of the fleet, and the condition in which it was left by king James, in order to prove what has been before asserted, and to prepare him for the history of those actions at sea, which followed in the next reign.

i Reflexions politiques sur les finances et sur le commerce, tome ii. p. 375. from which ingenious and esteemed book I have borrowed, for the reader's use,

An ABSTRACT of the state of the French Navy, A. D. 1681.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Mar. Officers.	Sallors.	Soldiers.
I.	12	1080	1232	4132	2486
II.	21	1518	1719	4470	2661
III.	36	1928	2350	6142	3008
IV.	26	1088	1167	2713	1570
V.	20	608	119	681	2790
Totals,	115	6222	7149	18,884	10,407
Small frigates,	24	400	446	937	497
Fire-ships,	8	74	80	160	...
Barks,	10	43	90	190	...
Pinks,	22	341	190	447	...
Totals,	179	7080	7955	20,618	10,904

An ABSTRACT of the List of the Royal Navy of England, upon the 18th of December, 1688, with the force of the whole.

Ships and Vessels.		Force.	
Rates.	Number.	Men.	Guns.
1	9	6705	878
2	11	7010	974
3	39	16,545	2640
4	41	9480	1908
5	2	260	60
6	6	420	90
Bombers,	3	120	34
Fire-ships,	26	905	218
Hoys,	6	22	00
Hulks,	8	50	00
Ketches,	3	115	24
Smacks,	5	18	00
Yachts,	14	353	104
Total,	173	42,003	6930

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 A D M I R A L S:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
 N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. XVIII.

The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN; under the reign of king William III. from the Revolution, to the peace of Ryfwick.

**T**HE crown was no sooner placed on the head of the prince of Orange, than he began to feel the weight of it, and experience all the cares that necessarily attend it: he had not so much leisure to taste in peace the first moments of royalty<sup>a</sup>; but found himself obliged to embark in a war, as soon as he was seated on the throne. A war in which all Europe was engaged, and engaged in point of interest; for the ambitious designs of Lewis XIV. were now so evident, that even the powers least inclined to action, saw themselves obliged to provide for their own safety, by entering into

<sup>a</sup> Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 345. Life of king William, p. 228: Kennet's hist. of England, vol. iii. Burnet, Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iii. p. 88.

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a confederacy for effectually opposing the encroachments of that aspiring prince.

The French king, on the other hand, instead of discovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began first, by falling upon the empire, and declaring war against Spain, at the same time that he provided for his ally, king James, whom he sent over into Ireland, with a considerable force, escorted by a fleet of thirty sail of men of war, and seven frigates<sup>b</sup>. On the 12th of March, 1688-9, that monarch landed at Kingsale, from whence he went to Corke. On the fourteenth landed M. de Lauzun with five thousand French auxiliaries, and king James sent over general M<sup>c</sup>Carthy, and as many Irish to France. The following is an exact list of the French fleet taken at the time, and which therefore seems very worthy of being here inserted :

LIST of the French fleet in Kingsale-Bay, March 12, 1689.

Commanders.	Ships Names.	Guns.	Men.
Lieut.-General le Marq. } de Antreville, }	L'	62	420
Chefs d'Escadres			
Le Chevalier de Flaiour,	Le Glorieux,	50	380
Le Marq. de Relinguefs,	Le Serieux,	60	370
Le Marq. de Nesmond,	Le Constant,	54	370
Captains.			
Les Sieurs			
D'Amblement,	Le Henry,	64	400
D'Hannualt,	Le Furieux,	60	250

<sup>b</sup> M. de Quincy histoire militaire du regne de Louis le grande, tome ii. p. 147, 148. Larrey, histoire de Louis XIV. tome ii. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 415. Sir John Reresby in his memoirs, p. 332. says, the French king on this occasion furnished king James with a squadron of fourteen men of war, six lesser frigates, and three fire-ships, all well manned and fitted; eight experienced field officers, one hundred of inferior note, a guard of one hundred Swiss, a corps of skilful pioneers, 15,000 of his own natural subjects, arms for 40,000 more, cannon and ammunition, in great abundance; 200,000*l.* in money, 50,000 pistoles as a present for that prince's private use, with plate, tents, and a most royal and splendid equipage, with an offer of 15,000 French troops, which king James declined accepting, saying, he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt.

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Commanders.	Ships names.	Guns.	Men.
De Septeme,	L'Ardent,	62	370
De Machard,	Le Bourbon,	62	370
De Belleisle,	Le Marquis,	56	330
De Belfontaine,	Le Prince,	58	350
De Reald,	Le Courageux,	60	350
De Mobrane,	L'Excellent,	60	350
De la Hattleloire,	Le Fort,	58	350
De Sepeville,	L'Entreprenant,	60	350
De Bidaw,	L'Aquillon,	58	330
De Chafeur,	Le Vermandois,	58	350
Du Palaife,	Le Bon,	54	300
De Gallifoniere,	Le Maure,	54	270
Colebert,	Le Sage,	50	300
D'Allis,	Le Francois,	46	250
De France,	Le Trident,	52	375
De Champigny,	Le Brave,	56	350
De Renault Huet,	Le Temeraire,	54	330
De Serguinge,	Le Diamant,	54	300
De Florin,	Le Neptune,	48	330
De St. Maure,	L'Arc en Ciel,	54	250
* * * * *	L'Arrogant,	58	250
De Genlis,	L'Imperfait,	44	250
De Chateau Morant,	Le St. Michael,	60	230
Baron des Ardefs,	Le Faulcon,	36	200
De Pontis,	La Courtizane,	64	370
Des Auguere,	Le Jolli,	36	200
Des Hainault,	Le Moderne,	50	300
De la Rougere,	Le Sans Pareil,	58	250
De la Guiche,	Le Palmier,	36	200
Baron,	L'Alcion,	36	200
Europin,	L'Opiniatre,	36	200

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Besides 4 Fire-ships,

6 Flotes,

3 Other ships of }

St. Louis, }

265 1710

Total of men and guns,

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It was upon this occasion, that the impolitic and inconsiderate management in the two last reigns, in respect to the correspondence held between our princes and the French king, manifestly appeared by the prodigious growth of his naval power. Under the administration of the great cardinal Richlieu, France was so weak in this respect, that this high-spirited minister was forced, in very pressing terms, to solicit assistance from the Swedes<sup>c</sup>; and even in this reign, the protector Cromwell had shewn the utmost contempt for the French power at sea. To speak the truth, it was our wars with the Dutch, in the reign of king Charles II. that, as the French themselves confess, gave them first an opportunity of learning, at the expence of the maritime powers, what it was to make a figure on an element with which before they were little acquainted. This knowledge they so far improved, by sometimes siding with the Dutch, and sometimes with us, that in the space of less than twenty years, they found themselves able to deal with either nation, and in 1676, actually beat the Dutch and the Spanish fleets in conjunction, in the Mediterranean, and killed the famous admiral de Ruyter<sup>d</sup>. At this time, they were grown so much stronger, that we shall see them, during a great part of this reign, endeavouring to dispute the empire of the sea against the joint forces of both the maritime powers: which is sufficient to shew, with how great disadvantage king William entered into the war, in this respect; since, while the enemy took all advantages of pouring supplies into Ireland, his affairs in England were so perplexed, that it was some time before he could provide so much as a force sufficient to cruize on the coast of that island.

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<sup>c</sup> As to this fact, we find it in the cardinal's letters, vol. ii. p. 144.

<sup>d</sup> The inquisitive reader may find a succinct view of the rise and progress of the French naval power, under the reign of Lewis XIV. in father Daniel's *histoire de la milice Francoise*, liv. xiv. chap. vii. But, to place this matter in the clearest light, and to give the English reader a competent idea of the French force at sea, as well as to enable him to judge for himself, (which none of our naval writers have done), of the comparative strength of English and French fleets and squadrons, I shall here give an exact abstract of the state of the French fleet, as it stood in 1681; and it was even in a better condition at the beginning of the war, and to this recourse may be had on all occasions.

At last, admiral Herbert, who commanded the English fleet, in the beginning of the month of April, 1689, sailed for Corke, with a squadron which consisted of no more than twelve ships of war, one fire-ship, two yachts, and two smacks. Here he received information, that king James had landed at Kingsale, about two months before. He then thought it proper to attempt cutting off the convoy that had attended him from France: with this view he sailed for Brest, and cruized off that port for some time; but hearing nothing of the French men of war from the advice-boats he daily received, and having increased his force to nineteen sail, (of which, however, one was but a small frigate), he again steered for the Irish coast, and towards the latter end of April appeared off Kingsale.

On the 29th of that month he discovered a fleet of forty-four sail, which he judged were going into Kingsale, and therefore did his utmost to prevent it. The next day he heard that the enemy were gone into Baltimore, but, upon coming thither, found that information to be false. The wind being then easterly, he stood for Cape Clear, and in the evening he saw them standing into Bantry bay. He lay off that place till morning, and about break of day resolved to attack the enemy. All our

## ABSTRACT of the FRENCH FLEET.

Rates.	Force.	Number.	Cannon.	Superior Officers.	Naval Officers.	Sailmen.	Soldiers.	Whole Crew.
1	120 to 70 guns,	12	1080	108	1232	4133	2486	7850
2	70 to 56	21	1518	189	1719	4470	2661	8850
3	56 to 40	36	1928	251	2350	6142	3008	11500
4	40 to 30	26	1088	156	1167	2713	1570	5450
5	28 to 18	20	608	119	681	1427	682	2790
Total,		179	6222	823	7149	18884	10407	36440
Light frigates, 20 to 16		24	400	125	446	937	497	1880
Bomb vessels and fire-ships,		8	74	16	80	160		240
Barks,		10	43	20	90	190		280
Flutes,		22	341	44	190	447		637
Total,		197	7080	1028	7955	20618	10904	39477

Exclusive of 30 galleys, on board which were above three thousand men.

c. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2447.

f Burchet's naval hist. p. 416. Life of king William, p. 231. An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 17. Columa rostrata, p. 254.

English

English writers of naval history agree, that the French fleet had some empty transports under their care, but the French writers, who should certainly best know what their fleet was doing, say positively, that they had only four merchant-ships laden with arms, bridles, saddles, powder, and ball, for the use of king James's army, and a considerable sum of money, which was on board the men of war. This they shipped, as soon as they perceived the English fleet, on board six fire-ships, and sent these, with the merchantmen before-mentioned; to land their supplies at a place in the bay seven leagues distant, while they engaged the English squadron, that at all events they might be safe<sup>g</sup>.

Authors vary not a little as to the strength of both fleets, which I take to be rather owing to partiality, than any real difficulty there was of coming at the fact. Mr. Burchet says, the English were but nineteen ships in all<sup>h</sup>. Bishop Kennet more truly reckons them twenty-two, wherein he agrees with all the French relations<sup>i</sup>. The enemy's fleet consisted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight, according to their own, of no more than twenty-four sail<sup>k</sup>. The English had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had so pleased; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral Herbert's temper: he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a close engagement; but the French saved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three divisions about ten in the morning on the first of May. The foremost division consisted of eight ships under the command of Mr. Gaberet; the second, of the like force, was commanded by admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which was also of eight ships, had for its commander Mr. Forant: the fight was pretty

<sup>g</sup> Hist. militaire, vol. ii. p. 149.

<sup>h</sup> See his naval history as above cited. My reason for saying what I do in the text, is my observing, that both the accounts may be very well reconciled; Burchet speaking only of the large ships, and the other writers of all in general, that were under admiral Herbert's command.

<sup>i</sup> See his complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 564, where he tells us, that the English fleet consisted of eight third rates, ten fourth, and two fifth, with two tenders.

<sup>k</sup> The marquis de Quincy informs us, that the French fleet consisted, exclusive of the vessels under their convoy, of fifteen third, and nine fourth rates; and in this all the French writers agree.

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warm for about two hours, but then slackened, because a great part of the English fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both sides till about five in the afternoon, admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to sea, because he found the dispute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could possibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But, about the hour before mentioned, the French fleet stood into the bay, which put an end to the fight. The English writers ascribe this either to want of courage, or to the admiral's being restrained by his orders; but the French inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ships under his convoy, and that, after they had entirely debarked the supply they had brought, he disposed every thing in order to put to sea the next morning, which he did<sup>l</sup>.

This is the battle in Bantry-bay, which, though inconsiderable enough in itself, (since the English, who had certainly the worst of it, lost only one captain, one lieutenant, and ninety-four men, and had not more than three hundred wounded), is yet magnified by some writers into a mighty action. The French had one ship called the Diamond set on fire, and two others so much damaged, as to be obliged to draw out of the line. The affair was certainly very inconsiderable, and any advantage that was gained was rather to be ascribed to a favourable wind, and superior force on one side, than to any want either of courage or conduct on the other<sup>m</sup>.

After the action admiral Herbert bore away for the Scilly islands, and, having cruized there for some time, returned to Spithead; upon which occasion king William went down in person to Portsmouth, where, to shew he would distinguish and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by success, he de-

<sup>l</sup> It must be acknowledged, that the French speak in too high terms of this trivial success: the fleet, says M. Quincy, was out but twelve days, in which short space they landed what they carried in Ireland, beat the English fleet, and made seven Dutch prizes. On the other hand, our authors are desirous of charging some mismanagement on the French admiral; whereas in truth he did his duty very exactly, and Quincy and the other French writers complain, that for want of the fire-ships he was unable to prosecute the advantages he had gained, which seems to be the fact.

<sup>m</sup> The reader may consult Kennet, Bur et, and Burchet, who have all given their opinions on this side the question.

clared admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted captain John Ashby of the *Defiance*; and captain Cloudesley Shovel of the *Edgar*, giving at the same time a bounty of ten shillings to each seaman, and making a provision for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of captain Ailmer, and for the rest of the widows of such as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by that prince, and was indeed an act of his own; flowing from the thorough knowledge he had of mankind; and the necessity there is of keeping up the spirits of seamen, if we expect they should perform great things. He said, when he read the account of the battle of Bantry bay, that such actions were necessary at the beginning of a war, though they would be rash in the course of it; which shews his great penetration, and accounts for his creating admiral Herbert a peer, after an affair in which he had certainly no advantage<sup>a</sup>.

The fleet being at length refitted, the admiral sailed with it for Torbay, in the middle of June, where he was afterwards joined by a Dutch fleet, and by vice-admiral Killegrew's squadron, which had been cruizing before Dunkirk: This combined fleet stood over to the coast of France, and continued cruizing there, and in the soundings, till towards the latter end of August; and being then in great want of beer, and there being not the least appearance of the French putting to sea, they returned to Torbay, where soon after the fleet separated, the larger ships which wanted repair being ordered into port; and the rest distributed into several squadrons for different services<sup>o</sup>. Before we speak more particularly of these, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by some other squadrons; which had been detached earlier in the year.

<sup>a</sup> Kennet's history of England; vol. iii. p. 564. Life of King William; p. 232. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. i. p. 364. An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 20; 21.

<sup>o</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 417. Bishop Burnet complains, that this year there was nothing considerable done at sea, and according to his manner insinuates I know not what of treason, or treachery, or something very black in it. But the truth seems to be, the funds were late settled, and the government itself but half settled, which occasioned the fleets being ill manned, poorly victualled, and worse paid.

When



When king James landed in Ireland, his affairs had certainly a very promising aspect on that side<sup>p</sup>. He brought with him a very considerable supply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men complete. There were but two places in the north which held out against him, *viz.* Londonderry and Inniskilling. Of these he determined to make himself master, and might easily have done it, if he had been well advised; but, as bishop Burnet justly observes, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils<sup>q</sup>. He resolved to begin with Londonderry, in respect to which two proposals were made him; the first was, to attack the place vigorously, and take it as soon as possible by storm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in such a manner as might best suit his interest, till this place should, by dint of famine, be compelled to surrender. Either of these methods might have succeeded, but king James declined these, and made choice of a third, which was to take the place by a slow siege, in order to inure his Irish army to fatigues, and to render them, by this kind of discipline, more fit for service. This resolution of his gave sufficient time for an application to the government in England; and upon this, two regiments of foot, under the command of colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards, with some supplies, were sent thither: they arrived on the 15th of April in the Lough; but colonel Lundy, who was governor of the town, being, as it was commonly believed, in king James's interest, persuaded those gentlemen, that it was impracticable to defend the place, and that therefore the best thing they could do was to return and preserve his majesty's troops; which they accordingly did. The townsmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble defence, which gained time for another application to England<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Sir John Reresby's memoirs. History of the wars in Ireland, 1690, 12 mo. th. 2. Father Orleans's history of the revolutions in England under the family of the Stuarts, p. 324. Kenner's history of England, vol. iii. p. 575, 576. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 16. <sup>q</sup> History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 19.

<sup>r</sup> Dr. Walker, who was governor of Londonderry, published an exact account of the siege under the title of "A true account of the siege of Londonderry, London, 4to, 1690, 59 pages." Afterwards he wrote a vindication of this account, and from these, Burnet's history, and the detail I have had from living witnesses, I report these facts.

During this space, commodore Rooke, who had been sent with a squadron in the month of May to the coast of Ireland, performed all that could be expected from him there, by keeping king James and his army from having any intercourse with the Scots; and on the 8th of June he sailed in with the Bonaventure, Swallow, Dartmouth, and a fleet of transport-ships, under the command of major-general Kirke, who was come with this force to relieve Londonderry. The commodore concurred with him, as it was his duty, very cheerfully in carrying on this service. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy to prevent their relieving the place, they found they had laid a boom across the river, composed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being strong redoubts at each end, well provided with cannon. Upon a view of this, general Kirke resolved to make himself master of the Inch, an island in Lough Swilly, in which the commodore assisted him so effectually, that on the 16th he was in full possession not only of that island, but of the pass to the main; and, having performed this service, he returned to his station<sup>s</sup>.

He continued there till the 22d, on which day he received, by the Portland man of war, a letter from the general, wherein he informed him, that, being satisfied the place was reduced to the last extremity, he was determined to attempt its relief at any rate. The commodore upon this left the Bonaventure and Portland on his station, and, with the Deptford and Dartmouth, sailed to the assistance of the major-general. He sent the Dartmouth, commanded by captain, afterwards Sir John Leake, up to Kilmore to receive his orders, and then returned to the Bonaventure and Portland, with intention to continue there till the arrival of the three ships he expected from the earl of Torrington. With this assistance major-general Kirke, having properly disposed the men of war, on the 30th of July sent the Mountjoy of Derry, captain Browning, and the Phoenix of Colrain, captain Douglas, both deeply laden with provisions, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The Irish army made a prodigious fire upon these ships as they passed, which was very briskly returned, till the Mountjoy struck

<sup>s</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 418. Columna-rostrata, p. 155. Kennet's hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 579.

against the boom, and broke it, and was by the rebound run ashore; upon this the Irish gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon, and with their boats attempted to board her. But the sailors firing a broadside, the shock loosened her so, that they floated again, and passed the boom, as did the Phoenix also, under cover of the Dartmouth's fire. This seasonable supply saved the remains of that brave garrison, which, after a hundred and five days close siege, and, being reduced from seven thousand five hundred to four thousand three hundred, had subsistence for only two days left, the enemy raising the siege on the last of July<sup>t</sup>.

Commodore Rooke on the 13th of August escorted the duke of Schomberg's forces, consisting of upwards of ten thousand men, horse and foot, embarked in ninety vessels of several sorts, and landed them safe in Groom's bay near Carrickfergus, whether he brought the remainder of the army and the artillery, and then continued with the general, till he had taken the town, and had not any farther occasion for his assistance. He stationed afterwards as many ships and yachts of his squadron as he thought requisite for maintaining the correspondence between England and Ireland, and preventing any attempt that might be made by French or Scots privateers. He sailed next with those few ships that were remaining to Dublin, where he insulted the city by manning his boats, and making a shew of landing; and on the 18th of September he actually endeavoured to burn all the vessels that were in the harbour, and had certainly performed it, if the wind had not veered about, and blew a fresh gale, as the yachts and ketches were going in, which obliged him to abandon his design, and to put to sea. King James was at this

<sup>t</sup> Dr. Walker's account, p. 33. which agrees exactly with the French relation of the siege by Quincy, hist. milit. vol. ii. p. 232. Bishop Burnet accuses (though without reason) major general Kirke for not relieving them sooner. Indeed there is no escaping this prelate's resentment; for, if an officer miscarries, it is through his own ill conduct; and, if he succeeds, he might have done it sooner, had he been hearty. The truth is, the general thought the business impracticable, but was determined to make some attempt, when he understood the besieged fatted their dogs on the bodies of the slain Irish, and then killed and eat those animals themselves. History of the wars in Ireland, ch. 3. Father Orlean's history of the revolutions in England under the family of the Stuarts, p. 325.

time in the place, and, which is still more, was also an eye-witness of this bold attempt.

From the bay of Dublin commodore Rooke sailed to Corke, where he attempted likewise going into the harbour, but was prevented by the brisk fire the enemy made from their batteries, on which were mounted seventeen or eighteen pieces of cannon. He took possession, however, of the great island, and might have done farther services, if his ships had not by this time grown foul, and his provisions low; which forced him to quit his station, and repair to the Downs, where he arrived on the 13th of October, after having given by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earnest of the great things which he afterwards performed when Sir George Rooke, and admiral and commander in chief of the British fleet<sup>u</sup>.

As to the remaining naval transactions of this year, they were not either many or great; and therefore I shall only mention the taking of two celebrated sea-officers in the French service, viz. the gallant chevalier Fourbin, and the famous John du Bart. They commanded two small frigates, and had under their convoy six rich merchantmen, homeward-bound. Near the Isle of Wight they were chased by two of our fifty-gun ships, which they engaged very bravely, though they saw that it was a thing impossible for them to avoid being taken. All they aimed at was to give their merchantmen time to escape, in which they succeeded; for, while they fought desperately, the vessels under their convoy got safe into Rochelle. As for the chevalier Fourbin and captain Bart, they were carried prisoners into Plymouth, from whence they not long after found means to escape, and got safely over to Calais<sup>w</sup>. For this generous action the French king rewarded each of them with the command of a man of war: but our writers of naval history have been so careless, that I cannot find with any certainty who the captains were that took them. We have indeed a much more particular relation of this affair in Fourbin's memoirs, wherein it is said they had twenty merchantmen under their convoy; that they fought two long hours, and that one of the English captains was killed in the

<sup>u</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 419.—421. Kenner's history of England, vol. iii. p. 586. History of the reduction of Iceland, p. 39. <sup>w</sup> Hist. militaire, tome ii. p. 232.

engagement; but I think the relation, as I have given it, is more to be depended upon, as it comes from an unbiassed, and at the same time a very accurate historian<sup>x</sup>.

In the sessions of parliament, in the winter of 1689, there were many and loud complaints made of the conduct of affairs at sea, which bore hard on the new commission of admiralty, composed of the earl of Torrington, the earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir John Chichely, Sir John Lowther, and Mr. Sacheverel, who, in defence of their own characters, laid open the miscarriages in the victualling-office, which produced a parliamentary inquiry into that affair, and a resolution of the house of commons, "That Sir John Parsons, Sir Richard Haddock, admiral Stuart, and Mr. Nicholas Fenn, victuallers of the fleet, should be sent for, in the custody of the serjeant at arms, to answer to the said complaint." But, notwithstanding that an exact scrutiny into that affair produced a full discovery of great mischiefs occasioned by the bad victualling of the fleet, yet the spirit raised against the administration grew so strong, that it was thought necessary for the earl of Torrington to resign his office of first commissioner, in order to allay it; and he was succeeded therein by Thomas earl of Pembroke, which, from that nobleman's popularity, answered the end effectually, and gave the nation great satisfaction<sup>y</sup>.

I shall open the naval transactions of 1690, with an account of admiral Ruffel's sailing into the Mediterranean, though this is, generally speaking, accounted a transaction of the former year; but my reason for placing it here, is the fleet's not putting to sea till the spring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholic majesty, Charles II. having espoused a princess of the house of Neubourg, sister to the reigning empress, and to the queen of Portugal, demanded an English fleet to conduct her safely to his dominions, which was readily

<sup>x</sup> The memoirs which pass under the name of count Fourbin abound with such exaggerated relations, that I own I suspect their credit. As to the work of the marquis de Quincy, it is one of the best in its kind, written with care and exactness from good authorities; and for this reason the authors of modern memoirs, such as those of marshal Villars, the duke of Berwick, and M. de Gué Trouin, transcribe it continually. See the *Mercure historique et politique*, tome vi. p. 592, 600. tome vii. p. 728.

<sup>y</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 582, 585. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 5. Life of king William, p. 258.

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granted; and indeed such a compliment never had been refused even to states in war with us, because it was always taken as a tacit confession of our dominion at sea; which might, methinks, have secured it from bishop Burnet's censure<sup>z</sup>. On the twenty-fourth of November, admiral Ruffel sailed with seven large men of war, and two yachts, to Flushing, in order to receive her catholic majesty, and her attendants; and had orders, as soon as the queen came on board, to hoist the union flag at the main-top-mast head, and to wear it there as long as her majesty was on board. On the eighteenth of January, 1690, she arrived in the Downs; on the twenty-fourth, she came to St. Helen's, whither their majesties, king William and queen Mary, sent the duke of Norfolk to compliment her, as did their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Denmark, the lord Cornbury, and colonel Berkley<sup>a</sup>. The admiral had orders to put to sea with the first fair wind, and was instructed to block up the harbour of Toulon, in order to prevent the French squadron there from coming out; and he endeavoured it on the beginning of February, and again towards the end of the month, but was forced back to Torbay on the twenty-third. Thence he sailed again in a few days, but was driven back on the second of March. At last he sailed with a pretty fair wind, on the seventh of that month, with a stout squadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchant-men, bound for the Streights; and, after a very tempestuous passage, landed her catholic majesty on the sixteenth, at the Groyne; from whence he sailed to execute his other commission, but was forced by contrary winds into the harbour of Ferrol, where the Duke, a second rate man of war, in a brisk gale of wind, ran ashore, and was with great difficulty got off. The admiral having executed his commission, and having left

<sup>z</sup> History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. The propriety of this piece of complaisance will more clearly appear, if we reflect, that it obliged the house of Austria, was a proper return for the assistance given king William by that queen's relations, and was besides (as things were then circumstanced, which ought ever to be considered) a necessary and important service rendered to the grand alliance.

<sup>a</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 35. Life of king William, p. 261. Mercure hist. et politique, tome viii. p. 209, 413.



vice-admiral Killebrew, with the Mediterranean squadron, behind him, bore away with the first fair wind for England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 28th of April, where he landed several persons of quality who had attended her catholic majesty in her voyage<sup>b</sup>.

The reader will easily discern, from this account of the matter, that admiral Ruffel performed as much as the roughness of the season, and other circumstances considered, could be expected from him. Bishop Burnet, however, suggests, that if it had not been for the care he was obliged to take of the queen of Spain, he might have blocked up the Toulon squadron in port, and thereby prevented the misfortunes that afterwards happened to our grand fleet<sup>c</sup>; but I doubt, if we examine this to the bottom, it will be found a mere conjecture, and that, too, not very well founded. We have before observed, with how great difficulty admiral Ruffel got with his fleet out to sea, and how late it was in the year. We have likewise mentioned the great fleet of merchant-men under his convoy; and taking these circumstances together, we may easily discern the reason of the Toulon squadron's coming out, which was in the beginning of the month of May, without placing any thing to the account of the compliment paid to the queen of Spain, which, as I before observed, was a thing equally for the honour and interest of Britain; and the consciousness of this was what induced me to enter thus far into the justification of vice-admiral Ruffel's conduct.

Vice-admiral Killebrew arrived at Cadiz on the eight of April, where having, according to his instructions, taken all possible care of the trade, and having been joined by two Dutch men of war, the Guelderland and Zurickzee, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the Toulon squadron. In this, however, he met with no small difficulty, by reason of the stormy weather, which injured several ships of his squadron extremely, and the two Dutch ships one of seventy-two, and the other of sixty-two guns, after losing all their masts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's naval hist. p. 421, 422. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. i. p. 139.

<sup>c</sup> Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. *ubi supra*.

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these unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was wasted; and so much the more through the coldness and inactivity of the governor of Cadiz, who, for his negligence in this respect, was justly suspected of being in the French interest. Before things, through these disadvantages, could be brought into perfect order, the vice-admiral, on the ninth of May, received three different accounts of the Toulon squadron's being at sea. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that pursuant to his instructions, he should immediately put to sea, in order to go in search of it. On the tenth of May, about four in the morning, he sailed accordingly, with nine English, and two Dutch ships, and arrived the next day in the mouth of the Streights, where he was joined by captain Shelton, and his detachment, from the bay of Gibraltar, and at the same time received intelligence, that the French fleet was in the bay of Tetuan: thither he sailed in quest of them; his fleet consisting now of one second rate, three third rates, six fourth rates, two fifth rates, in all, twelve men of war, and two fire-ships, besides five Dutch men of war. On his arrival in Tetuan-bay, he found only two ships, one at anchor, and the other under sail; the latter put out Algerine colours, and escaped; but the former, being embayed, was taken by the Dutch vice-admiral Allemonde, and proved to be a French ship bound for the West Indies <sup>d</sup>.

The wind shifting, the admiral stood over again towards the Spanish coast, and being two leagues W. N. W. off Ceuta point, the man at the mast-head saw ten ships to the north, with their heads lying eastwards. Upon this, advice was given to the Dutch admiral, and the Montague was sent a-head to discover the enemy's motions; the fleet still continuing to stretch over to Gibraltar. About one o'clock they were within two miles of the French squadron, which appeared to be on the run, and therefore our ships set their top-gallant-sails, and crowded after them; but to little purpose, for the French being all clean ships, just come out of port, (whereas some of ours had been seventeen months off the ground), it is no wonder they got clear of them. The chase was continued till the

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 37.

next day, when the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the Dutch and one of the English ships as much a-stern, insomuch, that the admiral had with him no more than four ships, which induced him to give over the chace; yet, between nine and ten in the morning, the Richmond and the Tyger forced one of the merchant-ships on shore to the westward of Tariffa. About three in the afternoon; the whole fleet joined, and the admiral bore away for Cadiz<sup>e</sup>.

The French writers have done their best to give this retreat the air of a victory: one of them tells us, that Mr. Chatteau-Renault, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, ordered all the merchant-ships under his convoy, to sail before, while he remained with his squadron of eight men of war between them and the English; and that after this, perceiving one of the vessels, which was a very bad sailer, had fallen behind, he lay by till she passed him, and then, perceiving the English squadron did not incline to engage, he continued his course<sup>f</sup>. But father Daniel, who piques himself so much upon his veracity, carries the thing still farther; he says, that, on the twentieth of May, N. S. the French admiral, with seven ships under his command, discovered near the Streights of Gibraltar a squadron of twenty-three English and Dutch men of war. He immediately prepared for battle, and sailed towards them. This boldness of his surpris'd them so much, that they had not courage to attack him; and the count, after waiting for two of his ships that were heavy sailers, and for some merchantmen that were willing to secure themselves under his convoy, continued his route towards Brest, without the least opposition<sup>g</sup>. There is something so very improbable, not to say extravagant, in this story, that there wanted nothing but the historian's reflection to render it perfectly ridiculous. He concludes this tedious detail with observing, "that the very enemy themselves could not but admire the ability and intrepidity of the count de Chatteau-Renault." Such flourishes are so natural to these authors, that, after a very few instances, I shall content myself

<sup>e</sup> Mercure historique et politique, tome ix. p. 53, 60, 61. Burchet's naval hist. p. 424.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. militaire, tome ii. p. 319.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. de France, tome x. p. 155.

with a bare relation of them, and leave their credit to the candid consideration of every impartial reader.

It was the 21st of May before vice-admiral Killgrew could reach the port of Cadiz, where, having made the necessary detachments for the safe convoy of our homeward-bound merchantmen, he, in pursuance of his instructions, set sail for England, and in thirty-five days arrived at Plymouth with one second and four third rates of ours, six Dutch men of war, the *Half-Moon*, and *Virgin* prize. On his arrival at Plymouth, he received letters from the lords of the admiralty, informing him, that the French, after an engagement, had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about Rye, Dover, and those parts, and therefore he was to take all imaginable care of his squadron. Upon this he called a council of war, at which were present the Dutch admirals Allemonde and Evertzen, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, then just returned from the Irish coast. Upon mature deliberation, they determined it was safest to proceed with the ships into Hamoze within Plymouth-sound; for, as they were large ships, they could not run in at low water, and as they were in want of water, provisions, and sea-flores, it was impossible for them to put to sea; so that this was the only way left to be secure from any attempts of the French <sup>h</sup>.

The French had been very industrious this year in sending a large fleet to sea, and that early in the season; for on the 1st or 2d of March they embarked a great supply for Ireland under the convoy of a squadron of thirty-six men of war, which sailed on the 7th of the same month, attended by four fire-ships and five flutes, and were afterwards joined by another squadron from Provence, with several transports; so that in all they convoyed over six thousand men, besides ammunition and money. Part of these they landed on the 11th at Kingsale, and the rest on the 13th in the bay of Corke. On the 8th of April they left the coasts of that island, in order to return into the road of Brest, which they did safely on the 23d, and then prepared to join

<sup>h</sup> Burchet's memoirs, and naval history, as before cited.

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their grand fleet, which had orders to assemble under the command of the count de Tourville <sup>1</sup>.

While the French were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent on sending over a royal army, to be commanded by king William in person to Ireland. This great design was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his majesty left London to march toward the coast, where he embarked his forces on board two hundred eighty-eight transports on the 11th, and, escorted by a squadron of six men of war under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed for Carrickfergus, where he safely arrived on the 14th of the same month, and soon after dismissed rear-admiral Shovel, with the Plymouth squadron, with orders to join the grand fleet, which, as we have before shewn, he could not do, till it was too late <sup>2</sup>.

There was nothing better understood in England than the absolute necessity of assembling early in the year a strong fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the French, after their small advantage in Bantry-bay, had given out, that they would the next summer insult the joint fleets of the English and Dutch. What was still more, the nation's safety

<sup>1</sup> Hist. militaire, tome II. p. 315, 316, 317. One may justly wonder how the French could be able to fit out not only a greater fleet than we, but with greater expedition too. In order to account for this, I shall offer to the reader's consideration some matters of fact, set down by captain George St. Lo, who was at this time a prisoner in France, and saw this very armament made. "When I was first brought prisoner thither," says he, "I lay four months in an hospital at Brest for cure of my wounds, and was sent to Nantz, before half cured. While I was at Brest, I was astonished at the expedition used in manning and fitting out their ships, which till then I thought could be done no where sooner than in England, where we have ten times the shipping, and consequently ten times more seamen than they have in France; but there I saw twenty sail of ships of about sixty guns each, got ready in twenty days time: they were brought in, and the men discharged; and, upon an order from Paris, they were carcened, keeled up, rigged, victualled, manned, and out again in the said time, with the greatest ease imaginable. I likewise saw a ship of one hundred guns had all her guns taken out there in four or five hours time, which I never saw done in England in twenty-four hours, and this with greater ease, and less hazard, than here, which I saw under the hospital-window; and this I am sure I could do as easily in England." England's safety; or a bridle to the French king. London, 4to, 1693, p. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's complete history, vol. i. p. 598. Life of king William, p. 267. Burchet's memoirs, p. 58. History of the wars in Ireland, ch. xi. p. 109. Mercure historique et politique, tome ix. p. 74.

depended on this measure no less, since the king and the greatest part of his forces were abroad: scarce seven thousand regular troops left in England; and such as were in the interest of king James almost every where in motion, and waiting in all appearance for nothing, but the sight of a French fleet on the coast, to take up arms, and declare against the government.

Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very slow, for which various, and some scarce credible causes are assigned. It was given out, that the greatest part of the fleet was disaffected; and, to wipe off this suggestion, it was thought necessary that an address should be sent up from the Downs, which was accordingly done<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch sent their fleet to sea, and the English, knowing that nothing of consequence could be done till after their junction, were the less solicitous about putting themselves in order, till they heard of their being at sea<sup>m</sup>.

The conduct of the French in the mean time was of quite another kind; for, while the squadron before-mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of sixty sail at Brest, which was to put to sea by the end of May: this they actually did, and, though they were forced by contrary winds to put back again to that road, yet on the 12th of June they put to sea in three squadrons, each squadron being divided into three divisions. Of these the white and blue squadrons, commanded by count d'Estrees on board the *Le Grande*, a ship of eighty-six guns, formed the vanguard, consisting of twenty-six men of war. The main body was composed of the white squadron, commanded by the admiral count Tourville in the *Royal Sun*, a ship of one hundred guns; this squadron consisted likewise of twenty-six sail; the blue squadron made the rear guard, commanded by Mr. d'Amfreville in the *Magnificent*, a ship of eighty guns, and in this squadron there were but twenty-five sail. In all there were seventy-eight men of war, twenty-two fire-ships, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thousand seven hundred pieces of cannon. On the 13th of June they steered

<sup>1</sup> See the address in Kennet's complete history, vol. iii. p. 602. <sup>m</sup> Burchet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. Burchet and other writers. An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 23.



for the English coast, and on the 20th found themselves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took some English fishing-boats, and, after having paid the people who were on board for their fish, he set them at liberty again; and these were the men (such was our supineness!) that first brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coast<sup>a</sup>; while ours was lying idle, and scarce in a condition to put to sea, as bishop Burnet very justly observes<sup>b</sup>.

Our admiral, the earl of Torrington, was at St. Helen's when he received this news, which must have surpris'd him very much, since he was so far from expecting any advice of this kind, that he had no scouts to the westward<sup>c</sup>. He put to sea, however, with such ships as he had, and stood to the south-east on Midsummer day, leaving his orders, that all the English and Dutch ships which could have notice should follow him. This shews how much he was confus'd, and how little notion he had of a speedy engagement; and indeed it was impossible he should have fram'd any proper scheme of action, when he had no certain account of the strength of the French. In the evening he was join'd by several ships, and the next morning he found himself within sight of the enemy. The French land'd, and made some prisoners on shore, and by them sent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of king James, and serv'd now as third captain on board the Admiral, promising pardon to all such captains, as would now adhere to that prince<sup>d</sup>. The next day our admiral received another reinforcement of seven Dutch men of war under the command of admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for several days<sup>e</sup>. It is certain that the earl of Torrington did not think himself strong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the rest of the admirals, *viz.*

<sup>a</sup> M. de Quincy hist. militaire, tome ii. p. 318, 319. Reincourt, tome iii. p. 276. Mercure historique et politique, tome ix. p. 80. <sup>b</sup> History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. <sup>c</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 602. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. Life of king William, p. 274.

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 46. See likewise a pamphlet published about that time, intitled, The late plot on the fleet detect'd, with the Jacobites memorial, &c. London, 1690, 4to. <sup>e</sup> An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 24. Life of king William, p. 274.

Ralph Delaval, Esq; vice-admiral of the red, Edward Ruffel, Esq; admiral of the blue, Sir John Ashby, vice-admiral of the same squadron, and George Rooke, Esq; rear-admiral of the red, were of the like opinion<sup>s</sup>. Besides, he waited for Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth squadron and some other ships<sup>t</sup>.

His whole strength consisted of about thirty-four men of war of several sizes, and the three Dutch admirals had under their command twenty-two large ships. We need not wonder therefore, that, seeing himself out-numbered by above twenty sail, he was not willing to risk his own honour and the nation's safety upon such unequal terms. But the queen who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection, and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coast, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the privy council, sent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw<sup>u</sup>. In obedience to this order, as soon as it was light, on the 30th of June the admiral threw out the signal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under sail, by a wind with their heads to the northward<sup>v</sup>.

The signal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head-sails to their masts, in order to ly by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch squadron, which made

<sup>s</sup> Naval history, p. 634.

<sup>t</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 44.

<sup>u</sup> Bishop Kennet in his complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 606. entertains us with a succinct account of this Jacobite plot, which it is necessary to transcribe, that the reader may have some conception of those reasons that induced the queen and her council to send the admiral these positive orders to fight. "It was agreed," says he, "that while part of the French fleet should bear up the Thames, the Jacobites in London, who were grown very bold and numerous by the flocking of that party from all parts of the country thither, should have made an insurrection, and have seized the queen and her chief ministers. Then certain persons were to have taken upon them the administration of affairs till the return of king James, who was to leave the command of his army to his generals, and hasten with all speed into England; the other part of the French fleet, having joined their galleys, was to have landed eight thousand men at Torbay, with arms for a greater number. After which the galleys and men of war were to sail into the Irish sea to hinder the return of king William and his forces, and the discontented Scots were to have revolted at the same time in several parts of that kingdom."

<sup>v</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 36. Naval hist. p. 426. Columna postrata, p. 256.

the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into some disorder. About half an hour after, our blue squadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red commanded by the earl of Torrington in person, which made the centre of our fleet, could not come up till about ten; and this occasioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French making use of this advantage weathered, and of course surrounded the latter, who defended themselves very gallantly, though they suffered extremely from so unequal a dispute. The admiral, seeing their distress, endeavoured to relieve them; and while they dropt their anchors, (the only method they had left to preserve themselves), he drove with his own ship and several others between them and the enemy, and in that situation anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but discerning how much the Dutch had suffered, and how little probability their was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood <sup>x</sup>.

The next day it was resolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to preserve the fleet by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement by endeavouring to protect them. This resolution was executed with as much success as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals; for, by not anchoring when the English did, they were driven to a great distance, and by continuing to chace in a line of battle, instead of leaving every ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first mistake<sup>y</sup>. But, notwithstanding all this, they pressed on their pursuit as far as Rye-bay, and forcing one of our men of war of seventy guns, called the Anne, which had

<sup>x</sup> These particulars are taken from a very authentic pamphlet, the title of which runs thus: "The account given by Sir John Ashby vice-admiral, and rear-admiral Rooke, to the lords commissioners of the engagement at sea between the English, Dutch, and French fleets, June the 30th, 1690. With a journal of the fleet since their departure from St. Helen's to their return to the Buoy in the Nore, and other material passages relating to the said engagement." London, printed for Randal Taylor, 1691, 4to, p. 31.

<sup>y</sup> Bouchet's memoirs p. 47. Naval history, p. 427. The fact is likewise acknowledged by M. de Quincy and other French writers.

lost all her masts, on shore near Winchelsea, they sent in two ships to burn her, which the captain prevented by setting fire to her himself. The body of the French fleet stood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pemsy in Suffex, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander defended her so stoutly every high water, that they were at length forced to desist, and the captain carried her safe into Holland <sup>a</sup>.

Our loss in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not so great as might have been expected; not above two ships, two sea-captains, two captains of marines, and three hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch were much more unfortunate, because they were more thoroughly engaged. Besides three ships sunk in the fight, they were obliged to set fire to three more that were stranded on the coast of Suffex, losing in all six ships of the line. They lost likewise abundance of gallant officers, particularly their rear-admirals Dick and Brakel, and captain Nordel, with a great number of inferior officers and seamen <sup>a</sup>. Yet even this misfortune contributed to raise their reputation at sea, since as soon as the states received the news, they ordered fourteen men of war to be built and put to sea in as many days, which, as my author says, may seem incredible to such as are unacquainted with the power of the Dutch at that time, and what they were able to do upon extraordinary occasions <sup>b</sup>.

We need not wonder, that a victory gained by the French fleet over the joint forces of the maritime powers should extremely elevate the writers of that nation, who are so apt to run out into extravagant flights of panegyric on much slighter occasions. The marquis de Quincy tells us, that the Dutch fought with all

<sup>a</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 427. I have been at some pains to discover the name of this ship and of its gallant captain. The former I find to have been Demacs, and the latter Convent. As I have my information from a Frenchman, I doubt whether the names are spelt right.

<sup>b</sup> An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 24, 25. *Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies*, tome iii. p. 419. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome ix. p. 84, 85. <sup>b</sup> *Memoires historiques*, p. 14. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome ix. p. 86, 87. *Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies*, tome iii. liv. xvi.

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imaginable bravery, and tacitly acknowledges, that they owed their misfortune to their being surrounded by French ships. He likewise owns, that such of the English ships as engaged fought very well, and that the admiral endeavoured to succour the Dutch, though he did it with much caution. But then, to enhance the victory as much as possible, he asserts, that the united fleets were at least equal in force to the navy of France, though they had fewer ships<sup>c</sup>. In this, however, he is certainly mistaken, as I shall convince the reader by undeniable evidence. The Dutch squadron consisted of twenty-two large ships, and was by much the most formidable of the whole fleet, and yet that squadron carried but 1,360 guns; whereas the weakest of the French squadrons carried 1,526; and if we should suppose the united fleet to have consisted of ships of the like force with the Dutch, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3,462 guns; whereas the French fleet, according to this writer's own account, carried 4,702<sup>d</sup>. This is sufficient to show how little dependance can be had even on the accounts of the best French authors. Father Daniel has given us two relations of this engagement full of exaggerations<sup>e</sup>. He tells us, that seventeen English and Dutch ships, being disabled, ran a-shore, and were burnt by their own crews; whereas, in truth, instead of the seventeen, there were but seven. He likewise magnifies the conduct of the count de Tourville, who would, as he informs us, have intirely destroyed the enemy, if they had not had the advantage of the wind and tide. In the battle, indeed, the English and Dutch had the advantage of the wind; but, in their retreat, the wind was equally favourable to the French; and, as to the advantage of the tide, it was owing to their superior skill

<sup>c</sup> Hist. militaire, vol. ii. p. 330.

<sup>d</sup> These computations, so far as they regard the French, I have taken from the marquis de Quincy; but, as to the Dutch squadron, I did not think it fair to make use of the list he has given us, because I had a more authentic account, by which it appeared, that the Dutch squadron was larger by two ships, and carried more guns than the marquis de Quincy has set down.

<sup>e</sup> We have this account first in his hist. de milice François, tome ii. p. 491. with the addition of a fact altogether groundless, viz. That the French fleet after their victory took a vast number of merchant ships. He relates the same affair more at large in his hist. de France, tome x. in the historical journal of the reign of Lewis XIV. p. 155. where he repeats the same tale of their taking an infinite number of ships.

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in the management of their vessels: and bishop Burnet very rightly observes, that, amongst the best judges, the count de Tourville was almost as much blamed for not making use of his victory, as the earl of Torrington was on account of his defeat <sup>f</sup>.

After the engagement our fleet retreated towards the river of Thames, and the earl of Torrington, going on shore, left the command to Sir John Ashby, but first gave orders to captain Monck of the Phoenix, together with four other fifth rates, and four fire-ships, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the Buoy of the Spits, the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys, and immediately retreat, if the enemy approached; or, if they pressed yet farther on him, he was ordered in like manner to take away the buoys near him, and to do what service he could against them with the fire-ships; but still to retire, and make the proper signals in such cases. On the 8th the French fleet stood towards their own coast, but were seen upon the 27th off the Berry-head, a little to the eastward of Dartmouth, and then, the wind taking them short, they put into Torbay. There they lay not long; for they were discovered the 29th near Plymouth, at which place the necessary preparations were made by platforms and other works, to give them a warm reception. The 5th of August they appeared again off of the Ram-head, in number between sixty and seventy, when, standing westward, they were no more seen in the channel this year <sup>g</sup>.

The nation all this time was in the utmost confusion from the apprehension of a descent by the French in favour of an insurrection to be at the same time made by the friends of king James. The city of London shewed uncommon zeal for the support of the government, by not only raising their militia, consisting of about nine thousand men, but offering to add to these, six auxiliary regiments, a regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be maintained at their own expence, so long as they should be necessary <sup>h</sup>. The tinnors in Cornwall also offered to

<sup>f</sup> As this prelate conversed with all the great men of that time, what he reports in such cases as this deserves more credit than any of his own reflections. See also the *Mercure historique et politique*, tome ix. p. 270.

<sup>g</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 427.

<sup>h</sup> Kennet's complete history, vol. iii.

p. 603.



rise<sup>1</sup>, and addresses of the same nature came from other parts, which were very graciously received by, and did great service to queen Mary, though she did not think fit to make use of the proposed succours. She apprehended, or at least was advised by her council, that it would be more effectual to seize such persons of distinction, as were known to be in her father's interest<sup>2</sup>. This, it is supposed, had the desired effect, and induced the French, when they saw themselves disappointed in their expectations of finding numbers ready to take arms on their first appearance, to attempt little or nothing to our prejudice, except it was the burning of Tingmouth, and three inconsiderable vessels there; which, however, some French historians have represented as a glorious enterprize, and, to make their tale hang the better together, have erected fortifications that were never seen, talked of an obstinate resistance that was never made, and have converted three fishing-smacks into four men of war, and eight merchant-ships richly laden<sup>3</sup>. The malecontents, however, gave quite a different turn to the inactivity of the French fleet: they said that the French king, as an ally to, and at the earnest request of James II. would not hurt his country, or plunder its inhabitants. Over and above these precautions the queen took another, which was sending over Mr. Harbord to the states-general, to inform them how much her majesty was concerned at the misfortune that had befallen their squadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been seconded as they ought to have been. He was likewise to inform them, that the queen had given orders for refitting the Dutch ships that were disabled, at the nation's expence, and that her majesty had farther directed, all possible care should be taken of the sick and wounded seamen, and that a bounty should be given to the widows of such as had fallen in the action. He was still farther instructed to acquaint the states, that twelve large ships were sitting out

<sup>1</sup> Their address was presented to the queen by Shadrach Vincent, Esq; who represented the borough of Fowey at that time in parliament.

<sup>2</sup> A proclamation for that purpose, issued on the 14th of July, 1690.

<sup>3</sup> This story of attacking Tingmouth, and the great things performed there, we find both in Quincy and father Daniel; so that very probably the tale was forged on board the fleet; for that it was a forgery no man can doubt, who is acquainted with the town and creek of Tingmouth in Devonshire, and the inconsiderable trade carried on there.

here to join the fleet, and to desire that their high mightinesses would direct a proportionable reinforcement; which they accordingly did<sup>m</sup>.

As

<sup>m</sup> That the reader may the better apprehend the reasons which induced her majesty to apply in this manner to the Dutch, it will be proper to lay before him an extract from rear-admiral Evertzen's letter, in which he gives an account of the fight:

“ The 4th of this month he joined the English and Dutch fleets, riding near the Isle of Wight, with three men of war; there he understood that the French fleet had been deseryed, riding in several places, to the number of eighty two men of war, great and small: thereupon it was resolved that they should weigh anchor, with a resolution to find them out, and observe their motions. Before the arrival of admiral Evertzen, it was agreed between the two nations, that the Hollanders should have the vanguard, which was in appearance to do them honour, but at the bottom to conceal Torrington's designs. After they had been under sail about two or three hours, they were obliged by fogs and bad weather to come to an anchor; but soon after they perceived the French fleet to bear up towards them, with the wind at east. Immediately they weighed anchor, and endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, which they did with such success, that Torrington gave the signal for the first squadron to engage; but the French thought fit to retire. The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the two fleets were always in view of each other; but, in regard the French fleet was much the stronger both for number and bigness of ships, it was judged most proper not to fight in the open sea; and Torrington did his part so well, that he avoided engaging till he was come off Beachy-head, which was favourable for his purpose; and there it was that he received the queen's orders not to delay engaging, if the wind and the weather would permit, which was the reason that, upon the 10th, by day-break, we went to seek the enemy, who expected us in order of battle; and so by 9 o'clock the engagement began between the blue squadron of the French and the vanguard of the Dutch, and both sides fired desperately for three hours together, till the French squadron not liking their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they could make: but about one there happened a calm, which not only prevented the Hollanders pursuit, but put them in a little disorder; upon which the French (whom the same calm hindered from getting away) were constrained to begin the fight again, which lasted till five o'clock in the evening, with an incredible fury. As for what concerns the English, most certainly, unless it were some few vessels that fought against Torrington's order, the rest did nothing at all; so that the main body of the French fell into the rear of the Dutch fleet, and having fought from morning till evening, and defended themselves so long against such a prodigious number of the enemy that assailed them on every side, they were so battered, that hardly three were capable of making any defence; which constrained them to make their way through the French fleet, and bear away for the coast of England between Beachy and Ferley. Admiral Brakel, Jean Dick, and captain Nordel, were slain. The Friezland, having lost all her masts, as she could not be towed off by reason of the calm, was taken towards the end of the fight. Admiral Evertzen gave this testimony of all the Dutch officers and soldiers, that there was not one that did not exactly perform his duty.

As soon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council, where he justified himself with great presence of mind; he said, there were two things to be principally considered, the loss that had been sustained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The first, he alledged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt the English and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at sea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed, that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had saved the fleet, and with much steadiness and spirit declared, that he had rather his reputation should suffer for a time than his country undergo a loss, which might never be able to repair. The council, however, thought proper to commit his lordship to the Tower; and that they might lessen the clamours of the crowd, and give some satisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerness, where they were to make a thorough inquiry into the real causes of this disaster<sup>a</sup>.

The fleet remained now under the command of Sir Richard Haddock, vice-admiral Killigrew, and Sir John Ashby, who had orders to put it into the best condition possible; which they executed with great diligence, and by the latter end of August had forty-one ships of the line under their command, exclusive of the Dutch; yet, in spite of all their activity, it was very late in the year before they were able to undertake any effectual service; and by that time it was necessary to lay up the larger ships, the remainder being found sufficient for the embarkation of a body of troops under the command of the earl of Marlborough, whose winter expedition shall be taken notice of in its proper place. In the mean time let us return to the proceedings of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the squadron under his command, which we left, with that of vice-admiral Killigrew, in Plymouth-sound<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> "duty. In short, it has not ever been heard, that twenty-two ships fought so long against eighty-two, of which seventeen carried no less than from eighty to an hundred guns."

<sup>o</sup> Burner's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 53. An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 25. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome ix. p. 202, 203. See Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 58.

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On the 21st of July rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ships under his command for Kingsale, to intercept some French frigates that were said to be on that coast. Arriving at Waterford river, with intention to execute this commission, he met with the agreeable news of lieutenant-general Kirk's having made himself master of the town of Waterford, but was at the same time informed, that Duncannon-castle, which by its situation commanded the river, still held out, and that the lieutenant-general for want of cannon was not likely to take it. Upon this, considering the importance of the place, and that no use could be made of the port of Waterford, while it remained in the hands of the enemy, he sent advice to the lieutenant-general on the 27th of July, that he was ready to assist him by sending some frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could spare out of his squadron under the protection of their guns. Accordingly, the next day he sent in the Experiment and the Greyhound, two small ships, to batter their castle, and under their fire landed between six and seven hundred men, all the boats of the fleet being employed in this service. The castle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpose; but, when once general Bourke, who commanded there, saw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate, and marched out at the head of two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage, leaving to the English the fortress, which was furnished with forty-two pieces of cannon. A noble reward for one day's hard duty!

After this happy success the rear-admiral sailed for Limerick, where he was informed the French had a considerable number of ships; but finding soon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own squadron began to be in want of provisions and

<sup>p</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 432. But there the author has committed a very extraordinary mistake; for, instead of Waterford, he mentions Kingsale as the city annoyed by Duncannon-castle: now, that this was really an effect of want of care, and not an error in transcribing, appears by comparing his naval history with its index, and with his naval memoirs, p. 59. where the source of this error is seen; for there he says, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel, being ordered to proceed to Kingsale, received intelligence, when he was near the river of Waterford, that the town had surrendered two or three days, that is, the town of Waterford; but in his history he has put in, the town of Kingsale was surrendered, as if that town had stood on the river of Waterford.

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sea-stores, he came to a resolution of sailing to Plymouth, where he received a considerable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in quest of the enemy. But these orders, which came from the lords of the admiralty, were on the 18th of September countermanded by a fresh order from the king, directing him to detach ten ships into the Soundings for the protection of the trade, and to sail with the rest for the Downs; which he accordingly did<sup>q</sup>.

After raising the siege of Limerick, king William returned into England, where, in a council held on the affairs of Ireland, which were still in a very precarious condition, many of the great cities, and most of the convenient ports being still held for king James, the earl of Marlborough proposed a plan for the immediate reduction of that island: he observed first, that our fleet was now at sea, and that of the French returned to Brest, in which situation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to descents. He farther remarked, that there were at least five thousand land-forces lying idle in England, which might be embarked on board the fleet even in this late season of the year, and land time enough to perform considerable service. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of Marlborough, and sent orders to the admirals to send the great ships about to Chatham, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet the forces ordered for this service<sup>r</sup>.

The admirals hoisted their flag on board the Kent, a third rate, and, having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of Corke on the 1st of September in the afternoon. The next day they attempted to enter, but were for some time prevented by the fire of a small battery of five guns, from which, however, the Irish were soon driven by two or three boats full of brave fellows, and then the whole fleet got into the harbour without any more interruption. On the 23d the forces were landed, and joined a body of between three and four thousand men under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, who, by an ill-timed dispute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition.

<sup>q</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63 Kennet, Oldmixon, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 60. Life of John, duke of Marlborough by Thomas Lediard, Esq; vol. i. p. 65. Burchet's naval history, p. 430.

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The earl of Marlborough, as the elder lieutenant-general, and commanding the troops that were principals, had, according to all the rules of service, a right to it; but the duke of Wirtemberg insisted on his being a prince, which at last, however, he was content to wave, and to consent they should command alternately. The city of Corke was very well fortified, and had in it a body of four thousand men: but the earl of Marlborough having observed that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the 24th, which was performed with great expedition by five or six hundred seamen, carpenters, &c. and, after playing on the town for a few hours, made so considerable a breach, that on the 25th the generals resolved to attack it, in which they were assisted by ten pinnaces, manned by seamen well armed with hand-granadoes from the fleet. The besieged were so terrified at this, that it was easily discerned the dispute would not continue long; and indeed the Irish instantly capitulated\*.

But the very next day the fleet received orders to retire, which they did, leaving a squadron under the command of the duke of Grafton to assist the general: but that brave nobleman, having received a wound in the shoulder in the attack before-mentioned, died within a few days, when the command devolved upon captain Matthew Tenant, who was blown up in the Breda in Corke harbour; and then it fell to captain Crofts, who attended the earl of Marlborough till after the reduction of Kingsale, as well as Corke, which surrendered on the 15th of October, and then brought over the victorious general, who was presented to his master at Kensington on the 28th of that month, after having

\* We have a very fair account of this matter both in Burnet's history of his own times, and in bishop Kennet's complete history: yet neither of those prelates were enough master of the subject to give their readers a proper idea of this extraordinary affair. The earl of Marlborough's expedition, all circumstances considered, was beyond comparison the most successful undertaking in the whole reign of king William; and even the reduction of Corke was such a mark of penetration as king William never forgot, since it depended entirely on his lordship's considering the situation of the place, and observing that all the pains taken in fortifying it were thrown away. If king James's French generals had understood as much, they would not have put four thousand men, and some of their best officers, into such a place; and, on the other hand, if king William's foreign officers had joined the light of genius to the knowledge they had acquired by experience, they would not have informed the king as they did, that the place could not be taken in less than six weeks even by a regular siege.

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achieved, in a very few weeks, more than all the foreign generals had been able to do since the beginning of the war in Ireland.

The fleet arrived in the Downs on the 8th of October, bringing over with them, by the earl of Marlborough's desire, the governor of Corke; and several persons of quality, who were made prisoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide their fleet into small squadrons for several services, and leave only a strong squadron in the Downs under the command of Sir Cloudefley Shovel, who cruized the remaining part of the year in the Soundings, without any success remarkable enough to deserve notice, except that the Deptford and the Crown; two small ships; took a small French man of war called the Fripon; commanded by captain St. Marca, one of the briskest officers in the French service. She carried but eighteen guns and ten patereroes; and but a little before had engaged four Dutch privateers; whom she obliged to sheer off; though with the loss of thirty men killed and wounded: yet now, notwithstanding her force was so much weakened, she fought till her captain and lieutenants were desperately wounded; and her master killed; nor did she yield at last, till her main-mast was shot away by the Crown; and she boarded by the crew of that ship. When the rear-admiral had ended his cruize, he sent some of his ships to the coast of Ireland, others into the Soundings; and returned with the rest into the Downs<sup>u</sup>; and thus ended the naval operations in Europe.

We ought next to proceed to the West Indies; where, within the compass of this year; there passed many things worthy of notice; but as the critical observation of time in this case would necessarily occasion a great deal of perplexity in the narration, and force us to consider it in such a manner as must render it very obscure as well as unconnected, we shall therefore refer the history of the naval transactions there to that period in which they were completed, and so take in the whole together, uniting

<sup>t</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 56, 57, 58. *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. ix. p. 536—541, 551. wherein is an excellent account of this expedition, and very judicious remarks on its consequences. Lediard's life of the duke of Marlborough, vol. i. book iii. ch. 2. Life of king William, p. 283. <sup>u</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 63.

the circumstances of the several expeditions in as clear and succinct a manner as the nature of the subject will allow. In the mean time, let us return to the inquiry made this winter into the conduct of the earl of Torrington, which was a point that exercised the thoughts of the ministry, and of both the houses of parliament, as well as it had done before the tongues of the people.

The king, upon his return from Ireland, expressed great concern about this affair; the honour of the nation was in some measure affected, the common cry was very strong against the earl, and the queen had engaged her royal promise to the Dutch, that his conduct should undergo a strict examination. On the other hand, the earl had been very instrumental in the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of persuading many, that, instead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being sacrificed to the intrigues of his enemies, and the resentment of foreigners, merely for preserving the English fleet. The great difficulty lay in the manner of bringing him to a trial: the king was resolved it should be by a court-martial; the friends of the earl maintained, that he ought to be tried by his peers. A doubt was likewise started as to the power of the lords of the admiralty; for though it was allowed, that the lord high admiral of England might have issued a commission for trying him, yet it was questioned, whether any such authority was lodged in the commissioners of the admiralty or not; and, though some great lawyers gave their opinions in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient to settle so important a point by authority of parliament <sup>w</sup>.

In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commissioners of the admiralty <sup>x</sup>; and,

<sup>w</sup> The reader may find much of this in Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c. Yet our account is chiefly taken from the journals of parliament, and some memoirs of those times, of which I shall give the reader a farther account in the memoirs of the earl of Torrington.

<sup>x</sup> Stat. 2 W. & M. sess. iii. cap. 2. It is declared, That all and singular authorities, jurisdictions, and powers, which by act of parliament or otherwise are invested in the lord high-admiral of England for the time being, have always appertained to, and shall be used and executed by the commissioners of the admiralty, as if they were so used and executed by the lord high-admiral. Every officer

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and, immediately after the passing of this, these commissioners directed a court-martial to be held for the trial of the earl, who was then sick in the Tower. On the 10th of December this court-martial met on board the Kent frigate at Sheerness, Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement, being president, and all the members of the court such as were believed to be absolutely independent of the person they were to try. The charge against the earl was, that, in the late engagement off Beachy-head, he had, through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his office, drawn dishonour on the English nation, and sacrificed our good allies the Dutch.

His lordship defended himself with great clearness of reason, and with extraordinary composure of mind. He observed, that, in the several councils of war held before the fight, not only himself, but all the admirals in the fleet were against engaging. He took notice of the queen's express order, which obliged them to fight against their own opinion, and without any probability of success. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and French fleets, the former consisting but of fifty-six, and the latter having eighty-two actually engaged. He asserted, that the Dutch were destroyed by their own rashness, and that, if he had sustained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet must have been surrounded as they were; and as some reflections had been thrown out of his having a pique to the Dutch, to gratify which he had given them up, he not only justified himself very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with saying, that his conduct had saved the English fleet, and that he hoped an English court-martial would not sacrifice him to Dutch resentment.

After a full hearing, and strict examination of all that had been advanced on both sides, his lordship was unanimously ac-

officer present upon trials of offenders by court-martial, to be held by virtue of any commission granted by the lord high admiral, or commissioners of the admiralty, shall, before any proceeding to trial, take this oath, to be administered by the judge-advocate, or his deputy, viz.

" You shall well and truly try the matter now before you, between our sovereign lord and lady the king and queen's majesty, and the prisoner to be tried. SO HELP YOU GOD."

† See a farther account of this matter in the subsequent memoirs of the earl of Torrington.

quitted <sup>a</sup>. And though some writers of our own, as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the court-martial <sup>a</sup>, yet, on the whole, there seems to be no just ground either for censuring them, or fixing any imputation on the memory of that noble person <sup>b</sup>. It is true, the day after his acquittal, the king took away his commission, and he was thenceforward laid aside; which might be a very right step in politics, as it tended to satisfy our allies, and gave his majesty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 603. Life of king William, p. 275.

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Burnet in his history of his own times, expresses himself with his wonted sharpness. "The commissioners of the admiralty," says he "named a court to try him, who did it with so gross a partiality, that it reflected much on the justice of the nation; so that, if it had not been for the great interest the king had in the states, it might have occasioned a breach of the alliance between them and us." He came off safe as to his person and estate, but much loaded in his reputation, some charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty sullenness of temper, that made him, since orders were sent him contrary to the advices he had given, to resolve indeed to obey them and fight, but in such a manner as should cast the blame on those who had sent him the orders, and give them cause to repent of it."—The malignity of these reflections destroys their credit, and the weight of the charge overturns it. If the proceedings of the court-martial had been scandalously unjust, our prelate would not have been at a loss for the earl of Torrington's crime. His judges were upon oath, and regarded nothing therefore but proof. Indeed this was happy for him; for had they been governed like the bishop, by conjectures, and guessed at the thoughts of his heart, instead of examining his actions, he might have been punished, though he had not been guilty. The sieur de Monte, in his political Mercury for the month of January, 1691, censures the judgment of the court-martial severely, and says, the king was so displeased with it, that he resolved never to employ any of its members. What credit is due to this, we may easily guess, if we consider that Sir Ralph Delaval, the president of that court-martial, was immediately employed as vice-admiral of the blue. Another foreign writer says, that the king dismissed some of the members of that court, and forty-two captains of the navy, who were supposed to be in the earl's interest. This alone is sufficient to shew his innocence. An English admiral, capable of cowardice or treachery, could have no such interest.

<sup>c</sup> Bishop Kennet tells us, that in the year 1697, several French officers coming over after the peace, when they could not be suspected of partiality, openly justified and commended the earl's conduct, and said, "He deserved to be rewarded rather than censured, since he had preserved the best part of the fleet from being destroyed."

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Columna rostrata, p. 258. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iii. p. 145.

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The care of the administration to repair all past errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared visibly in the measures taken for sending a great fleet early to sea in the spring of the year 1691. In order to this, the week after the earl of Torrington was dismissed from his command, Edward Russel, Esq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received instructions to use the utmost expedition in drawing together the ships of which his fleet was to be composed; and a list of them, to the number of ninety-one, of which fifty-seven were of the line of battle, was annexed to his instructions. He executed these directions with the utmost skill and diligence, and by the 7th of May was ready to put to sea.

The blue squadron was commanded by Henry Killegrew, Esq; as admiral, Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral. Admiral Russel in the Britannia commanded the red squadron, having, for his vice and rear admirals, Sir John Ashby, and George Rooke, Esq;: as to the particular strength of these squadrons, having seen a more perfect list than that exhibited by Mr. Burchet, I have given an abstract of it at the bottom of the page<sup>d</sup>. His orders were to proceed in the Soundings as soon as he should be joined by the Dutch, and he was likewise directed to take care to block up the port of Dunkirk, in order to prevent the French privateers from disturbing our trade. These directions, however, were but indifferently executed, which our writers attribute to the slowness of the Dutch in sending their ships to join the confederate fleet, which they had stipulated to do by the beginning of May, according to the proportion of five to eight, though bishop Burnet

d BLUE SQUADRON.			RED SQUADRON.		
	Guns.	Men.		Guns.	Men.
2 First rates,	200	1,600	3 First rates,	300	2,400
6 Second rates,	570	3,960	5 Second rates,	470	3,300
16 Third rates,	1,090	7,040	16 Third rates,	1,090	7,040
4 Fourth rates,	200	1,000	5 Fourth rates,	250	1,250
	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
28	2,060	13,600	29	2,110	13,970
3 Frigates.			3 Frigates.		
2 Hospital ships.			2 Hospital ships.		
1 Yacht.			1 Yacht.		
10 Fire-ships.			10 Fire-ships.		

says

says of three to five, of equal rates and strength. Secretary Burchet, however, complains, that it was late in the month of May before there were so many as twenty-eight Dutch ships in the fleet, whereas, according to the list published by the states-general in the very same month, there ought to have been forty-six, and those too very large ships<sup>c</sup>. This, however, is certain, that, notwithstanding all his skill and care, admiral Ruffel found his fleet but indifferently manned, and very scantily victualled; at the same time that he was so perplexed by his orders, and with the difficulties started upon every occasion by the Dutch admiral, who very probably was as much cramped by his, that a great part of the months of May and June were spent to very little purpose; and, though the French fleet was not in such forwardness this year as it had been the last, yet it was at sea some time before ours had any intelligence of it<sup>e</sup>.

If we may judge from appearances, one may safely say, that Lewis XIV. shewed a singular vanity in maintaining a prodigious naval force, to make all Europe see how soon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the English, Spaniards, and Dutch; and, as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhausted his treasures, in order, had it been possible, to render himself master at sea. He appointed the count d'Estrees, vice-admiral of France; to command in the Mediterranean a fleet consisting of four large men of war, five frigates, twenty-six galleys, and three bomb vessels<sup>f</sup>; and, on the other hand, count Tourville was directed to assemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean: it consisted of three squadrons, the white and blue commanded by M. Chateau Renault in the Royal Dauphin of one hundred guns; the white squadron commanded by count Tourville in person in the Royal Sun, the finest ship in France, which carried one hundred and six guns; the blue squadron un-

<sup>c</sup> According to this list the Rotterdam squadron consisted of eleven ships from 80 to 50 guns; the Amsterdam squadron of sixteen from 92 to 50 guns; the North Holland of five from 86 to 50 guns; the Friesland of six from 70 to 52 guns; the Zealand of eight from 92 to 50 guns; in all forty six capital ships carrying 3,002 guns.

<sup>f</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 63, 64. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 73. Columna rostrata. <sup>g</sup> Hist. militaire, tome ii. p. 446. Pere Daniel hist. de France.

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der the marquis d'Amsfreville in the *Superbe* of ninety-eight guns<sup>a</sup>. This fleet, though very considerable, and excellently provided with every thing necessary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates; and therefore count Tourville was instructed to avoid an engagement as much as possible, and to amuse the enemy, by keeping, as long as might be, in the channel. This great officer did all that could be expected from him, in order to put early to sea; but, in spite of all his diligence and application, it was the middle of June before he left the port of Brest. But then it must be observed, that a squadron had been sent under the command of the marquis de Nesmonde, to carry supplies of all sorts for the relief of king James's army in Ireland<sup>b</sup>.

These were indeed great things, and what, all circumstances considered, one could scarce conceive the French able to perform; yet they were far short of what it was believed in England at that time they were in a condition to undertake, and therefore so many accounts were sent to our admiral from court, of descents to be made here, forces to be convoyed there, and other strange projects, that he was hindered from pursuing either the orders that were first given him, or executing his own designs; and, though he discovered a good deal of uneasiness under this, yet he continued for many weeks to complain and obey<sup>c</sup>.

The Smyrna fleet was expected home this spring, and, as the English and Dutch had a joint concern therein to the amount of upwards of four millions sterling, both nations were extremely apprehensive of its being attacked by the French, and therefore very precise orders were sent to admiral Ruffel to use his utmost care for its preservation; and this he performed with equal industry and success; for, having appointed single ships to cruise for them on every point of the compass, he crossed with the body of the fleet to Cape-Clear on the Irish coast, and, being off Kingsale, received advice, that the Smyrna fleet was arrived safely in that harbour. Upon this, he sent orders to captain

<sup>a</sup> I take this from the marquis de Quincy, who has given us an exact list of them, according to which the blue and white squadron consisted of twenty-four ships, the white of twenty-five, and the blue of twenty-four; in all seventy-three capital ships, carrying 2,544 guns, and 29,450 men, together with twenty-one fire-ships.

<sup>b</sup> *Hist. militaire*, tome ii. p. 455.

<sup>c</sup> Borchet's memoirs, p. 71.

Aylmer to join him immediately with the squadron under his command, resolving to conduct the Smyrna fleet as far as Scilly, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the channel, having first taken the necessary precaution of sending a frigate before to Plymouth; that he might be satisfied none of the enemy's ships were upon the coast<sup>1</sup>.

Upon parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to ly off Ushant, and, if the French were gone from thence, to follow them to Belle-Isle; but, being afterwards of opinion that they lay in the sea purposely to avoid him, he altered his resolutions, and resolved to go into a more proper station in search of them; so that, parting with the Smyrna fleet off Scilly the 13th of July, he first bent his course towards the French coast, from whence he sent a letter to the secretary of state, desiring that it might be considered, whether the fleet, before its return, could be serviceable towards the reduction of Ireland; for that the provisions on board would last no longer than the latter end of August; and, after that month was expired, he thought it not safe for the great ships to be out of harbour, but he desired that supplies of provision might be ready at Plymouth, that so the want of them might not incapacitate the fleet to perform any necessary service.

Arriving in this station, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent to look into Brest, where he saw about forty sail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant ships from Bretagne, escorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudesley, to decoy these ships into his hands, made use of an excellent stratagem: he knew the French had intelligence that a small squadron of their fleet had made prizes of several English merchantmen; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of false news, he ordered part of his squadron to put out French colours, and the rest to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally suppose it that squadron with their prizes. This succeeded in part; but the enemy discovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much mischief<sup>m</sup>.

Towards the latter end of the month of July, admiral Ruffel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with fresh provi-

<sup>1</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 441. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 611. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 65. <sup>m</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 87.

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sions; some of these were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping scouts at a considerable distance on all points of the compass by which he could be approached, and these being chased by ours, they immediately ran, making signals to others that lay within them; so that it was impossible to come up with the body of their fleet, though that of the English and Dutch sailed in such a posture, that the scouts on each wing, as well as those a-head and a-stern, could in clear weather see twenty leagues round <sup>a</sup>.

The admiral, being sensible of the dangers that might attend this situation, wrote home for fresh orders, which he received, but found them so perplexed, that, having intelligence of the French fleet's being gone into Brest, he, in the beginning of August, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war, returned to Torbay, from whence he wrote up to court to have his last orders explained. In return he was directed to put to sea again, which he did; and notwithstanding his frequent representations of the inconvenience of having such large ships exposed to the rough weather, which usually happens about the equinox, he was obliged to continue in the Soundings to the 2d of September, when he met with such a violent storm, that, after doing all that could be done for the preservation of the fleet, he was constrained to bear up for so dangerous a port as Plymouth; and in doing this, through the violence of the wind, and the haziness of the weather, the ships were so scattered, that the greatest part of them were not seen when the admiral himself came to an anchor in the Sound; but, when it grew somewhat clearer, one of the second rates (which proved to be the Coronation) was discovered at anchor off Ram-head, without any thing standing but the ensign-staff, and soon after she foundered, her commander captain Shelton, together with her company, except a very inconsiderable number, being lost. Many of the biggest ships were not able to weather the easternmost point of land at the entrance into Plymouth-sound, and therefore were constrained to take sanctuary there, in that unavoidable confusion, which a lee-shore, thick weather, and a very hard gale of wind, will always

<sup>a</sup> Mercure historique et politique, tome xi. p. 117, 139.

occasion, infomuch that the Harwich, a third rate, ran on shore, and bulged near Mount Edgcombe-house, and the Royal Oak and Northumberland tailed on the ground, though afterwards they were luckily got off. A great Dutch ship was seen at anchor above five leagues in the offing, with all her masts gone; and several there were that very narrowly escaped the danger of the Edystone<sup>o</sup>.

The admiral immediately gave orders for refitting such of the ships as had been damaged in the storm, and left Sir Cloudefley Shovel at Plymouth to see it performed, directing him, as soon as they were in a condition to sail, to send a squadron of ten sail into the Soundings for the security of the homeward-bound trade, himself, with the rest of the fleet, steering for Spithead, where soon after he received orders to send the largest ships about to Chatham, as the Dutch admiral did to return home, with the first and second rates under his command. Admiral Ruffel was likewise directed to form a squadron of thirty sail of English and Dutch ships to be sent to the coast of Ireland, and he accordingly appointed vice-admiral Delaval for this command, who four times attempted to execute his orders, and was as often forced back by contrary winds, which, however, proved of no detriment to the service, since the intelligence received of the French sending a fleet to Limerick, proved false<sup>p</sup>. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the profit, honour, or satisfaction of the nation. Yet certainly nothing could be charged on the admiral's conduct, who did all that could be expected from an able and vigilant officer, though his endeavours were frustrated by many clashing and contradictory orders from home, the artful conduct of a cautious enemy, and the unavoidable effects of high winds and boisterous weather.

We need not wonder, therefore, either at the attempts made in the house of commons to fasten upon him the miscarriages, as they were called<sup>q</sup>, at sea, or the ill-natured censures glanced at

<sup>o</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 203. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 622. O'Mixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 65. Mercure historique et politique, tome xi. p. 448. <sup>p</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 449, 450.

<sup>q</sup> The house ordered the admiral's instructions, and the letters written to, and by him, to be laid before them, which sufficiently cleared him from all blame.

his memory by some peevish writers<sup>r</sup>, with whom want of fortune will always imply want of skill and integrity: these are things not to be avoided, or indeed much to be heeded. The storm in the house of commons never gathered to a head; for those who misinterpreted the admiral's conduct found, on inspecting papers, that it was not for their interest to examine it; and as for our censorious authors, their reflections have recoiled upon themselves.

It was now become evident to the whole nation, that, with respect to our honour and interest in this war, the management of affairs at sea was chiefly to be regarded; and yet, by an unaccountable series of wrong councils, the management of these affairs was in reality less regarded than any thing else. The absolute reduction of Ireland, and the war in Flanders, seemed to occupy the king's thoughts intirely, and the care of the navy was left wholly to the board of admiralty, who, to speak in the softest terms, did not manage it very successfully, or much to the satisfaction of the nation. There were, besides, some other things which contributed to make our maritime councils move slowly. There was a faction grown up in the fleet against the admiral, and at the same time the government entertained a great jealousy of many of the officers, though to this hour it remains a secret, whether it was or was not well-grounded\*.

The truth seems to be, that king James was better known to the officers of the fleet, than to any other set of men in England; most of them had served under him when lord high-admiral, and many had been preferred by him; which rendered it highly probable they might have an esteem for his person; but that any of these officers intended to act in his favour, in conjunction with a French force, against their country, is very unlikely, especially if we consider the unanimity with which they went into the revolution, which had been openly acknowledged, and they fo-

<sup>r</sup> Bishop Burnet says, the season went over without any action, and Russel, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a storm; which was much censured; for that road is not safe; and two considerable ships were lost upon the occasion. Great factions were amongst the flag-officers, and no other service was done by this great equipment, but that our trade was maintained.—This remark is worth nothing, unless admiral Russel had it in commission to direct the winds; for in a storm sailors do not make for the best but for the nearest part.

\* Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92. Kennet, Oldmixon.

lemly thanked for it by the convention. Yet the report of the contrary was grown wonderfully loud, and seems to have been very artfully propagated by the enemies of particular persons, as well as by those who were no friends to the government; for it must be allowed, that king James's agents here boasted in all the advices they sent him, that they had brought back many of the officers of the navy to his interest; and they went so far as to name some of them, which they might do from many other motives than that of speaking truth<sup>t</sup>. However it was, this is certain, that in parliament, at court, and in the navy, nothing was heard of but jealousies, ill conduct, and want of sufficient supplies for the service; a kind of discourse that lasted all the winter, and was productive of many bad consequences.

In the spring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to Holland, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral Russel, who had been again appointed admiral and commander in chief by commission, dated December the 3d, 1691. At this time, however, he was very far from standing in high favour<sup>u</sup>. He had expostulated freely with his majesty on the disgrace of the earl of Marlborough, and lived on no extraordinary terms with the new secretary lord Nottingham; but his character as an officer, and his known steadiness in revolution-principles, supported him, and the king resolved to confide the fleet to his care almost whether the admiral would or not.

The principal thing that seems to have been intended was, convincing not France alone, but also all Europe, that the maritime powers were still lords of the sea, by fitting out early such a fleet as should keep their enemies in awe, while a descent was made in Normandy. Something of this kind king William intimated

<sup>t</sup> The agent sent over by king James's adherents was one captain Lloyd, to whom they gave a very exact list of the English fleet, and directed him particularly to inform the king, that, amongst other great sea officers, they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to his service; when this was first talked of, a report prevailed, that he had 10,000 pounds given him; but of the falsehood of this story we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter. See Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 639. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 73.

<sup>u</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92. Mercure historique et politique, tome xii. p. 206.

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in his speech to the parliament, and was certainly expected both by this nation and the Dutch. When, therefore, the king left England in the beginning of March, his instructions to admiral Ruffel were, to use all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet out to sea; and at the same time he was promised, that his majesty would not fail to quicken the Dutch; but we shall soon see, that all these schemes were suddenly altered, and that, if the king's new ministry had been but furnished with tolerable intelligence, these schemes could never have entered into their heads<sup>w</sup>. To be clear in this point, we must look over to the transactions in France.

As soon as Lewis XIV. perceived, either through unavoidable misfortunes, or the intrigues of his own ministers, that it was a thing impossible to support the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a resolution of employing the forces, that were still left king James, to serve his purpose another way. With this view he concerted, with the malecontents in England, an invasion on the coast of Sussex; and though for this design it was necessary to draw together a great number of transports, as well as a very considerable body of forces, yet he had both in readiness, before it was so much as suspected here. The land-army consisted of fourteen battalions of English and Irish troops, and about nine thousand French, commanded by marshal de Belfondes; so that in all there could not be less than twenty thousand men<sup>x</sup>. The fleet of transports consisted of three hundred sail, and was well provided with every thing necessary for the invasion. In short, nothing was wanting to the execution of this design, in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Estrees's Squadron of twelve men of war, which was to escort the embarkation, while the count de Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was also ready to put to sea,

<sup>w</sup> In order to prove the truth of this account, I shall refer the reader to the *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xii. p. 421, 422. wherein we are assured, that the scheme of making a descent on France was taken from king William's own mouth, that orders were given for having a prodigious number of pontoons and flat-bottomed boats ready by the latter end of June, and that the duke of Leinster (who was son to marshal Schomberg) was to command the forces employed in this service. See also Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92.

<sup>x</sup> *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 473, 577. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 93. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xii. p. 525, 526.

but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this situation, king James sent over colonel Parker, and some other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and some of these people, in hopes of reward, gave the first clear account of the whole design to our government at home; upon which, order after order was sent to admiral Ruffel to hasten out to sea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time<sup>y</sup>.

There were at this very critical juncture two considerable squadrons at sea; one under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval, which was sent to bring home a fleet of merchantmen from the Mediterranean, the other under rear-admiral Carter, near the French coast. It was apprehended, that the French would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore, on the last of February, orders were sent by the Groin packet-boat to vice-admiral Delaval, to avoid coming near cape St. Vincent, but rather to sail to Dingle-bay, the mouth of the Shannon, or some other port thereabouts<sup>z</sup>. But, for fear these orders might not reach him soon enough at Cadiz, an advice-boat was ordered to cruize for him off Cape-Clear, with instructions to put into Corke or Kingsale. However, both these orders missed him, and he was so fortunate as to arrive in the beginning of March safe in the Downs.

As for rear-admiral Carter, he was ordered to continue cruizing with his squadron of eighteen sail, as near the French coast as it was possible, in order to be the better and more certainly informed of what they were doing<sup>a</sup>. His majesty king William, as soon as he arrived in Holland, took care to hasten the naval

<sup>y</sup> Queen Mary behaved on this occasion with great wisdom and firmness of mind; for, without discovering any apprehensions of danger, she took all the precautions that were necessary to prevent it, by publishing a proclamation requiring all Papists to quit the cities of London and Westminster, another for assembling both houses of parliament, and a third for apprehending the earls of Scarfdale, Litchfield, Newbourg, Middleton, and Dunmore, the lords Griffin and Forbes, Sir John Fenwicke, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, Sir Andrew Forrester, and several other persons of distinction, supposed to be in her father's interest. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xii, p. 551, 553.

<sup>z</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 129.

<sup>a</sup> See the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2749. whereby it appears, that Sir Ralph Delaval's squadron consisted of sixteen English and Dutch men of war, and had under convoy seventy merchantmen richly laden. Burchet's naval history, p. 461. Kennet, and other writers.

preparations with unusual diligence; so that the fleet was ready to put to sea much sooner than had been expected, or at least much sooner than it had done the year before, and was also in a much better condition. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of May; and, observing how great advantage the French might reap by the division of such considerable squadrons from our fleet, his first care was to write to court on this subject, and to desire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction, and that timely notice might be given to all persons concerned. In return to this, he had orders sent him to cruize between Cape la Hogue and the Isle of Wight, till the squadrons should join with him, though he had proposed the junction should be made off Beachy-head. However, he obeyed his orders as soon as he received them, and plyed it down through the sands with a very scanty wind; contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold stroke of the admiral, which was his own, was owing all his following success.

On the 8th the fleet came safe off Rye, and that night the admiral sent to the Dutch admiral to weigh and make sail after him, that no time might be lost; and he also sent a squadron of small ships to look for Sir Ralph Delaval, being in great pain till the whole confederate fleet was in a body. On the 11th of May he sailed from Rye-bay for St. Helen's, where in two days time he was joined by Sir Ralph Delaval, and rear-admiral Carter, with their squadrons<sup>b</sup>. While they lay here, the admiral received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, as secretary of state, written by queen Mary's direction, wherein he was informed, that a scandalous and malicious report was spread, as if some of the officers of their majesties fleet were disaffected, or not hearty in their service; and that her majesty had thereupon been pressed to the discharge of many of them from their employments: but her majesty charged the admiral to acquaint his officers, that she was satisfied this report was raised by the enemies of the government, and that she reposed so entire a confidence in their fidelity, that she had resolved not to displace so

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 464.

much

much as one of them. Upon this the flag-officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on board the Britannia at St. Helen's, May the 15th, 1693, which was the same day transmitted to court, and on the next presented by the lords of the admiralty to her majesty, who was pleased to make this wise and gracious answer, which was published that night in the Gazette: "I always had this opinion of the commanders; but I am glad this is come to satisfy others."

When all the ships, English and Dutch, were come together, the admiral proposed, that a small detachment of six or eight frigates might be sent to hover about the coast of Normandy; that at the same time the forces intended for a descent should embark, and be landed at St. Maloes, and the grand fleet by westward of that place, in order to protect them from the enemy. This proposition being in part approved, he detached six light ships to gain intelligence; and, it being left to him to proceed as a council of war should advise, he, on the 18th of May, sailed for the coast of France. The next day, about three in the morning, the scouts, westward of the fleet, fired swivel-guns, and, being in a short time in sight, made the signal of discovering the enemy. Immediately orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the signal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the sooner, if the French had stood to the northward. A little after four, the sun dispersing the fog, the enemy were seen standing southward. The admiral upon this caused the signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore away with his ship so far leeward, as that each ship in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then be brought to, and lay by, with his fore-top-sail to the mast, that so others might have the better opportunity of placing themselves according to the manner formerly directed on such an occasion <sup>d</sup>.

The

<sup>c</sup> I give in some respects a different account of this affair from what the reader will meet with in Burchet, and the rest of our historians. But then I do this from the Gazette itself, N<sup>o</sup>. 2767. wherein the reasons I have assigned are expressly mentioned. See likewise the *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xii. p. 646.

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 138, 139. It will be proper to give the reader here an abstract of the force of the respective fleets:

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The confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the Dutch squadron in the van, the red in the centre, and the blue in the rear. About ten the French fleet bore down upon them with great resolution. About half an hour after eleven, count Tourville in the Royal Sun, brought to, and began the fight with admiral Ruffel, being within three quarters musket-shot. He plyed his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great disorder; his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being very much wounded. About two the wind shifted; so that five of the enemy's blue squadron posted themselves, three a-head; and two a-stern of their admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The admiral and his two seconds, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Aylmer, had all these ships to deal with. There was so thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be seen; and, as soon as it was cleared up, the French admiral was discovered towing away northward; upon which the admiral followed him, and made the signal for chasing.

While this passed between the admirals, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was got to the windward of count Tourville's squadron, and

## THE RED SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
5 First,	3,835	500
3 Second,	1,800	270
16 Third,	6,400	1,100
7 Fourth,	1,860	350
—	—	—
31	13,895	2,220

The right honourable EDWARD RUSSELL, Esq; admiral, commander in chief.

Sir RALPH DELAVAL, vice-admiral.  
Sir CLOUDSLEY SHOVEL, rear-admiral.

## THE BLUE SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
1 First,	780	100
7 Second,	4,655	636
18 Third,	7,740	1,270
6 Fourth,	1,500	304
—	—	—
32	14,675	2,310

So that admiral Ruffel had 99 ships of the line under his command, and count Tourville but 63, some of which were detached at the time of the action.

VOL. II.

Sir JOHN ASHEY, admiral.  
GEORGE ROOKE, Esq; vice-admiral.  
RICHARD CARTER, Esq; rear-admiral.

## THE DUTCH SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
9 First,	4,515	796
10 Second,	3,766	772
9 Third,	2,925	640
8 Fourth,	1,845	406
—	—	—
36	13,051	2,614

Admiral ALLEMONDE,  
Vice-admiral CALLEMBERGH.  
Rear-admiral VANDERGOES.

## THE FRENCH FLEET.

The VAN.

26 Ships from 90 to 60 guns.

The CENTRE.

25 Ships from 104 to 54 guns.

The REAR.

12 Ships from 94 to 54 guns.

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engaged

engaged them ; but, the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor : and about this time it was that captain (some lists call him colonel) Hastings, in the Sandwich, was killed, driving through those ships of the enemy, by reason his anchors were not clear. The weather clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, and the English chased the best they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the English blue squadron, having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having lost four ships, bore away for Conquet-Road<sup>c</sup>. In this short action rear-admiral Carter was killed, whose last words effectually confuted the base reports spread to blemish his reputation ; for, finding himself mortally wounded, he recommended it to captain Wright, who commanded his ship, to fight her as long as she could swim<sup>d</sup>.

The 20th of May proved so dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the Dutch discovered the enemy ; and then the whole fleet began to chase, the French crowding away westward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored ; about ten they weighed again, and about twelve admiral Russel's fore-top-mast came by the board<sup>e</sup>.

On the 22d, about seven in the morning, the English fleet continued the chase with all the success they could desire ; about eleven the French admiral ran a-shore, and cut her masts away ; upon this her two seconds plyed up to her, and other ships began to hover about them ; upon which the admiral sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, who was in the rear, to keep with him a strength sufficient to destroy those ships, and to send the rest, that were under his command, to join the body of the fleet. In the evening a great number of the enemy's ships were seen going into La Hogue. On the 23d the admiral sent in Sir George Rooke, with several men of war, fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to destroy these ships in the bay. On their entering, it was

<sup>c</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 139, 140, 141. Life of king William, p. 332.

<sup>d</sup> The manner of his death shews how false the aspersion was, that he had taken ten thousand pounds to fire upon the French only with powder, who were to return the like, and then he was to go over to them with his squadron. As he certainly died like a man of honour, it is but just to believe, that he was strictly such while he lived.

<sup>e</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 143.

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perceived, that there were thirteen sail; but they were got up so high, that none but the small frigates could do any service. Sir George, however, was resolved to execute his orders; and therefore, having manned his boats, he went in person to encourage the attempt, burnt six of them that night, and the other seven the next morning, together with a great number of transports ships, and other vessels laden with ammunition. One would think this was a remarkable piece of service: indeed it was by much the greatest that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on shore, and within sight of the Irish camp, and with the loss only of ten men<sup>h</sup>: yet bishop Burnet, by an odd stroke, either of ill humour or great negligence, has thought fit to blame Sir George, as if he had not been inclined to fight.

Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, till they ran through the race of Alderney, among such rocks and shoals as our pilots were absolutely against following them; for which that admiral has been also censured, though perhaps without cause, since some of the ablest seamen in England were of opinion, that there could not be a more desperate undertaking than the flight of the French ships through that passage. But though despair might justify them, yet it does not appear to me an argument, that Sir John Ashby ought to have followed them<sup>i</sup>. The two following original letters will set some other circumstances in a better light, and with greater weight of evidence, than could be done otherwise. Besides they are (the latter especially) become so scarce, as hardly to be met with.

<sup>h</sup> It appears by admiral Allemonde's letter to the states general, that this was a most difficult and dangerous undertaking; and his letter was dated the very morning the thing was done, which is a much stronger proof of admiral Rooke's merit, than if it had been written by an English admiral. *Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies*, tome iii. p. 422. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xii. p. 624.

<sup>i</sup> The reader will be satisfied of this, if he casts his eye upon a sea chart, and considers the prodigious risk the French ran, in order to get through the race of Alderney. This circumstance is particularly taken notice of in our tar song on the victory of La Hogue, which shews what the seamen thought of it.

Sir RALPH DELAVAL's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham.  
From on board the Royal Sovereign.

" I believe it my duty to acquaint you, that on the 21st instant, admiral Ruffel having made 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 Cherburgh, I stood in for that place, where I found three three-decked ships of the enemy, but so close to the shore, and within some rocks, that it was not safe for me to attempt them till I had informed myself of the road, they being hawled into shoal water.

" I immediately took my boats, and founded 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 so extremely, and, finding the five ships could not get in, I judged it best to retreat without shot, and there anchored, and immediately called all the captains, where it was resolved to attack them in the morning with all the third and fourth rates, and fire-ships. But, after having drawn them into four fathoms and a half 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 of them, going myself with all the barges and tenders to take them up, if by the enemy's shot they should miscarry.

" Indeed I may say, and I hope without vanity, the service was warm, yet, God be praised, so effectually performed, that, notwithstanding all their shot both from their ships and fort, two of our fire-ships had good success by burning two of them; the other, by an unfortunate shot, was set on fire, being just going on board the enemy. Indeed, so brave was the attempt, that I think they can hardly be sufficiently re-

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warded, and doubt not but their majesties will do them right.  
 “ The third French ship being run a-shore, and observing the  
 “ people on board to go a-shore by boats-full, I ordered the St.  
 “ Alban’s, the Reserve, and others, to fire upon her, judging it  
 “ might cause them to quit her. And, after having battered  
 “ her some time, I observed she made no resistance, I took all  
 “ the boats armed, and went on board her.

“ I found abundance of men on board, and several wounded,  
 “ but no officers; and having caused all the people as well  
 “ those that were wounded as others, to be taken out, I set her  
 “ on fire, and had I not had notice by my scouts, that thirty  
 “ ships were standing with me, 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 Hogue, where I am informed three or four of the ene-  
 “ my’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, ha-  
 “ ving left him in chace of them last night, standing to the east-  
 “ ward, 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 reward 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 ex-  
 “ cuse for being thus tedious, and thus particular. Pray God  
 “ preserve their majesties; and that their arms may be ever  
 “ crowned with success by sea and land, shall be the prayers  
 “ and endeavours of, &c.

“ Cherburgh, May 22, 1692.

“ 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 deserves as well as the  
 “ others.”

Admiral

## Admiral RUSSEL's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham.

“ My LORD,

Portsmouth, June 2, 1692.

“ SINCE your lordship seems to think, that an account in  
 “ general of the fleet's good success, is not so satisfactory as one  
 “ setting forth the particulars, I here send it with as much bre-  
 “ vity as the matter will admit of. I must confess I was not  
 “ much inclined to trouble you in this nature, not being ambi-  
 “ tious to see my name in print on any occasion; but since it is  
 “ your lordship's command, I am the more inclined to give you  
 “ the best information I am able of the action, having seen se-  
 “ veral printed relations not very sincere.

“ Wednesday in the evening, being the 18th of May, stand-  
 “ ing over for Cape la Hogue, I ordered captain Gillam in the  
 “ Chester, and the Charles galley, to ly at such a distance to  
 “ the westward of the fleet, that they might discover any sig-  
 “ nals made from me.

“ Thursday the 19th, standing with a small gale S. S. W.  
 “ the wind at W. and W. by S. hazy weather, Cape Barfleur  
 “ bearing then S. W. and by S. from me, distant about seven  
 “ leagues. Between three and four in the morning, we heard  
 “ several guns to the westward, and in a short time I saw the  
 “ two frigates making the signal of seeing the enemy, with their  
 “ heads lying to the northward, which gave me reason to think  
 “ that the enemy lay with their heads that way. Upon which,  
 “ I ordered the signal to be made for the fleet's drawing into a  
 “ line of battle; after which I made the signal for the rear of  
 “ the fleet to tack, that, if the enemy stood to the northward,  
 “ we might the sooner come to engage. But soon after four  
 “ o'clock, the sun had a little cleared the weather, and I saw  
 “ the French fleet standing to the southward, forming their line  
 “ on the same tack that I was upon. I then ordered the signal  
 “ for the rear to tack to be taken in, and at the same time bore  
 “ away with my own ship so far to leeward, as I judged each  
 “ ship in the fleet might fetch my wake or grain; then brought  
 “ to again, lying by with my fore-top-sail to the mast, to give  
 “ the ships in the fleet the better opportunity of placing them-  
 “ selves as they had been before directed. By eight o'clock we

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“ had formed an indifferent line, stretching from the S. S. W.  
“ to the N. N. E. the Dutch in the van, the red in the centre,  
“ and the blue in the rear.

“ By nine o'clock the enemy's van-guard had stretched almost  
“ as far to the southward as ours, their admiral and rear-admi-  
“ ral of the blue, that were in the rear, closing the line, and  
“ their vice-admiral of the same division stretching to the rear of  
“ our fleet, but never coming within gun-shot of them. About  
“ ten they bore down upon us, I still lying with my fore-top-  
“ sail to the mast. I then observed monsieur Tourville, the  
“ French admiral, put out his signal for battle. I gave orders  
“ that mine should not be hoisted till the fleets began to en-  
“ gage, that he might have the fairer opportunity of coming as  
“ near me as he thought convenient; and at the same time I  
“ sent orders to admiral Allemonde, that, as soon as any of his  
“ squadron could weather the enemy's fleet, they should tack  
“ and get to the westward of them, as also to the blue to make  
“ fail, and close the line, they being at some distance a-stern;  
“ but, as soon as the fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which  
“ prevented their so doing. About half an hour after eleven,  
“ monsieur Tourville in the Royal Sun, (being within three  
“ quarters musket-shot) brought to, lying by me at that  
“ distance about an hour and a half, plying his guns very  
“ warmly, though I must observe to you, that our men fired  
“ their guns faster. After which time, I did not find his guns  
“ were fired with that vigour as before, and I could see him in  
“ great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being shot,  
“ and no body endeavouring to make them serviceable, and his  
“ boats towing of him to windward, gave me reason to think  
“ he was much galled. About two the wind shifted to the N. W.  
“ and by W. and some little time after that, five fresh ships of  
“ the enemy's blue squadron came and posted themselves three  
“ a-head of monsieur Tourville, and two a-stern of him, and  
“ fired with great fury, which continued till after three.

“ About four in the evening there came so thick a fog, that  
“ we could not see a ship of the enemy's, which occasioned our  
“ leaving off firing for a long time; and then it cleared up, and  
“ we could see monsieur Tourville towing away with his boats  
“ to the northward from us. Upon which, I did the same, and  
“ ordered

" ordered all my division to do the like ; and about half an hour  
 " after five we had a small breeze of wind easterly. I then  
 " made the signal for the fleet to chace, sending notice to all the  
 " ships about me, that the enemy were running. About this  
 " time I heard several broadsides to the westward ; and, though  
 " I could not see the ships that fired, I concluded them to be  
 " our blue, that, by the shift of wind, had weathered the ene-  
 " my ; but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the red, who had  
 " weathered Tourville's squadron, and got between them and  
 " their admiral of the blue, where they lay firing some time ;  
 " and then Tourville anchored with some ships of his own divi-  
 " sion, as also the rear-admiral of the red, with some of his.  
 " This was the time that captain Hastings in the Sandwich was  
 " killed, he driving through those ships by reason of his an-  
 " chors not being clear. I could not see this part because of  
 " the great smoke and fog, but have received this information  
 " from Sir Cloudesley Shovel since.

" I sent to all the ships that I could think were near me, to  
 " chace to the westward all night, telling them I designed to  
 " follow the enemy to Brest, and sometimes we could see a  
 " French ship, two or three, standing away with all the sail  
 " they could make to the westward. About eight I heard firing  
 " to the westward, which lasted about half an hour, it being  
 " some of our blue fallen in with some of the ships of the ene-  
 " my in the fog. It was foggy, and very little wind all night.

" Friday the 20th, it was so thick in the morning that I could  
 " see none of the enemy's ships, and but very few of our own.  
 " About eight it began to clear up : the Dutch, who were to  
 " the southward of me, made the signal of seeing the enemy ;  
 " and, as it cleared, I saw about thirty-two or thirty-four sail  
 " distant from us between two and three leagues, the wind at  
 " E. N. E. and they bearing from us W. S. W. our fleet cha-  
 " cing with all the sail they could make, having taken in the  
 " signal for the line of battle, that each ship might make the  
 " best of her way after the enemy. Between eleven and twelve  
 " the wind came to the S. W. The French plied to the west-  
 " ward with all the sail they could, and we after them. About  
 " four, the tide of ebb being done, the French anchored, as also  
 " we in forty-three fathom water, Cape Barfleur bearing S. and

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“ by W. About ten in the evening we weighed with the tide  
 “ of ebb, the wind at S. W. and plied to the westward. About  
 “ twelve my fore-top mast came by the board, having received  
 “ several shot.

“ Saturday the 21<sup>st</sup> we continued still plying after the enemy  
 “ till four in the morning. The tide of ebb being done, I an-  
 “ chored in forty-six fathom water, Cape la Hogue bearing S.  
 “ and by W. and the island of Alderney S. S. W. By my top-  
 “ mast's going away, the Dutch squadron, and the admiral of  
 “ the blue, with several of his squadron, had got a great way  
 “ to windward of me. About seven in the morning, several of  
 “ the enemy's ships; being far advanced towards the race, I per-  
 “ ceived driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Between  
 “ eight and nine, when they were driven so far to the eastward  
 “ that I could fetch them, I made the signal for the fleet to cut  
 “ and follow the enemy, which they all did, except the afore-  
 “ mentioned weathermost ships, which rid fast to observe the  
 “ motion of the rest of the enemy's ships that continued in the  
 “ race of Alderney. About eleven I saw three great ships, fair  
 “ under the shore, tack and stand to the westward; but, after  
 “ making two or three short boards, the biggest of them ran  
 “ a-shore, who presently cut his masts away; the other two,  
 “ being to leeward of him, plied up to him. The reason, as I  
 “ judge, of their doing this, was, that they could not weather  
 “ our sternmost ships to the westward, nor get out a-head of  
 “ us to the eastward.

“ I observing that many of our ships hovered about those, I  
 “ sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was  
 “ in the rear of our fleet, to keep such a number of ships and  
 “ fire-ships with him as might be sufficient to destroy those of  
 “ the enemy, and to order the others to follow me, I being  
 “ then in pursuit of the rest of the enemy: an account of the  
 “ performing that service I do not trouble your lordship with,  
 “ he having given it you already. About four in the afternoon  
 “ eighteen sail of the enemy's ships got to the eastward of Cape  
 “ Barfleur, after which I observed they hauled in for La Hogue:  
 “ the rear-admiral of the red, vice-admiral of the blue, and  
 “ some other ships, were a-head of me. About ten at night I  
 “ anchored in the bay of La Hogue, and lay till four the next  
 “ morning, being

“ Sunday the 22d; and then I weighd and stood in near the  
 “ land of La Hogue; but, when we found the flood came, we  
 “ anchored in a good sandy ground. At two in the afternoon  
 “ we weighd again, and plied clofe in with La Hogue, where  
 “ we faw thirteen fail of the enemy’s men of war hauled clofe  
 “ in with the shore. The rear-admiral of the red tells me, that  
 “ the night before he faw the other five, which made up the  
 “ eighteen I firft chased, stand to the eastward.

“ Monday the 23d, I fent in vice-admiral Rooke with feveral  
 “ men of war and fire-ships, as alfo the boats of the fleet, to  
 “ deftroy thofe ships; but the enemy had gotten them fo near  
 “ the shore, that not any of our men of war, except the fmall  
 “ frigates, could do any fervice; but that night vice-admiral  
 “ Rooke, with the boats, burnt fix of them.

“ Tuesday the 24th, about eight in the morning, he went in  
 “ again with the boats, and burnt the other feven, together with  
 “ feveral transport ships and fome veffels with ammunition, the  
 “ names of which ships I am not yet able to give your lordship  
 “ any other account of than what I formerly fent you, which  
 “ are as follow :

Ships names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Soleil Royal,	Count de Tourville,	104
L’Ambitieux,	{ Chevalier de la Villette, vice- admiral of the blue, }	104
L’Admirable,	Monsieur Beaujeau,	90
La Magnifique,	{ Monsieur Cottologon, rear-ad- miral of the blue, }	76
Le St. Philip,	Monsieur Infreville,	76
Le Conquerant,	Du Magnon,	76
Le Triumphant,	Monsieur Bellemont,	74
L’Etonant,	Monsieur de Septime,	80
Le Terrible,	Monsieur Septvilla,	80
L’Amiable,	Monsieur de Raal,	68
Le Fier,	Monsieur Larsethoir,	68
Le Glorieux,	Le C. Chateaumoorant,	60
Le Serieux,	Monsieur Bernier,	60
Le Trident,	Monsieur Montcaud,	56

“ All the prifoners report a three-deck ship burnt by acci-  
 “ dent, and the following funk, how true I do not know.

Ships

Ships names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Le Prince,	Monsieur Bagneuz,	60
Le Sanspareil,	Monsieur Ferille,	60

“ Though these be all the names that I have been able to learn, yet I am sure there are sixteen ships of consequence burnt.

“ Wednesday the 25th, I sailed from La Hogue, ordering the admiral of the blue, with a squadron of English and Dutch ships under his command, to run along the enemy's coast, as far as Havre de Grace, in hopes that some of the before-mentioned five ships, that stood to the eastward, might have been got thither; but he informs me that, upon his appearing before that place, he could perceive but one or two small vessels. The number of the enemy's ships did not exceed fifty men of war, by the best information, from fifty-six to one hundred and four guns; and though it must be confessed, that our number was superior to theirs, which probably at first might startle them, yet, by their coming down with that resolution, I cannot think it had any great effect upon them: and this I may affirm for a truth, not with any intention to value our own action, or to lessen the bravery of the enemy, that they were beaten by a number considerably less than theirs, the calmness and thickness of the weather giving very few of the Dutch or the blue the opportunity of engaging, which I am sure they look upon as a great misfortune; and, had the weather proved otherwise, I do not see how it was possible for any of them to have escaped us.

“ This is the exactest account that I am able to give you, which I hope will prove to your lordship's satisfaction. Vice-admiral Rooke has given me a very good character of several men employed in the boats, and I have ordered him to give me a list of the names of such persons whose behaviour was remarkable, in order to their reward. I am,

“ My LORD,

“ Your Lordship's most faithful,

“ humble servant,

“ E. RUSSEL.”

\* Admiral Russel's letter to the earl of Nottingham, containing an exact and particular relation of the late happy victory and success against the French fleet. Published by authority. In the Savoy printed by Edward Jones, 1692; folio.

It is very remarkable, that, though the confederate fleet was near double to that of the French, yet scarce half of it could engage, which was owing to their original disposition, (by which, as the reader may remember, the blue squadron, of which Sir George Rooke was rear-admiral, was directed to tack northward, and to weather), not at all to any deficiency in that admiral; as bishop Burnet alledges<sup>l</sup>; yet the defeat was one of the most signal that ever happened at sea. If, indeed, Sir John Ashby could have reached those that took shelter in St. Maloes, it had in a good measure put an end to the French power at sea<sup>m</sup>. As it was, we must acknowledge it a most glorious victory, and that we ought to pay a just tribute of praise to the memories of all the brave men who atchieved it.

We find this affair, notwithstanding all the ruinous consequences that attended it, treated in such a style by the French writers, as to make it appear rather a victory than a defeat; and all this founded on the single circumstance of their attacking the English fleet<sup>n</sup>. In order to explain that, we must observe, that count Tourville found himself obliged to take this step, in obedience to his orders, which were so express, that they did not leave any room for him to exercise his judgment. He called a council of war, indeed, the night before the engagement, wherein most of the officers gave their opinions, that, considering the superiority of the confederate fleet, and the situation themselves were in, it was most prudent to avoid fighting. Upon this, after declaring his own sentiments to be the same with theirs, he produced the king's orders, which appeared to be so precise for fighting the English, whether strong or weak, that it was unanimously resolved to obey them<sup>o</sup>. Several reasons have been assigned for the French king's giving such orders; and

<sup>l</sup> See his history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 93. <sup>m</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 146. Kenner's history of England, vol. iii. p. 640, 641. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. iii. p. 73. *Columina rostrata*, p. 260, 261. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xii. p. 651. <sup>n</sup> *Hist. militaire de Lewis XIV.* tome ii. p. 583. *Journal historique de Lewis XIV.* par P. Daniel, p. 164. *Hist. de milice Française*, tome ii. p. 491. *Memoirs de Forbin*. Reincoart, tome iii. p. 218. *Histoire chronologique du dernier siècle*, p. 226. See *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xii. p. 634, 639.

<sup>o</sup> *Hist. militaire*, tome ii. p. 580, 581. Reincoart, tome iii. p. 216. In all probability count Tourville called this council of war to justify himself in respect to the sense in which he understood the king's orders.

amongst these the most probable is, that he was mistaken as to the strength of both fleets.

As to his own, he looked upon it as certain, that count d'Estrees, with his squadron, would have joined the fleet before any opportunity offered of fighting, and that count Tourville's line of battle should have consisted of sixty-six ships at least. He was, however, deceived in both: count d'Estrees met with such bad weather in passing the streights of Gibraltar, that, notwithstanding all the pains he could take, his squadron did not arrive at La Hogue till after the battle; and, though there were at that time sixty-six French men of war at sea, yet, from the detachments made for particular services, count Tourville had but forty-four actually under his command, when he took this resolution to fight <sup>9</sup>. On the other side it was presumed, that the English and Dutch fleets could not have joined so early, and that, if they had, still it would be impossible for them to unite with their two great squadrons then at sea, before the junction of the French fleets. In this, too, the king's foresight failed him; but then it was owing to that bold stroke of admiral Russel before-mentioned, by which he joined the Dutch squadron ten days sooner than he could have done, if he had taken his pilot's advice <sup>9</sup>.

There is yet another circumstance mentioned by French authors, as supposed by some to have been a reason for the king's orders, and it is this, that the greatest part of the English fleet were expected to desert, from which it is pretended they were deterred by finding count Tourville so weak<sup>r</sup>. As these very authors treat this story as a calumny, there seems to be the less reason for my refuting it: yet, since it may be done in very few words, I cannot but observe, that this is absolutely contradicted by another circumstance, in which both our writers and theirs agree, *viz.* that, upon the junction of our fleet, the French king sent two orders by different routes to count Tourville, to forbid his fighting for that reason: but the master of a small vessel,

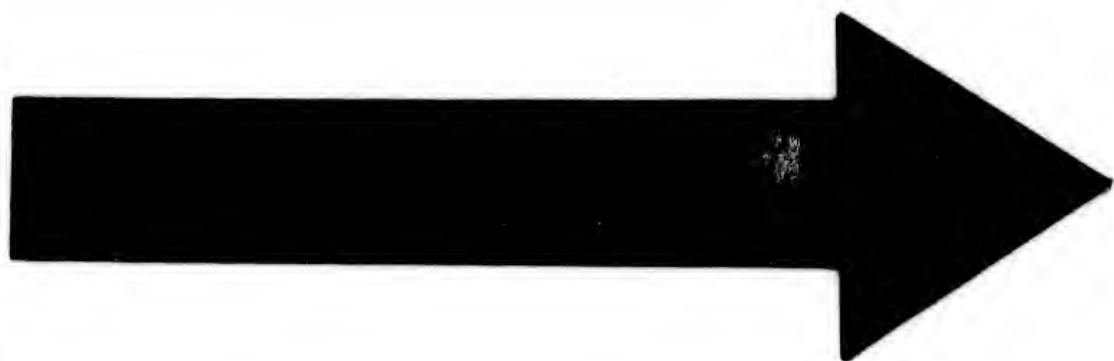
<sup>r</sup> P. P. Daniel, M. de Quincy, and indeed all the foreign writers in general, agree in this.

<sup>9</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 467. I have likewise had the same confirmed to me by officers who served on board the fleet.

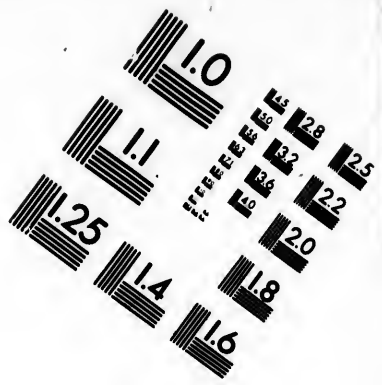
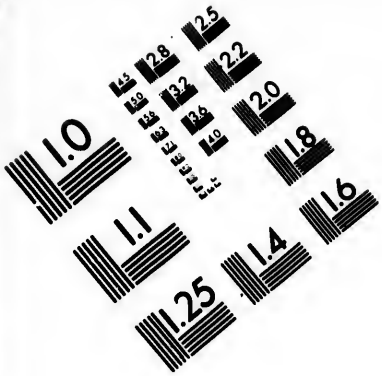
<sup>r</sup> Hist. militaire, *ubi supra*.

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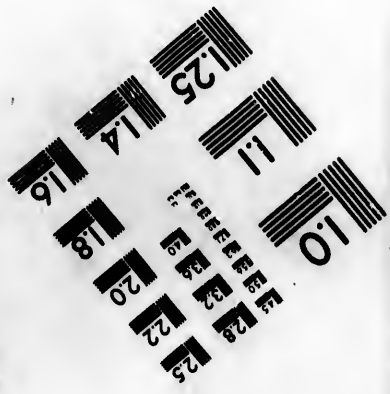
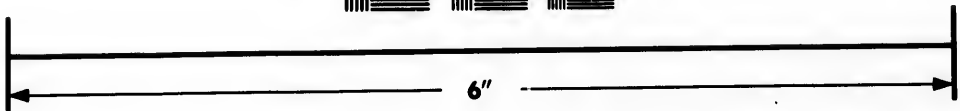
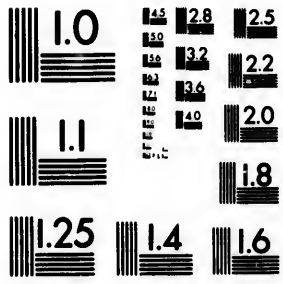
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which carried one, was taken off Cape Barfleur by captain Wyville, before he could join the French fleet; and the other, which came over land, was too late by several days<sup>o</sup>. This, however, plainly proves, that king Lewis did not depend upon the desertion of the English fleet, but upon their not joining the Dutch.

After a particular account of the first day's engagement, the marquis de Quincy proceeds thus: "As to the advantage gained in this fight, it must be allowed us, that count Tourville did not lose so much as a ship, nor had he any that were disabled; while, on the other hand, the enemy lost two, one sunk, and the other disabled. The rest of their ships were as ill treated as his, besides their spending abundance of fire-ships without any effect. Thus, in spite of the prodigious inequality of the fleets, the success was at least equal in the first day's engagement: it is true, it happened otherwise in the succeeding days, in which, however, there fell out nothing that ought to tarnish the reputation of France at sea, since, while there remained any room for courage to exert itself, they not only acted gallantly in their own defence, but made themselves respected by their enemies. What afterwards followed was the effect of unforeseen accidents, and inevitable misfortunes."

Yet, after this fine flourish, the marquis fairly confesses, the French flags ran for it, and that their other ships did the best they could to follow them; but partly through the want of safe ports on their own coasts, and partly through the vigorous pursuit of the English, they were burnt and destroyed in the manner before-related<sup>o</sup>. Neither doth this writer, or any other of the French historians, pretend to diminish their own loss, or to say that our admirals did not do their duty. On the contrary, they ascribe the safe retreat of part of their ships into the road of St. Maloes, to their lucky passage through that dangerous streight, which I have before mentioned<sup>w</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> Burchet's memoirs; p. 468. and the French author last cited. <sup>c</sup> Hist. militaire, tome ii. p. 587. But all this must be owned extremely modest to father Daniel's account. <sup>u</sup> Hist. militaire, P. Daniel, &c. <sup>w</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 640. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 73. Life of king William, p. 334.

When admiral Ruffel was satisfied, that the grand fleet could not do any farther service against the French, the season of the year and their circumstances considered, he resolved to return to St. Helen's, as well to refit the vessels that were damaged in the late fight, as to obtain a supply of provisions and ammunition. This design he executed very happily, since he had scarce left the French coast, before the weather became so tempestuous, that his heavy ships must have suffered exceedingly, and such as had lost their masts would probably have perished. Yet this measure, so prudent in itself, and so fortunate in its event, has been censured, as if the admiral had shewn too great eagerness to be at home, and too little care to prosecute his victory<sup>x</sup>.

However, before he took this step, he left Sir John Ashby with twelve English ships, and three fire-ships, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron of like force, commanded by vice-admiral Callemberg, with orders to sail to Havre de Grace, and to endeavour the destruction of so many of the French fleet as had taken shelter there; which service, indeed, they did not perform, the enemy's situation, and the stormy weather, rendering it altogether impracticable<sup>y</sup>. So that to blame the admiral for not exposing the fleet, when it was impossible for him to have done any thing, is to shew a disposition of finding fault at the expence of the nation's safety, since succeeding commanders are not like to use their judgments freely, when they find their predecessors suffer in reputation for doing what prudence, and regard to the safety of the fleet, directed. The true reason, or rather the principal reason, which influenced admiral Ruffel on this occasion, was his desire to make the most of his victory, by immediately taking on board the troops intended for a descent, and carrying them over, with all possible expedition, to the coast of France<sup>z</sup>.

It is not easy to give any tolerable account of this descent, since neither our public historians, nor the writers of private memoirs, have been able to leave us any certain scheme of this design, farther than that it was to be a descent on the French coast, in order to alarm and distract that nation. Thus much is certain, that both we and the Dutch seemed to have very great

<sup>x</sup> Buract's history, vol. ii. p. 94.

<sup>y</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 467,

468.

<sup>z</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 642, 648.

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confidence in this expedition, which was provided for at a vast expence, and in order to which a promotion of officers was made on purpose. At first several regiments of horse were intended to have been sent; but at last these were reduced to fifty horse, and two hundred dragoons<sup>a</sup>. It is evident enough from his conduct, that admiral Ruffel was not in the secret of this scheme, if indeed there was any such secret, but knew in general only, that these troops were designed to land in France, and therefore he thought this the most proper opportunity for executing the project, be it what it would.

This was his great motive for returning to the English coast; and, to be sure, he acted therein with great judgment and prudence. In his passage, however, he met with very rough weather, and, on his arrival, with a very great disappointment; for instead of finding the troops ready to embark, and himself furnished with orders and instructions for the execution of the enterprize, he was informed by letters from the secretary of state, that no certain resolution was as yet taken in what service to employ them, but that this was left to be settled by a general council of land and sea-officers, when the fleet and the transports should be joined<sup>b</sup>. The plain source of all this confusion was, that the ministers of state were not disposed to take upon themselves the direction of an affair, which they were apprehensive would miscarry, but were willing to put it upon the land and sea officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

At last, very late in the month of July, the transports, with the forces on board, joined the fleet; and, on the 28th of the same month, a council of war was held on board the Breda, where the schemes, or rather hints of the ministry were seriously considered; and, upon a whole, resolved to be impracticable<sup>c</sup>.

The

<sup>a</sup> *Memoires historiques. Mercure historique et politique, tome xiii. p. 104; 215, 225. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. II. p. 74. Columna rostrata, p. 261.* <sup>b</sup> *Burchet's naval history, p. 471. Memoirs of admiral Ruffel.*

<sup>c</sup> We have this in Burchet from the original; and, as it is absolutely necessary for the perfect understanding this part of the history, I shall lay it before the reader.

At a council of war, held on board the Breda the 28th of July, present, flag-officers, the right honourable Edward Ruffel, admiral; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral

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The admiral, however, sent Sir John Ashby with a stout squadron to endeavour, if possible, to intercept the French fleet, which was every day expected to sail from St. Maloe's to Brest;

admiral of the red; George Rooke, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear admiral of the red; David Mitchell, Esq; first captain to the admiral.

**DUTCH.** Admiral Allemonde; vice-admiral Callemberg; rear admiral Vandergoes; rear-admiral Evertzen; rear-admiral Muys.

**General and field officers.** His grace the duke of Leinster, lieutenant-general of all the forces; earl of Galway; Sir Henry Bellisle; monsieur de la Meloniere; Sir David Collier; colonel Beveridge; monsieur de Cambon; colonel Selwin; earl of Argyle.

The resolutions they came to, follow: "The matter of burning the ships at St. Maloe's being maturely considered, vice-admiral Rooke, and vice-admiral Callemberg, (who were lately sent with a squadron of ships before that port), representing the great difficulty of carrying the ships in there, by reason of the multitude of rocks, and the rapidity of the tides, and the pilots refusing to conduct any frigates or fire-ships into the harbour, because the marks might be removed, it was the opinion of the flag officers, that it was not practicable to attempt any thing against the enemy's ships at St. Maloe's, with any part of the fleet, until the town itself could be so far reduced by the land-forces, as that ships might not receive any great annoyance from the enemy's guns in the attempt; and the general and field officers of the army were of opinion, that the troops could not do any service at that place without the assistance of the fleet.

"It was then considered, whether it was feasible to make any attempt on the enemy's ships at Brest; and although the flag officers were of opinion, that an attempt might be made there with some hopes of success, if the summer had not been so far spent, yet, considering the winter was approaching, they did not think it proper to attack the enemy's ships in that port, since the fleet might be exposed to very great inconveniencies, should they be wind-bound near that place: and it was the opinion of the general and field officers of the army, that they should not be able to do any service there against the enemy, unless they could be protected by the fleet. The flag officers, likewise, thought it not safe for the fleet to attempt any thing against the enemy at Rochfort, the season of the year being so far spent, and the place itself lying so deep in the bay.

"It was in the next place considered, whether the fleet might ly with safety on the coast of Normandy to protect the army in an attempt either at Havre de Grace, La Hogue, or any place thereabouts; and the flag officers judged, that it might ly with safety on that coast, until towards the end of the next month, in case their majesties service should require it."

The flags came also to the following separate resolution:

"That, since the transport ships with the land forces were come to the fleet, in order to try what might be done against the enemy either at St. Maloe's, Brest, or Rochfort, it was their opinion that something might have been attempted with probability of success, were not the season of the year so far spent as not to admit of the fleet's going with safety thither."



and, as soon as this was done, the admiral, with the rest of the fleet and the transports, sailed for La Hogue.

Secretary Burchet seems to say, that in his passage he received orders from the queen to return, and that, in obedience to these orders, he came back in a few days to St. Helen's<sup>d</sup>. Yet there is something very improbable in this, if we consider, that as soon as an express, dispatched by the duke of Leinster, arrived at Whitehall with this news, the queen sent down to the fleet the marquis of Caermarthen then lord-president of the council, the earl of Devonshire lord-steward, the earl of Dorset lord-chamberlain, the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, and the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to know the reason of their return, and to take proper measures for their putting to sea again immediately<sup>e</sup>. These lords on their arrival found all the troops, except two regiments, on board, and the fleet wind-bound. Every body then expected that the troops would reembark, and at last they did so; but, instead of proceeding to France, they sailed under the escort of a squadron of men of war, part to Ostend, and part to Newport. There were two hundred and forty transport-ships, six or seven thousand men, a prodigious quantity of ammunition of all sorts, and whatever seemed requisite for executing a great design, though so little came of it<sup>f</sup>.

One cannot wonder, that, on so flagrant a miscarriage as this, the mouths of all the world were opened. The English, who are not very famous for their patience on such occasions, made no difficulty of saying, that the nation was plundered and abused, and that, after immense sums were drawn out of the people's pockets by the most grievous and burdensome taxes, they were idly squandered away in chimerical projects. The Dutch scrupled not to exclaim against the treachery of the king's counsellors, and to affirm that every thing, that was transacted at London, was so speedily betrayed to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any success from designs concerted there. The French, according to their usual manner, exulted strangely on their deliverance, and attributed to the wisdom and power of

<sup>d</sup> Naval history, p. 476.

<sup>e</sup> Life of king William, p. 344. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome xiii. p. 226. Kennet.

<sup>f</sup> The political memoirs for the month of September, 1692, say, there were 16,000; but all our historians mention the numbers I have inserted,

Lewis XIV. what was the pure effect of cross accidents and party resentments<sup>g</sup>.

I must not, however, forget, that some refined politicians pretended, that this scheme had its effect; that king William intended no more than alarming the French court, and obliging them to keep great bodies of men constantly on their coasts, and to be at a vast expence to watch the motion of this small body of troops, which gave his majesty the greater liberty of acting in Flanders. Yet this appears strangely improbable, if we consider the return of the fleet to St. Helen's, since, if this had been the design, it would certainly have proceeded directly to Ostend. Others would persuade us, that the intention of the court was to have landed the forces at port St. Sebastian's; but, when the orders were opened at sea, all the admirals were of opinion, that it was utterly impracticable. The resolutions of the council of war shew, that this conjecture was groundless. The bottom of the business was a design upon Brest, which might have been executed, if the transports had been ready, as the admiral advised, in May<sup>h</sup>. It is certain, therefore, where-ever the fault lay, it was not in him.

After the sending these troops into Flanders, the great ships were ordered about to Chatham, and the fleet divided into squadrons, as was judged most convenient for the service: and thus ended the public transactions of this year<sup>i</sup>. It may not, however, be amiss, before we speak of the parliamentary inquiry into the mistakes in the management of the navy, to mention one or two extraordinary exploits at sea, though of a private nature, and the rather, because otherwise things of this kind, though in respect to the persons who perform them very worthy of remembrance, must naturally sink into oblivion.

On the 24th of February, a French privateer took a small ship called the *Friend's Adventure*, belonging to the port of Exeter; and on the 29th captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the privateer, took out of her the master and five of his men, leaving none on board but the mate, Robert Lyde of Topsham,

<sup>g</sup> See Burnet's history of his own times, and the first volume of the state tracts in the reign of king William.

<sup>h</sup> The reader will find this clearly explained hereafter.

<sup>i</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 167, 168. and naval history, p. 476.

a man of twenty-three years of age, and John Wright a boy of sixteen, with seven Frenchmen, who had orders to navigate the ship to St. Maloe's. But, when they were off Cape La Hogue, a strong south-east wind drove them from the French coast; upon which the man and boy, on the 6th of March, took their opportunity, when two of the Frenchmen were at the pump, one at the helm, one on the fore-castle, and three sleeping in their cabbins, to attack them<sup>k</sup>. The mate with an iron crow killed one of the men at the pump, and knocked down the other at one blow; the boy at the same instant knocked down the man on the fore-castle, and then they secured and bound the man at the helm. One of the Frenchmen, running up from between decks to the assistance of his companions, was wounded by the mate; but the two others, coming to his relief, seized, and had like to have secured him, if the boy had not come up briskly to his assistance, and, after a sharp struggle, killed one, and gave the other quarter. Having thus made themselves masters of the ship, they put the two, who were disabled by their wounds, into bed, ordered a third to look after them, and secured them between decks; one they kept bound in the steerage, and made use of the remaining man to navigate the vessel, which on the 9th of March they brought safely into Topsham, with five prisoners on board<sup>l</sup>.

About the same time one captain Richard Griffith, and his boy John Codanon, recovered their sloop, called the Tryal, from five Frenchmen, put on board them by a captain of a man of war; and having wounded three, and forced all five down into the hold, brought the vessel, with their prisoners, safe into Falmouth<sup>m</sup>. These, though strong testimonies of prodigious firmness of mind, and daring resolution, yet at the same time shew, how much our trade was exposed to the French privateers; and indeed it must be confessed, that it suffered far less in the prece-

<sup>k</sup> A true and exact account of the retaking a ship, called the Friend's Adventure, of Topsham, from the French, after she had been taken six days; and they were upon the coasts of France with it four days, where one Englishman and a boy set upon seven Frenchmen, killed two of them, took the other five prisoners, and brought the ship and them safe to England; their majesties customs of the said ship amounting to a thousand pounds and upwards. Performed and written by Robert Lyde, mate of the same ship. London, 1693, 4<sup>to</sup>, p. 2.

<sup>l</sup> See the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2749.

<sup>m</sup> See the London Gazette,

N<sup>o</sup>. 2743.

ding year, when the French were masters at sea, than in this, when their grand fleet was blocked up in their ports<sup>a</sup>.

This circumstance of our losing so many ships, after so great a victory at sea, excited much clamour, especially among the merchants, though the reasons assigned for it by the board of admiralty, were very plausible at least, if not satisfactory. They said, that the loss the French sustained so early in the year was the occasion of their seamen being dismissed the king's service, and suffered to go on board privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater force than ever, while, on the other hand, our keeping so great a fleet so long at sea rendered it impossible for the admiralty to furnish the merchants with proper convoys, at the same time that so large a number of men, as were employed on board the navy, forced our commanders of merchant-ships to proceed in their respective voyages worse manned than usual<sup>b</sup>.

The king opened the sessions of parliament on the 4th of November, in which he took notice both of their great success; and great disappointments at sea, which gave occasion to the subsequent inquiries. On the 11th the house of commons thanked admiral Ruffel, in very strong terms, for his courage and conduct in the affair of La Hogue; but this did not prevent a warm debate on account of the opportunities that were said to be lost after that signal victory<sup>c</sup>. The admiral furnished the house with all the letters, papers, and instructions that were necessary for their information, and entered into a large account of the whole affair. Then Sir John Ashby was examined as to his not executing the orders that were given him to destroy the French ships which got into St. Maloe's. Sir John cleared himself so handsomely, and set the whole matter in so fair a light, that the speaker, by order of the house, took notice of his ingenious be-

<sup>a</sup> This we find very strongly insisted upon by bishop Burnet in the history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 94.

<sup>b</sup> See Chandler's debates in the year 1692. My account is taken from a MS. intitled, Reflections on the present complaints of ill management at sea.

<sup>c</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 647. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 103. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 78.

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baviour at the bar, which gave such satisfaction, that he was dismissed from farther attendance.<sup>1</sup> Then the business of the descent was brought on the carpet, which was also thoroughly explained by the admiral, who shewed, that there were no less than twenty days intervenged between his letter to the earl of Nottingham and his lordship's answer. The house of lords entered also into an examination of this matter, where the earl of Nottingham not only justified himself, but reflected very severely upon admiral Russel; and the house went so far into his resentments, that, at a conference, they communicated to the commons some papers which the king, at that lord's request, had directed to be laid before them. But this was so far from producing the desired effect, that, immediately on the reading them, the commons resolved, that admiral Russel in his command of the fleet, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved himself with fidelity, courage, and conduct.<sup>2</sup>

In these debates, it appeared clearly to the house, that one great check on the public service was the want of timely and sufficient supplies; to remedy which in the succeeding year, they, on the 2d of December, resolved, that the sum of 1,926,516*l.* be granted to their majesties for the charge of the navy, including the charge of the ordnance, and the finishing their majesties naval yard at Hamose near Plymouth, and the building four bomb-vessels and eight new ships of the fourth rate.<sup>3</sup> They likewise took notice of admiral Russel's inveighing against the want of knowledge in sea-affairs in such as pretended to direct them; and therefore a motion was made, that they should come to a resolution of addressing his majesty to constitute a board of admiralty, composed of such persons as were of known experience

<sup>1</sup> See the votes of the house of commons, Chandler's debates, &c. So much easier it is to satisfy one of the houses of parliament, than to escape a critical historian.

<sup>2</sup> See the votes, Kenner's history of England, vol. iii. p. 648. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 103. The bishop says, that, notwithstanding lord Nottingham aggravated the admiral's errors and neglects, the house justified him, and gave him thanks over and over again; and, with respect to the papers, that the commons did not deign to read them, but renewed their first votes that justified Russel's fidelity, courage, and conduct.

<sup>3</sup> This shews a true British spirit; they join amendment with the discovery of the mischief.



in maritime affairs; but here the weight of the board, as it then stood, fully appeared, by its passing in the negative<sup>t</sup>.

Yet, to shew their distaste of the earl of Nottingham's interfering so much in maritime affairs, they addressed the king, that for the future all orders for the management of the fleet should pass through the hands of the commissioners of the admiralty<sup>u</sup>. But the admiral's victory here cost him too high a price; for the king, conceiving that he had shewn a much greater concern for his own interest and reputation than for his service, resolved, notwithstanding the great things he had done, to lay him aside for the present, and employ such as might make his affairs go easy; which design was executed soon after, though, as might have been readily foreseen, it failed of success<sup>w</sup>.

The warmth the parliament had expressed in providing for the sea-service, joined to the clamour that had been raised on the defeat of the late expedition, obliged the king to take very early care of whatever related to the affairs of the navy, that nothing might hinder the sending a stout fleet to sea in the beginning of the spring. In the month of January, therefore, his majesty was pleased to make a great change in the command of the fleet, in which he was supposed to follow chiefly the advice of the earl of Nottingham. Instead of appointing an admiral and commander in chief, he granted a commission to Henry Killigrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to execute that office<sup>x</sup>. Bishop Burnet says, that the two first were thought to be so much in king James's interest, that it was believed the king was putting the fleet into the hands of such as would betray

<sup>t</sup> It was rightly foreseen, that a lord high-admiral might be much more easily called to account than lords-commissioners, because, whenever the latter is done, the commissioners (if they have seats in parliament) must act against themselves. In this case the grand argument against the address was, that it reflected on his majesty's judgment, and so regard to compliment got the better of concern for the public.

<sup>u</sup> This address had a right intention; for, as things were managed before, the admiral was frequently more puzzled to understand his orders, than to execute them: and, whenever disputes arose about them, the admiral was sure to suffer; for the secretary intrenched himself behind his directions; so that there was no coming at him but through the council.

<sup>w</sup> Bishop Burnet represents the king's conduct in this respect in its true light, vol. ii. p. 103.

<sup>x</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2839. Mercure historique et politique, tom. xiv. p. 231.



him; for, though no exception lay against Shovel, yet he was but one to two<sup>y</sup>. Whether the bishop's conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the event very fully proved, that such a joint commission was a very bad expedient. Soon after his majesty made George Rooke, Esq; vice-admiral of the red, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq; rear-admiral of that squadron. John lord Berkley, vice-admiral, and David Mitchell, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue; and these promotions were declared on the 8th of February following<sup>z</sup>.

To give still a higher proof of the king's concern for, and attention to this necessary part of the public service, his majesty soon after went down to Portsmouth, as well to take a view of the state of the place and its fortifications, as to examine in person into the condition of that part of the fleet which was then there. On this occasion his majesty went on board the ship where vice-admiral Rooke had hoisted his flag, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon that admiral; after which he returned to London very well satisfied as to the condition of the fleet at Spithead<sup>a</sup>. On the 12th of April the right honourable Anthony, lord-viscount Falkland, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, Henry Priestman, Esq; Robert Austen, Esq; Sir Robert Rich, baronet, Henry Killebrew, Esq; and Sir Ralph Delaval, knight, were appointed commissioners of the admiralty<sup>b</sup>.

The war in Flanders requiring his majesty's presence early in the spring, the admirals were instructed to make all possible dispatch in getting out the fleet to sea, to endeavour, if possible, to block up the enemy in their ports, especially in Brest, which was thought very practicable, and to take all possible care of the merchants. In order to comply with the first part of their charge, they began to take half the seamen out of privateers; but this, notwithstanding the pressing occasions of the public, and the great scarcity of men, was thought so heavy a grievance, and was besides so visible a favour to the enemy, that it was dropped. Then five regiments of foot were put on board, with a view to the debarkment at Brest, which was a scheme of some

<sup>y</sup> See his history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 104.  
 N<sup>o</sup>. 2843. Mercure historique et politique, tome xiv. p. 232.  
 N<sup>o</sup>. 2861. memoirs of Sir George Rooke in the fourth volume.

<sup>z</sup> London Gazette,  
<sup>a</sup> See the  
<sup>b</sup> London Gazette,

of the land-admirals, and was always thought, (what it afterwards appeared to be), by the ablest of our seamen, a very dangerous, and at the same time a very impracticable project. Provisions running scarce, a mess was increased from four to six men; and yet, in spite of all these contrivances, they were not able to form a line of battle at St. Helen's till the 7th of May, 1693, which lost them the opportunity of blocking up either of the French squadrons<sup>c</sup>.

As to the merchants, their complaints grew still louder than ever: such as were concerned in the Levant or Mediterranean trade, had their ships lying waiting for a convoy many months, nay, some above a year and a half; and the excuses they received from the admiralty were of such a nature, as put it out of their power to judge when they might expect a convoy; for this, they were told, depended on the intelligence of the board, and the merchants were but too sensible they had no intelligence at all<sup>d</sup>. This, indeed, appears to have been the constant defect, and to have been pregnant with numberless misfortunes. It may deserve consideration, whether this is not incident to the very nature of such a commission. Persons might be found, who would risk corresponding with one great man; but to give informations to, or which may be laid before a whole board, and which may afterwards be called for by a house of commons, is scarce to be hoped for or expected. The single remedy for this is to leave the procuring intelligence chiefly to the first lord, and empowering him to reward and to promise secrecy.

When the English and Dutch fleets joined, they made a formidable appearance, and every body expected something very

<sup>c</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 166, 167.

<sup>d</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 114, 115. See the present state of Europe for the months of May and June, 1693, p. 193, 227. The complaints made by the merchants did not only run high, but were extremely well supported. They shewed, beyond the power of refutation, the folly of suffering ambition, interest, or intrigue, to prefer unqualified men to that board, which directed the naval power of England: and yet the mischief was not, in truth could not, be amended, because the more experienced people, who had been long in the service, were thought disaffected; and so it was feared the remedy might have proved worse than the disease.

considerable would be performed<sup>e</sup>. It appeared, however, but too soon, that things were in their old condition; that, in short, the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their doing any thing of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions, to undertake any thing of themselves. In short, the only thing they could resolve on was, that Sir George Rooke should command the squadron appointed to convoy the Mediterranean fleet, and that, in case they had no exact intelligence of the French squadrons, the fleet should accompany Sir George into a certain latitude<sup>f</sup>.

If this design had been executed as soon as it was formed and talked of, it had been honourable for the nation, and happy for the merchants; but the admirals were so timorous and diffident of their own power, that it was the beginning of June before they sailed; and even then they had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but took their measures at random: a circumstance not rashly to be asserted, and yet too important to be concealed, when supported by undeniable evidences<sup>g</sup>.

The French, on the other hand, acted with greater prudence, in the disposition of their naval strength this year, than they had done during the continuance of the war. In order to repair the

<sup>c</sup> The line of battle published here and in Holland stood thus:

ENGLISH.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	Fire ships.
Vice of the blue,	0	3	5	1	0	0	3
Admiral of the blue,	2	1	5	1	0	1	3
Rear of the blue,	0	2	6	1	0	0	2
Rear of the red,	1	2	5	1	0	0	2
Commander in chief,	3	1	5	1	2	2	3
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
In all, 51.	6	9	26	5	2	3	13
DUTCH.							
Vice admiral,	1	2	4	2	0	0	2
Admiral,	2	1	6	1	0	2	3
Vice admiral,	3	0	4	3	0	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
In all, 32.	6	3	14	6	0	3	6

<sup>f</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 181.

<sup>g</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 481, 482. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 657. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 86. Life of king William, p. 363, 364. State tracts in the reign of K. William, and, in short, all the memoirs of that time. Authors differ as to the precise time of the sailing of this fleet. See the London Gazette, No. 2875, 2878.

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mighty loss he had sustained at La Hogue, the French king bought several large ships, and turned them into men of war; caused such as wanted repair, to be put, during the winter, into a condition to go to sea; and, that they might not be detained for want of men, he suspended in a manner the whole trade of France for a year, by forbidding any ships to go to sea till his squadrons were manned: lastly, to raise the spirits of the seamen, as well as to encourage such officers as had done their duty in the last unlucky engagement, he made a grand naval promotion, which had precisely the effect he expected from it, and excited such a spirit of diligence and emulation, as is easier to be conceived than described<sup>h</sup>. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this, when he is informed, that the French fleet sailed from the ocean for the Mediterranean in the middle of the month of May, in three squadrons, consisting altogether of seventy-one ships of war, besides tenders, bomb-veffels, and fire-ships; so that they were actually on the coast of Portugal, before our Smyrna fleet sailed<sup>i</sup>. Almost all our writers agree, that the French fleet had very exact intelligence from hence, and laid their scheme for surprizing this rich fleet very early in the winter. I cannot find any thing of this sort in the French writers I have met with; and yet they are ready enough to magnify the policy of their court upon other occasions: I would not, however, be understood to discredit what our authors say on this subject; since it is very probable they are in the right, and the French historians might either want proper information, or think it more glorious for the French arms to let this treacherous correspondence pass in silence<sup>k</sup>.

The English fleet left Sir George Rooke with the Streight's squadron on the 6th of June in the evening, about fifty leagues W. S. W. off Ushant, and returned to take up the cruizers, having all this time had no intelligence of the enemy. The lords of the admiralty at home, however, had an account directly from Portugal of M. Tourville's coming into Lagos-bay, be-

<sup>h</sup> Hist. militaire de Louis XIV. tome ii. p. 593, 705. Memoirs de Fourbin. P. Daniel. Limiers, tome ii. p. 577. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 426.

<sup>i</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 183. Hist. militaire, tome ii. p. 707.

<sup>k</sup> These points are fully cleared in the proceedings against Mr. Abraham Anselm, secretary to the admirals Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel, &c. 4to, 1694.

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tween Cape St. Vincent and Faro, with no less than one hundred and fourteen sail, great and small. This exceedingly alarmed the government, and advice was instantly dispatched to the fleet, which consisted now of sixty-nine ships of the line of battle.

On the 23d of June a council of war was held at Torbay, in which it was resolved to bear away for Lisbon directly, in case they could be properly victualled; but to prevent all danger, orders were immediately dispatched to Sir George Rooke, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. If this resolution had been pursued, and the fleet had actually sailed for Lisbon, something might have been done worthy of the English nation. But upon the 1st of July another council of war was held, in which, though the queen's orders were produced for their executing what themselves had before proposed, yet the flags came to a new resolution, which was to submit it to her majesty, whether, if the French squadrons were joined, and should sail north-about, the coasts of England might not be exposed to some insult during their absence<sup>m</sup>.

This was doing what they had always charged the council with doing, *viz.* altering their scheme when it ought to be put in execution. They knew well enough, that a hint of the coast being in danger would be sufficient to prevent their quitting it; and this was certainly what they now intended, and might easily have been discerned to be, what its consequences shewed it, a weak and ruinous measure, which exposed Sir George Rooke, and the rich fleet under his care, to be attacked by the whole force of France, while we had a superior fleet riding, to no purpose in the world, in our channel. But it is now time to leave it, and speak of the conduct and fortune of that vice-admiral on this critical occasion. All these disasters proceeded from the factions then subsisting, when every officer acted according to the Humour of his patron in the ministry; and, as there was a strange disagreement in the public councils, this produced a like want of harmony amongst those who commanded the fleet.

<sup>l</sup> Borchet's naval history, p. 483. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 115, 116. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2883. Mercure historique et politique, tome iv. p. 83, 94, 95.

<sup>m</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 195.



It has been before observed, that the grand fleet quitted Sir George Rooke on the 6th of June, 1693, without having at that time any certain intelligence either of the force of the French squadrons, or where they were failed; which put that admiral under very great difficulties, and therefore we cannot wonder, that he expressed some concern at the great risk the numerous fleet of merchantmen, under his convoy, was like to run<sup>o</sup>. It is true, his squadron was very strong, consisting of no less than twenty-three men of war, and he had under him two flag-officers of great courage and experience, *viz.* the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes and rear-admiral Hopson. But then the merchantmen under his care were near four hundred, and these not only English and Dutch, but Danes, Swedes, Hamburgers, Flemings, &c. so that our reputation as a maritime power was in a manner staked for their safety<sup>o</sup>.

When he left the fleet, he had a very fair and strong gale of wind, which carried him at such a rate as prevented any of the advice-boats, sent with those fresh instructions we mentioned, from coming up with him; and he was so unlucky too as not to meet with any ships at sea that could give him notice of marshal Tourville's fleet being in that part of the world. In this situation of things he pursued, as was his duty, his original instructions; and having left by the way the vessels bound for Bilboa, Lisbon, St. Ubes, and other places, he continued his course for the Streights<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 185. See this matter farther explained in our memoirs of Sir George Rooke. <sup>o</sup> Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, and the state of Europe for July 1693.

<sup>p</sup> The new orders sent him were to this purpose, that, in case he was obliged to go into the river of Lisbon, and received certain intelligence during his stay there, that the Toulon Squadron had joined the rest of the French fleet, and were together gone northward from the coast of Portugal, he should leave a proper number of ships, both English and Dutch, to proceed up the Streights with the Turkey fleet, and himself return with the rest, and join the body of our fleet in those seas; and, not meeting them in his passage, to make the port of Plymouth, and there expect farther orders. But these instructions could be of no use to him, since they were not sent till the 23d, and he fell in with the French three days afterwards. Secretary Burchet indeed says, they were sent the 3d of June; but his own account shews that to be impossible, since he owns, that Sir George did not quit the grand fleet till the 6th.



On the 15th of June he ordered the Lark, a sixth rate man of war, and a prime sailer, to stretch a-head of his scouts in Lagos-bay, to get what intelligence they could of the enemy; but, through some oversight in the captain, this was not properly executed. The next day the scouts discovered two of the enemy's ships, and engaged them in the afternoon, till, perceiving eight or ten sail under the cape, they thought fit to quit the Frenchmen, to inform the admiral of what they had seen. Upon this a council of war was called, in which the admiral's opinion, for lying by till the enemy's strength could be known, was over-ruled.

On the 17th, about break of day, ten sail of French men of war were discovered, with some small ships, which were chased by part of the English squadron, and a fire-ship taken, the crew of which positively asserted, that the whole squadron, though there were three flags amongst them, consisted of no more than fifteen ships of the line. About noon the falsity of this assertion was discovered, and Sir George Rooke easily counted eighty sail of men of war. Sixteen of these (amongst which were three flags) plied up to the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, that he might fall in among the merchant-ships.

The Dutch vice-admiral about three o'clock sent a message to Sir George, that being now sensible of the strength of the French fleet, which he doubted before, as well as of their design, he thought it absolutely necessary to avoid fighting, as it could only tend to their absolute ruin. At this time they were within four miles of the enemy, and it was the sentiment of Sir George himself, that they were too far advanced to think of retreating; and therefore, before he received this message, he was resolved to push for it; but considering afterwards, that, if the Dutch admiral had formed a right judgment, and both the squadron and the fleet under their convoy should suffer greatly

<sup>9</sup> This seems to have been the principal cause of all the mischief that afterwards followed. Indeed the admiral was so sensible of the dangerous consequences that might attend the not taking this step, as to call in five or six captains who were on board his ship by chance, in order to have their opinions; and they agreeing with the council of war, he was forced to submit after all, directly contrary to his judgment. See the London Gazette hereafter cited.

<sup>1</sup> Bouchet's memoirs, p. 183. See also captain Littleton's letter in the state of Europe for the month of August, 1693.

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by this measure, the blame would fall intirely on himself, he brought to, and stood off with an easy sail, that the Dutch and the heavy ships might work up to the windward. He, at the same time, sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to use their utmost endeavours in the night to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. This was all that was in the power of the admiral to do, and it is certain, that these orders were extremely well calculated for lessening, as much as possible, the misfortune; and it shewed great presence of mind in Sir George Rooke, to provide so wisely for the most distant part of the fleet, when himself and those about him were in such imminent danger<sup>t</sup>.

The admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, with about ten sail of the enemy's fleet, fetched up the English squadron very fast, so that about six in the evening they came up with two Dutch men of war, and some merchant-ships of that nation. The men of war were commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who finding themselves under the wind, and therefore in no probability of escaping, tacked in for the shore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which saved the rest of the fleet. The Dutch captains made a most gallant and desperate defence, but were at last overpowered by numbers, and taken<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 190. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. II. p. 86. Account in the London Gazette. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome III. p. 426.

<sup>t</sup> It is very strange, that even our best historians should be so inaccurate as to their dates. According to Burchet, this engagement happened on the eighteenth of June; according to bishop Kennet, it must have been the sixteenth. One would have thought the former most like to be in the right, on account of the opportunities given him by his office; and the rather in this particular, because I am satisfied he copied Sir George Rooke's narrative: and yet he is absolutely wrong, as appears not only from other accounts, but from his own. The marquis de Quincy places this action on the twenty-seventh, N. S. that is the seventeenth, and it must have happened on that day, even according to Burchet's account; for he tells us, that the day after the engagement was Sunday; now it appears that the eighteenth of June, 1693, fell on a Sunday; consequently the action must have happened on the seventeenth, and so, indeed, Sir George Rooke's original account, and all the papers of those times, have it, as hath also the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2888. in which the reader will find the relation published by authority. See likewise the London Gazette; N<sup>o</sup>. 2893.

The admiral stood off all night, having a fresh gale at N. N. W. and the next morning found fifty-four ships about him, among which were only two Dutch, and one Hamburger. Five sail of the enemy's ships appeared to the leeward, and two to the windward, which last dogged him all day. On the nineteenth Sir George Rooke sent for the officers of the men of war, and merchant-ships, on board, in order to get the best account he could of the state they were in, and to concert the most proper measures for securing the remainder. In this council, most of the officers present were for going either to Lisbon, or bearing away for Ireland. The admiral, however, considering that they had not water enough on board, to enable them to carry the last-mentioned scheme into execution, and having also some hopes of meeting with part of his scattered fleet at the Madeiras, he determined to sail thither; which he accordingly performed <sup>u</sup>.

If the enemy, in executing this design of theirs, had shewed the same dexterity as in contriving, it is not easy to conceive how any part of the fleet of merchant-men could have been saved. But whether their admirals made a wrong disposition, or whether their orders were but indifferently obeyed, certain it is, that they did not strike near so heavy a blow as they might have done. Yet the mischief they did was very great, and severely felt both by the English and Dutch trade. According to some accounts, besides four of the largest Smyrna ships, which M. Coetlogon burnt or sunk at Gibraltar, and seven which he took, M. de Tourville and the count d'Estrees took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an English man of war; took twenty-nine merchant-men, and destroyed about fifty more <sup>v</sup>. The value of the cargoes, and the men of war together, might amount to one million sterling, or thereabouts; whereas the French, if they had taken the whole fleet, (as, considering their prodigious superiority, they might easily have done); must have been gainers of upwards of four millions. As it

<sup>u</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 196. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 116. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2895.

<sup>v</sup> Kennet, Burnet; but more particularly the Present State of Europe, for the year 1693.

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was, the loss fell very heavy upon us, without much enriching them \*.

The French writers treat this affair as one of the most glorious actions ever performed by their arms at sea. M. de Quincy gives us a very concise account of the engagement; and then runs into a long detail of the prizes that were taken, and of the rich cargoes with which they were laden. He seems to be mistaken in many circumstances; particularly in reporting our squadron to have consisted of twenty-seven men of war, and these, too, he makes much larger ships than they were. Father Daniel informs us, that M. Tourville at first apprehended the whole confederate fleet to have been ready to attack him; and, as he had not yet joined count d'Estrees, he thought proper to detach twenty sail of stout ships to fall upon the English, in case they proved the Smyrna fleet, and disposed the rest of his ships in the best order possible for supporting them. This, he says, was executed so vigorously, that sixty merchant-men were burnt, sunk, or run a-shore, and twenty-seven taken †.

The different relations published at that time admit a great mismanagement in the French commanders; some of them charge it upon M. Tourville, others on M. Gabaret ‡. The truth seems to be, that M. Tourville's orders for stretching out to sea, at the beginning of the action, were not well obeyed; and that the pressing so hard on the two Dutch men of war, and the ships that remained with them, was a false step they could never afterwards recover. In order, however, to hide

\* I found my computation on the account given by the Dutch writers; for notwithstanding the noise this affair made in England, and its becoming afterwards, as the reader will find, the subject of a parliamentary inquiry; yet no certain or exact account was ever published here.

† These accounts are to be found in the *Histoire Militaire*, tom. ii. p. 708. and in the *Histoire de la milice Française*, tom. ii. p. 492. As to the account taken from the memoirs of the count de Fourbin, upon which some of our writers lay a great stress, I must confess I do not believe it, because I am convinced those memoirs are not genuine.

‡ I meet with this in the *Gazettes* and *Journals* of those times, which say, that M. Tourville threw the blame upon Gabaret, as not punctually obeying his orders; as, on the other hand, Gabaret charged it on the marshal, as not acting vigorously enough, which reflection is said to have put him upon exposing himself in such a manner at Malaga, as had like to have cost him his life.

these mistakes from the eyes of the people of France, and to magnify the advantage gained to the utmost, a pompous account was printed at Toulon, full of very extraordinary circumstances, and swelling the loss of the English and Dutch to the amount of sixty millions of livres; that is, to about three times as much as it really was<sup>a</sup>. The modesty and impartiality of the Dutch accounts of this unfortunate affair, deserve particular notice. They state the loss very near as high as the best French writers; but at the same time they confess it had been much greater, but for the prudence of Sir George Rooke, on whose conduct they bestow such praises, as a complete victory would scarce have extorted from his countrymen. I am, however, inclined to think he deserved them; because even bishop Burnet, who was no great friend to that admiral, does not pretend to find out one wrong step in this whole proceeding<sup>b</sup>.

But the consequences of this engagement were no less fatal than the action itself; for M. Tourville, to make amends for letting so great a part of the English fleet escape, resolved to do his utmost to take or destroy such ships as had retired into the Spanish ports. With this view, he came on the twentieth of July before Malaga, and sent a message to the governor, that he had no design to injure the town, unless they attempted to defend the English and Dutch ships; in which case he would bombard it. The governor answered, he had the king of Spain's orders to protect them, and therefore, as his duty required, he would do it to the utmost of his power. There were four Dutch ships and one English in the mole, which he

<sup>a</sup> An extract of this account I have seen and read; and which, though calculated to do honour to the French nation, does in reality much more to the Dutch; for it is confessed, that eighteen French ships had much ado to master two of the states men of war.

<sup>b</sup> The sieur du Mont, who then wrote a political journal in Holland, gives this account of the matter:

“ This is certain, that they missed the greatest part of the convoy, and that Sir George Rooke, upon this occasion, acquired infinitely more honour than those who commanded the French fleet. While the one, though unable to resist such as attacked him, in the midst of threatening dangers, by his prudence, dexterity, and courage, saved the best part of the fleet committed to his charge, at a time that others suffered themselves to be deprived, by the superior skill of this admiral, of a booty, which, if they could have kept, fortune put into their hands.”

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attacked with great fury<sup>c</sup>. The men on board the ships made a long and gallant defence, especially the Union frigate, which the French twice attempted to burn, and were as often repulsed. But when it appeared a thing impossible to preserve the ships any longer, against so unequal a force, the masters thought proper to bore holes and sink them<sup>d</sup>.

To Cadiz they sent a squadron of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, and soon after followed with the whole fleet. But they were able to effect little; for the English and Dutch ships immediately retired out of the road into the port, where they were so well protected by the cannon of the place, that the French were forced to content themselves with burning two ships they had intercepted in the road, and had hindered from getting in with the rest<sup>e</sup>. At Gibraltar, after an obstinate defence, several rich ships were burnt and sunk, together with a Dutch man of war. The marquis de Quincy, after relating these exploits particularly, tells us, that marshal Tourville sent twenty-four prizes into Toulon, and computes the whole loss at thirty-six millions of livres, or thereabouts<sup>f</sup>. It is now time to return to admiral Rooke, and the care taken by him of the remainder of the fleet of merchantmen under his protection.

When he formed a resolution of going to the Madeiras, he sent home the Lark man of war with the news of his misfortune, and then continued his course for those islands, where he

<sup>c</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 489. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2895. Quincy *histoire militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 597, 598. *Mercurie historique & politique*, tom. xv. p. 332.

<sup>d</sup> Some have condemned this, as done too hastily; but, without question, the next thing to preserving a ship and cargo, is destroying it in time.

<sup>e</sup> According to a Spanish list printed at Seville, the ships preserved here were three English men of war, sixteen merchant men, two Dutch men of war, eleven merchant ships, three Danes, two Hamburgers, one Swede, one Ostender, and one Venetian. Burchet reflects, notwithstanding this, on the governor of Cadiz; but, for all that I can find, without any reason; for, as to sending M. Tourville some fresh provisions for his own table, I look upon it as an act of civility, not of treachery.

<sup>f</sup> The marquis steers in the middle. Marshal Tourville's own account says, the masters of the ships that were taken, computed the loss at twenty millions; and the relation published by authority at Toulon, speaks of sixty millions.



found at his arrival the Monk, captain Fairborne, and no other ship<sup>a</sup>. After taking in water, and what else he had occasion for there, on the twenty-seventh of June he sailed for Ireland, and, on the twenty-ninth of July 1693, he arrived safely at Corke, with about fifty sail of ships of all sorts, men of war and merchant-men<sup>b</sup>. Soon after his arrival he received orders from the admirals, to send six of the largest ships to the fleet, and to go with the rest to Kingsale. But Sir George, conceiving that little service could be expected from the latter, because they were in a very bad condition, chose therefore to send them under the command of captain Fairborne to Kingsale, and went in person with the six men of war to the fleet<sup>c</sup>, of the proceedings of which, from the time of Sir George Rooke's departure, we are next to speak, though that is both a difficult and unpleasant subject.

The flag-officers held a council of war on the ninth of July, in which it was resolved to sail forty leagues S. W. of Uthant, and there to consider what would be the next convenient step for intercepting the enemy's fleet in their return from the Mediterranean. In pursuance of this resolution, they put to sea two days after; but were so terribly ruffled by a storm, that they were forced to return into Torbay. Upon the seventeenth, the wind proving fair, they put to sea again, and proceeded to their intended station, from whence they sent out light ships in search of Sir George Rooke, and to cruize on the Spanish coast, in order to get some intelligence of the enemy. The former carried the orders we have before-mentioned to the admiral; but the latter were not so lucky as to give any light into the proceedings of the French fleet<sup>d</sup>.

While things were in this condition, an accident happened which might have been attended with very ill consequences.

<sup>a</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 196.

<sup>b</sup> The sieur de Mont, in his memoirs for the month of August, 1693, says, Sir George Rooke arrived with twelve sail of English and Dutch men of war, and between forty and fifty sail of merchant ships. See also the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2894, 2895.

<sup>c</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 196, 197. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 116. Present state of Europe for August, 1693, p. 298.

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 490.

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Our fleet had failed when they were very indifferently furnished with provisions, upon a promise that these should be immediately sent after them. In the beginning of the month of August, fifty vessels, laden with provisions, proceeded from the river of Thames in quest of the fleet, under the convoy of two English and five Dutch men of war: but the fleet being forced from their station, they not only missed them, but lost their convoy. They met, however, with Sir George Rooke's squadron, in its passage from Kingsale, and he brought them safe to the fleet on the sixteenth of August<sup>l</sup>; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month they had orders to return to St. Helen's, where they put the four regiments, that had been on board the whole summer, on shore; and then the fleet was dispersed, having done as little for the honour of the English nation, as any fleet that ever was fitted out<sup>m</sup>.

On the nineteenth of September 1693, fifteen Dutch ships of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majesty to Holland; and twenty-six men of war, and seven fire-ships, were assigned for the winter guard<sup>n</sup>, which it was then thought would have put an end to the military operations of this year; but it soon after appeared, that there was yet a secret expedition to be attempted, in order to soften a little the joy of the French for having taken the Smyrna fleet<sup>o</sup>.

On the thirteenth of November, commodore Benbow, in conjunction with captain Philips, the engineer, with a squadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-vessels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, sailed for St. Maloe's, where they arrived on the sixteenth, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-fort. Three of the bomb-vessels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in, and anchored within half a mile of the town. About eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were constrained to warp, to prevent grounding. On the seventeenth they went in again, and threw seventy bombs that day. They continued firing on

<sup>l</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2898. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xv. p. 341. Memoirs of admiral Rooke.

<sup>m</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2901. Burchet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 116.

<sup>n</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 201.

<sup>o</sup> It is remarkable that this is not so much as mentioned by secretary Burchet. See the present state of Europe for 1693, p. 404.

the eighteenth, but with frequent intermissions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed on an island near the town, and burnt a convent. On the nineteenth, being Sunday, they lay still till the evening, when, by the favour of a fresh gale of wind, a strong tide, and a very dark night, they sent in an extraordinary fire-ship<sup>p</sup>, of about three hundred tons burden, (which the French will have to be a monstrous machine), and which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes; and indeed would have done it, but for an unforeseen accident, for she struck upon a rock, within pistol-shot of the place where they intended to have moored her.

The engineer, who was on board, did all he could to get her off, but to no purpose. At last, finding the vessel begin to open, and fearing she might sink, he set fire to her. The seawater, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcasses from taking fire. The explosion, however, was terrible beyond description; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glass and earthen ware for three leagues round, and struck off the roofs of three hundred houses. The most extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capstern of the vessel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a house it fell upon down to the ground<sup>q</sup>. The greatest part of the walls towards the sea fell down

<sup>p</sup> I take these particulars from commodore Benbow's account. See London Gazette, No. 2927. *Mercure historique & politique*, tom. xv. p. 669. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 661.

<sup>q</sup> The French writers say, that this was one of those dreadful machines styled infernals which the Dutch made use of to destroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the prince of Parma seized Antwerp, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive, by the following description, that it was in fact a fire-ship, contrived to operate when moored close to the town walls. It was a new ship of about three hundred, or, as M. de Quincy says, three hundred and fifty tons. At the bottom of the hold were a hundred barrels of powder; these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots; over which lay beams bored through, to give air to the fire; and upon these lay three hundred carcasses filled with grenades, chain-shot, iron bullets, pistols loaded, and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glass bottles. There were six holes or mouths, to let out the flames, which were so vehement, as to consume the hardest substances; and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer, who contrived this vessel,

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down also; and if there had been a sufficient number of land-troops on board, the place might with ease have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demolished Quince-fort, carried off eighty prisoners, and frightened most of the people out of the town. This expedition was well timed, and well executed. It struck a panic into the inhabitants of St. Maloe's, whence the most troublesome of the French privateers were fitted out, and it served to awake that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the sea, by shewing them what a very small squadron of English ships could do, when commanded by men of resolution and experience.

The king returned to England in the latter end of the month of October, 1693, under the escort of a small squadron of men of war, commanded by rear-admiral Mitchel. On the sixth of November, his majesty declared his resolution to employ admiral Ruffel the next year at sea. On the seventh the parliament met, and his majesty opened the sessions with a speech, which began thus: "I am always glad to meet you here, and I could heartily wish that our satisfaction were not lessened at present, by reflecting upon the disadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miscarriages in our affairs at sea. I think it is evident, that the former were only occasioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which has brought so great a disgrace upon the nation, I have repented it extremely"; and, as I will take care that

"those

was blown up in her; because they found the body of a man, well dressed, upon the shore, and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the vessels.

<sup>r</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2919. *Mercure historique & politique*, tom. xv. p. 589.

<sup>s</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 657. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 123. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2921.

<sup>t</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2921.

<sup>u</sup> There had been an inquiry set on foot before the council, as appears from the following notice, printed in the London Gazette, October 26th, 1693, N<sup>o</sup>. 2917.

"Whereas a report had been raised, and spread, by Henry Killebrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admirals of their majesties fleet, that the right honourable the lord viscount Falkland, one of the lords of their majesties most honourable privy council, (he was also at the head of the

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“ those who have not done their duty shall be punished, so I  
 “ am resolved to use my utmost endeavours that our power at  
 “ sea may be rightly managed for the future. And it may well  
 “ deserve your consideration, whether we are not defective  
 “ both in the number of our shipping, and in proper ports to  
 “ the westward, for the better annoying our enemies and pro-  
 “ tecting our trade, which is so essential to the welfare of this  
 “ kingdom.” Upon this the house of commons came unanim-  
 mously to a resolution, that they would support their majesties  
 and their government, inquire into the miscarriages of the fleet  
 in the preceding summer, and consider of all possible ways and  
 means for conserving the trade of the nation.

The house of commons, to shew they were in earnest, ex-  
 amined all the admirals strictly, particularly Sir George Rooke,  
 though he was so ill as to be scarce able to speak, and withal  
 so lame of the gout, that a chair was set for him at the bar of  
 the house. On the seventeenth of November they came to a  
 resolution, “ That, upon examination of the miscarriage of the  
 “ fleet, this house is of opinion, that there hath been a noto-  
 “ rious and treacherous mismanagement in that affair.” Yet,  
 afterwards, a negative was put on a resolution to censure the  
 admirals commanding in chief; and so, by degrees, after much  
 noise and clamour, the matter blew over.

Two circumstances contributed principally to their safety; the  
 first was, that it could not be made clear to the house, that the  
 admirals had information of the Brest Squadron's putting to sea  
 on the 11th of May, though it was evident that such advice had  
 been given to the privy-council; the second, that the lord Falk-  
 land, who was very active in this prosecution of the admirals,  
 fell under the displeasure of the house for very indirect practices  
 in relation to the navy; which gave the more offence, because  
 he was at that time first commissioner of the admiralty. Upon

“ admiralty), did, upon reading a paper at the board, stife something that was  
 “ material to their justification; the lords of the council, having considered  
 “ and examined into the matter, are satisfied, and do declare, that the report  
 “ is false and scandalous. Although, upon the said examination, it did also ap-  
 “ pear, that something happened which might mislead the admirals into that er-  
 “ ror. And it is ordered in council, that this be printed and published in the  
 “ Gazette.”

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the whole, regard to truth obliges me to say, that there was enough done in this affair to irritate and inflame, and very little to calm or satisfy the nation; which last, however, ought to be the end of all parliamentary inquiries<sup>w</sup>.

But, notwithstanding the admirals escaped, yet many things were laid open in the house of commons, which reflected extremely on the management of the navy. It appeared, particularly, that the sum of 1,036,415 l. was due for seamen's wages. This struck the house with astonishment, and accounted at the same time very fully for the backwardness of the sailors in entering into the public service: To provide a remedy for so great an evil, and to encourage the seamen for the future, the commons voted 500,000 l. towards the discharge of the debt, and 2,000,000 l. for the service of the fleet, that his majesty might

<sup>w</sup> What bishop Burnet says on this subject is so concise, and at the same time so strong, and to the purpose, that I think myself obliged to lay it before the reader for his farther information:

"The inquiry into the conduct at sea, particularly with relation to the Smyrna fleet, took up much time, and held long. Great exceptions were taken to the many delays, by which it seemed a train was laid, that they should not get out of our ports, till the French were ready to ly in their way, and intercept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of; the instructions, that the admirals who commanded the fleet had received from the cabinet-council, were thought ill given, and yet worse executed. Their orders seemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective: nor had they shewed any zeal in doing more than strictly to obey such orders; they had very cautiously kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle. They had used no diligence to get certain information concerning the French fleet, whether it was still in Brest, or had sailed out. But in that important matter they had trusted general and uncertain reports too easily. Nor had they sailed far enough with Rooke to see him past danger. To all this their answer was, that they had observed their orders: they had reason to think the French were still in Brest; that therefore it was not safe to sail too far from the coast of England, when they had, as they understood, ground to believe, that they had left behind them a great naval force, which might make an impression on our coast, when they were at too great a distance from it. The getting certain intelligence from Brest was represented as impracticable. They had many specious things to say in their own defence, and many friends to support them: for it was now the business of one party to accuse, and of another to justify their conduct. In conclusion, there was not ground sufficient to condemn the admirals, since they had followed their instructions: so a vote was passed in their favour."



be able to perform the promise he had made them of taking care that things should go next year better at sea<sup>x</sup>. His majesty also made several changes in the ministry, which gave great satisfaction; for the late inquiries had made it evident, that the dependents on some great men were principally concerned in giving information to the French of all our motions: a conduct which, however coloured or clouded, was a most gross and glaring treason against their country, such as ought to have drawn upon them the severest punishments while living, and which deserves to be transmitted to posterity with a proper note of infamy, to prevent like practices in succeeding times.

Before we speak of the naval operations of the year 1694, it will be necessary to give some account of the sending Sir Francis Wheeler with his squadron into the Mediterranean, as that was a measure not only concerted, but executed in the preceding year, though its being altogether independent of other affairs made it not so proper to mention it before. The great blow the English and Dutch commerce had received there by the intercepting the Smyrna fleet, and the danger there was in leaving the remains of that fleet any longer in Spanish harbours, engaged the board of admiralty to send their orders for Sir Francis Wheeler to proceed with a squadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with a Dutch vice-admiral and his squadron, to the Mediterranean, where he had instructions to use his utmost endeavour to procure the safe return of the plate-fleet into Cadiz; then he was to leave a sufficient convoy for bringing home the ships in that port to England: he was next to convoy the 'Turkey ships as far as the channel of Malta; then, in conjunction with the Spanish fleet, he was to annoy the enemy's trade, till he judged his detached ships were about to return, and, after joining them at the appointed place of rendezvous, he was to bring back with him all the merchant-ships ready to sail from any of the ports in the Streights, or from Cadiz<sup>y</sup>.

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<sup>x</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 658, 659. The present state of Europe for November 1693, p. 448. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 418, 420.

<sup>y</sup> These instructions may be found at large in Burchet's memoirs, p. 201. and are indisputably those given to the admiral. But the French published abundance

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On the 27th of November, in pursuance of these instructions, he sailed, and on the 4th of December sent the ships bound to Oporto thither under a convoy, as two days after he did those bound for Lisbon and St. Ubes; and, having by his vigilance prevented a design of the French to intercept part of the merchant ships under his convoy, he arrived on the 19th of January in the bay of Cadiz, having lost company in his passage with only one of a hundred and sixty-five ships which sailed with him from England<sup>a</sup>. So happy was the beginning of an expedition, which proved afterwards so unfortunate!

On the admiral's arriving at Cadiz, he found the Spanish fleet in no condition to sail, but had the satisfaction of finding the flota safely arrived<sup>a</sup>. On the 25th of January rear-admiral Neville joined him with the ships he had ordered to cruize off Cape St. Vincent, together with the detached convoys which the French in vain had endeavoured to intercept. Sir Francis Wheeler, upon this, appointed a squadron of four English and as many Dutch men of war, with a fire-ship, under the command of vice-admiral Hopson, to bring home the merchant-ships that were ready, and on the 10th of February sailed with the rest of the squadron to execute the remaining part of his instructions. On the 17th of the same month, being off the bay of Gibraltar, and having been driven out of the Streights-mouth, he met with a storm, which increased till the 19th in the morning, when the admiral, seeing the Gut, stood away for it, and made a proper signal to the rest of the fleet, and was followed by vice-admiral Callemberg, who first saw his signal, and other ships. But they, having the bay of Gibraltar open, and in all probability mistaking it for the streights-mouth, put in there, which occasioned their unhappy misfortune; for it being a lee shore, foul ground, and their sails flying into the air, they were forced to let go their

of strange stories about Sir Francis Wheeler's commission, such as that he intended to bombard Genoa, in order to force that republic to comply with the demands of the king of Spain; that he had views on the Pope's territories, and whatever else they thought might contribute to incensing the Italian princes.

<sup>a</sup> See the present state of Europe for January, 1694.

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's

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anchors, of which many were lost, most of their cables spoiled, and several of their ships run on shore<sup>b</sup>.

In the mean time the Suffex, on board which the admiral was, foundered at sea, and himself, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty were lost, only two Turks escaping. The admiral's body was soon after found on a sand-bank, in his shirt and slippers; it was guessed from thence, that, seeing the ship about to sink, he intended to have thrown himself into the sea, and attempt to save himself by swimming<sup>c</sup>. The whole squadron suffered extremely, and were obliged to remain, by contrary winds, a long time at Gibraltar, and at length, in the beginning of May, sailed for Cadiz<sup>d</sup>. In the mean time vice-admiral Hopson, in pursuance of the orders before-mentioned, sailed with the homeward-bound ships, and arrived safely off the Lizard on the 5th of April, 1694<sup>e</sup>.

We have before observed, one of the first steps taken by king William after his return from Flanders, and his hearing of the unfortunate affair of the Smyrna fleet, was the appointing Edward Russel, Esq; admiral and commander in chief of the fleet which should put to sea the next spring. As a farther testimony of his majesty's confidence in that great man, he directed a new commission of admiralty, wherein Edward Russel, Esq; Sir John

<sup>b</sup> The particulars of this misfortune may be seen in the following list:

	Men.
The Cambridge, a ship of 70 guns, run ashore about four in the morning, and lost,	100
The Lumley Castle, lost,	130
The Serpent bomb-vessel, foundered,	15
The William ketch, ran ashore,	15
The Mary ketch, foundered,	16
The Great George, a Turkey ship, lost,	90
The Aleppo Factor, lost,	3
The Golden Frigate of Venice, lost,	23
The Berkshire, a Turkey ship,	15
The Indian Merchant, a Turkey ship,	2
The William, for Leghorn, lost,	1
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<sup>c</sup> We have several accounts of this in the Gazettes; and his body was afterwards embalmed, and sent into England.

<sup>d</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 661. Life of K. William, p. 373. Columna rostrata, p. 63. <sup>e</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 494, 495.

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Lowther, Henry Priestman, Esq; Robert Austen, Esq; Sir Robert Rich, Sir George Rooke, and Sir John Hoblon, were included. The command of the fleet being thus provided for, the next thing was, to fix on such designs as were proper for retrieving the glory of the English arms, and blotting out the memory of the unfortunate accidents that had lately happened. In the first place it was resolved, that a formidable descent should be actually made on the French coast, in order to effect what had been long ago proposed, the erecting a fort on a certain promontory near Brest, which should command the haven, and entirely prevent the assembling, as the French were wont to do, their grand fleets there. It was also judged requisite to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, as well to succour the king of Spain, whose affairs were much distressed by the French naval power, as to prevent the Toulon squadron from coming into the ocean, and hindering the French thereby from making any figure this year at sea. In order to accomplish these schemes, all imaginable pains were taken, and no expence spared, either in England or Holland, to fit out a more numerous fleet, and to send it earlier to sea, than in any year since the war began.

On the 1st of May admiral Ruffel took the command of the fleet at St. Helen's, which consisted of fifty-two English and forty-one Dutch ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels. On the 3d the admiral sailed with the grand fleet, leaving Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a strong squadron at Portsmouth, in order to embark the land forces. On the 9th, being fifteen leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, the admiral was informed by the captain of a Swedish ship, that there lay in Bertaume-bay a fleet of French merchantmen, bound to the eastward; upon which he immediately detached captain Pritchard in the Monmouth, together with the Resolution and the Roebuck fire-ships, with orders either to take or destroy them. Accordingly, on the 10th, as soon as it was light, they made the French shore about seven miles from the fleet, and by five o'clock they saw several ships behind a point of land near

f See the present state of Europe for May, 1694, p. 166.      g Hist. militaire. P. Daniel. Memoirs du temps, Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.      h Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 664. Life of king William, p. 376. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 97.

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Conquet-bay, which, upon a signal given from one of their scouts, immediately put to sea. In the mean time captain Pritchard pursued the man of war that was their convoy, and forced her to haul in with the shore, and run against the rocks under the outermost castle; and this man of war proved to be the Jersey frigate, which the enemy had taken from us in the West-Indies, and which soon after blew up, and with her two sloops of between ten and sixteen guns. The merchant-ships were in all about fifty-five sail, of which thirty-five were burnt or sunk, twenty-five in Whitesand-bay, four on the south side of the point of the bay, and six on the south side of Conquet; their lading being for the most part salt, wine, and brandy. Some few days after, two other ships took and destroyed seventeen French vessels laden with corn and other provisions<sup>i</sup>.

The admiral returned back again to St. Helen's by that time he judged that Sir Cloudefley Shovel could have executed the orders he had left with him; and finding the land-forces completely embarked, and every thing ready, he sailed with the whole fleet on the 29th of May, having before given the necessary directions for the separating, at a proper station, of the squadron that was intended for the Brest expedition, and which was to be commanded by the lord Berkley<sup>k</sup>. On the last day of the month, at nine in the morning, a council of war was held on board the Britannia, at which were present the following persons, viz. Edward Ruffel, Esq; admiral of the fleet, the lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, Sir Cloudefley Shovel, vice-admiral of the red, colonel Aylmer, vice-admiral of the blue, colonel Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, the marquis of Caermarthen, rear-admiral of the blue, captain Byng, eldest captain to the admiral, lieutenant-general Talmash, the earl of Macclesfield, the lord Cutts, Sir Martin Beman, admiral Allemonde admiral of the Dutch, vice-admiral Vanderputtin, vice-admiral Schey, vice-admiral Vander-Goes, rear-admiral Evertzen, and captain Vander-Duffen, in which it was resolved, that the fleet designed for Brest should immediately proceed to Carnarvet-bay, and should

<sup>i</sup> Life of K. William, p. 376. Present state of Europe for May, 1694, p. 167. C. lumna rostrata, p. 263. Le Clerc hist. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 427. <sup>k</sup> Journal of the Brest expedition, by the marquis of Caermarthen, 1694, London, 4to, p. 5.



land the forces on board under the direction of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, and the neceſſary inſtructions were for this purpoſe given to lord Berkley, and the officers that went to command under him<sup>1</sup>.

On the 5th of June the lord Berkley parted, with his ſquadron, from the grand fleet, having with him twenty-nine Engliſh and Dutch men of war of the line, beſides ſmall frigates, fire-ſhips, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb-ketches. On the 6th a council of war was held, in which the proper meaſures were taken for landing the forces; and it was agreed, that lord Cutts ſhould command ſix hundred grenadiers, and lieutenant-general Talmaſh advance in perſon at the head of the troops that were to ſupport them. On the 7th the fleet came to an anchor between Camaret-bay and the bay of Bertaume, the French playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The marquis of Caermarthen demanded leave of lord Berkley the admiral to go into Camaret-bay, in order to obſerve the ſituation of the forts, and the poſture of the enemy. On his lordſhip's return, and making his report, the admiral ordered two ſixty-gun ſhips to go in and cover the boats while they were landing: to which the marquis objecting that it was too ſmall a force, a council of war was called on the 8th, in which it was reſolved to ſend in three Engliſh and as many Dutch frigates, beſides the two men of war before-mentioned.

One of theſe, however, the Richmond, deſerted the poſt aſſigned her, and the marquis of Caermarthen carried in the other five, and poſted them in their proper places, which, though a very neceſſary, was a moſt dangerous ſervice, ſince, at their going in, a bomb broke over the Monk, a great piece of which ſtruck through her poop, and two decks more, and came out again into the water near one of the ſtern-ports on the larboard-ſide, in the gun-room, killing three marines, and one of them by the ſide of the marquis. So ſoon as the Monk got into the bay, and came up with the weſtern point, Camaret-fort fired upon her very warmly; and, when the reſt of the ſhips were properly diſpoſed, they were ſurprized to find themſelves played upon from three batteries, not one of which was diſcerned till

<sup>1</sup> See his inſtructions in Burchet's memoirs, p. 215.

they

land



they felt the shot from it. These military compliments they returned with great spirit, and, by keeping a brisk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected<sup>m</sup>.

The reason of this, since I do not find it already set down in any of our historians, I think myself obliged to give, as I have had it from the mouths of many who were engaged in that warm service. The French had been so well informed of our design, and such strange delays had been made in embarking the forces, that, when our fleet came upon the coast, they found the French every where covered by impregnable entrenchments, and supported by a body of regular troops, more numerous than the forces intended for this descent. This was represented to lieutenant-general Talmash in the council of war, and he was advised not to expose himself or his men: to which he answered; "This advice comes too late: the honour of the English nation is at stake, and therefore I must and will land. I know that I sacrifice myself and the men; but it is necessary, and must be done, that both our enemies and allies may know, that even desperate undertakings cannot daunt English courage<sup>n</sup>."

He embarked on board the small vessels, with about eight hundred men, and landed as many of them as he could, but to very little purpose; for several of the well-boats sticking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded before they could get to the shore, and those that did land were very soon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Amongst the wounded was lieutenant-general Talmash himself, who received a shot in his thigh, of which he soon after died<sup>o</sup>.

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<sup>m</sup> See the marquis of Caermarthen's account, p. 21. Burchet's memoirs, p. 222. Life of king William, p. 377.

<sup>n</sup> This project, as I have been informed, was first proposed by a land officer to the earl of Nottingham some years before; and hints of it having been given to the French, they resolved to spare no coil or pains, in order to prevent a scheme from taking effect, which they knew would have deprived them of the best port they have in this part of the world.

<sup>o</sup> Both the marquis de Quincy and father Daniel commend the bravery of some French officers, who, they say, attacked and routed the English troops that were landed, and this with so small a force, as one hundred and twenty men,

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The marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, whose courage no man ever called in question, tells us on this occasion, that, if the English force had been double to what it was, they would have found the attempt impracticable.

When the men on board the ships saw only a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over; they began to be out of heart, and the marquis had much ado to bring them out of the bay. The Monk had not either a yard or a sail; but was towed off; the rest of the vessels were also brought away with great difficulty, except a Dutch frigate called the *Teesepe*, of thirty guns, which had twelve feet water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight; and, of half an English company that was accidentally left on board her; only an ensign, a drummer, and a private man, escaped; so that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in the evening, it was resolved therein to return to Spithead. The loss upon this occasion was computed at seven hundred of the land-forces killed, wounded, and taken, and about four hundred killed and wounded on board the ships<sup>p</sup>.

The marquis de Quincy, who is at once the most exact and most moderate of all the French writers, informs us, that, at the time this attempt was made; M. de Vauban had taken care to

supported, however, by a regiment of dragoons. The glory of this will be sufficiently diminished, when it is known, that not above three hundred did land, and that many of these were wounded in getting ashore, and were so much exposed to the enemy's artillery, that they never could be formed into any tolerable order.

<sup>p</sup> The marquis of Caermarthen in his account does great justice to all the officers employed in this desperate service. He says, particularly, page 46. "My lord Berkley, during all this expedition, has had a great deal of unusual trouble by reason of the imbarcations of the soldiers; notwithstanding which, both by his advice at councils of war, and issuing of orders, which his lordship has done very methodically, he hath behaved himself, in my opinion, with all the conduct and prudence that could be expected from a gentleman in his station.

"Lieutenant-general Talmaſh, the earl of Macclesfield, my lord Cutts, and all the officers of the land-forces, I think, have shewn all the forwardness and readineſs imaginable for the attempting any thing that was poſſible to be done on this occaſion. There are no officers of note, that I can yet hear of, killed in this action but monsieur Lamote; and lieutenant-general Talmaſh died, the Tuesday following, of the wound he received in his thigh. But there are several captains, &c. who are either killed or taken, of whose names I am as yet ignorant."

put the town of Brest into an excellent state of defence. It was surrounded with strong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with bastions and half-moons at proper distances. He had erected a new battery of sixteen pieces of cannon and six mortars on the bastion of the town, nearest the castle, between it and the grand battery, with several smaller batteries in other places. He had likewise taken care to render all the vaults in the castle bomb-proof, and had made the best disposition possible of ninety mortars, and three hundred pieces of large cannon. As for the vessels in the port, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and, with respect to men, he had fourteen hundred bombardiers, three thousand gentlemen who served as volunteers, and of regular troops four thousand foot, and a regiment of dragoons<sup>a</sup>.

General Talmash's landing, therefore, with eight hundred men, might well be called a sacrifice, and yet more than half of these could never be got on shore; we must, therefore, admit, that when the marquis says four hundred were killed, five hundred forty-eight soldiers and forty officers made prisoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father Daniel, however, and some other writers, carry it as far; and indeed most of them agree in computing our whole loss at two thousand. As to what they say of ships being sunk, and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornaments, which from frequent use are become necessary to a French detail, as their having but forty-five men killed in this action is another stroke of the marvellous, which every reader perhaps may not be in the humour to credit<sup>r</sup>.

After this unlucky attempt the poor wounded lieutenant-general proposed, that a small squadron of frigates and bomb-vessels might be sent into the harbour of Brest to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a rash, and, as things stood, an impracticable undertaking; and therefore lord Berkley sailed immediately for our own coasts, and arrived on the 15th of June, 1694, at St. Helen's. There they found the queen's orders to call a council of

<sup>a</sup> Hist. militaire, tome iii. p. 77, 78, 79. <sup>r</sup> Limiers, tome ii. p. 565. Journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 177, 178. See two letters written by monsieur de Nointel, intendant of Bretagne to Louis XIV. giving an account of the action, in the present state of Europe for June, 1694, p. 201-204.

war, to consider how the ships and troops might, after his fatal miscarriage, be best employed. After several consultations, it was resolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make some attempts on the coast of Normandy. Advice of this being sent to court, and an answer being returned on the 27th of June, it was resolved, in another council of war, first to bombard the town of Diepe, and then to proceed along the French coast, and do every where what prejudice they could. In pursuance of this resolution they came before that place, but were forced to sea by a storm, and afterwards anchored off Dungeness, from whence they sailed on the 5th of July, and arrived once more in Diepe road on the 8th. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by exceeding foul weather for several days together<sup>a</sup>.

On the twelfth they began about nine in the morning to play upon the town of Diepe, and continued without ceasing till about nine at night. About eleven they sent in one of their machines which the French call infernals, with an intent to burn the pier; but several vessels full of stones, being very providently sunk before it, rendered that ineffectual; so that, except astonishing the town by the mighty noise, it did little mischief<sup>b</sup>.

Captain Dunbar, a Scots gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour by his intrepidity on this occasion; for the train not taking effect as was expected, he went on board again, and finding the fuzee out, set fire to it a second time, for which he and those who went with him were deservedly rewarded<sup>c</sup>. They continued the bombardment afterwards till day-light, and the streets being narrow, the houses old, and most of them built of timber, the town was on fire in twenty places at once; so that the far greater part of it was consumed to ashes<sup>d</sup>. The French court did all they could to stifle the

<sup>a</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 225. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 664. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 231. Columna rostrata, p. 264.

<sup>b</sup> Life of king William, p. 379. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 91. Present state of Europe for July, 1694, p. 236.

<sup>c</sup> Burchet's naval hist. p. 501.

<sup>d</sup> In the dates I generally follow the French writers, reducing the new style to the old, because they are usually more exact than our own. Father Daniel owns the total destruction of Diepe, but says it was immediately built up again

the report of this, at least at Paris; but the place was too near for any such artifices to take effect; so that, by endeavouring to lessen, they really increased the people's apprehensions, and all the inhabitants of the sea-coasts would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been sent to restrain them<sup>x</sup>.

After the bombardment of Diepe, the English Squadron sailed along the coast, and obliged the French to march their forces night and day, in order to prevent the debarking any troops; which, however, was a thing the English admiral never intended<sup>y</sup>. On the fifteenth, about noon, lord Berkley arrived at Havre de Grace, and about four o'clock he began to bombard it. On the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, the French poured troops and militia into the place, in order to assist the inhabitants to put out the fires lighted from time to time by the bombs; and as the wind continued blowing all that time directly from the shore, the English were not able to do much, though they remained still before the place, which threw all the adjacent country into a terrible consternation. On the twenty-first, the wind being favourable, the small craft and bomb-vessels were sent in, and continued bombarding the place the whole night, by which a third part of the town was burnt down, a great part of the wall demolished, and, which was worst of all, abundance of poor people killed<sup>z</sup>. All this, however,

at the expence of the French king. If so, the inhabitants must be daily put in mind of the English maritime power, by this very improvement of their town.

<sup>x</sup> See several letters printed in the present state of Europe, for the month of July, 1694; and the fact is confirmed by the French accounts.

<sup>y</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 500, 501. Kennet. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92. Larrey, tom. ii. p. 226. Reincoart, tom. iii. p. 383. P. Daniel journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 178.

<sup>z</sup> The marquis de Quincy asserts positively, that there were not above twenty houses burnt in the town; but then he admits, that not only the inhabitants, but a vast number of soldiers, who were sent thither on purpose, laboured excessively in putting out the fires wherever the bombs fell; which must have been attended with great loss of men and other inconveniencies. But I must confess, I see no just cause why a medal should have been struck on the bombarding this place, rather than that of Diepe. Yet such a one there was; having on one side the king's head in profile, with these words, *Guilielmus magnus invictissimus*; on the reverse was, Perillus's bull, with this inscription, *Suis*

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p. 127.



however, could not be performed without loss; many of the mortars melted, the Grenado bomb-ship was blown up, and the rest of the small craft so shattered, that it was thought convenient to retire. But, even in doing this, care was taken to give the French infinite disquiet; for, appearing before La Hogue, their forces were drawn that way: but our squadron was in no condition to undertake any thing, and therefore, after alarming the enemy as much as possible, lord Berkley returned to St. Helen's, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1694, in order to rest<sup>a</sup>.

The court was very desirous that something should be undertaken against Dunkirk, and to that purpose several expresses were dispatched to the fleet; but, upon a nice examination of the different proposals made by the engineers and pilots, they were all of opinion that the season was too far advanced, and that nothing could be undertaken this year with any probability of success. A plan was then sent of Calais, which came from the king in Flanders; but the scheme of bombarding that place was also judged impracticable by a council of war, which resolution was chiefly owing to the diffidence of the pilots<sup>b</sup>. On the twenty-seventh of August lord Berkley returned to London, and the command of the fleet, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved on Sir Cloudefley Shovel, whose instructions were expressed to undertake something against Dunkirk at all events.

Mr. Meesters, who was the inventor and director of the machines called infernals, was at this time in Flanders, endeavouring to collect pilots able to carry the squadron into the harbour of Dunkirk, or at least so far into the road, as might enable them to destroy the enemy's ships. Sir Cloudefley failed to the Downs in the beginning of September, and on the seventh was joined by Mr. Meesters, with twenty-six Dutch pilots, when

*perit ignibus auctor*, alluding to the French king's having begun this barbarous kind of war, by burning the Palatinate, and bombarding Genoa. In the exercise, *Portus Gratia, exustus & everfus bombardis Anglo Batavis, 1694.* I. B. F. Gerard Van Loon *histoire metallique des Pays Bas*, tom. iv. p. 165.

<sup>a</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 227. Kenner's history of England, vol. iii. p. 665. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 92.

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's memoirs,

p. 227.

captain



captain Benbow was appointed to command the small ships, and to follow the instructions of Mr. Meesters, whose pilots did not perform what was expected from them<sup>c</sup>. On the twelfth, however, Sir Cloudefley Shovel appeared before the town of Dunkirk, with thirteen English and six Dutch men of war, two bomb-veffels, seventeen machines, and other small craft. In the evening captain Benbow went in, and founded the western channel, between the Brake and the Main, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the ships and the citadel. The next day all the boats and small veffels were sent in again, with the Charles galley, and two bomb-veffels.

In the afternoon two of the machines were sent in. The first took fire before she was near enough to do any execution: whether it was that the cannon of the place set fire to it, as some of the French writers say, or that those on board, finding it impossible either to bring it nearer or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggest, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide set her on one side, so that she drove a cable's length, and then blew up<sup>d</sup>. It was found, that the French had, according to custom, early intelligence of this design, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and sinking ships on the back of the westernmost pier, had secured themselves against all attempts of this nature: Sir Cloudefley Shovel being informed of this, and knowing that the spring tides were over, sailed away for Calais, and on the seventeenth sent the bomb-veffels in, and threw so many shells into the town, that about forty houses were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great swell of sea happening, the admiral was forced to bear away, and the storm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to stay any longer, but returned with his whole squadron into the Downs,

<sup>c</sup> This ignorance, cowardice, or wilfulness of the pilots, seems to have been the chief cause of this miscarriage; and whoever considers attentively what has been written upon this subject, by such as are best acquainted with maritime affairs, will be of my opinion, that seamen, above all others, are least inclined to expeditions of this sort. And, as such expeditions can only be executed by seamen, it may well be supposed that this is the great reason why they so seldom succeed.

<sup>d</sup> Histoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 84, 85. Journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 197.

from whence the bomb-vessels and machines were sent into the river Thames<sup>c</sup>.

It was the opinion of a very intelligent person, who had, without question, good grounds for what he delivered, that the expence to which the nation was put by these bombardments, was more than equivalent to what the enemy suffered by them<sup>f</sup>. It is certain, that all the sea-faring part of the world disapproved this manner of pursuing the war at that time; and that all the writers who have touched upon this subject, have been carried away by the stream of their authority; which, however, has not the same effect on me. In the first place, I think the manner in which the French had conducted the war in Germany, their bombarding the city of Genoa, but, above all, their piratically lying in wait for, and plundering our Smyrna fleet, and their pursuing and bombarding the remains of it in the ports of Spain, fully justified this manner of proceeding. The *lex talionis* certainly subsists between nations, and as the French set such an example at their expence, the allies could not be reasonably blamed for writing after their copy. In these cases, those who set the precedent are to bear the blame as well as the loss, that suffering and shame may teach them moderation for the future.

I must next observe, that, if we consider the expence the king of France must have been at in providing for the security of Brest, and the inconveniencies that must have attended the sending M. Vauban that way, with a corps of no less than 12,000 regular troops, the marquis de Beauvron with a great detachment to Diepe, marshal de Choiseul to Havre de Grace, the duke of Maine, count Toulouse, and marshal Villeroy, with the greatest part of the army in Flanders, to Dunkirk<sup>g</sup>: I say, take all these together, and it will appear the French suffered abundantly more than we.

But then, thirdly, this measure was absolutely necessary; the French now stiled themselves LORDS OF BOTH SEAS, that is the ocean and the Mediterranean: their Gazettes were full of

<sup>c</sup> Present state of Europe for September 1694, p. 304, 305 Columna re-  
strata, p. 265. Pointier's chronological historian, vol. i. p. 476. <sup>f</sup> Naval

memoirs, p. 234: <sup>g</sup> I take the whole of this affair from the French  
historians.

the triumphs of their maritime force, and therefore the bombarding their ports was an effectual method to convince all Europe of the emptiness of their bravadoes. It exalted the maritime power of the English nation, raised the drooping spirits of the people, gave satisfaction to the merchants whose vessels had been plundered by the French privateers; and was therefore a great and glorious measure, whatever has been said against it by those who shew respect and compassion for a people who never shew us any marks of either, except when civility is the pure result of fear, or the consequence of deep distress.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the Mediterranean; whither admiral Ruffel sailed with the grand fleet; as we have remarked, on the sixth of June, 1694. He arrived on the twenty-fifth off the rock of Lisbon, and thence sent orders to rear-admiral Neville, who, as we before observed, commanded the squadron which protected the English merchant-ships at Cadiz, to join him, which he did, with the Dutch vice-admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with sixteen ships of the line; which increased the number of those in the fleet to sixty-three. The admiral then resolved to steer immediately for Barcelona; in order to save that city, and the province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the French, who at that time had a numerous army, and a great naval force under the command of M. Tourville before, or at least very near the place <sup>b</sup>.

This shews the wisdom of the administration in sending so great a fleet into those seas; for, without such assistance, the Spaniards must have been undone, or, which was the view of that armament, forced to make a separate peace, and the French would have continued boasting and vapouring, as they had lately done, of their mighty maritime power, persuading Algiers; and the rest of the states of Barbary, that the English were not able to look them in the face. But an end was now effectually put to those bravadoes; by the admiral's procuring leave from

<sup>b</sup> The marquis de Quincy tells us, that admiral Ruffel came into the Mediterranean very luckily for the preservation of Barcelona, before which port he appeared on the last of July, with a fleet of 136 sail, of which 88 were of the line of battle; and M. Tourville not being in a condition to look such a fleet in the face, retired, pursuant to his orders, into the harbour of Toulon. Hist. militaire, tom. iii. p. 86.

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the Dutch and Spaniards, who were at war with those states, that some Algerine men of war might have permission to come and take a view of the fleet; which they did accordingly, and went home again very well satisfied<sup>l</sup>. On the other hand, the French admiral had no sooner intelligence of the approach of our fleet, than he retired precipitately from before Barcelona, and soon after shut himself up in the port of Toulon, which put it entirely out of dispute, that the maritime powers were now able to give law to France in all parts of the world<sup>k</sup>. The siege of Barcelona too was raised, to the infinite joy of the king of Spain, who testified his gratitude for this signal assistance, in the warmest and most public manner possible<sup>l</sup>.

Our admiral, indeed, found the Spanish affairs in the most distressed condition imaginable. Their Armada consisted but of ten ships, and of these four only were of the line of battle; the rest of small force, and so rotten, that they could scarce endure the firing of their own guns. Their army in Catalonia was in a still worse condition; it consisted but of 9000 men, without clothes, without pay, without provisions, without artillery, and even without tents. The towns on the sea-coast were so meanly fortified, that, on the approach of a French squadron, the people had no other way to secure themselves but by flight. Admiral Russel stated all this in a letter to the king, and at the same time offered the viceroy of Catalonia to do all that was in his power for his assistance; which, however, was not much, for, on the other hand, the demands made by the viceroy were excessively unreasonable, and what the admiral was able to do could not much benefit him; which was the reason that, together with an apprehension of provisions grow-

<sup>l</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 239. where we are told, that, notwithstanding the precautions taken by admiral Russel, one of the Algerine frigates was soon after seized in his sight, by a Dutch man of war, though she was presently released upon his application.

<sup>k</sup> Histoire militaire, tome iii. p. 86. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 665. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 129. Life of king William, p. 376, 382.

<sup>l</sup> Present state of Europe for 1694, p. 267, 271. His catholic majesty is said to have presented admiral Russel with a jewel of the value of fourscore thousand crowns, and another to vice admiral Callemberg, of the value of twelve thousand crowns.

ing short, induced the admiral to desire the fleet might return home; for which, when he had made all the necessary preparations, and was on the very point of quitting the Spanish coast, he received an order under his majesty's signet and sign manual, directing him to winter at Cadiz. This embarrassed him extremely, and the rather, because no care was taken to send commissioners for victualling; so that this fell entirely upon the admiral, and was no small addition to the load of cares with which he was already oppressed<sup>m</sup>.

Yet, considering the importance of the service, the dangers to which the men would be exposed by any mismanagement in this affair, and how far the honour of the English nation was at stake, he applied himself to this new employment with such diligence, that never men were better furnished with provisions and wine; and this too was managed with so great economy, that notwithstanding the apparent difference between obtaining provisions for a great fleet and single ships, yet the former was victualled at as small an expence to the public as the latter, and in many circumstances at a much cheaper rate; nor did the admiral, when he found it necessary, make any scruple of engaging his personal credit and private estate, for the service of his country<sup>n</sup>.

While the fleet continued before Alicant, the admiral dispatched a squadron of ten sail, under the command of rear-admiral Neville, with orders to cruize between the islands and the Barbary coast, as well to intercept any French vessels that might pass that way, as to procure wood and other necessaries for the fleet. Soon after this, the admiral falling ill of a fever and bloody flux, he devolved the care of the fleet on vice-admiral Aylmer, with orders to join rear-admiral Neville, and in case he had any news of the French fleet's being come out

<sup>m</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 241. Columna rostrata, p. 264. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 129.

<sup>n</sup> See the subsequent memoirs of the earl of Orford, where it will appear, that, notwithstanding all his pains and application, he was most cruelly and scandalously traduced on this account, as if he had procured the wintering of the fleet in the Mediterranean, purely to enrich himself by the management of their victualling; whereas, that measure was not only concerted without, but against his advice, and the government saved a great sum of money by his frugal conduct in the other particular.

of Toulon, to sail in quest of them without delay; but if not, to return to Alicant, which he did on the 10th of September. The admiral, though in a very weak state of health, went very soon on board, and resumed the command of the fleet, with which he proceeded to Cadiz, where he arrived on the eighth of November 1694, and took all the necessary precautions to prevent the French from passing the Streights, without receiving proper notice of their motions.

While he continued there, the Spaniards sent him frequent advices of the French fleet's being ready to quit Toulon; which, however, he did not much regard, as having better intelligence of his own<sup>o</sup>. It is true, the French fleet was kept clean and well rigged during the winter, with design to have brought it round to Brest; but the advices they had of admiral Russel's force, and their knowledge of his diligence, had such an effect on the mind of M. Tourville, that he could not be prevailed on to risk the ships under his command in so dangerous a passage. His catholic majesty was all this time soliciting our admiral to undertake impossibilities, such as transporting five, then seven thousand men, from Genoa on board his men of war, though he knew them to be foul by their being so long at sea, and but indifferently provided with victuals; which, though the admiral refused, yet he did it with great decency, and at the same time offered unanswerable reasons in support of his own conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand, amongst other supplies, a reasonable number of land-forces: and in this manner the remainder of the year was spun out<sup>p</sup>.

It is now requisite to take notice of what was done at home in relation to naval affairs; and, in the first place, I must observe, that the king, on his return from Flanders, under the escort of a small squadron, commanded by the marquis of Caermarthen, called the parliament together on the twelfth of November, and opened the sessions with a speech, which began thus: "I am glad to meet you here, when I can say our affairs are in a better posture, both by sea and land, than when we parted last. The enemy has not been in a condition to op-

<sup>o</sup> The present state of Europe for 1694, p. 346, 378.

<sup>p</sup> Burcher's

memoirs, p. 265.



“ pose our fleet in these seas; and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean has disappointed their designs, and leaves us a prospect of further success.” He recommended to them, at the same time, early and effectual supplies, and the passing some good law for the encouragement of seamen. The commons received these propositions very cheerfully, and having examined the estimates that were laid before them for the next year, voted a supply of 2,382,712*l.* for the navy, which sufficiently shewed how easy it was to engage the nation to give money, when they had any tolerable prospect of seeing it well laid out<sup>9</sup>.

The death of queen Mary, which happened towards the latter end of the year, served not only to damp the spirits of the people, who had a wonderful affection for the person of that princess, but to give the enemies of the government an opportunity to attempt distressing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally dissolved by her majesty's demise<sup>1</sup>. This, however strange and singular, was the sentiment of her majesty's uncle, the earl of Rochester, and of some others; but certainly it was very ill founded. The executive part of the government was, by law, in king William only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared to be in their majesties jointly. The calling of a parliament was certainly an act of the executive power, and consequently it ought to have been understood in law as the special and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majesties, as all other acts of state did, yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and no body's se-

<sup>9</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 666. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 132. Present state of Europe for November 1694, p. 376. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 446.

<sup>1</sup> This excellent princess was taken ill at Kensington, on the twenty-first of December, 1694. Her distemper proved to be the small-pox; a malady extremely fatal to her family, and which might therefore be supposed to make the greater impression upon her spirits; this, joined to a bad constitution, and, as some say, the ill management of her principal physician, brought her to her end in the space of a week. She was, at the time of her decease, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented at home and abroad; and her death at this juncture, was a great disadvantage to her subjects.

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conding the earl of Rochester in his motion in the house of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberations as if no such accident had happened\*.

It was then suggested, by such as disliked the administration, that the sending admiral Ruffel with so great a fleet into the Mediterranean, keeping him there for so long a time, and directing him at last to winter in those parts, was contrary to the interest of the nation, an occasion of vast sums being remitted into foreign parts, and an act of too great complaisance towards our allies. But, upon a long and sharp debate, the house of lords saw reason to justify this measure, by a very warm address to the throne, in which they say, “ That the sending so great a fleet  
“ into the Mediterranean, and continuing it in those parts, has  
“ been to the honour and advantage of your majesty and your  
“ kingdoms : and having spent some time upon consideration of  
“ the condition of the fleet both at home and abroad, and of the  
“ great increase of the naval force and strength of our neighbours,  
“ conceive it to be our duty to your majesty and the kingdom,  
“ humbly to represent, that the honour and safety of this na-  
“ tion, under the providence of God, chiefly depends upon  
“ your strength at sea. And whereas, by the long continuance  
“ of this war, the number of your ships must have been dimi-  
“ nished, and those remaining greatly impaired, we think it of  
“ the highest importance to your majesty’s service, and the se-  
“ curity and interest of your people, that you would be pleased  
“ to give such speedy and effectual directions for the repair and  
“ increase of your royal navy, as may enable your majesty not  
“ only to continue a strength in the Mediterranean during this  
“ war, which may be superior to that of our enemies, but like-  
“ wise to maintain such a force here at home, and in the West

\* See Burnet’s history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 140. It is evident, if this could have been carried, and the parliament dissolved, things must have run into the utmost confusion; and therefore it is amazing that any man, who pretended the least regard for his country, should espouse so destructive a scheme, even though his sentiments had been opposite to those of the persons intrusted with the administration. But the misfortune in those days was, that private interest, covered with pretences to party, boldly undertook whatever avarice or ambition dictated, and often injured the public from what they imposed on the credulous for public spirit.

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“ Indies, as shall be a security for our coasts and plantations, and a protection of our trade, and sufficient both for the annoyng of our enemies, and for the protecting and convoying all such stores and provisions as must be sent to the fleet in those parts, upon the effectual and timely providing whereof the safety of that part of your majesty’s navy does so much depend.” This address, which was presented in the beginning of the month of March, and to which the king returned a favourable answer, satisfied the minds of all the sensible part of the nation on this head, and reconciled them to the absence of admiral Russel, which otherwise they would not have borne but with great impatience<sup>c</sup>.

A considerable supply being sent to the fleet in the beginning of the year, admiral Russel resolved to send a small squadron up the Streights; it was composed of six stout frigates, and the command given to captain James Killegrew, who had instructions to protect our own trade, and to annoy that of the enemy. In their cruize, on the 18th of January, 1695, they discovered two French ships, viz. the Content, commanded by the marquis du Chalard, of seventy guns, and the Trident, under count d’Aulnoy, of sixty guns, between Cape Bona and the island of Pantalarea, on the Barbary coast. The French men of war mistook the English for merchantmen, and bore down upon them, but, quickly perceiving their mistake, endeavoured to get away. It was four in the afternoon before captain Killegrew, in the Plymouth, could come up with them; and, the wind being then calm, she alone engaged both the French ships for the space of more than an hour, in which time captain Killegrew was killed with a cannon-shot. Then came up the Falmouth, captain Grantham, who engaged them for near another hour, till the other four English frigates came in: whereupon the French separated, the Carlisle, Newcastle, and Southampton, pursued the biggest of them, and the Falmouth and Adventure

<sup>c</sup> The French took a great deal of pains to publish whatever was said in England against this measure; and indeed they had good reason, since all those arguments were in their favour. The English fleet giving law to them in the Mediterranean, while our squadrons bombarded their ports on the ocean, sunk their pretensions to maritime power so low, that it is no wonder they were desirous of promoting the views of that party in England, which opposed measures so fatal to their glory.

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the lesser, the Plymouth being forced to bear away for Messina, having lost her fore-top-mast, and her other masts and rigging being very much shattered. The French made a running fight the night following and part of the next day, when, their ships being disabled, and the count d'Aulnoy, one of their commanders, with many of their men killed, they both yielded. One of them, called the Trident, being leaky, and it blowing very fresh, the English sent her to Gorgonti, and carried the Content to Messina, where they arrived the 2d of March. The Plymouth had fourteen men killed, and thirty wounded, and there might be about twice that number killed and wounded on board the rest of the ships. The brave captain Killigrew was interred at Messina with all the honours due to his rank and merit. The news of this action reached home much about the time that the lords presented their address, which was a very fortunate circumstance for the friends of the court, who mentioned it on all occasions, as a fact which fully supported their arguments. On the other side, a large account of this affair was printed at Paris, in which the marquis du Chalard said a great many fine things of himself and his nation, but after all admits they were beat.

On the 5th of February, 1694, a great supply of provisions arrived from England, and soon after admiral Ruffel detached rear-admiral Neville, with a strong squadron, to watch the motions of the French. In the beginning of April arrived the land-forces, consisting of about four thousand five hundred men, under the command of brigadier Stuart and other experienced officers, and with them came a large fleet of victuallers, and twelve

" Burchet's memoirs, p. 266, 267. Columna rostrata, p. 264.

" I think myself obliged to report from the mouth of an eye-witness, a very extraordinary circumstance in relation to this engagement. When captain Killigrew came up with the Content, the whole French crew were at prayers, and he might have poured in his broadside with great advantage; which, however, he refused to do, adding this remarkable expression, " It is beneath the courage of the English nation to surprize their enemies in such a posture."

\* I shall not trouble the reader with any of the flourishes in this or other French accounts of this affair, but content myself with observing, that the marquis du Chalard says, the Content carried 54 guns, and 380 men, the Trident 42 guns, and 300 men, though in several of their own lines of battle, in the years 1692 and 1693, I find the former to be a ship of 64, and the latter of 60 guns; which is sufficient to shew the credit due to these authors.

bomb-vessels<sup>1</sup>. The fleet then sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded to Barcelona, before which port they arrived early in the month of May, and found the Spanish affairs in Catalonia in the same declining way in which they left them, notwithstanding all the pressing remonstrances which had from time to time been made by our admiral to the Spanish court on that subject.

In the mean time rear-admiral Neville was sent to escort a body of Spanish troops, which were to be transported from Final into that province. He had also directions to apply himself to the duke of Savoy, in order to be informed, whether, with the assistance of the fleet, he could undertake to invade any part of the dominions of France, or to assist in a design that was then formed against Toulon. But his highness, being intent upon taking Casal, declined entering upon any measures of this nature; and therefore rear-admiral Neville was forced to content himself with the execution of the other part of his instructions, and re-join the grand fleet with the Spanish troops under his protection, which he very happily performed<sup>2</sup>.

It was about the middle of the month of July, when the marquis de Gastanaga, the Spanish governor of Catalonia, formed the design of retaking Palamos, in which he desired the assistance of admiral Russel. To this purpose he made him a visit on board the fleet, where the admiral told him the situation things were in, the necessity he was under of sending home Sir John

<sup>1</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 268, 271. The Spaniards were all this while soliciting for a convoy, and sometimes expressed a good deal of uneasiness on account of its not being provided. Yet this was entirely their own fault; for, while the admiral thought there was no danger of the French coming out of Toulon, he had pressed them as much to forward their embarkation at Final, telling them plainly, that after a certain time, which he fixed, he should not think it safe to spare them a convoy. But they suffered it to elapse, and then grew impatient, because admiral Russel would not hazard part of his fleet, and all their forces, by sending the convoy at a time when the French fleet might have been at sea on purpose to intercept them.

<sup>2</sup> This was one great end of sending admiral Russel into the Mediterranean: for if, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, he could have undertaken any thing against Marseilles or Toulon, it would have completed the ruin of the French power at sea. But the duke was so bent upon the conquest of Casal, that he could not be drawn to undertake any other enterprize. Admiral Russel, as soon as he understood this, resolved to give him all the assistance possible in that design, and, by hindering the French from sending any succours, enabled him to make himself master of the place, which he could not otherwise have taken.

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Munden with some of the largest ships, and the impossibility there was of suffering the troops to continue for above a week or a few days longer on shore. However, in spite of all these difficulties and disappointments, he assured the marquis, that he was ready to do the very utmost in his power, both by landing the troops, and by sending in a squadron of light vessels to bombard the place. In consequence of these resolutions, the confederate forces, consisting of four thousand English and Dutch, were landed; the former under the command of brigadier Stuart, the latter under that of count Nassau<sup>a</sup>.

This was on the 9th of August, and it was the next day before they joined the Spanish army, the very sight of which was sufficient to discourage them. To enumerate their wants, would be tedious and unnecessary, since in truth they were in want of every thing; and, if our people had not by accident brought with them some pick-axes and shovels on shore, they could not have intrenched themselves; which, however, was very necessary, since the French had not only a good garrison in Palamos, but an army at least equal to that of the Spaniards, within sight of the place. The bombardment, however, succeeded better; the greatest part of the town and castle were destroyed: but the admiral, being informed that the French fleet were coming out of Toulon, thought proper to reembark his forces, and to sail for the coast of Provence; in order to watch the motions of the enemy<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 275. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 154, 155. Columna rostrata, p. 264, 265.

<sup>b</sup> The French writers give us another account of this matter; they say, that the duke of Vendome, who commanded their army in Catalonia, finding himself too weak to attempt raising the siege of Palamos by force, had yet address enough to effect it by a stratagem. He sent a letter by the master of a fishing-boat, directed to Mr. Nancas, governor of that place, acquainting him, that he might depend on speedy relief, the fleet having sailed from Toulon in the beginning of September. The master of the fishing boat had orders to put himself in the way of the English, which he did; and the admiral, being deceived by this letter, sailed immediately for the coast of Provence. *Hist. militaire*, tome iii. p. 178. yet, supposing this fact to be true, the French had no great cause to boast; for Palamos was reduced to so miserable a condition by being bombarded, that the duke de Vendome thought fit soon after to withdraw his garrison, and blow up the rest of the fortifications.



After his departure from the coast of Catalonia, the admiral met with exceeding bad weather, which hindered him from accomplishing some things he had in view. He found also, that his intelligence as to the designs of the French had not been very exact, and therefore thought it advisable to retire down the Straights; which he did, and arrived, towards the latter end of the month of September, in the bay of Cadiz<sup>c</sup>. There he made the necessary dispositions for securing our trade in the Mediterranean from any interruption, by leaving a sufficient force to frustrate the designs of the enemy, and even to assist the Spaniards, in case they shewed any greater care of their own concerns after his departure than they had hitherto done: and, having taken these precautions, and given proper instructions to Sir David Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, who was to be left with a Squadron of three and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-vessels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the rest of the fleet back to England, most of the great ships being very foul, and many of them but indifferently manned. This design he very happily accomplished, arriving in November with twelve sail of great ships, exclusive of the Dutch, a frigate or two, and some fire-ships, on our own coast<sup>d</sup>.

We are now to consider what passed at home, and how those measures were prosecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the French in the ocean. Our attempts the year before had not indeed answered the sanguine expectations of ignorant people, who imagined that they were not to have left a house standing on all the French coast, and on the other hand seemed but to justify too well what such as were best skilled in maritime affairs had advanced as to the impossibility of performing any great services in the way of bombarding; yet it was resolved, that this should be pursued<sup>e</sup>. The great men in the cabinet, amongst whom was the famous earl of Sunderland, perhaps the ablest minister of his time, thought themselves better judges of these matters than either the seamen or the people, and while they were able to shew their own force for the present, lessen the French power for the future, and give infinite uneasiness to

<sup>c</sup> Present state of Europe for 1695, p. 335.

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 285, 286. Mercure historique et politique, tome xix. p. 580.

<sup>e</sup> Burchet's History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 207, 208.

the whole French nation by such expeditions, the expence of them, though considerable, was, in their judgments, very far from being thrown away.

They were, besides, very sensible, that nothing could enable us and our allies to continue the war with any prospect of success, but our making such uses of our fleet as might lessen the visible superiority of the enemy's forces by land. This had been effectually done by admiral Ruffel while he continued in the Mediterranean; for though he found it impossible to enable the Spaniards to do any thing, who had little or rather no force at all, yet he had visibly prevented the loss of Barcelona, and indeed of all Catalonia, which nothing but his presence could have kept, either this year or the last, out of the hands of the French, and the bombardments of last year had frustrated all the French schemes, and kept their whole naval force useless in their ports, which had been otherwise employed to our prejudice *f*.

The fleet intended for this service was in such forwardness by the middle of June, that the lord Berkley of Stratton, who was to command it, had orders to repair on board. On his arrival at Spithead, a council of war was called, in order to consider what should be first undertaken; and, upon mature deliberation, it was resolved, that there was the greatest probability of succeeding against St. Maloe's. But the Dutch admiral Allemonde having acquainted lord Berkley, that he had the king's absolute orders to consider the project for attacking Dunkirk before all others, this occasioned a fresh delay. However, when it was proposed that the Dutch should act separately in this last undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full resolution taken to execute immediately the design against St. Maloe's *g*.

With this view the fleet sailed on the twenty-third of June; and on the fourth of July lord Berkley, with all the ships under his command, came before the place, and began instantly to bombard Quince-fort to the westward, and the battery, raised by the enemy to the eastward, on point Danbour, between

*f* This is the judgment of some of the best political writers of those times: and indeed, if we consider facts, we cannot but be convinced, that it was better for us to alarm and burn the French coast, than to suffer them to alarm and burn ours, as they did some years before.

*g* Burchet's memoirs, p. 293. Kennet, Burnet.

which is the channel of the town. The first service was performed by colonel Richards, who had three English and two Dutch bomb-vessels under his command, and the latter was committed entirely to the Dutch, who employed therein four bomb-vessels for many hours. On the fifth, every thing being ready to attack the town, lord Berkley, about four in the morning, gave the signal. Upon this captain Benbow went on board the Charles galley, and hoisted a flame-coloured flag, and immediately after, the English and Dutch frigates, appointed to guard the bomb-vessels, entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and a half of the town, having colonel Richards, with the bomb-vessels, in a line before them. About six the bombardment began. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the shore, from the batteries on the great and little bay in the island of Danbour, from Fort-Vauban, Fort-Royal, Fort-Quince, &c. their galleys and boats taking also the opportunities of the tides, and rowing sometimes so near as to gall with their small shot the line of bomb-vessels. Yet, in spite of this interruption, the bombardment was so vigorously pursued, that about eight o'clock a great fire broke out in the east part of the town, and vast clouds of smoke were seen ascending in several places. Lord Berkley, admiral Allemonde, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, came in their boats to encourage the seamen, and expressed much satisfaction as to the manner in which the attack was disposed.

An English and Dutch fire-ship set the wooden fort on the Quince rock on fire, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the west part of the town. By seven in the evening the bomb-vessels had spent their whole cargo of nine thousand bombs and carcasses, and therefore the signal was made to put to sea. This enterprize was executed by six English and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottom boats, and two brigantines. The loss sustained by the enemy's fire was sixty men killed and wounded, a bomb-vessel called the Terrible, so shattered, that they were forced to set her on fire, two boats, and three or four barks sunk. The bombardment lasted somewhat more than eleven hours, with all the success that could possibly be expected, a great part of the place being burnt, and the enemy reduced to the necessity of

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blowing up several houses, to prevent the whole from being destroyed<sup>b</sup>.

The French accounts do indeed contradict these; but, at the same time, they are such as cannot either raise the reputation of France, with impartial judges, or discredit what has been advanced on this subject by the English and Dutch. M. Quincy tells us, that the court appointed marshal Choiseul to command on the coast of Britany. At La Hague he had two battalions of marines, three of militia, a regiment of horse, and a regiment of dragoons; and, besides these, he had a numerous corps de reserve. M. d'Estrees commanded in the neighbourhood of Rochelle another considerable body of forces. The care of Brest, and the adjacent country, was committed to M. Vauban, who had a special commission to enable him to command the marines, of which there were twenty-two battalions on the coast. All this shews how apprehensive the French were of these visits, into what confusion they put them, and what mighty expences they were obliged to be at, in order to provide against their effects.

As to this particular affair of St. Maloe's, the author before-mentioned is pleased to say, our fleet consisted of seventy sail, of which twenty-five or thirty were line-of-battle ships. He owns, that the bombardment continued eleven hours; that nine hundred bombs were thrown, of which five hundred fell in the town, whereby ten or twelve houses were burnt, thirty-five or forty damaged, and eighteen or twenty people killed or wounded<sup>c</sup>. Father Daniel gives us pretty near the same account; and

<sup>b</sup> See the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3090; where, however, it is said, that the fleet sailed on the twenty-first; but, in all probability, it put back again, and did not sail till the twenty-ninth, as appears from the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3091. The account of the engagement I have taken from my Lord Berkley's narrative, published in the Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3096, after comparing it with what is said in Burchet's naval history, and the Dutch accounts; all which agree perfectly together, and therefore I can see no reason to doubt any of the facts they contain.

<sup>c</sup> Histoire militaire, tom. liii. p. 323. But all that is said there may be thus accounted for. The French court always kept in pay a settled journalist, who was instructed to heighten all their successes, and to extenuate all their losses, by feigned relations; which relations are since reckoned proper documents for history; though at the time they were published their true value was very well known, and they very justly despised, not abroad only, but even by sensible people in France.

both agree, that two infernal machines were spent on Fort-Quince, one to very little and the other to no purpose<sup>k</sup>. Yet, when it is remembered that St. Maloe's was an old town, its buildings mostly of wood, the streets very narrow, and the place crowded with soldiers, it is not easy to guess how so many bombs could possibly fall, and yet do so little hurt; and this induced a Dutch journalift to say merrily enough, that the Malo- ins had taught their dogs (which every body knows they make use of to guard their city) to take up the bombs in their mouths, and run away with them out of town<sup>m</sup>.

After this affair was over, it was resolved, that a small Squadron should proceed to Granville, a place of some trade. This Squadron consisted of eight frigates, and as many bomb-vessels, viz. five English and three Dutch. On the 8th of July about nine in the morning, captain Benbow anchored before the place, and colonel Richards, about an hour afterwards, began the bombardment, which lasted till six in the evening, and then the Squadron bore away, leaving this town all in flames, which is a fact the French have never offered to dispute, though most of their writers slip it over without saying a word. On the ninth the fleet appeared before Havre de Grace; not with any design to attack it, but merely to alarm and harass the enemy: which having performed, they sailed for Portsmouth, in order to make the necessary preparations there for an attempt upon Dunkirk, the destruction of which port would have given equal satisfaction to the English and Dutch, both nations suffering very much, though not equally, by her privateers, which were the very bane of all our northern and coast trade<sup>n</sup>.

On the return of the fleet, four hundred soldiers were immediately embarked, and Mr. Meefters received orders to prepare his machines, on the success of which the whole affair depended. After this, all the proper measures were concerted with

<sup>k</sup> Journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 182. Both his and the marquis de Quincy's account, are copied from their Gazettes.

<sup>m</sup> Present state of Europe for 1695, p. 250, 271, 279. See vice-admiral Allemonde's letter to the states, dated July 18th, 1695. Life of king William p. 420. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 690.

<sup>n</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 298. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 155. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3596. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xix. p. 113.



that engineer. But, whether through some backwardness in him, or from what other accident it is not very clear, so it was, that the month of July expired before the attempt upon Dunkirk was made. On the first of August lord Berkley sent in the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and machine-vessels, with several light frigates and brigantines, to protect them against the enemy's half-gallies, and other armed boats, of which they had a great many. About nine in the morning the bombardment began; about two in the afternoon four smoke-ships were sent in, which were burnt to little or no purpose. The bomb-vessels, however, continued firing till about five, and then with the frigates, &c. were ordered off. Several of the shells fell into the rise-bank and upon the pier-heads, and three of the enemy's half-gallies were sunk.

But they had, it must be allowed in all places made such great preparations for their defence, with boats, booms, chains, piles, and pontoons, with guns upon them, as rendered this attempt altogether impracticable. The French give a very long and pompous account of this affair, upon which they struck a nail, and, I think, do the English more honour than any of their own relations; for they make the miscarriage of this attempt the effect of the courage and conduct of several of their most experienced sea-officers; whereas our authors universally ascribe it either to the want of skill in Mr. Meesters, or to the misunderstanding between him and some of the sea-officers; which is the more probable, since he deserted the service in the night, and could not be prevailed on to take any share at all in the subsequent attempt upon Calais<sup>o</sup>.

Lord Berkley, notwithstanding this disappointment, resolved to prosecute his orders, and coming before Calais, called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour first of all to burn a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-

<sup>o</sup> I have taken this account, as those before inserted, from all the relations I could meet with, either of our own or foreign writers, particularly that published in the Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3102. Burchet's memoirs, p. 298. The present state of Europe for 1695, p. 284. Quincy's *histoire militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. iii. p. 184, 185. Reinourt, tom. iii. p. 460. Larrey, tom. ii. p. 256. *Journal historique de Louis XIV.* par P. Daniel, p. 182. But all they advance appears to be collected from the dissent relations printed by authority, to amuse and mislead the people.

heads,



heads, which was furnished with fourteen heavy cannon; and, with several other batteries, defended the entrance of the place in such a manner; that it was absolutely impossible any thing could be undertaken till these obstacles were removed. To this end, colonel Richards was ordered to fill two well-boats with the materials of a fire-ship, and to dispose the boats for making a formal attack. Several accidents prevented the execution of this design till the seventeenth of August in the morning, when anchoring eastward of the town, the bombardment began with such success, that by noon the place was on fire in several parts. About this time the enemy's half-gallies came out, and stood along under the shore, in order to break the line of bomb-vessels; but the frigates and brigantines standing in, put them into such confusion, that they retired with great precipitation; and with much difficulty recovered the pier-heads. The bombardment was then continued, without any farther interruption; till about five in the afternoon; by which time six hundred shells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the rise-bank were intirely burnt, several houses destroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular circumstance in our favour, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we suffered very little loss; only captain Osborne, who commanded the Aldborough ketch, was killed by a cannon-ball <sup>P</sup>.

M. Quincy affects to treat this attack as a very slight thing, asserting, that not above three or four houses were consumed; and about as many people killed; and yet he acknowledges that abundance of men had been ordered thither, and a great deal of pains taken to prevent their suffering at all by this attempt; which shews how great their apprehensions were, and how necessary it was to calm the minds of the people by publishing such accounts, but depreciates their judgments very much, who took all these precautions, where (if they are believed) no mischief could be done <sup>Q</sup>.

<sup>P</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3107. Burchet's memoirs, p. 303. Pajuter's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 413. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xix. p. 277.

<sup>Q</sup> Histoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 189. P. Daniel journal historique, p. 183. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xix. p. 280. in which is inserted the French relation of this business.

This was the last attack of the kind that was made this year; and though, upon the whole, not only the English, but the confederates in general reaped very considerable advantages, from their ruining in this manner all the enemy's coasts, while their squadrons were shut up in their ports, and in no capacity to undertake any thing, yet, on the return of the fleet, the council thought fit to examine into the conduct both of the officers and engineers; who charged each other reciprocally with want of skill, or want of zeal; but, upon a long and strict examination into the matter, it was found, that their want of unanimity was the greatest misfortune; and it appeared so plainly, that, by proper management, the French ports might be ruined, notwithstanding the mighty pains and immense expence employed in fortifying them, that it was resolved to prosecute the same method; and it was particularly recommended to Mr. Meesters, not only to be more careful in providing for the supply of his machines with whatever was necessary for their acting effectually, but also to secure a sufficient number of experienced pilots, for want of which both the attempts on Dunkirk had miscarried.

That respect which is due to truth, and the information without reserve of our readers, will not permit the passing over in silence some misfortunes that fell out this year at sea. When the French court found that, notwithstanding the vast expence they had been at in order to raise a maritime power, they were yet unable to look the English and Dutch in the face, they very prudently gave leave to many of their sailors to enter on board privateers, which enabled them to disturb our trade, and to enrich themselves. The marquis of Caermarthen, who had the command of a squadron stationed off the Scilly islands, was so unlucky as to mistake a fleet of merchant-men for the Breft Squadron; whereupon, without taking any pains to be satisfied whether he was, or was not in the right, he retired immediately into Milford-haven, which exposed the Barbadoes fleet in such a manner, that many of them were lost, two East India ships were taken at sea, and three more were either burnt or taken near Galway in Ireland, by some privateers acting under king

\* See a more satisfactory account of this matter in our memoirs of the lord Berkeley of Stratton.

James's commission<sup>s</sup>. These five ships, bishop Burnet tells us, were worth a million, and therefore we need not be surpris'd; that by the loss of them, which affected so many people, a great clamour was rais'd among the merchants.

The admiralty excus'd themselves by producing the instructions given to the marquis of Caermarthen, and other officers; but, notwithstanding all that could be said, it appear'd incontestibly, that the true source of our losses in this respect, and of the French success, was their having so good intelligence of all our motions; whereas it never appear'd, that, with all the money spent for this purpose, we had any tolerable accounts of theirs. How far this was owing to their diligence and dexterity, and how far to our indolence and treachery, is what I shall not pretend to determine, but content myself with observing, that, in a time of war, no money is so ill spared as that which might be employ'd in gaining early notice of an enemy's preparations; for though their designs may, yet these can never be hid<sup>t</sup>.

But, in some measure to balance these, we may have leave to mention a few acts of extraordinary courage and conduct, which our own countrymen perform'd; and which, if it were for their singularity only, deserve to be remembered. On the 30th of May, 1695, as one William Thompson, master of a fishing boat belonging to the port of Pool in Dorsetshire, was fishing near the island of Purbeck, with only one man and a boy, and perceiving a privateer of Cherbourg to bear down upon him, he was so far from avoiding the enemy, that he made ready to defend himself the best way he could with two little guns, which he had mounted, and some small arms; and with so inconsiderable a force behav'd himself with such success, that in a little time he wounded the captain, the lieutenant, and six more of the French, which so discourag'd the rest, that they bore away. But then, in his return, Thompson gave chase to the privateer, fired upon her for two hours together, and at length made the enemy strike, beg for quarter, and surrender; so that Thomp-

<sup>s</sup> Memoires publics, Quincy histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Reincourt histoire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 479.

<sup>t</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 155. Kennet, Oldmixon, Present state of Europe, Life of king William.

son, thus victorious, brought away the sloop with fourteen prisoners, (of which the captain was one), having left two more at Corfe-castle, and carried her into Pool harbour. This privateer had two pattareroes, several small arms and grenadoes, and sixteen men. For this gallant exploit, the lords of the admiralty gave captain Thompson a gold chain and medal, of the value of fifty pounds, and made him a present also of the vessel he had taken<sup>v</sup>.

Their lordships, not long after, gave a like chain and medal to Mr. Williams, who was likewise master of a fishing-smack belonging to Whirsund-bay, for retaking several vessels after they had fallen into the hands of French privateers<sup>w</sup>. These rewards had such an effect, that captain Peter Jolliffe, in a small hoy, called the Sea Adventure, perceiving a French privateer in the island of Purbeck make prize of a fishing-boat belonging to Weymouth, he boldly attacked him, though of three times his strength, and having first obliged him to quit his prize, afterwards forced him on shore near the town of Lulworth, the people of which made themselves masters of the vessel, and took the crew prisoners; for which brave exploit, captain Jolliffe was honoured also with a gold chain and medal<sup>x</sup>. Several other actions of this sort gave reputation to the English seamen, and plainly shewed, that nothing but divisions in our councils, and factions in our fleets, hindered us from succeeding in our designs of making a descent on the coast of France, and revenging the injuries done our commerce by the privateers of that nation: a design every way just and reasonable, since the French king not only furnished those privateers with seamen, but also employed his own ships in this kind of piratical war, and caused several medals to be struck on the success of it: but whether these will transmit his glory or shame to posterity, I leave every impartial reader to determine<sup>y</sup>.

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<sup>v</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3085. Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 411, 412. Present state of Europe.

<sup>w</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3085.

<sup>x</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3089.

<sup>y</sup> I have always looked upon this as the strongest proof of the rectitude of those councils, to which were owing the bombardment of the French coasts; and therefore I think it may not be amiss to give the reader some instances in support of what is delivered in the text. Every body knows how fond the

The campaign in Flanders being over, king William returned to England, and on the eleventh of October arrived at Kensington, and immediately after published a proclamation, by which he dissolved the parliament, and called a new one, which was to meet on the twenty-second of November following<sup>a</sup>. About the same time Sir George Rooke received orders to proceed with all expedition to the fleet, with the squadron under his command. He was on this occasion declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, with instructions to protect the English commerce, to annoy the enemy, and, in case they passed the Streights, to follow them with the whole fleet, or a strength proportionable to theirs.

Sir George parted from the English coast on the sixteenth of October 1695, with seventy sail of men of war and merchantmen under his command, and in thirty-eight days arrived safely in the bay of Cadiz. There he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the securing the safe return of the Turkey fleet, and protecting every where the English trade from the danger to which it stood exposed from the French privateers; but, as to the latter part of his instructions, he found himself scarce in a capacity to carry them into execution, the force he had in the port of Cadiz being much inferior to the strength he knew the

French king was of causing the remarkable actions of his reign to be recorded by medals; and therefore their testimony is unexceptionable. On the taking the India ships, formerly mentioned, there was a medal struck, representing these vessels unloading, and their cargoes taken from the slaves who brought them on shore, by a man completely armed, with this inscription, *In sea hostium opes intercepte; i. e.* The treasures of the Indies taken from the enemies. In the exergue, 1695. Upon John du Bart's destroying a squadron of Dutch ships, another medal appeared, on which was represented the Batavian lion, prostrate on the ground, the genius of Holland sitting on his back, and looking with an air of distraction towards a ship at sea, with this legend, *Inensis aut captis hostium navibus oneratis triginta, bellicis tribus*; that is, Thirty merchant ships, and three men of war, belonging to the enemy, either burnt or taken. In the exergue, *ad Texelium*, 1695. A medal was also struck on the fruitless bombardment of Dünkirk, which shewed of how great importance the French king thought that nest of pirates. *Histoire de Louis XIV.* tom. v. p. 99. Gerard Van Loon *histoire metallique des Pays Bas*, tom. iv. p. 211.

<sup>a</sup> Present state of Europe for 1695, p. 376. Pointers's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 416. Butcher's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 160.



French had at Toulon, and therefore he was obliged to provide the best he could for his security there: many of the great English ships, and most of the Dutch under his command, being so foul, that it would have been unsafe to have hazarded them in an engagement. In this situation Sir George Rooke remained for some time, and then received his majesty's commands to return for England \*.

We are now to enter on the transactions of 1696, a year in which both the French and the allies were resolved to exert their greatest skill and utmost force for continuing the war, though they were both heartily weary of it, and had sufficient reasons to wish for peace. At home our party-debates ran much higher than ever. The Tories were formed into a fixed and constant opposition to the government, making it a capital point of patriotism to perplex public affairs; the English merchants were exceedingly uneasy at the losses they had sustained in trade, and all Scotland was in confusion on account of the opposition given to the project they had formed for establishing an East India Company, and making also a settlement in the West Indies at Darien. To these sources of uneasiness there were added many others, some of greater and some of less importance: among the former may be reckoned the business of a general re-coinage; and, among the latter, an epidemic corruption, which had spread itself through almost every office in the kingdom, equally to the discredit of the government, and oppression of the people.

While, therefore, the parliament directed its councils to the finding out remedies proper for so many and so great evils, the French were contriving (as indeed it was but natural they should) how they might turn our domestic disputes most to their own advantage, and at last projected the means to set on foot a conspiracy here, while they were preparing there all things necessary for the making a formidable invasion. Thus at the close of the war they made, as their policy commonly is, vast efforts, as well in hopes of carrying their point, as to justify their departure

\* Burchet's memoirs, p. 286, 290. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 416, 427. Mercure historique & politique t. n. xix. p. 573.

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from it, in case, after so bold an attempt, they should meet with fresh disappointments <sup>b</sup>.

It was pretty early in the winter that the French king formed the project of invading England, and by this means restoring king James. But the first suspicion, that was had here of his design, arose from his making a grand promotion of sea-officers, and amongst them no fewer than twenty captains of men of war; which looked as if they did not intend to let their fleets be idle, as they had done for two years past: and what greatly alarmed the nation was, that we had no considerable naval force at home to oppose them <sup>c</sup>. Their greatest preparations being at Toulon, confounded our politicians not a little, and served to keep their attention fixed to the Mediterranean.

But in the beginning of January, 1696, the French scheme began to unfold itself, by the early sailing of a fleet to Dunkirk. It was usual for them to send a large number of victuallers thither in the winter, escorted by a small Squadron of men of war. But the fleet now sent was much greater than formerly, and the Squadron, that sailed with it as an escort, consisted of seventeen men of war. Soon after this an army of twenty thousand men, drawn with all possible silence from the adjacent garrisons, was brought down to the sea-coasts, and five hundred transports provided with extraordinary diligence and secrecy, in order to carry over the greater part of them to England, while most of our large ships were laid up, and the rest either in the Mediterranean, or refitting here, in order to be sent thither <sup>d</sup>. So that hitherto all things seemed to favour the views of the enemy, who were not a little rejoiced at an accident that happened at Gillingham in the river Medway, where the Royal Sovereign took fire, and was totally consumed, though without prejudice to any of the ships which lay near her <sup>e</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quiney, P. Daniel, &c. <sup>c</sup> Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tome iii. p. 201. Kennet, Burnet, O'dmixon, Life of king William, Supplement to Rapin. Mercure historique et politique, tome xx. p. 58. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3167, 3162. <sup>d</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 166. Life of king William, p. 447. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 704. Mercure historique et politique, tome xx. p. 300.

<sup>e</sup> I have met with the following account of this accident, which is very curious, in a pocket book of an old seaman, who some time belonged to her:

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It was the intention of Louis XIV. to have embarked at Dunkirk, 16,000 men, who were to be commanded by king James in person, and under him by the marquis of Harcourt, then lieutenant-general, and afterwards marshal of France. This embarkation was to have been escorted by two strong squadrons under the marquis of Nesmond and John du Bart, all which might have been executed, if bad weather and contrary winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the duke of Berwick, Sir George Berkley, and some other experienced officers, were sent over to dispose the malecontents here to perform their part in this undertaking. But, when all things were supposed to be in perfect readiness, the whole scheme was happily discovered, and on the twenty-fourth of February the king came to the house of peers, sent for the commons, and in a set speech informed them of the whole affair.

At

“ January 29, 1696. The Royal Sovereign was the first great ship that was ever built in England; she was then designed only for splendour and magnificence, and was in some measure the occasion of those loud complaints against ship-money in the reign of king Charles I. but, being taken down a deck lower, became one of the best men of war in the world, and so formidable to her enemies, that none of the most daring among them would willingly ly by her side. She had been in almost all the great engagements that had been fought between England and Holland, and, in the last fight between the English and French, encountering the Wonder of the World, she so warmly plied the French admiral, that she forced him out of his three-decked wooden castle, and, chasing the Royal Sun before her, forced her to fly for shelter among the rocks, where she became a prey to lesser vessels, that reduced her to ashes. At length, leaky and defective herself with age, she was laid up at Chatham, in order to be rebuilt; but, being set on fire by negligence, she was, upon the twenty-seventh of this month, devoured by that element, which so long and so often before she had imperiously made use of as the instrument of destruction to others.”

As I do not enter any farther into the history of these times, than is absolutely necessary to the understanding the facts I relate, so I chose to give this, and other passages of a like nature, from the most authentic pieces I have met with. The following concise detail of the conspiracy was published in the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3161. with the king's speech, and the joint address of both houses:

“ By the great mercy of God a discovery has been made of a most horrid and detestable conspiracy, in which many wicked and traitorous persons were engaged to assassinate his majesty when he went abroad. At the same time a rising was intended within the kingdom, and an invasion from France; to which end divers French troops were drawn towards Dunkirk and Calais, and trans-

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At the same time orders were given for assembling, with the utmost diligence, the greatest number of ships possible; and admiral Ruffel, after having assisted at a board of admiralty, where proper instructions were prepared, went down to Deal, and on the twenty-fifth of February hoisted the Union flag on board the *Victory*, and in a few days stood over to the coast of France; having under his command upwards of fifty ships of the line, English and Dutch, at a time when the French believed we could not assemble ten; which extraordinary expedition confounded all their designs, and rendered the invasion absolutely impracticable, after all the pains and expence that had been for some months employed about it<sup>2</sup>.

On the twenty-eighth of February the admiral came to an anchor off Gravelin, with part of the fleet, and lord Berkley, with a squadron under his command, lay between him and Dunkirk. As the admiral passed by Calais, he perceived the harbour crowded with all sorts of small vessels for the intended embarkation of the French troops. As for the seventeen men of war, which were to have escorted them, thirteen were run in as close to the pier of Dunkirk as possible, and proved to be all large ships. Sir Cloudefley Shovel, with some other experienced officers, were sent to look upon them, to see if there was any possibility of burning them or not; but, after a long consultation with Mr. Meesters and the engineers, it was declared to be im-

“port-vessels and boats were got together at those places, of all which his majesty having received several concurring informations and advices, orders were given for apprehending the conspirators; many of whom have been already seized, and such strict search is made after the rest, that it is hoped few or none of them will escape the hands of justice. The forces in England are in a readiness to march, and a considerable body of his majesty's troops in Flanders ly ready to embark at Ostend. Admiral Ruffel is in the Downs with a squadron of his majesty's ships, who will be daily reinforced by other men of war from the river and Spithead. And the care that has been taken for the defence and safety of the kingdom will, we doubt not, with the blessing of God, be sufficient to disappoint the designs of our enemies.”

<sup>2</sup> On the twenty-fourth of February there were but eleven ships in the Downs; and by the twenty eighth the admiral had with him one first rate, twelve third, twenty-four fourth, and three fifth rates, besides fire-ships, and the following flags under him, viz. lord Berkley, admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudefley Shovel, vice-admiral of the red; Mr. Aylmer, vice-admiral of the blue: twelve Dutch ships under two rear-admirals.

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practicable; and thereupon the admiral determined to quit that station, and return into Dover road, leaving a squadron under Sir Cloudesley Shovel to watch the motions of the enemy<sup>b</sup>.

This squadron continued cruizing in the Downs all the month of March, without attempting any thing; but, towards the end of the month, being reinforced with several Dutch ships, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels, he received orders, on the second of April, to undertake the bombardment of Calais; in pursuance of which, he immediately came before that town, and made the necessary dispositions for executing those orders. On the third the bomb-vessels began to fire about noon, and continued firing till evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcasses fell either in the town, or among the ships in the harbour, with such effect as to kindle fires in both, and must certainly have done a great deal of mischief<sup>c</sup>. But as most of the bomb-vessels and brigantines had their rigging destroyed, and their mortars dismounted, (the wind too blowing very hard from the shore), Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having left a squadron to keep in the French men of war at Dunkirk, returned into the Downs, where he received orders on the 11th of April to join the grand fleet at Spithead. But, before he could execute these orders, Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs with his fleet from the Streights, and took upon him the command<sup>d</sup>.

All the views of France were now totally disappointed, and the English strength at sea become so formidable, that they were able to undertake little or nothing against it. Yet, to keep up the spirits of the people, and in some measure to embarrass the English and Dutch, orders were dispatched to the Toulon squadron, directing that it should immediately sail into the ocean, and at the same time John du Bart was commanded to proceed out of the harbour of Dunkirk, with eight men of war and two fire-ships. In the mean time Sir George Rooke arrived at Spit-

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 325.

<sup>c</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii.

p. 720. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 179. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3173. Mercure historique, tome xx. p. 462, 473, 542. Memoires historiques et chronologiques, Reincourt, tome iii. p. 485.

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 539, 540. The present state of Europe for the months of April and May, 1696. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 426. See our memoirs of Sir George Rooke. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3174, 3180.

head, after having detached several of his cleanest ships for particular services, receiving there a commission appointing him admiral and commander in chief of the fleet. His instructions were, to ly in such a station as should be most proper for preventing the Toulon squadron from getting into any of the ports of France; upon meeting them he was to fight, and, upon his receiving notice of their getting into any port, he was to use his utmost endeavours to burn or destroy them there; or, in case he had intelligence of their getting safe to Brest, he was then to return to Torbay, and to remain there till he should receive orders.

On the fourteenth of May, 1696, Sir George Rooke with the fleet, being on the coast of France, received certain intelligence, that the Toulon squadron was safely arrived at Brest. Upon this he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that, as many of the largest ships in the fleet were very foul, and the whole much inferior to the combined squadrons in the harbour of Brest, they should immediately pursue the last part of their instructions, and return to Torbay; which accordingly they did, and there the fleet was soon reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen sail, of which no fewer than eighty-five were of the line of battle<sup>1</sup>.

A resolution having been taken in the privy-council as to the bombarding the French coasts, orders were sent to Sir George Rooke, towards the latter end of the month of May, to return to the service of the board as one of the lords of the admiralty, it being intended to intrust the fleet, or at least such a part of it as should be employed in the before-mentioned service, to the care of the lord Berkley of Stratton, who had behaved so gallantly the year before. These orders reached Sir George Rooke on the twenty-seventh of May, 1696; but, before he returned to London, he received advice, that seventy French men of war were actually lying in Camaret-bay, with three blue flags, and a white one flying, of which he not only gave advice to the admiralty, but, on his coming to town, addressed himself to the duke of Shrewsbury, then secretary of state, to whom he made the following proposal:

<sup>1</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 341.

“ That the body of the fleet should ly in Camaret and Brest, theaume bays, and a detachment be made to sustain the small frigates and bomb-vessels, while they went in to do what mischief they could. It was his opinion, that thus blocking up the enemy's fleet in their principal port, insulting their coasts, and burning their towns all at the same time, would expose them exceedingly to the world, make them very uneasy at home, and give high reputation to his majesty's arms. And all this he believed might be done, if speedily undertaken, with the assistance of some small frigates, which were much wanted.”

If this scheme had been immediately pursued, it might in all probability have been executed with success. But, after being laid before and examined by the privy-council, it was at last sent down to the fleet to be reconsidered there by a council of war, when loss of time, and other accidents, had rendered it less practicable, and therefore we need not wonder that, upon this reconsideration, it was rejected<sup>m</sup>.

Lord Berkley hoisted the union flag on board the *Britannia* on the third of June, 1696, the same day that Sir George Rooke set out for London; but he soon found, that, notwithstanding his commission, he was very far from having the command of the fleet: for having proposed to a council of war the attacking of Brest, which was the project approved by the privy-council, they resolved, that it was in their opinion impracticable, as on the sixteenth of the same month they did the same as to the proposal of Sir George Rooke, before-mentioned. His lordship being determined, however, not to remain any longer inactive, sailed on the twenty-fourth for the French coast<sup>n</sup>. On the third of July the admiral sent the *Burford* and the *Newcastle*, with a fire-ship, to the island of Groy, with orders to land. On the fourth the fleet came to an anchor about two leagues from Belleisle,

<sup>m</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 546. Memoirs of Sir George Rooke. History of the last war. Though this proposition did not turn to the nation's advantage, yet it was of some use to Sir George himself, when, as we shall hereafter observe, the house of commons inquired into the conduct of the fleet, and at the same time into his behaviour.

<sup>n</sup> London Gazette, No. 2197. Burchet's memoirs, p. 342. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 720.



and barges and pinnaces were immediately manned, in order to make a descent upon Hoat, one of the islands called Cardinals, which they performed, ravaged the whole island, and burnt the only town that was upon it: they did the same in the island of Hodicke, and brought off a great number of cattle. On the fifth a great reinforcement was sent to captain Fitzpatrick, who had landed in the island of Groy, where they destroyed twenty villages, containing about thirteen hundred houses, took a ship from Newfoundland, and twenty small vessels, and carried off about fifteen hundred horses and black cattle °.

The same day Sir Martin Beckman, who was sent to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the isle of Rhee, performed his commission very exactly, throwing, in the space of one night, two thousand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcasses into the place, by which the best part of the town was intirely burnt down, with all their warehouses, and the goods contained in them, notwithstanding the place was very well fortified, and our squadrons sustained a very warm fire all the time. On the seventh the same squadron, which consisted but of ten men of war, bombarded Ollonne, and in the space of a night threw into it almost two thousand bombs and carcasses, which had such an effect, that the town was seen to be on fire in fifteen places at once †. After this the admiral, not finding it convenient to land on Belleisle, continued to alarm the French coast till towards the latter end of the month; and then, through want of provisions, and the weakness of the fleet, occasioned by making several detachments, he found himself under a necessity of returning to Spithead ‡.

The French affected to ridicule these, as they had done former bombardments, and the same humour seems very unaccountably to have possessed abundance of people at home. Even Mr. Burchet, speaking of my lord Berkley's exploits, calls them

° I have followed in the text the orthography of lord Berkley's relation, as it is printed in the Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3203. but the proper names of those islands are Grouais, Houat, Heydic. The admiral certainly acted right in landing where he might do most mischief, and expose his men least.

† London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 4204. Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 431. Life of king William. Present state of Europe for 1696, p. 231. ‡ Burchet's naval history, p. 547, 548.

LITTLE ENTERPRISES; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the French were grievously affected by them, their country being kept in a perpetual alarm. This the reader will easily discern, when he is told, that between Brest and Goulet there were forty batteries erected on one side, and twenty-five on the other; that on these batteries were mounted nineteen mortars, and four hundred and eighty-nine pieces of heavy cannon, and above sixty thousand men, quartered up and down on the coasts to prevent the bad effects of an invasion. If France had been under no concern, such precautions would never have been taken; if she was, the bombardment that spread this terror must not have been such slight things as some writers endeavour to represent them, or, if they were, what were those whom they so frightened?

It is agreed on all hands, that the care taken this year of our trade was so great, and the orders of the lords of the admiralty were so well executed, that our several fleets of merchantmen returned safe, notwithstanding the French made it their principal business to intercept them. In two instances, indeed, we were somewhat unlucky: the first was in Newfoundland, of which an account will be given elsewhere: the other in respect to the Dunkirk Squadron, of which the following is a very exact account: In the month of May, 1696, rear-admiral Benbow had the command given him of a small number of ships, with orders to prevent Du Bart from getting out of that port. When the rear-admiral arrived before it, he found the French Squadron ready to sail, and his own too small to guard both the east and north channel. He did, however, his best; but the weather proving hazy, and he cruising before the north channel, Du

<sup>†</sup> Histoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 276. Mémoires historiques et chronologiques. P. Daniel. Burchet's naval history, p. 548. But M. Devise, the French gazetteer, exceeds them all in his account of the matter. The exploits of the English, says he, are so extravagant, that they are scarce credible, and their expeditions so pitiful, that they serve only to excite scorn and contempt. All they did during their stay at Belleisle was to make a descent on the island of Grouais, a defenceless place, where they burnt a few houses, carried off a parcel of sheep, hamstringed 150 horses, and killed the cattle in a church-yard: they burnt also a few houses in the islands of Houat and Heydic. In fine, continues he, the very powder they have spent in these fruitless attempts must have cost more than the damage they have done amounts to. This was certainly very proper news for the court to publish, in order to keep up the spirits of the people; but an historian surely deserves blame who copies after such an author.

Bart

Bart gave him the slip, and, having a fair wind, was quickly out of reach<sup>s</sup>.

Rear-admiral Benbow resolved, however, to pursue him, and did so; but the Dutch, for want of proper orders, refused to follow him. Du Bart in the mean time executed his scheme, which was to attack the Dutch Baltic fleet in their return home, which he performed on the eighth of June. This fleet consisted of upwards of one hundred sail of merchant-ships under an escort of five frigates. Du Bart took all the men of war, and at least half the merchantmen. In the height of this victory the outward-bound Baltic fleet appeared in sight under an escort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked Du Bart, and forced him to burn four of the men of war, and thirty-five merchantmen, and to turn the fifth frigate, which had on board the crews of all the rest, adrift, so that she was retaken; but, according to the French accounts, he came back after all with fifteen prizes into the road of Dunkirk<sup>t</sup>.

Rear-admiral Benbow convoyed afterwards, with his squadron, our northern-bound fleet to Gottenburgh, and thence proceeded to Hamburg; and, returning homewards in the month of September, he had sight of Du Bart's squadron, and chased him till he saw it was to no purpose: however, he had the satisfaction soon after of joining four English and eleven Dutch East India ships, which came north-about, and thereby escaped the French privateers, and luckily enough for them, even Du Bart himself, though they must have had sight of his squadron<sup>u</sup>.

Thus ended the naval operations of this year in this part of the world, where we certainly disappointed all the French designs, did them no small damage on their coasts, kept the best part of their fleets blocked up in their harbours, and protected our trade better than it had been for many years past; yet in the next session of parliament, which began on the 20th of October, 1696, one of the first things the house of commons did was to enter into an inquiry into the late miscarriages of the fleet, and this exposed Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel to

<sup>s</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 549; 557.

<sup>t</sup> Histoire militaire, tome iii. p. 279. Reincourt, tome iii. p. 489. Limiers, tome ii. p. 606.

<sup>u</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 551.

several strict examinations, in which, however, nothing appearing that could be construed either an omission or breach of duty, the affair dropped, and the house afterwards voted the sum of 2,372,197*l.* for the maintenance of forty thousand seamen, and of the two marine regiments, and for the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the registry of seamen<sup>w</sup>.

We are now arrived at that period of our history, which naturally leads us to take a view of what passed in the West Indies from the beginning of the war to the close of the next year 1697; and, as our reasons for treating this subject at once have been already given at large, we shall enter upon it here without farther introduction. The revolution took place in our colonies as easily as it had done at home, on a principle which was very emphatically expressed by one of our governors, who, when he was summoned by a man of war to submit to king William and queen Mary, very sensibly answered, that, if they were king and queen at Whitehall, they should be so there, and proclaimed them immediately.

By this means the plantations were secured against every thing except foreign invasions, and to these they were not long exposed, since, towards the end of the year 1689, orders were given for fitting out a squadron for Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, under the command of captain Lawrence Wright, who was directed to sail as soon as possible, and had very ample instructions given him<sup>x</sup>. It fell out, however, in consequence of abundance of unlucky accidents, that he did not leave Plymouth till the eighth of March following. Arriving in Carlisle-bay on the eleventh of May, 1690, he found all things there in a better posture than he expected; and towards the latter end of the month, when his men were pretty well recovered of the scurvy, he sailed for the Leeward Islands, in order to assist general Codrington, who was preparing for an expedition against St. Chris-

<sup>w</sup> See the journals of the house of commons, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 451. This squadron consisted of ten sail of men of war, viz. one third rate, seven fourth, and two fifth rates, two fire-ships, and a ketch. The duke of Bolton's regiment of foot embarked on board it, and the commodore was instructed to use his best endeavours to secure the English colonies, assist the Dutch, and distress the French, in all which he was directed to take the advice of councils of war, of general Codrington, the governor and council of Barbadoes, &c.

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topher's, where we had been joint possessors with the French; who had now driven us out, and had made themselves masters of the whole island<sup>1</sup>.

The commodore sailed on the third of June to Montserrat, where he was joined by the general from Antigua with such a force as the English colonies could supply. Thence they proceeded together to Nevis, in consequence of a resolution taken in a council of war, to make a descent as soon as possible upon the island of St. Christopher. On the twenty-third Sir Timothy Thornhill landed, with five hundred men, to the east of Frigot's bay, and, having twice engaged and routed the French, marched on to Basse-terre, and in the way beat the French forces a third time. This broke the spirits of the enemy to such a degree, that they gave general Codrington no disturbance, when he landed with three thousand men, and marched the same way. The fleet at the same time sailed into the road, in order to batter the town and forts, while the general attacked it by land. The French, however, saved them the trouble, by abandoning the place, and setting it on fire. In about three weeks time the whole island was reduced; and, the season of hurricanes coming on, the fleet returned triumphantly to Barbadoes, and the design of making farther conquests was postponed to another year<sup>2</sup>.

In the month of January, 1691, the commodore received fresh orders from England, directing him to stay some time longer in America; upon which he took up six of the largest merchant-ships, turned them into men of war, and on the twelfth of February sailed for the Leeward Islands. There an unhappy difference sprung up between him and general Codrington, which ruined the expedition; for though in the month of April they

<sup>1</sup> Burchet, Kennet, *Columna rostrata*. *Histoire militaire* P. Daniel.

<sup>2</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 555, 556, 557. This was in some measure owing to the sickness of the troops, and to several ships being disabled, but was chiefly occasioned by the commodore's receiving orders to return to England, which, as we shall see, were very quickly countermanded. See also a true and faithful relation of the proceedings of the forces of their majesties king William and queen Mary, in their expedition against the French in the Caribbee islands in the West Indies, under the conduct of his excellency Christopher Codrington, captain general and commander in chief of the said forces in the years 1689, and 1690, written by Thomas Spencer, junior, secretary to the honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, baronet, London, 1691, 4to. This succinct and sensible narrative is addressed to admiral Russel; London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2602.

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landed in Marigallante, and in a great measure ruined that settlement, from whence they proceeded to Guadaloupe, and remained there some time; yet, on the news of a French squadron's being in the neighbourhood, they hastily re-embarked their forces, and resolved to abandon the enterprize, at the same time almost that the French had determined to abandon the island. Soon after this, commodore Wright returned to Barbadoes, where finding his conduct universally disliked, he, under pretence of sickness, quitted the command, having first separated the squadron to different services; and soon after returned, with very little reputation, to England<sup>a</sup>. A certain author indeed tells us, that he was sent home a prisoner, of which, if it had been so, I think secretary Burchet would scarcely have been ignorant, and yet the contrary is expressly said by him, though he does indeed intimate that he deserved it<sup>b</sup>. However, we hear no more of him or his deserts!

The same year some other expeditions were undertaken against the French in this part of the world. The colony of New England found itself so liable to disturbance from the settlement the French had at Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia, that it was resolved to attack it, and that too as soon as the war broke out. With this view, a considerable fleet, with seven hundred land-forces on board, was fitted out under the command of Sir William Phips; who sailed from Nantascot on the twenty-eighth of April, 1690, and by the middle of the next month he completed his design, and reduced Port-Royal and the adjacent settlements under the dominion of the English. His quick success in this, induced the colony to undertake an enterprize of greater importance, which was no less than the reduction of Quebec, the capital of the French settlements in Canada. This was certainly a well laid scheme, and if it had been executed with equal prudence, must have turned very highly to the advantage of the English, as experience hath convinced us since. The colony shewed on this occasion a very extraordinary measure of public spirit, by raising no less than two thousand men, whom they embarked on board their fleet of thirty-two sail, great

<sup>a</sup> British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 54. History of the war, Present State of Europe, 1697.

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 123.



and small, without demanding or expecting any assistance from hence<sup>c</sup>.

With this force Sir William Phips failed from Hull, near Boston, on the ninth of August, and arrived about the beginning of September, before the river of Canada, but was there unluckily, by contrary winds, detained in such a manner, as that it was three weeks before they arrived at Quebec. This gave the count de Frontenac, governor there for the French, an opportunity to prepare for his defence, and of drawing all the strength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William Phips expected would have been divided, by an army marching over land and attacking Mount-Royal fort, at the same time that he fell upon the city. This army was to consist of a thousand men from New York, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies, and fifteen hundred Iroquois. The English marched as far as the great lake of Canada, but not finding canoes ready for them to pass it, and the Indians not joining them according to their agreement, they returned; by which unfortunate miscarriage count Frontenac had no need to make any detachments for the security of Mount-Royal.

Sir William summoned the count to surrender the city, but received a very insolent and haughty answer. On the eighth of October the English landed, under lieutenant-general Whalley, to the number of fourteen hundred, for to that number they were now reduced by the small-pox, and other diseases. In the mean while, Sir William brought his ships to bear on the west end of the city, waiting till general Whalley should begin the assault. But this gentleman hearing that count de Frontenac had four thousand men within, and was provided to make a vigorous defence, notwithstanding the intreaties of the English soldiers to the contrary, resolved immediately to re-embark. Sir William expecting the signal for their attacking the town on the east side, sent a messenger on shore to know the reason of their not giving the assault; which when he understood, and saw many of the men were almost frozen to death, to which we may add, the colonel and others ill of the small-pox, he ordered them on board to refresh themselves; and calling a coun-

<sup>c</sup> British empire in America, vol. i. p. 22.

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cil of war, it was therein resolved to return. Thus ended this fruitless expedition, which cost the colony of New England so large a sum of money, and as to which mighty expectations had been raised<sup>d</sup>.

Several accounts have been given of this unlucky expedition; but most of them written either with a view to load the character of Sir William Phips, or else purely to excuse his conduct. The bounds of this work will not permit an ample examination of the whole affair, much less a recapitulation of what has been said on both sides. Yet thus much, I think, from an impartial consideration of the facts stated by both parties, it is my duty to declare, that Sir William Phips intended well, and did his best through the whole expedition; though, perhaps, he was not, either from education or experience, qualified for a command of so extensive a nature. But, besides any mistakes he might fall into, there were many untoward accidents which contributed to frustrate this design, and therefore it is equally cruel and unjust to lay the blame intirely at his door. This is certain, that no man could be more sensibly affected than he was by this disappointment; and yet he made it the business of the remaining part of his life, to dispose all things for another attempt, in hopes the success of that might efface the memory of the former miscarriage, and this ought to be remembered to his honour<sup>e</sup>.

In the latter end of October, 1691, captain Ralph Wren, who then commanded the Norwich, had orders to sail with that and two other fourth rates to Barbadoes, and from thence to the Leeward Islands, where he was to take upon him the command of such ships as were in that station; and his general instructions were, to secure the trade and plantations, and to annoy the enemy. He sailed from Plymouth on the twelfth of December, and on the sixteenth of the next month arrived in

<sup>d</sup> See the life of Sir William Phips, by Nathaniel, published by Cotton Mather, section xi. LaFontain's voyages, vol. i. p. 155. Letter from New England, dated November 22, 1690, containing an account of the Quebec expedition.

<sup>e</sup> British empire in America, vol. i. p. 22. The New England letter before-mentioned, which was reprinted at London in 1697, in 4to, with remarks upon it, under the title of, The humble address of the publicans of New England, to which king you please.

Carlisle-bay, in Barbadoes. He had not been there long, before he was informed, that the French had a stout squadron at sea, which had taken the Jersey, that was to have been added to commodore Wren's squadron.

Upon the news of this, the governor and council of Barbadoes agreed, that two large merchant ships should be fitted out, in order to join the five men of war already under the commodore; and that with these he should attack the French squadron, though it consisted of nine sail. Accordingly the commodore quitted Barbadoes on the thirteenth of January, and cruized for about a week, but without seeing the enemy, and then returned. Another council of war being held, it was therein resolved, that the commodore should proceed with his squadron, and the merchant ships that were then ready, for the Leeward Islands. This he accordingly performed, and on the twenty-first of February he fell in with a French squadron of eighteen men of war, from sixty to forty guns. They laboured all night to engage him, and about eight in the morning, on the twenty-second, they enemy having a fresh gale, and most of the commodore's squadron not a breath of wind, four of their ships bore down upon the Mary, commanded by lieutenant Wyat, who defended her very well, until the commodore could come to her assistance. At the same time, the Mordaunt, commanded by captain Boteler, with one of the hired ships, and the England frigate, commanded by captain Stubbs, were warmly engaged in the very midst of the enemy; but they cleared themselves with all the bravery imaginable. The commodore finding the great disproportion as to the strength, his squadron consisting then but of seven ships, and that the merchant ships, which were under his care, had taken the proper and usual methods for their own security, he, after a warm engagement of four hours, wisely provided for the safety of the ships of war, under his command, by bearing away. He did this, however, with so little sail, that he secured the three ships which the enemy gave chase to; and they, as much tired of his company, readily stood away from him. Thus, by a due mixture of courage and conduct, the commodore saved his small squadron, and gained an high reputation, this having been reckoned one of the best-conducted actions of the war. The gallant commander,

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der, however, did not long enjoy that satisfaction which must necessarily result from performing so signal a service as he had done to his country; for as at the very time of the engagement he was in a declining state of health, so very soon after his disease carried him off, and in August following part of his squadron, under the command of captain Boteler, returned to England<sup>f</sup>.

The government being very sensible of the inconveniencies resulting from their want of having a sufficient force in the West Indies, resolved, in the year 1692, to put an end to the complaints that had been made from most of the colonies on that subject, by sending a powerful fleet thither, under Sir Francis Wheeler, as gallant and as judicious an officer as any in the navy. The squadron he was to command consisted of twelve men of war, besides smaller vessels; and he was likewise empowered to take under his orders such ships of war as he should find in that part of the world. He had under his convoy also a certain number of transports, with fifteen hundred land-troops, and had assurance given him, that he should find another body of very good troops ready assembled in Barbadoes; and, in conjunction with them, he had instructions to fall upon some of the French settlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce<sup>g</sup>.

Sir Francis left our coasts in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-sixth of the same month touched at Madeira, from whence he sailed for Barbadoes, and arrived there on the first of March. There it was unanimously resolved, in a full council of war, that Martinico should be the place attacked; and advice was sent to general Codrington of the arrival of the squadron, that he might draw together the forces of the Leeward Islands, in order to join the regiments brought from England, and the troops (about eight hundred foot) raised in Barbadoes; to which Sir Francis Wheeler offered to join another

<sup>f</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 459. British empire in America, Life of king William, History of the last war, Present state of Europe for 1692, p. 181.

<sup>g</sup> The state of Sir Francis Wheeler's squadron was this; two third rates, six fourths, three fifths, one sixth, three fire-ships, a store-ship, hospital, and bomb-vessel. See Burchet's memoirs, p. 168. Life of king William, p. 365. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 88.

regiment, composed of seamen, to be commanded as colonel by him in person.

April the fifteenth, 1693, the Squadron, with all these troops on board, arrived at Cul de Sac Royal, in Martinico; but, instead of proceeding to perform without delay what they came thither about, it was resolved, in a council of war, held on the twentieth, that the men should re-imbark, and the Squadron sail to Dominica, there to take in water, and to give the men, who were very sickly, an opportunity of refreshing themselves. As the commodore was very sensible this manner of acting would be indifferently relished at home, he desired and insisted, that every member of the council of war should give his opinion in writing; by which it appears, scarce any but Sir Francis Wheeler, and lieutenant-colonel Colt, were for landing and acting vigorously<sup>h</sup>. The reasons advanced by such as voted for a contrary measure, were, that the enemy had a superior strength, that one full third of our soldiers were Irish Papists, not to be relied on, and that hazarding an engagement in these circumstances, was hazarding the whole Leeward Islands, since, in case of a defeat, they had not a sufficient force to defend them. These were chiefly insisted on by general Codrington, who declared, however, that he was ready to attempt Dominica, provided the fleet could remain in those parts six weeks or two months; but this being inconsistent with the commodore's instructions, and the troops from Barbadoes impatient to return, was not, indeed could not, be complied with<sup>i</sup>. Such was the issue of this expedition, of which, in England, from the commodore's known character, there were high expectations. However, it may not be amiss to peruse his own state of the case.

“ On the 30th of March the fleet sailed from Barbadoes, having on board the regiments of Foulke, Goodwin, two hundred recruits of Lloyd's, and the two Barbadoes regiments of Salter and Butler; and on the first of April they arrived at Martinico, and anchored in the Cul de Sac Marine,

<sup>h</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 477.

<sup>i</sup> The French made a grand affair of this, and have drawn up fine accounts of their repulsing and defeating the English, though there happened but two slight skirmishes. Journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 172. Histoire militaire, par M. Quincy, tom. ii. Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. 5.

“ the south-east part of the island, about a mile and half from  
 “ the shore. Sir Francis Wheeler, colonel Foulke, comman-  
 “ der in chief of the land-forces, and colonel Lloyd, went in a  
 “ sloop to see for a convenient place, in order to land our men :  
 “ the enemy had several small parties along the shore, from one  
 “ of which a musket-shot struck Sir Francis under the right  
 “ pap, and fell down at his feet, having only left a great con-  
 “ tusion.

“ Orders were given for landing the forces, but the wind  
 “ blowing very fresh, it was deferred till the second ; when,  
 “ about nine in the morning, colonel Foulke landed with fifteen  
 “ hundred men without any opposition : the boats were im-  
 “ mediately sent back, and towards evening the rest of the  
 “ forces were likewise landed. On the third they continued  
 “ ashore, and burnt and destroyed all the houses and planta-  
 “ tions about Cul de Sac Marine, most of which were good  
 “ sugar-works ; the inhabitants and negroes flying into the  
 “ woods. The fourth, the forces returned on board.

“ The fifth, Sir Francis Wheeler went ashore, with a de-  
 “ tachment of five hundred men, in the bay towards the Dia-  
 “ mond, and burnt several houses and plantations, and at night  
 “ came on board again. The same day a lieutenant of one of  
 “ the Barbadoes regiments going ashore to a plantation without  
 “ order, with six or seven soldiers besides the boat’s crew, they  
 “ were way-laid by the enemy, two of them killed, and the  
 “ rest taken prisoners.

“ The sixth, lieutenant-colonel Lillingston was sent ashore  
 “ with a strong party, to destroy the country on the side of the  
 “ bay towards the Diamond ; and having performed the same,  
 “ returned on board with his men towards night. The seventh  
 “ the Experiment brought advice, that colonel Codrington was  
 “ at sea with the forces of the Leeward, who joined us on  
 “ the ninth and tenth, together with colonel Lloyd’s regi-  
 “ ment.

“ On the twelfth, in pursuance of what had been resolved  
 “ on in a council of war, the whole fleet weighed and sailed  
 “ down towards Fort-Royal, and Port St. Pierre. On the  
 “ fifteenth we got into the bay of Port St. Pierre. On the  
 “ sixteenth all things were prepared for landing our men, and  
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“ the fleet came to an anchor within musket-shot of the shore.  
 “ Our men landed on the seventeenth, and our advanced parties had some skirmishes with the enemy. Colonel Foulke  
 “ commanded an eminence to be possessed, and sent out several  
 “ parties, who advanced into the country, destroying all before  
 “ them.

“ On the eighteenth our forces posted themselves on a hill,  
 “ within cannon-shot of the town of St. Pierre, and several  
 “ field-pieces were brought ashore, which played upon the  
 “ enemy, who lay behind their entrenchments. On the nine-  
 “ teenth the enemy made a sally upon our out-guards, but were  
 “ repulsed by part of colonel Foulke's regiment, led by captain  
 “ Sprafston, and pursued to their trenches, where the officer  
 “ that commanded them was killed. This party was seconded  
 “ by colonel Blackston and his regiment; after which the ene-  
 “ my ventured out no more. Our forces continued ashore till  
 “ the twenty-second, when having destroyed great part of the  
 “ island, and our men growing sickly, it was, at a council of  
 “ war, not thought advisable to attempt the fort, which is a  
 “ regular fortification, and very strong, but rather to embark  
 “ again our men and cannon; which we did the same day in  
 “ the morning, having had in the whole about one hundred  
 “ and twenty men killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded,  
 “ with some few officers.

“ The twenty-third the fleet came to Dominica, and on the  
 “ fourth of May to St. Christopher's, where having watered,  
 “ they set sail again on the eleventh; colonel Goodwin died at  
 “ St. Christopher's, colonel Foulke at sea, with major Abrahah,  
 “ and several other officers.”

Sir Francis, towards the latter end of May, sailed for New England, and arrived at Boston on the twelfth of June<sup>k</sup>. He immediately proposed to Sir William Phips, then governor, the attacking Quebec a second time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-spirited man, yet, as circumstances then stood, he could not close with it. Such an expedition required a strength of four thousand men at least, and these (having had no previous notice) the governor

<sup>k</sup> London Gazette, No. 2901.

could not possibly draw together by the beginning of July, which was the very latest a fleet that was to be thus employed could sail; and therefore this grand design appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by those two men, who, of all others, had it most at heart<sup>1</sup>. This disappointment determined the commodore to quit Boston as soon as possible; and therefore, on the third of August, he left that place, and proceeded for Newfoundland, resolving to attempt something there worthy of the force with which he left England, and the honour allowed him of carrying the union flag, from a view to the advantages which, it was not doubted, would result to the nation from his expedition.

On the eighteenth of August he arrived at Placentia, and found the enemy much stronger there than he expected; for, in the first place, the town was well fortified; next, there were in the harbour several stout privateers, the haven itself excellently provided with batteries, heavy cannon, bombs, &c. with at least two thousand soldiers and inhabitants, well disciplined, and most of them old buccaneers. Sir Francis, however, was not to be discouraged; he called a council of war, laid down the method in which the place ought to be attacked at once by sea and land, and took upon himself the going in with the men of war to batter the great fort, which was the most dangerous part of the undertaking. However, as there were eleven land to six sea officers in this council, they resolved the whole to be impossible and impracticable. Sir Francis Wheeler was exceedingly chagrined at this new disgrace; but, to shew how little this inactivity agreed with his disposition, he gave orders for destroying the French fishery at St. Peter's; which was done effectually, and so that it was not soon or very easily recovered<sup>m</sup>.

On the twenty-eighth of August he sailed from the bay of Bulls in Newfoundland for England, where he did not arrive till the eighteenth of October following, his ships in a bad, and his men in a much worse condition, so that they were scarce able to navigate them. Yet, as unfortunate as this expedition proved from first to last, Sir Francis Wheeler never fell under the least

<sup>1</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 173.      <sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 171, 172. British empire in America. Life of King William, Present state of Europe. History of the war.

cenſure. The accounts he tranſmitted home, joined to the letters from the reſpective colonies, and the extracts of proceedings in councils of war, juſtified him ſo clearly, and ſet his courage and conduct in ſo fair a light, that, when he arrived at Portſmouth, he had the ſatisfaction of finding a commiſſion appointing him rear-admiral of the red; a preferment, which, as it was obtained purely by merit, ſo it never expoſed him to envy.<sup>n</sup>—But to look now to another coaſt.

The royal African company, finding themſelves much diſturbed in their trade by the new ſettlements made by the French in the mouth of the river Senegal, and having exact intelligence of the ſchemes concerted by that nation for extending their own trade in thoſe parts, and deſtroying ours, reſolved to exert the great force they had in Guinea, to ſecure themſelves from all theſe apprehenſions, by attacking the enemy immediately, in order, if poſſible, to the diſpoſſeſſing them of their ſettlements, before they could gain any intelligence of the deſign. If, on their forming this project, they had applied themſelves to the adminiſtration, and had either procured aſſiſtance for the execution of it, or aſſurance of having their conqueſts protected, they had certainly carried their point, and the French been beaten out of that advantageous trade, perhaps, for ever.

But they were at this time ſo much afraid of the enemy's penetrating whatever was tranſacted at the ſecretary's office, that the African company reſolved to riſk this undertaking, without communicating their ſecret to any body. With this view they ſent orders to John Booker, Eſq; then their agent-general in Guinea, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the execution of the deſign which they had formed; and, that he might be ſatisfied as to the authority upon which he acted, they ſent him a copy of the commiſſion they had received from the king and queen, empowering them to commit hoſtilities, and annoy the enemy in all places within their juriſdiction.<sup>o</sup>

Mr. Booker, upon receipt of theſe letters and this commiſſion, immediately applied himſelf to execute what the company directed, and in the month of December, 1692, having drawn toge-

<sup>n</sup> Burehet's memoirs, p. 174.

<sup>o</sup> Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. v. p. 428. Preſent ſtate of Europe. London Gazette, hereafter cited.

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ther a sufficient force, he embarked them on board the company's ships and sloops, and, sailing from the river of Gambia, arrived in the mouth of the river of Senegal on new-year's-day, 1693 P. Having with some difficulty got over the bar, he made the necessary dispositions for attacking Fort Bourbon; but the governor, M. Dumoulin, knowing his own condition best, and that he must soon be compelled to surrender, sent to Mr. Booker to demand terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the place. This proposition was accepted, and the English that evening entered into possession of the fort, which the French had held upwards of fifty years.

Mr. Booker continued here till the twenty-fifth of the same month, and then embarked his forces in order to make a descent on the island of Goree, the only place which remained to the French in Guinea. He arrived there on the first of February; and, after alarming the enemy till the fourth, he in the night landed an hundred men under the old fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the fort of St. Michael, a well-fortified place, furnished with twenty-eight pieces of cannon. They made some shew of defending themselves at first; but, being indifferently provided with ammunition, about noon they desired to capitulate, and on the eighth marched out with all military honours, and were carried to James-island, in virtue of the articles signed by Mr. Booker; from whence they were to be transported into Europe on board the company's shipping, but at their own expence<sup>9</sup>.

Affairs in the West Indies went all this time extremely ill: the French destroyed our trade by their privateers, disturbed our settlements continually, and frequently made descents upon them, particularly on Jamaica, where they committed great havock, and enriched themselves exceedingly at our expence. The few ships of war we had in those parts were so far from being able to defend our colonies effectually, that several of them were taken by the enemy; and, in short, things were in so bad a way, that the administration at home thought the loss of our colonies no improbable thing, as appears by the instructions

<sup>P</sup> M. Booker's letter in the collection of voyages, that has been before cited.

<sup>9</sup> Memoirs of the proceedings of the royal African company from 1690, to 1701, by Mr. John Snow. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 2922.

given to the commodores of the squadrons, and the commanders in chief of the land-troops<sup>r</sup>. On the other hand, our good allies the Spaniards were no less, or rather were still more distressed by the enemy than we; all trade between their colonies was destroyed, their coasts plundered, and every thing subject to the mercy of the privateers, that were equipped in whole squadrons from the French settlements in Hispaniola<sup>s</sup>. As I profess to speak truth without reserve as far as I can discover it, so, upon this occasion, I think myself obliged to say, that these advantages were not so much owing either to the force or courage of the French in those parts, as to the want of public spirit and right management in us, as well as in the Spaniards.

The French governors seem to have had nothing so much at heart as the glory of their country, and a just discharge of their duty; whereas ours were generally involved in disputes with the people they should have protected, and much more intent on increasing their own private fortunes, and that too at any rate, than desirous of vindicating the honour of the nation, and securing the properties of those they governed. In one thing only they were commendable, that from time to time they made the most pressing instances to the ministry at home to take more care of our concerns in the West Indies, by sending proper squadrons, and with them sufficient supplies of land-forces into those parts<sup>t</sup>.

About the beginning of the year 1694 some proposals were laid before the council, for our undertaking, in conjunction with the Spaniards, to drive the French out of the island of Hispaniola. To this there was at first some attention given; but afterwards it being represented, as indeed the truth was, that the Spaniards, at the bottom, were not either willing or able to join with us in any such undertaking, it was laid aside. Other business intervening, it does not appear either the council or the board of admiralty thought any more of the plantations till towards the latter end of the year, when they were alarmed with the account of a brisk attempt made upon Jamaica by M. Duvasse, the French governor of St. Domingo. He failed in the month of June with three men of war, and twenty-three transports, having on board

<sup>r</sup> Burchet's naval history, book iv. ch. 8, p. 17, 21.

<sup>s</sup> Present state of Europe for the year 1693. <sup>t</sup> British empire in America. History of the past and present state of Jamaica, &c.



fifteen hundred men for the coast of Jamaica, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the same month, and made a descent on Port-Morant, which they found abandoned, and, marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and destroyed whatever they met, and carried off money and effects to a very great value<sup>u</sup>. But they soon found, that the fine schemes of conquest they had formed to themselves were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do was to return with what they had got. The people of Jamaica, when they found their property in danger, assembled readily for its defence, and behaved themselves so well in an engagement with the French, that it contributed not a little to make the latter for the present sick of this design, and to hinder them from resuming any project like it afterwards<sup>x</sup>.

The complaints that were sent home on this affair, joined to the representations of other colonies, the remonstrances of the West India merchants, and the fear of a parliamentary inquiry, (which was then a thing of all others the most terrible), obliged the ministry to resume this long-neglected subject, and to think seriously of sending to America such a force, and under such officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done. With this view they directed, that a squadron of five sail of men of war, and two fire-ships, with twelve transport-vessels, should be got ready, with the utmost diligence and secrecy, to rendezvous at Plymouth in the beginning of the year 1695. The command of the squadron was given to captain Robert Wilmot, an officer of great reputation and experience<sup>y</sup>. The command of the land-forces was intrusted with colonel Luke Lillingston, and that they might be the more subject to orders, and better directed, they were reduced into a single regiment, consisting of twelve hundred men; and, besides these, there were spare arms for another regiment, and in short every thing else provided that could be desired for securing the success of such an expedition; and all this was done with such secrecy, that even the officers

<sup>u</sup> See a detail of M. Ducaffe's expedition against Jamaica in *histoire de St. Domingue*, par le P. Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 37.    <sup>x</sup> *British empire in America. History of Jamaica. History of the last war. Present state of Europe for the month of October, 1694*, p. 347.    <sup>y</sup> *Columna rostrata*, p. 268.    *Burchet's naval history*, book iv. ch. 17.    *Present state of Europe for 1695*, p. 377.

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who were to be employed had no distinct knowledge of the particular design they were to execute, but only knew in general, that they were to be sent to the West Indies to protect our plantations, and annoy the enemy.

When all things were ready, the commodore had his instructions given him sealed up, with orders not to open them till he arrived in the latitude of forty degrees. Instructions were also given to colonel Lillingston for the regulating of his conduct, and for giving him a clear view of the extent of his command. Before they set out for Plymouth, both the commodore and the colonel were separately exhorted to be extremely careful in keeping up a right correspondence, because that hitherto all our expeditions had suffered more through the weakness and misunderstandings of our own commanders, than through any extraordinary courage or conduct shewn by the enemy; and, that this might be the easier, their commands were made as distinct as, the nature of the service considered, it was possible<sup>z</sup>.

The squadron sailed from Plymouth the latter end of the month of January; but, before they were in a condition to act, the commanders differed, and all things were in confusion. Colonel Lillingston in his account asserts, that the commodore opened his instructions in an unwarrantable manner, and that, after he had done so, he proposed to the colonel to take what care they could of themselves at the expence of the public service. The colonel rejected this offer as became a man of honour, and the commodore thenceforward prepared to execute his scheme in spite of all the colonel could do to prevent him<sup>a</sup>.

Towards the latter end of March, 1695, they arrived before the city of St. Domingo, where the Spanish governor, on the receipt of the king of Spain's letters, promised them all the assistance in his power; but how he performed this promise, is not very well agreed. Mr. secretary Burchet in his history (from the

<sup>z</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 531. Colonel Lillingston's remarks on Burchet's naval history, 8vo. 1704.

<sup>a</sup> Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 19. I have been the longer in my account of this business, that the reader may see what are the true reasons why conjunct expeditions never succeed, and how necessary it is to call officers strictly to account when they live to return home, in order to put an end to such shameful practices.

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letters, no doubt, of commodore Wilmot) charges him with creating unnecessary delays, which were of great prejudice to the expedition <sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, colonel Lillingston asserts, that the Spanish governor behaved in every respect like a man of honour, concerted with him the measures necessary to be taken for attacking Cape François, and performed all he undertook with the utmost punctuality. It must be observed, that the force of the allies then in Hispaniola was such, as that the ruin of the French settlements might have been well expected from it. The Spanish governor marched one thousand seven hundred; the commander of our land-forces was able to debark about twelve hundred men; the commodore promised to join his force with five hundred seamen; the Spaniards actually added three men of war to our fleet, and, to prevent any disputes about the command, the Spanish admiral took down his flag <sup>c</sup>.

The first thing that was attempted was the ruin of the French settlement at Cape François. When the fleet was arrived within sight of the place, the commodore absolutely prescribed the place where the land-forces should go on shore; and though colonel Lillingston represented to him, that it was extremely hard to oblige the troops to a march of five leagues and a half, when, by only rowing one league and a half, the boats might land them close by the fort which they were to attack, the commodore gave him barely the hearing, but pursued his own project, and they soon discovered with what view.

The English and Spanish troops joined, and continued their fatiguing march till they arrived within five miles of Fort St. Francis, where they saw the French blow up their works, and abandon the place. When the troops came up, they were surprized to find the English colours hoisted on the fort, and a single seaman left to attend them: but the mystery was soon ex-

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 535. Indeed this gentleman seems to have an extraordinary pique against the Spaniards, whom, though our allies at that time, he never mentions but with reproach. This is the more injurious, since that writer (though he had so great opportunity) never supports what he advances by any authority. It would, however, be hard to set the judgment of a single man so high as to sacrifice to it the character of a whole nation.

<sup>c</sup> Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 49. where the agreement itself is to be found; for colonel Lillingston always produces vouchers.

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plained; commodore Wilmot no sooner saw the place abandoned, than he rowed to shore with five hundred men, entered it, and carried off all that was worth carrying. This disgusted, as it well might, both the English and Spanish forces; and, if they had not been composed of veteran troops, and men who had a great respect for their officers, a mutiny must have followed, which would have destroyed the whole design. But colonel Lillingston pacified them as well as he could, by promising to take care they should not be treated in this manner for the future, if it was in his power to prevent it<sup>d</sup>.

After this extraordinary exploit it was resolved to attempt Port de Paix, where M. Ducasse commanded in person; but he quitted the place, leaving in it a garrison of six hundred men.

On the first of June the English and Spanish troops marched by two different roads towards the place they were to attack, and the squadron sailed thither at the same time, but with this extraordinary circumstance, that, if the Spanish admiral out of pure humanity had not left some transports to take in our sick men, they must have been left to perish; for commodore Wilmot had something else in his head than to take care of invalids, and had therefore sailed as soon as the resolution was taken. The march was very fatiguing; it took up sixteen days before they arrived in sight of Port de Paix, and then there was a great deal of time lost in getting the artillery and ammunition on shore. At last this too was performed, and then the siege of the place was begun in a regular manner: and the commodore, to shew his willingness to assist, landed a great body of seamén, and invested it on the other side.

On the third of July, the breach being practicable, and colonel Lillingston employed in making the necessary dispositions for a general storm, the enemy took a resolution of deserting the place, and forcing their way through the quarter of the commodore. Their force consisted of about five hundred and thirty men, of which about one hundred and fifty were negroes, but well armed and disciplined. Their greatest difficulty was to carry off their women, children, and the most valuable part of their effects. The latter they packed up first, and put them in small

<sup>d</sup> Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 54.

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bundles on the backs of the women, who, with the children, marched in the front; under a good escort, while three hundred men fell into the quarters of our seamen; and, by exposing themselves to a very brisk fire, which lasted for a long time, gave the rest an opportunity to retreat. The affair was conducted with equal resolution and address; but not without a very considerable loss.

Colonel Lillingston, as soon as he heard the firing, guessed at the cause, and immediately detached his brother, with two hundred and fifty men, to support the seamen. When major Lillingston arrived, the affair was over, and he marched directly to take possession of the fort, in order to secure whatever the French had left behind them; and having posted centinels every where, and put the rest of his men under arms, he thought that all was safe, but in this he was mistaken; commodore Wilmot, at the head of his whole corps of seamen, followed him instantly. As soon as the commodore came up to him, he clapped his hand upon his shoulder, with this familiar salutation, "Now, major, I am stronger than you." After which he removed his guards, broke open the store-houses, and carried off every thing that was worth taking; "with a dexterity," says colonel Lillingston, "very natural to seamen."

This kind of proceeding was not like to produce much good; the commodore offered to carry the sick men to Jamaica; and to leave colonel Lillingston to attempt, in conjunction with the Spaniards, the taking Leogane and Petit-Guavas; but they were weary of such kind of treatment, and had so many men disabled by the unnecessary hardships to which they had been exposed, that it was resolved, in a council of war, not to prosecute either of the designs before-mentioned; but to demolish the fort, ruin the adjacent country, carry off the artillery they had taken, and sail with all the English forces to Jamaica.

To this the Spanish governor consented, because he saw the impossibility of their performing, in the condition they were in, what they had projected; and of this he was the better judge,

<sup>c</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 536. Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 67. Histoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 73.

because he had an exact account of the French forces that M. Ducaffe was assembling at Cul de Sac, and with which, it was expected, he would march to give them battle, as having no other means of preserving the French settlements; though in this there was a great deal of danger <sup>f</sup>.

It must not be supposed, that because this expedition was in itself very ill managed, and far from being glorious to those that undertook it; it must not, I say, be therefore supposed, that it did but very little prejudice to the French.

The confederate army, in sixty days, ruined their plantations for a hundred miles round; carried off a thousand negroes, demolished two strong forts, where in they took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of all sorts of ammunition and naval stores; so that there seems to be no reason to think colonel Lillingston exaggerated, who computes the loss of the French at 200,000. <sup>g</sup> But what recompence is this for the expence the nation was at in fitting out such a squadron, and

<sup>f</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 537.

<sup>g</sup> It is necessary for me here to give the reader some account of the authorities on which the facts mentioned in the text are founded. In the year 1703, secretary Burchet published his memoirs of transactions at sea, during the war with France, from 1688 to 1697. In these memoirs, p. 305, he gives a large account of this expedition, which is altogether in favour of Mr. Willmor, and was very probably transcribed from his letters. In 1704, colonel Luke Lillingston published his reflections on Mr. Burchet's memoirs, in which he advances nothing but upon undeniable authority, producing instructions, letters, affidavits, and other necessary papers upon every occasion. Some months after Mr. Burchet published a justification of his naval memoirs, in answer to colonel Lillingston, which are supported only by extracts from journals of persons, who were disposed to set their own proceedings in a good light, and, which is strange, acknowledges he neither asked or desired any account from colonel Lillingston, in order to have an opportunity of comparing evidence on both sides. This was the more extraordinary, as king William (prejudiced by the admiralty accounts) looked coldly on the colonel, till, upon examining the affair, he was undeceived, and granted him a pension of two hundred pounds a-year, which was continued by Queen Anne. So that his memoirs seemed a censure upon their majesties bounty. Yet, notwithstanding all this, when secretary Burchet came to publish his naval history in 1720, he in a manner transcribed what he had before said in his memoirs, correcting only a few facts from colonel Lillingston's book, by which, however, he admits its authority, but without setting any mark of ignominy upon this most scandalous expedition. At this Mr. Lediard very honestly expresses his surprize; but, for my own part, when I consider the admiralty never thought this affair worth an inquiry, I do not at all wonder their secretary did not think proper to censure it.



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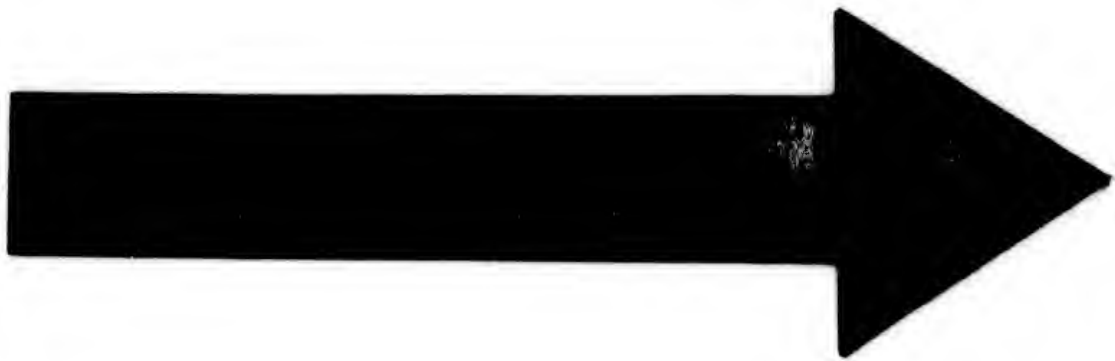
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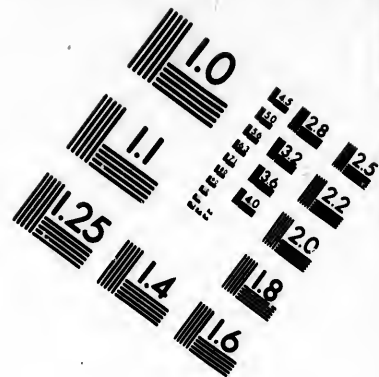
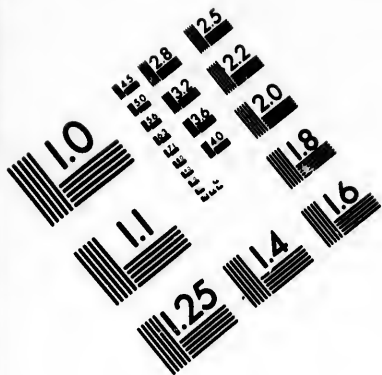
in sending so great a body of land troops so far? What opinion must the commodore's conduct give our allies, the Spaniards, of English armaments, and what notions could they entertain of the significancy of our naval force, when they saw it so flagrantly misapplied; our commander in chief having regard only to his private views, and encouraging his seamen upon all occasions to behave like pirates? How much must this miscarriage at once disgrace and discourage an administration, since it seemed to shew, that all attempts of this sort would prove as fruitless for the future, and serve only to exhaust the treasures of this nation, in order to enrich such as least deserved it? I am very sorry that I have been obliged to say so much; but every reader will do me the justice to own, that this subject compelled me to it. We suffer at this day, for the misdeeds of these times, and the false pity that was shewn in letting slip the public examination of a thing so scandalous as this was<sup>h</sup>. Reflections like these, on the slips of our ancestors, are proper lessons for the present generation; and I think it my duty to inculcate them, in order to prevent our being wanting, in the same manner to ourselves and our posterity.

The account given us of this affair, by French writers, agrees pretty well with our own. It is true, that they gave great commendations to M. Ducaffe, governor of St. Domingo, who was certainly a very gallant man, but who, as certainly, had no opportunity of shewing his bravery on this occasion. In the main, however, they agree, that misunderstandings between the allies proved the ruin of the whole affair; and that nothing could amaze, and at the same time overjoy people more, than the news of the English troops unbarking for Jamaica did M. Ducaffe and his army. The same writers intimate, that the colony

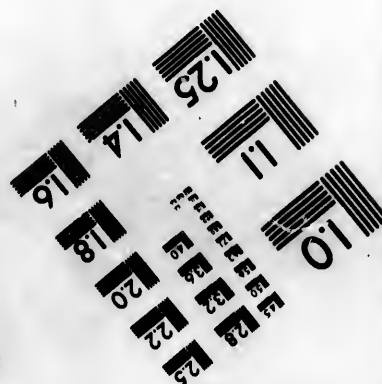
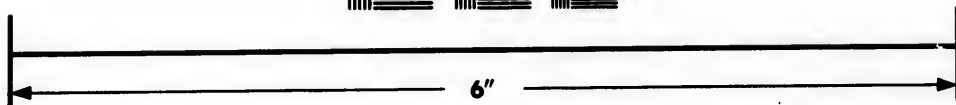
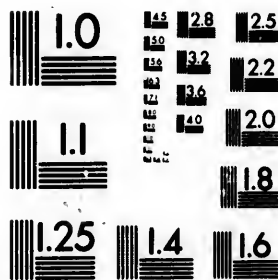
<sup>h</sup> The general answer to what has been said upon this subject is, that all inquiry was prevented by the commodore's death. But, surely, this is a very poor excuse. To an intelligent reader it will appear, that an effectual inquiry might have been more easily made after his death, than in the life of the commodore. His influence was then determined, he could not be hurt by the inquiry, all his creatures were at full liberty to speak; and, as knowing the truth only was of importance to the public, in order to prevent such detestable actions for the future, the burying all this villany, as far as possible, in oblivion, is inexculpable to the nation.







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of Jamaica was much wanting to itself, in not laying hold of this opportunity to make a descent on the French settlements, in revenge for the mischiefs done them by the inhabitants of this colony, under M. Ducasse, the year before, which, if they had done, in all probability the French must have been driven out of Hispaniola; and, as things then stood, there is no great reason to doubt the Spaniards would have been very well pleased to have seen an English colony settled in their room, as well knowing their own inability to preserve the island without such assistance<sup>1</sup>.

But all such views for the glory of England were effectually defeated by the sailing away of the English Squadron from Hispaniola, on the twenty-third of July, 1695, with the land-forces on board. The governor and people of Jamaica gave the commodore a very indifferent reception, having had previous intelligence of his behaviour through the whole affair. Several councils of war were held, to consider how practicable a second attempt might be in conjunction with a considerable force from this island. But, after much deliberation, this design also came to nothing. The commodore, in the mean time, followed his business closely; that is to say, he converted the plunder he had taken into money, which he vested in all sorts of merchandize fit for the English market, and took in the goods privately on the back of the island. When this was done, his next care was to get back to England with his Squadron, with the great wealth he had amassed on board of it. He left Jamaica on the third of September, 1695, but met with a very bad passage.

On the shoals of Florida he lost a fourth rate man of war, in a manner which gave great cause to suspect he never intended to bring her home<sup>2</sup>. After this an epidemic distemper broke

out

<sup>1</sup> Histoire de St. Domingue, tom. iv. p. 63—75. Histoire militaire, tom. iii. Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. v. &c.

<sup>2</sup> One may see by colonel Lillingston's whole book, how much more jealous men of honour are of their reputation, than statesmen of a nation's glory. The colonel's account of this affair was printed but seven years after the thing happened, and yet no search was made into the matter. His words are these:

"It would be a most diverting thing, abating for the disaster of it, and the lives lost in it, to hear a true particular of the loss of the Winchester man of war. If I am not misinformed, there would come to light a great many hidden circumstances, very useful to the nation in general, if the loss of that

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out on board the ships, which carried off a multitude of sailors and soldiers, and not a few officers, among whom was the commodore himself. This disease prevailed at last to such a degree, that there was scarce found men enough to bring home the squadron, which did not arrive till very late in the year. I cannot help closing this account by observing, that commodore Wilmot left sixteen thousand pounds in effects on board his own ship, which engaged his family in a long suit with captain Butler. Such are the wretched effects of sacrificing public concerns to the narrow views of private interest!!

Towards the latter end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invasion. It was known that the French were fitting out a strong squadron at Brest; and for what service, the intelligence our secretaries had could not inform them. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, therefore, was sent with a considerable force to block them up, which, however, the French avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had disappointed the designs of the enemy, and obliged them to abandon all thoughts of a descent. In this we only deceived ourselves, for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true scheme, which was the sending a strong squadron into the West Indies, to attack some of the Spanish plantations in those parts<sup>m</sup>. The Sieur Pointis was the person who  
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“ man of war were inquired into. If due examination were made, whether all the stores and guns that were pretended to be in her, were really on board her; and if the loss of that ship did not serve for a colour to pretend the loss of many things, which were otherwise disposed of.” Lillingston's reflections, p. 130.

<sup>l</sup> Mr. Burchet confesses the epidemic sickness on board the fleet; and colonel Lillingston informs us, that the commodore's widow was actually involved in a law suit with captain Butler, in 1704, for the plunder so basely taken from the poor soldiers and sailors, who acquired a just title to it by the sweat of their brows, and the expence of their blood.

<sup>m</sup> In order to support this fact, I shall give the reader a passage from the monthly Mercury for December 1696. “ The great noise made about Pointis's Squadron that was equipping at Brest, and which, as it was furnished with a vast number of scaling ladders, bombs, pontoons, and other materials for a descent, and for the attack of places on shore, had given the alarm to all the dominions of Great Britain, is at last over; and those that were most frightened, are now most inclined to treat it with contempt; for whether it was, that Pointis wanted a money-wind to carry him out of port, or that his project  
“ had

formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no less than three years in bringing it to bear.

The French king had suffered a great number of private persons to contribute towards this enterprize, and the strongest assurances were given them, that whatever profits accrued thereby should be fairly divided amongst them. Orders were privately sent to M. Ducasse, in Hispaniola, to assemble as many buccancers as he could, with vessels proper to support them; and he was to have these ready to join M. Pointis's squadron, as soon as it appeared. The true design all along was upon Carthage; but such as pretended to be in the secret at the French court, gave out, that the king intended this armament to execute a project, long ago formed by M. Ducasse, of driving the Spaniards entirely out of Hispaniola. But, notwithstanding this variety of reports, some of king James's adherents fancied that they had penetrated farther than any of these politicians, and that the true design of this mysterious armament was against Jamaica; and of this, as Englishmen, they thought it their duty to advise our court<sup>a</sup>.

At first this was considered as a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, which alarmed us the more, because, considering the force we had in that part of the world, if they had really

<sup>a</sup> had not received the least sanction of the court, so it was, that his Britannic majesty had time enough to send Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a strong squadron to inspect this fleet, which was reported to be strong enough to attempt the invasion of his kingdoms; and, on his looking into the port, it appeared there were but sixteen men of war of all sorts there; so that, whatever the design of Pointis's squadron was, it seems to be vanished into smoke."

<sup>b</sup> The political tracts of that year best inform us what the sentiments of the world were upon that occasion, because later writers are apt to impose upon us, by pretending, that this or that great minister had actually discovered the secret very early, though certain reasons of state, it was not published. Now it clearly appears from the writings, that nothing of this kind happened; and it is as certain from Pointis's journal, that he never had any other view than that of attacking Carthage, notwithstanding so many other projects were talked of. The informations I speak of from France, I know from unquestionable authority; for, as the author of the Jewish letters rightly observes, the English refugees at St. Germain's were quite a different sort of people from the refugees in Soho; for they loved their country, though they were banished from it, and, like the Greek exiles of old in the Persian court, shewed those who were inured to slavery, how great a blessing it is to be born and bred up FREE.

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attempted this island; there was but too great probability of their succeeding.

When this matter, however, came to be deliberated upon in council, and several of the most intelligent persons there seemed convinced that the blow was meant at us, king William declared himself of a contrary opinion, for a reason which shewed how well he understood mankind, and how justly the French king dreaded his superior capacity in the closet. His majesty observed, that the basis of the French king's new expedition was private interest, not public utility, or national glory, for which reason he concluded they would not either endeavour to conquer Hispaniola, or attack Jamaica, but attempt the taking the Spanish galleons, or the surprizing of Carthagena. The good sense of this observation brought over every body to his majesty's opinion; and the sequel will shew, that the Sieur Pointis and the rest of the French commanders, (M. Ducaffe always excepted), never considered, in this expedition, what was best to be done; but how most might be got, in which piratical kind of knowledge they proved much greater proficient than the buccaneers themselves.

To frustrate this blow, where-ever it was intended, orders were given for a small squadron to assemble at Portsmouth under the command of captain Meeze, and other orders were at the same time dispatched to Mr. Neville, who commanded our fleet in the Mediterranean, and who was now made vice-admiral; which he was directed to open, when he had taken due care of the homeward-bound fleet, and should be fifty leagues S. W. by W. from Cadiz. He found himself in this situation about the middle of the month of February, 1696-7, and, then consulting

° Bishop Burnet in his history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 195. expresses a good deal of dislike to the management of our affairs at sea in this critical conjuncture; but whoever considers the matter strictly, will find all the reason in the world to commend the disposition made by our court for preventing the French from executing their design in the West Indies. We ought, always to distinguish between the laying of a scheme and the carrying it into execution; for the same praise is due to the contrivers of a good scheme, though it fails of its effect, as if it had met with the wished-for success. Here was a force superior to the French, who had been three years providing theirs, assembled in less than three months; and, if the orders given to our admirals had been strictly complied with, they had been as early in the West Indies as the enemy; if they were not, it was no fault either of the council or the board of admiralty.

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his instructions, found that he was to join captain Meeze's squadron at the island of Madeiras, where, after cruising a long time, he was met by the captain, now made a rear-admiral, in his own ship the Bristol; and, the Lightning fire-ship having lost company with the rest of his squadron in a fog, a little after he left the Isle of Wight. On the seventeenth of April vice-admiral Neville arrived at Barbadoes, where he found most of the ships he expected, except the Dutch, who joining him, however, soon after, they bore away for Antigua, where they arrived the third of May, 1697. There it was resolved in a council of war to sail for Porto Rico, in order to take as much care as possible of the Spanish galleons. Before he reached his intended port, he had intelligence, that M. Pointis was sailed from Hispaniola on the twenty-first of March, N. S. with twenty-six ships small and great. It was then resolved in a council of war to proceed forthwith to Jamaica, in order to take in a supply of water and provisions.

On the fifteenth of May, 1697, the admiral, being off the east end of the island, met with a sloop, the master whereof informed him, there was a flying report of the French Squadron's being before Carthagena; upon this he staid no longer than was absolutely necessary to take in water, but sailed from Port-Royal, and attempted to go through the Leeward channel; but in that he was prevented by the dying away of the land-breeze, and contrary to what had been ever known by all persons acquainted with those parts, the sea-breeze blew for six days and six nights together, during which time an English sloop came in, that left Porto-Bello the eighteenth of this month, in company with the galleons, (which were fifteen in number), and two days after parted with them, steering away N. N. E. for Jamaica, where they intended to take in provisions, for which they were so much straitened, that they had not enough to carry them to the

Mr. Burchet tells us both in his memoirs and his history, that vice-admiral Neville cruized sixty eight days about the Madelras; to which, if he thought himself bound by his instructions, he was justified; but however, this certainly proved the ruin of the whole affair; for, if he had stood away for Barbadoes, instead of cruising there, he might have come time enough to have attacked the French before they left Hispaniola, or at least he might have followed them to Carthagena, where, if he had attacked their fleet while their army was engaged in the siege, their whole force must have been totally destroyed.

Havannah.

Havannah. The vice-admiral sent out two sloops to look for them, the one off the keys of Point-Pedro, and the other off those of Porto-Morant, and to let their general know, that he was going to Carthagena to see what could be done against the French, but that he would return to Jamaica in a short time. The twenty-fourth of the same month he took advantage of a small gale from shore to steer for Carthagena, in hopes of finding the French either embarrassed in the siege of the place, or in imbarcking the plunder; for, according to the best accounts he could get, the Spaniards were very strong there, and had been so lucky also as to have pretty early intelligence of the visit that was designed them; but the cross accidents, that kept the vice-admiral so long on the coast of Jamaica, frustrated his good intentions, and hindered our retaking from the French the best part of what they took from the Spaniards, which must otherwise probably have happened<sup>9</sup>.

In order to give a distinct account of this extraordinary affair, which is somewhat partially related both by English and French writers, I must pursue the history of Pointis's voyage, and shew how and when he executed the scheme he proposed; for this will naturally bring us back to this very point of time when vice-admiral Neville failed in search of him and his Squadron. As the success of Pointis's expedition depended upon the assistance he was to receive at St. Domingo, he sailed thither directly, and arrived on the coast February 19, 1697. The governor M. Ducaffe had taken care to provide every thing pursuant to his instructions, so that the Sieur Pointis met with no retardment but what proceeded from his own imperious disposition, which hindered him from giving the buccaneers the satisfaction they expected; and this produced a mutiny or two, which nothing could

<sup>9</sup> The admiral's going to Jamaica was another misfortune; for, as it will be hereafter shewn, if he had sailed directly, on the first intelligence he had, for Carthagena, he must have surprized M. Pointis, and destroyed his whole force. But if, according to the admiral's journal, he was under an absolute necessity of taking in water; this is to be considered as an unavoidable misfortune. These are points I leave to the reader's judgment to determine; for none of our accounts afford us sufficient light to decide positively on the matters of fact, though this is certainly in the admiral's favour, that he was known to have as much personal courage as any man, and that he afterwards shewed as great an inclination to fight upon this occasion as any man ever did, or indeed could do.

have quieted but the presence of M. Ducasse, who was actuated wholly by public spirit, and exerted his utmost interest among these people to keep them steady; at the same time he suffered as much as they did from the insolence of the general, who, proud of his commission, and full of himself, behaved without any regard either to the rank or circumstances of others<sup>r</sup>.

After about a fortnight's stay to forward all necessary preparations, the whole fleet sailed for Carthagena, and arrived before that city on the third of April. The force brought from France by M. Pointis consisted of seven large ships of war, about ten frigates, and small vessels of several sorts, on board which were two thousand two hundred and sixty seamen, and one thousand seven hundred and fifty soldiers, in all four thousand and ten, to which M. Ducasse added another stout squadron, on board of which were fifteen hundred buccancers, soldiers, and volunteers. They first attempted the strong fort of Boca-Chica, which was carried by assault; then they attacked Neustra Signora de la Popa, a monastery on a hill, which commands the place; they besieged and took likewise the fort of St. Lazarus, and at length stormed the suburbs, which forced the governor to think of a capitulation; and this, being granted him on pretty good terms, was concluded April 24, 1697, when the city was surrendered to the French, who lost before it upwards of five hundred men; neither could it have been ever taken but for the assistance of M. Ducasse, and the troops he commanded, though Pointis used them very ill through the whole affair, and, after it was taken, actually shut them out of the city, putting off from time to time the distribution of the booty, and not allowing so much as to put a check on such as received it<sup>s</sup>.

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<sup>r</sup> In the whole of this relation I reduce all the dates to the old style for the sake of comparing them readily, which could not have been otherwise done. As to the facts, we have a vast variety of relations, though I think but two of any great authority, viz. Pointis's own memoirs, and the history of St. Domingo, written by father Charlevoix on the memoirs of father Pers, and from the registers in the public offices in the marine in France, where I find these differ too widely to be reconciled; therefore I prefer, without ceremony, the latter, because it is evident, that Sieur Pointis had views to serve, whereas father Charlevoix writes without the least bias. Occasionally I have recourse to other authorities, which I refer to in their proper places.

<sup>s</sup> This we find both in Pointis's memoirs, and in the history of St. Domingo.

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Many disputes have been raised as to the value of the plate and other effects taken by the *Sieur Pointis* in this place. Some have carried this so high as forty millions of livres, and others, amongst whom is *M. Pointis* himself, reduce it to nine millions. There are several reasons which have induced different writers to impose upon their readers in this particular. All the Spanish authors who have mentioned this, say, they had sent the nuns, together with one hundred and twenty mules, laden with gold and jewels, forty miles up into the country, before the French arrived; but then it is visibly their interest to abate, as much as possible, the credit of this expedition, and this perhaps is now become the French interest too. The *Sieur Pointis* and his partizans had also cause sufficient to state this account as low as possible, because, the lower they brought it, the less they had to account for, which was what they wanted. Our historians in those days were desirous of lessening the success of all French expeditions, and therefore, as we see in the celebrated work of *bishop Burnet*, that prelate affected to treat this as a miscarriage, by which the French, on the whole, could scarce be called gainers.

But one who is solicitous only about truth will make proper allowances on such occasions, and, by comparing these different accounts together, will endeavour to acquire a just notion of a thing, with which, for many reasons, surely both we and posterity have a right to be acquainted. After taking all imaginable pains to this purpose, I venture to assert, *M. Pointis* carried

The general indeed pretends the buccaneers behaved ill; but the court of France, on the closest examination, thought otherwise, and therefore so I think ought we.

*Histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 146. *Memoires de Pointis*, &c. *Father Daniel*, in his journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 187. computes the riches brought home by *Sieur Pointis* at ten millions; and this, as I take it, was the commonly received calculation at that time.

*Bishop Burnet* might possibly be deceived by the second accounts from France, which were all against *Pointis*; but if he had inquired into what followed, and how much money was recovered when this business came to be narrowly sifted, he would have altered his opinion. The French do not suffer a few great officers to cheat their owners and the public by cooking up stories destitute of proof; their government is arbitrary, and therefore, in cases like this, generally speaking, just.



home upwards of twenty millions of livres; I believe I should not err in saying, twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling<sup>w</sup>.

But there is no need of lessening the profits to abate the glory of this expedition. The Sieur Pointis certainly behaved very ill through the whole affair; he disgusted the buccaneers; he treated M. Ducasse excessively ill during the whole siege; he made an unfair distribution of the effects taken; he took no kind of care of the sick and wounded, but left them in the hospitals not only without medicines but food; and, to complete his blunders, he loitered till the twenty-first of May, and did not embark his men till the sickly season came on, and they could scarce crawl to their ships. The buccaneers were so irritated by the behaviour of Pointis, and his breaking the agreement he made with them, to force upon them a dividend of 40,000 crowns, that, as soon as they saw him and his squadron ready to sail, they returned back to Carthage, in order, as they phrased it, to look for their share of the plunder, which they did not fail of finding<sup>x</sup>.

It is very evident from this account, that if our vice-admiral, on his having the first information of the enemy's being sailed for Carthage, which was on the fifteenth of May, had proceeded thither instead of going to Jamaica, he had unquestionably surprized the French in the harbour of that place; and, as the Spaniards had actually assembled an army to retake the city, it is not easy to guess how the French would have escaped, who were by that time split into factions among themselves, and at least one half of them fallen sick<sup>y</sup>. But though he missed them then, yet on the twenty-seventh of May, 1697, being half seas over from Jamaica, he saw the Sieur de Pointis's squadron, consisting of seven men of war, and two or three frigates, at no

<sup>w</sup> My calculation goes upon undeniable principles. The Sieur Pointis gave the buccaneers 40,000 crowns, or 120,000 livres, for their share, computing at the rate of one tenth from the first million, and a thirtieth from every other million; and this, by a very easy process, makes it clear he estimated the whole booty at 9,000,000. But, when M. Pointis's behaviour came to be scrutinized in France, they had a decree for 1,400,000 livres more.

<sup>x</sup> *Histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 157. The buccaneers undoubtedly carried away 5,000,000 livres, though not above 1,500,000 came to St. Dominge.

<sup>y</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 553. See also the memoirs of Sir G. Rooke.



great distance; upon which he endeavoured to engage them, but could not. The Warwick indeed exchanged some shot with one of the Frenchmen; but, in spite of all the sail she could make, the ship got away from her, as the rest did from the admiral. The Warwick, perceiving this, bore down on a fly-boat belonging to the French fleet, and took her, having on board a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, with as much plate as made the prize worth two hundred thousand pounds, and is a pretty good sample of what mighty treasures were on board the rest<sup>a</sup>.

Five days the vice-admiral continued the pursuit, in which five ships, amongst which his own and rear-admiral Meeze's were included, sprung their fore-top-masts, and their sails were so torn, that it was found impossible to continue the chase with any hopes of success<sup>a</sup>. This again was a narrow escape; the French themselves own it, they were much inferior in force, they were ill manned, most of their ships were foul; and, if they had fought, many of them must have been taken without doubt, I see no manner of cause to censure the vice-admiral's conduct on this occasion, (as some have done), because it was beyond question his own and his officers interests to have fought, upon the presumption that their own superior force would have put them in possession of all the plunder the French had obtained.

Besides, they all gave sufficient proofs afterwards, that fighting was what they did not desire to avoid. I am therefore satisfied as to this point, that there was nothing of treachery or neglect of duty in this business, but that Pointis's squadron escaped by a concurrence (with respect to us) of unlucky and unavoidable accidents, unless there might be some fault in those who furnished our sails, which did not wear so well as those of the French, for which however the sea-officers were not to blame<sup>b</sup>.

The buccaneers, on their return to Carthagena, met with no resistance; and therefore, having driven the inhabitants into the

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Lediard seems to question whether the author of the British empire in America had not set down 200,000 for 20,000; but upon examination I find 200,000 in the original accounts.

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 362. The present state of Europe for the month of August, 1697. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3317.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Burchet acknowledges this, and so it appears on the strictest inquiry, though this does not seem to have satisfied bishop Burnet.

great church, they told them how general Pointis had treated them, which, as they alledged, obliged them, though against their will, to come back to make a demand of five millions, which once paid them; they promised to retire without doing any kind of violence. The poor Spaniards did their utmost to rake together this sum; but it was all in vain. The French took what they brought, and, as soon as they had done bringing, these miscreants had recourse to such cruelties, as are scarce credible, to force discoveries. After all, in the space of about five days, they amassed near 1,000,000 of crowns in money, and above as much more in rich goods; after which they fell out amongst themselves as to the division of it, the buccaneers refusing the inhabitants of Domingo an equal share, because, as they said, they were at great expence on that island before they sailed, when the inhabitants were at home in their own houses. This dispute, however, was soon adjusted on the arrival of a ship from Martinico, with advice that a strong English Squadron was in quest of them; they instantly quitted the place, embarked their plunder with all imaginable diligence, and contrived to get to sea as soon as possible, and retire to St. Domingo<sup>c</sup>.

When our Squadron found it impracticable to engage the French, the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to Carthagena, in order to see if the galleons were safe, and how far he could be useful to the Spaniards. He arrived in the port in the evening of the thirty-first of May, and found the place quite abandoned; for the inhabitants were so much afraid of the buccaneers returning a third time, that they were fled into the woods. Two days the vice-admiral remained in the port before he prevailed upon the governor and some of the principal inhabitants to return, and then sailed, after sending a frigate to St. Jago to inform the governor of the Havannah, and the general of the galleys, of what had passed; that they might the better provide for the safety of the galleons.

On the sixth he discovered eight sail of buccaneers close under the shore; upon which, a detachment was sent to destroy them. The enemy crowded all the sail they could, in hopes of escaping, but only four were so lucky as to effect it. One was forced upon

<sup>c</sup> Histoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 161.

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the Spanish coast, not far from Carthagena, her crew taken by the inhabitants, and compelled to work in the repair of their fortifications. Another was forced on shore on St. Domingo, and beat to pieces. The *Christ*, a fine ship, commanded by captain Cosuy, who had two hundred and fifty men on board, and about 350,000 crowns in silver, was taken by a Dutch ship, as was the *Flying Hart* of the same force and value, commanded by captain Pierce, by captain Dilkes, and her crew were brought into England<sup>d</sup>.

The governor of Jamaica at that time was Sir William Beefton, who, considering that the fleet must soon be obliged to return home, resolved to suggest the destruction of that nest of pirates, Petit-Guavas, to the vice-admiral, as the most important service that, as things were circumstanced, could be done to the English colonies in general, and Jamaica in particular. Vice-admiral Neville instantly complied with it, and left the execution of the scheme to rear-admiral Meeze, who was detached from the fleet, June 22, 1697, for this very purpose, with nine ships of war, great and small. On the twenty-seventh he arrived at a small distance from Petit-Guavas, and debarked some of his forces, ordering the ships to come in next day.

On the twenty-ninth he surpris'd Petit-Guavas, entering the place before it was light, and seizing the guard. He had at first thoughts of remaining there some short time; but the seamen, and at last, through their example, the landmen, began to plunder and drink so hard, that when the rear-admiral altered his sentiments, and resolved to burn and abandon it, there was not above fifty sober men under his command, out of nine hundred. When he gave out this order, the whole was executed with such precipitation, that notwithstanding there was abundance of gold and silver in the place, yet very little was saved or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off prisoners a good number of negroes to Jamaica, was a great and seasonable service to the English colonies, and gave the enemy a remarkable check, which they did not soon recover: to say the truth, it was one of the most important actions done during the war<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Burchet's nav. hist. p. 555. *Columna rostrata*, p. 263. *Life of K. William*, p. 487, 498. <sup>e</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 369. Kennet, *Life of K. William*. *Columna rostrata*, p. 269. *The present state of Europe for the month of Sept.* 1697. *Pointer's chronological historian*, vol. ii. p. 442. *Load. G. 2. N<sup>o</sup>. 3324.*

Vice-admiral Neville, having wooded and watered with all the diligence imaginable, failed to meet rear-admiral Meeze, and, then bringing away the homeward-bound ships from Jamaica, resolved to proceed to the Havannah, in order to preserve the galleons. He failed in the beginning of July, and, coming about the middle of that month on the coast of Cuba, the seamen became excessively sickly, and rear-admiral Meeze died before they reached the Havannah. On the twenty-second of the same month the vice-admiral arrived before that port, and sent in advice to the governor of his want of water and other refreshments. The governor sent him a civil message, but refused to admit his squadron, and did not even supply his necessities, or at least not in all respects. As for the general of the galleons, when he was informed that the vice-admiral came on purpose to convey that rich fleet home, which was the principal point of king William's instructions, far from being satisfied with these unusual acts of kindness to allies, he excused himself from putting his ships under our protection, supposing, or at least pretending, his orders would not warrant it. The true reason, however, both of his and of the governor's conduct, might probably be, their fear of having the place of the greatest consequence in the West Indies, and the richest fleet of that age, for there were fifty millions on board the galleons, taken at once, since both had been left in the vice-admiral's power, if he had been once admitted into the haven <sup>f</sup>.

This kind of treatment, after the pains he had taken to save the galleons, and to serve the crown of Spain on every occasion, broke the vice-admiral's spirits very much. He had always counted upon escorting the galleons, and believed so acceptable a service would entirely efface the memory of former misfortunes; but being disappointed again, and reflecting on the little service that with so strong a squadron he had been able to do his country, it threw him into a kind of hectic fever, which hung upon him till he arrived in Virginia, on the twenty-second of August, and there he died, as much of grief as of his distemper, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was a

<sup>f</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 558. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xxiii, p. 537, 654. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3331

person of courage, prudence, and integrity, who wanted not either will or abilities to do his country service, though his fortune fell short of his zeal.

By his demise the command of the squadron devolved upon captain Robert Dilkes, who, from Virginia, arrived safely in England on the twenty-fourth of October, 1697, with the whole squadron, though poorly manned, and the ships many of them foul and rotten; so that, notwithstanding the great hopes that had been entertained of our doing mighty things in the West Indies, all came to nothing; for, besides this, we met with other disappointments in that quarter of the world, that were no less mortifying than those we have mentioned<sup>b</sup>.

The Sicur Pointis thought himself safe when he arrived off Newfoundland, as not having the least knowledge that we had a stout squadron there, under the command of the late Sir John (then captain) Norris, so that he made no difficulty of going into the bay of Conception, and of lying there carelessly enough, though we had a force sufficient at St. John's to have given a good account of him and his Spanish plunder. It was on the twenty-third of July our squadron had advice, that five French ships were seen in Conception-bay, and they immediately concluded it was M. Nesmond's squadron come to attack them; and therefore, instead of going to look for the enemy, they wisely considered how, in case they fell upon St. John's, they should be best able to defend themselves, and bent all their endeavours that way<sup>c</sup>.

Captain Norris was from the beginning a little suspicious that this was not the outward-bound French squadron, and therefore sent the *Mary* galley, a clean tight ship, to discover what they were. But before they could have any news from her, he received a letter from one Mr. Alexander Cumberbatch, master of a ship taken by the French at sea, and put on shore in Newfoundland, in order to procure fresh provisions. In this letter there was a distinct account of M. Pointis's strength, and of his

<sup>a</sup> I have this character from some who knew him well, and who served under him in this very expedition.

<sup>b</sup> Life of king William, p. 488. The present state of Europe for the month of October 1697, p. 398. London Gazette, No. 3336, 3339.

<sup>c</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 375.

squadron's having on board the rich plunder of Carthage, Captain Norris was ravished with this epistle, called a council of war immediately, and pressed that no farther time might be lost, but that without more ado they might sail in quest of the enemy. Other people, however, were in no such haste; they doubted whether Cumberbatch's letter might not be intended to draw them out of their strength, and thereby expose St. John's, and the whole country, to the French; and therefore, after a long debate, it was resolved in the council of war to remain where they were, and to expect the French in close quarters, without running unnecessary hazards.

About

The reflections of bishop Burnet on this business, are very well worth notice. "Commodore Norris's squadron," says he, "might have fallen upon the French, and would probably have mastered them; but as they had no certain account of their strength, so, being sent out on another service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them; so the French got safe home, and the conduct of our affairs at sea was much censured."—In Burchet's memoirs, p. 378. and in his history, the blame is thrown entirely on the land officers, who out-voted the sea-officers in the council of war.—The whole is strangely skimmed over in our Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3319. as a thing not fit to be mentioned.—

I have with some difficulty recovered the minutes of this famous council of war; and as I believe a list of the names of those who sat in it, and their votes, cannot but be agreeable to the reader, I shall transcribe them.

A council of war at St. John's, July 24th, 1697, at which were present,

LAND-OFFICERS.

John Gibson	- - -	No.
Thomas Dore	- - -	No.
Thomas Handasyde	- - -	No.
Cliff. Brexton	- - -	No.
Griff. May	- - - -	No.
Hugh Boyd	- - - -	No.
Y. Smith	- - - -	No.
Rob. Dazyell	- - - -	No.
H. Petit	- - - -	No.
George Watkios	- - -	No.
Jos. Hargrave	- - -	No.

Eleven. No's all

SEA-OFFICERS.

Francis Dove	- - -	Yea.
Robert Stapilton	- - -	Yea.
James Littleton	- - -	No.
Charles Desborow	- - -	Yea.
Cooper Wade	- - -	Yea.
John Roffey	- - -	No.
James Mighells	- - -	Yea.
Thomas Day	- - -	Yea.
John Cranby	- - -	Yea.
John Drake	- - -	No.
Nicholas Trevannion	- - -	No.
John Norris	- - -	Yea.
Thomas Smith	- - -	No.

Thirteen. Yea's 8. No's 5.

This whole business was, in an ensuing session of parliament, examined in the house of lords; when, upon a full view of the evidence, their lordships came to the following resolutions:

Die



About noon, on the twenty-sixth, they received advice, that the five French ships were seen the night before at anchor a little eastward of Belle-isle, by Portugal Cove, and the next day, upon a message from colonel Gibson, there was another consultation, where this intelligence was read; but it was resolved to remain till the two captains arrived, who were sent to make a discovery. Soon after, one of them came with twenty-one Frenchmen, that he had taken in a boat at Carboniere, who said, they were sent by M. Pointis to procure fresh provisions. The other captain returned also from Portugal Cove, who saw the French ships at anchor, one of them of three decks, two from sixty to seventy guns, and two more of above fifty. The council adjourned till the next morning, and then calling the prisoners before them, they related all they knew, fearing that otherwise they should be very ill treated. They said the squadron had not been at any other port since they left the West Indies, and that hearing of an English squadron in those parts, they had appointed Placentia, in Newfoundland, for the place of rendezvous; but, through the haziness of the weather, were obliged to drop anchor in Conception-bay.

But notwithstanding all this and other corroborative evidence, to prove that this was in reality M. Pointis's squadron, the council of war still over-ruled captain Norris, who was eager for fighting, and obliged him to remain in the harbour of St. John's, which they fortified with such industry, that when Mr. Nesmond arrived, which was about two and thirty days after the other squadron had been first seen, the place was in so good a state of defence, that though the French squadron consisted of sixteen sail, of which ten were of the line of battle, yet they were so well satisfied with the sight of the preparations made for their reception, that they thought proper to retire without so much as

*Die Luna, 17th April, 1699*

1. It is resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, that the squadron commanded by captain Norris, at St. John's in Newfoundland, not going out to fight Pointis, upon the several intelligence given, was a very high miscarriage, to the great disservice of the king and kingdom.

2. It is resolved, that the joining the land-officers in the council of war, on the 24th of July, 1697, was one occasion of the miscarriage in not fighting Pointis.

firing a gun, and thereby left all Newfoundland in our possession, which was confirmed by the ensuing peace<sup>1</sup>.

M. Pointis, however, though he got so happily clear of this affair, met with another, which gave him a good deal more trouble; for, on the fourteenth of August 1697, he fell in with a squadron commanded by captain Harlow, whom he boldly engaged about three in the afternoon. After a brisk dispute of two hours, the French made a signal for tacking, when one of their ships, being disabled, escaped with much difficulty, and put the rest into some confusion. They bore away as fast as possible, and by ten at night the English squadron lost sight of them. The fifteenth, being a clear day, the enemy was discovered by four in the morning, at the distance of four leagues; upon which captain Harlow continued the chase till evening, but with very little advantage, our ships being fouler than theirs, though they were returned from so long a voyage. The next day they got clear away, and the day following entered the harbour of Brest, having as happily and as strangely escaped variety of dangers, as any squadron that ever went to sea<sup>m</sup>.

It is not easy to account for M. Pointis's bearing down upon captain Harlow's squadron; nor can one readily apprehend, how the English ships, just come out of port, came to fail so much worse than the French. Some mystery there was in this, which was never revealed to the public, though, in all probability, something might be discovered to the lords of the admiralty, which it was not proper should come abroad<sup>n</sup>. Thus we have

<sup>1</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 391. Present state of Europe for October 1697. Life of king William, p. 488. History of the last war.

<sup>m</sup> M. Pointis confesses this in his memoirs. A Dutch Gazetteer says pleasantly, ill-luck put on leaden boots to pursue him. See captain Harlow's own account, in the London Gazette, No. 3317.

<sup>n</sup> I ground what I advance in the text on the following advertisement, which appeared first, Thursday, September 23. 1697, London Gazette, No. 3315.

“Admiralty-office, September 23. Whereas the right honourable the lords-commissioners of the admiralty did receive a letter by the post, signed A. B. which contains several things relating to the late action of captain Harlow: these are to give notice, that if the person who writ the said letter will apply himself to one of the secretaries of the admiralty, his name shall not be made known, without his own consent, and he shall likewise be rewarded, and preferred by their lordships.

“WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN.”

RUN

run through the history of what passed in the West Indies during this war, and are now returned to the naval transactions in Europe, in the year 1697, where we shall find not many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majesty going in the spring of the year to Holland, he was pleased to declare Edward Ruffel, Esq; then at the head of the admiralty, one of the lords-justices in his absence; and soon after it was known, that his majesty had created him baron of Shingey, viscount Barfleur, and earl of Orford<sup>p</sup>. These honours seemed not only fit but necessary, since his lordship, as bishop Burnet well observes, had the whole authority of high-admiral, though not the title<sup>q</sup>. His presence, therefore, being requisite at the board, Sir George Rooke was declared admiral of the fleet, and actually went down, in the beginning of June, to Portsmouth, in order to take upon him the command of it. On his arrival, however, he found things but in a very indifferent condition: for though the ships made a handsome figure enough in the list at the admiralty, yet they were in fact not half manned, and worse victualled; so that if a Dutch squadron had not happily joined them, it is on all hands agreed, they could not have put to sea. But by the latter end of the month, his force being augmented by two squadrons, which had been under the command of vice-admiral Mitchel, and rear-admiral Benbow, the admiral found his strength increased to forty-four sail of the line, and therefore he put to sea for some time, but was obliged to return sooner than he intended, for want of provisions<sup>r</sup>.

In the month of September he detached vice-admiral Mitchel with a squadron, to meet and sustain vice-admiral Neville, who was expected home with the galleons from the West Indies; but before he reached the cape of St. Vincent, he had notice of the return of that squadron, and did not therefore think proper

<sup>o</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 734. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 440. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3292. <sup>p</sup> Present state of Europe for the month of April 1696. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3283. <sup>q</sup> History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 195. <sup>r</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 564. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3288. Mercure historique & politique, tome xxii. p. 653. <sup>s</sup> Burchet's memoirs, p. 389, 390. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3281, 3284, 3304, 3328. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xxiii. p. 191.

to continue any longer at sea. He was afterwards ordered out again in October, when he performed nothing worthy of remark, except the bringing in fifteen Dutch East India ships, which had lost most of their anchors and cables, and must otherwise have been in great danger of perishing themselves. Soon after he received the king's orders, to bring over the Czar from Holland, which he did; that monarch arriving in England on the eleventh of January following, and was so acceptable to that great prince, that, with the king's leave, he attended him during the whole time he staid in England, and had the honour also to command the squadron which escorted him on his return to Holland, in his way back to his own dominions. His behaviour toward that great and glorious prince, was such as gave him entire satisfaction, so that he retained a grateful remembrance of it many years after, when he came a second time into Holland, and expressed it by taking notice of many points in naval discipline, in which he was instructed by admiral Mitchell<sup>u</sup>.

Rear-admiral Benbow failed from Spithead on the eleventh of April 1697, with a squadron consisting of seven third-rates and two fire-ships<sup>v</sup>, and instructions to protect the trade of this nation in every instance in his power, and to annoy the enemy. With this view, he was stationed from ten to fourscore leagues

<sup>t</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 565, 566. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3332, 3336.

<sup>u</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 739. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3357. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 167. Life of Peter the Great, p. 394.

<sup>v</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3279. Mr. Burchet says, April 10th, but I prefer the author of the Gazette, in which I find an article that deserves a place here, and therefore I shall transcribe it. "Newcastle, April 10th. Yesterday morning came to our bar eight colliers from London; one of them belonging to this town, Charles Newton master, laden with merchants goods, and carrying twelve guns, was, in her voyage here, attacked by a French privateer of fourteen guns and four pateraroes; captain Newton made a vigorous defence, and another of the merchant ships coming to his assistance, they boarded the said privateer, took her, and have brought her into this harbour: of the French, twenty-three were killed in the fight, and the rest, sixty-six in number, are brought ashore, several of which are wounded, and the captain so dangerously, that it is thought he will hardly recover. There was another privateer in his company, who, seeing his companion come off so ill, fell astern, and stood off to sea."

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from Scilly, but was able to perform nothing remarkable during the best part of the month of May, though he was joined by five ships of war more, and therefore he returned to St. Helen's about the twenty-first of that month, from whence he sailed again on the twenty-fourth, with four third rates and two fire-ships, for his former station; and, after having seen two East India ships pretty far out to sea, he received such intelligence as to our homeward-bound Jamaica ships, as induced him to repair to Plymouth, in doing which, he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and West India fleets, and their particular convoys, off the Lizard; and, soon after meeting vice-admiral Mitchel off the Start, he was by him directed to repair to Plymouth with the merchant-ships, where he received orders from Sir George Rooke to repair to the fleet then passing westward, and to take care for sending eastward a convoy with the trade.

But these orders were contradicted by others from the lords of the admiralty, dated the tenth of July, and he, in obedience to them, proceeded to the squadron before Dunkirk, which captain Beaumont had commanded a considerable time before, consisting of six third rates, besides the Newark, two fourth, one fifth, and two fire-ships; but three of those third rates were ordered away to the Downs by the lords of the admiralty\*.

The rear-admiral, as soon as he arrived with his squadron, went in person with his boat before the pier-heads of Dunkirk, where, though he discovered not one vessel in the road, yet he saw fifteen or sixteen sail of great ships within, one of which bore a flag. With captain Beaumont he found two orders from the lords of the admiralty, the first directing him to pursue and burn du Bart's ships where-ever he could find them, except under the protection of the forts in Norway or Sweden; the other, to obey any orders he might receive from his majesty, who was then in Holland. On the thirtieth of July rear-admiral Vander-goes joined him with eleven Dutch ships, and it was proposed, that one of the squadrons should ly so, as that Dunkirk might be south of them, and the other in or near Ostend road; that, if du Bart should attempt to pass out either at the north or east channel, they might the better discover him: but no other an-

\* Burchet's naval history, p. 569, 570. London Gazette, No. 3279, 3308. Mercure historique et politique, tome xxiii, p. 192.

swer was made by the Dutch flag, than his ships were foul, and not in a condition to pursue him.

The French ships at Dunkirk were in all eleven, from fifty to twenty-six guns; and about the beginning of August they were all, except M. du Bart's own ship, hauled into the basin to clean, so that it was judged they were making ready to come out the next spring-tide. But since our ships, as well as the Dutch, were all foul, little service could be expected from their chasing, and it was almost next to an impossibility to block up clean ships at Dunkirk with foul ones. The rear-admiral, therefore, proposed, that four of his best sailers might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but to heel and scrub; and this he judged might be done before the approaching spring could afford the French an opportunity of getting over the bar<sup>1</sup>. But at this time it was not thought advisable, though afterwards he received orders to do it; so that for the present he only sent the ships from time to time to the Downs to water, as they could best be spared. It is evident enough from this large account of the matter, that our disappointments were frequently owing to the want of proper orders, and the not paying a due attention to such pieces of advice as the commanders of squadrons thought themselves in duty obliged to offer. On the twenty-third of August du Bart left Dunkirk with five sail, having the prince of Conti on board, whom the French attempted to make king of Poland<sup>2</sup>. The rear-admiral pursued him, but to no manner of purpose; and, before he returned to his station, eight other ships were gone, which he pursued likewise, but with the same want of success: and this was the last action of the war; for, on the tenth of September following<sup>3</sup>, peace was concluded between England, Spain, and Holland, on the one side, and the crown of France, on the other, at Ryswick, by which the French king acknowledged king William's title, and, as the French historians say<sup>4</sup>, gave up more towns than

<sup>1</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 571.      <sup>2</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3320. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xxiii. p. 282, 283. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 198.      <sup>3</sup> *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*, tome vii. partie ii. p. 399.      <sup>4</sup> Quincy *histoire militaire de Louis XIV.* tome iii. p. 412. Larrey, tome ii. p. 337. Limiers, tome ii. and other writers,



the confederates could have taken in twenty years; but this was not from any principle either of justice or moderation, but with views of quite another sort, as was foreseen then, and in the space of a few years fully appeared<sup>c</sup>.

We have now brought this long war to a conclusion, and it is but just that we should offer the reader some reflections on the consequences of it to the naval power and commerce of England. First then, with respect to our navy, we have seen that the war opened with a very bad prospect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vast number of able seamen, and perhaps as good officers as any in the world, yet the French got earlier to sea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed better, though we acted then in conjunction with Holland, and, according to the general rule of political reasoning, ought to have had it in our power to have driven the French out of the sea.

All this proceeded from the sudden change in our government, which perhaps left many of our officers disaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the administration and the commanders of our fleets is always destructive to our maritime power, and therefore, instead of wondering that things went on so ill in the three first years of the war, we may with more justice be surprized, that they went no worse. Our party divisions not only enervated our own strength, but created such jealousies between us and the Dutch as blasted the fruits that must have been otherwise produced by this close and fortunate union of the maritime powers. Of this we have the fullest proof in the case of the earl of Torrington, whom even the enemies of the government made it a point to support, because they knew that preserving him must give distaste to our allies, and who on the other hand was prosecuted by many who believed him innocent<sup>d</sup>.

But

<sup>c</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 739. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 201, 202. Life of king William, p. 482. The present state of Europe for 1697, p. 336.

<sup>d</sup> The reader will easily discern the force of this argument, if he considers the share the earl of Torrington had in the revolution, and the warmth with which, on his prosecution, he was supported by those who were least pleased with that event. This shews the effects of party spirit upon national affairs; for though it

But when once the government was thoroughly settled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the states, it soon became evident, that we were much more than a match for France at sea. Our misfortunes at the beginning of the war created inquiries and censures, which were, and always will be, followed with victories; for, when officers find themselves in danger for acting ill, they will endeavour to escape it by doing well; whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private profit to that duty which they owe the public, with impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad road. This accounts for our success in the middle of the war, and the declension of it afterwards, when the board of admiralty began to feel its own strength, and the management of naval affairs was reduced to a court-system, by which such men were sure of protection, as could be depended on in other respects than their commands in the fleet<sup>e</sup>.

But notwithstanding these and some other miscarriages, no less prejudicial to the interest of the nation, yet, on the whole, the French suffered much more in their maritime power than we, as Mr. Burchet has shewn us; and consequently, if we consider the situation of both nations, the ease with which it was in our power to repair our losses, and the almost insuperable difficulties the French had to struggle with in this respect, we must conclude, that not only they but the whole world had full evidence, from thence, of their being no way able to struggle against the Dutch and us in a maritime war. To make this still more apparent,

might be right in them to espouse the earl of Torrington, who probably acted according to the best of his judgment, yet they did it apparently from wrong motives, and with no better intention, than to mortify and distress the court.

<sup>e</sup> It may possibly be thought, that I differ in my sentiments here from what I have said elsewhere as to inquiries, and therefore I take this opportunity of saying, that I would be understood so as to distinguish between proper inquiries and peevish inquiries. I call proper inquiries such as begin with things and end with men, and I take such to be peevish as presume things to be wrong, because they were done by this or that set of men. In this reign we had frequent examples of both: inquiries were set on foot in parliament, and, when they did not answer the intentions of a party, they were dropped. This certainly was very scandalous. On the other hand, commodore Wilmot's disgraceful expedition, and several others of the same kind, were passed over without any serious inquiry at all. This, undoubtedly, was very suspicious dealing in the admiralty, who ought to have vindicated their own uprightness by justifying the characters of such as they employed, which appears to be the judgment of bishop Burnet himself, who, though he loved the ministers, yet could not help seeing their faults.

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I must observe, that king William, in his speech to both houses of parliament at the conclusion of the war, asserted our naval force to be near double what it was at his accession<sup>f</sup>; whereas I do not find in any of the French historians, that they attempted to build new ships during the progress of the war, or to do any thing more than finish such as were then upon the stocks, purchasing, as occasion required, large merchantmen, which they converted into frigates.

In this light, therefore, we were gainers by the war, of which the French seemed to be very sensible, since they avoided all general engagements<sup>g</sup>; and, in particular actions between small squadrons or single ships, the strictness of their discipline gave them great advantages, since their vessels, generally speaking, were much cleaner than ours, and consequently were able to leave us whenever they found themselves too hard pressed, of which several instances have been given in the foregoing sheets. At the same time, however, it must be confessed, that the French fleets, generally speaking, behaved very well at sea, and that we suffered considerably even in those actions where we were victorious, as well as where our ships were taken by surprize, or beaten as convoys, by a superior force<sup>h</sup>.

But,

<sup>f</sup> See his majesty's speech, Dec. 3, 1697, in Chandler's parliamentary debates. Upon carefully comparing the lists of the royal navy, this very clearly appears.

<sup>g</sup> Account of the loss sustained by the French in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688 to 1697:

N <sup>o</sup> . ships.	Force.	Total guns.	N <sup>o</sup> . ships.	Force.	Total guns.
2	of 104 guns,	208	Bt.		
1	of 90,	90	over 21		1462
2	of 80,	160	5	of 32,	160
3	of 76,	228	5	of 30,	150
1	of 74,	74	5	of 28,	140
1	of 70,	70	1	of 26,	26
1	of 68,	68	3	of 24,	72
2	of 60,	120	3	of 20,	60
4	of 56,	224	6	of 18,	108
1	of 50,	50	1	of 16,	16
1	of 48,	48	2	of 12,	24
1	of 42,	42	6	of 10,	60
1	of 40,	40	1	of 6,	6
21		1462	Tot. 59		2244

<sup>h</sup> The loss sustained by the English in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688 to 1697:

But, with respect to our trade, it is certain, that we suffered infinitely more, not only than the French, (for that must have been expected), but than ever we did in any former war, where there was a nearer balance between our trade and that of the enemy. This proceeded in a great measure from the vigilance of the French, who, as we have already shewn, made it their choice, nay, their great monarch made it his glory, to carry on the war in a piratical way, on purpose to distress our merchants, and excite a loud clamour here for a peace. Another reason why our commerce suffered so much, was that spirit of avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many merchants to attempt making a sudden fortune by suffering their ships to run, instead of waiting for a convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal cause of our miscarriages was the want of proper attention at the board of admiralty, where officers were generally heard with too much, and merchants with too little favour. To this we may add that spirit of rapine and corruption which prevailed among the sea-officers at this time, and which too often induced them to consider their commissions rather as powers given them to provide for themselves and their families, than as trusts received for the benefit of the public.

We must not forget, in this enumeration of the causes of our losses in this respect, the ill conduct of our governors abroad, who were likewise totally employed in amassing fortunes, while the strictness of the French discipline obliged such as had the care of their plantations to pay a proper regard to the public service, to which alone was owing their preserving their settlements

Nº. ships.	Force.	Total guns.	Nº. ships.	Force.	Total guns.
1 of	70 guns,	70	Bt.		
1 of	54,	54	over 23		848
2 of	48,	96	2 of	18,	36
1 of	46,	46	2 of	16,	32
3 of	42,	126	2 of	12,	24
3 of	36,	108	11 of	10,	111
6 of	32,	192	5 of	8,	40
2 of	30,	60	1 of	6,	6
4 of	24,	96	4 of	4,	16
23		848	Tot. 50		1112

The number of guns on board the French ships, which were either taken or burnt, more than in the English, were 1132, and most of them much superior in their weight of metal.

at St. Domingo, from whence they might have been driven with the greatest ease by the English and Spaniards, and yet were suffered to retain their possessions, though both nations were continually distressed by their invasions; and, in respect to this, it is no less evident, that the Spaniards were not so much to blame as we<sup>1</sup>. But, after all, the principal source of these mischiefs was the necessity both the Dutch and we were under of fitting out such great fleets every year, whereby all our seamen were in a manner employed in the public service; so that, on the one hand, the merchants were forced to send their ships to sea worse manned than formerly, and, on the other, our grand fleet and annual squadrons required so many ships, that it was impossible to furnish the necessary convoys for the security of our trade. At least this was pretended, and the very pretence, perhaps, was another cause of our losses. This, however, is out of doubt, that, taking all together, our traffic suffered excessively, our merchants were many of them ruined, and though inquiries into the mismanagements, which heightened these misfortunes, were not prosecuted with that vigour they might have been, yet such discoveries were made as produced an absolute distrust of, and distaste against such as had the direction of naval affairs, a loud clamour against the war, and an universal desire of peace at any rate<sup>k</sup>.

After this impartial representation of the state of our affairs at its conclusion, we need not wonder that a peace, and a peace so advantageous as that of Ryswick was, should give the greatest satisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular. That it did so, may appear from the government's causing a special gazette to be published, on purpose to make known the French king's ratification and proclamation of the peace at Paris two days sooner than it would have otherwise

<sup>1</sup> This appears plainly from the French history of that island, where it is owned, that a storm delivered them, in the beginning of the year 1698, from a descent from Jamaica, and that the news of the peace of Ryswick came so opportunely as to preserve them from being totally destroyed by the Spaniards, who had already passed the mountains with a body of between five and six hundred men. *Histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 177.

<sup>k</sup> Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *Life of K. William*, Present state of Europe.

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been<sup>1</sup>; and by the numerous addresses of thanks and congratulation, which were sent up from all parts of the kingdom to felicitate his majesty upon that occasion, and to express their just sense of being delivered from the burden and expence of so bloody and destructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French struck medals, magnifying their success in the war, and their demonstrating themselves thereby a match for all the rest of Europe, since, if they had really been so victorious, and had gained such advantages, the wonder was so much greater that they should stoop to such a peace.<sup>m</sup> But though it may be true, that in many respects the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foresaw they were unable to support so vast an expence as it brought upon them, and as their weakness increased much faster in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this in a few campaigns would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon still worse terms than were demanded now.

It must therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign and of this administration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace; all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth article the French king engages his word and faith not to disturb the king of Great Britain in any of his dominions, not to assist, directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the said king, nor to give shelter to any rebels or conspirators against him. By the fifth the free use of commerce or navigation is restored between the subjects of both kings. By the seventh all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, are restored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was stipulated for them which with any shew of justice they could desire; so that, by the conclusion of this

<sup>1</sup> The Gazettes came out in those days on Mondays and Thursdays. This paper, said to be printed by authority, is dated, Whitehall, October 26, which was Tuesday. It is printed but on one side, and the French king's proclamation is in Italic, in order to render it the more remarkable. The same thing had been done on the exchange of the ratifications, October 18, 1697. But that was in the nature of a post-gazette.

<sup>m</sup> Histoire de Louis XIV. tome v. p. 153, 157, 158, 159.



treaty, the general peace of Europe was restored<sup>a</sup>, and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantages, afforded thereby, for the rectifying whatever was amiss in our domestic economy, extending our commerce, and easing our people. How far these points were studied or neglected, shall be our business to examine in the next chapter.

<sup>a</sup> Amongst other medals, struck on the occasion of this peace, there was one very remarkable. On the face of the medal was represented a temple, the doors of which are shut by the plenipotentiaries. Before the temple there is an altar, on which a sow is offered; the legend, *Cæsar firmabant fœdera porca*, alluding to the custom of the Romans, who, on the conclusion of a peace, sacrificed a swine. On the door of the temple stands, *Jano sacrum*, i. e. "Sacred to Janus." On the reverse are the arms of the several powers comprehended in the treaty, and in the centre the royal castle of Ryfwick, with this inscription, *Ryfwick, Gulielmi III. Dei gratia Magnæ Britannie regis palatium*, i. e. "The palace of William III. by the grace of God king of Great Britain." Gerard Van Loon *hist. metallique des Pays Bas*, tome iv. p. 273.

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C H A P. XIX.

The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN, continued through the remaining part of the reign of king William III. comprehending the most remarkable transactions in relation to our commerce and plantations, with the memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished in this period of time.

**T**HE affair of the East India Company in Scotland has been mentioned in the former chapter; but I did not insist upon it then, because it would have interrupted the thread of our history, and because I apprehend it would come in more naturally here. It is certainly, even at this distance of time, a very delicate subject, especially for one who professes to follow truth at the expence of all parties and characters whatever. But the pleasure which results from acting fairly in matters of this nature, is a sufficient compensation for any risk that

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that a writer can run by his impartiality; and therefore I shall lay, without reserve, the true state of this matter before the reader, as it appears to me.

The revolution brought back to Scotland several worthy patriots, whom the jealousy of former reigns had driven into Holland, Germany, and other countries. These, from the time of their return, thought of nothing so much as the putting the trade of Scotland, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper foot. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of parliament, that is, of the parliament of Scotland, for the encouragement of foreign commerce, and, in consequence of that law, procured another in 1695, for setting up an East India Company. When this was done, it was found requisite to take in subscriptions: and, as it was not easy to find money enough in Scotland for the carrying on so expensive a design, the company's agents endeavoured to procure subscriptions abroad, particularly at London, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, in which they were certainly sufficiently supported both by the royal and legislative authority.

But as the carrying this scheme into execution gave great umbrage to the East India Companies in England and Holland, they took, as it was very natural for them to do, the best measures they could to hinder the success of these applications. This, however, had some very untoward consequences, since these companies could effect nothing but by the interposition of their respective governments; and by this means his majesty's name, as king of England, and Stadtholder of Holland, came to be made use of, to thwart those designs which actually had his sanction as king of Scotland. This, as might have been easily foreseen, embarrassed king William prodigiously; for it forced him to act in a manner little suitable to his inclinations, since, on an application of the Scots, he was obliged to promise that he would not countenance any such attempts to their prejudice; and, to gratify the English and Dutch, he found himself obliged to part with two very useful and able ministers, the marquis of Tweedale and secretary Johnston, because the former had given the royal assent to the law which established the Scots East India Company, in which, however, he had only followed his instructions; and the latter for promoting the design, which,

no doubt, he took to be, what it really was, an act of duty to his country. Yet these steps served only to palliate things for the present, and, instead of healing the breach, widened it, as will be seen hereafter<sup>a</sup>.

In the ensuing session of parliament, in 1698, the government found itself not a little embarrassed with the affairs of the English East India Company. A scheme had been offered for erecting a new company, which was to advance two millions for the public service at eight *per cent.* and were to carry on this trade by a joint stock. To make way for this, it was proposed to dissolve the old company, though they had very lately a new charter granted them upon an address from the house of commons, and, in virtue of that charter, had increased their capital by a subscription of so considerable a sum as seven hundred thousand pounds. The pretence for dissolving it, was a clause in that very charter, reserving such a power to the crown. But as it was not so much as asserted, that, since the granting this new charter, they had done any thing which ought to subject them to a dissolution, by moderate and impartial people, who knew nothing of stock-jobbing, this was thought not a little hard.

The real cause why this step for erecting a new company was taken, as bishop Burnet and other intelligent writers fairly own, was the public's wanting and having no way so ready to get money. However, the dissolving scheme, notwithstanding it was powerfully supported, did not take place; the new company had large privileges given them, and Sir William Norris was sent by his majesty ambassador to the great Mogul, on purpose to promote this scheme; which, notwithstanding, miscarried in respect of trade: for the old company, being possessed of the forts and factories in the East Indies, took care to prepossess that monarch, and indeed all the other princes in those parts, so strongly against the new company, that the ambassador was but very indifferently received, and the whole affair, instead of im-

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, and other histories of those times. I have been extremely careful here, to lay aside all sorts of prejudices, and to present the reader, in as few words as possible, with a genuine representation of things as they really fell out, stripped of all those colourings which party writers and partial historians have bestowed upon them.

proving<sup>a</sup>

proving our commerce, tended only to hurt both it and the credit of the nation in those parts, at the same time that (as I have observed) the acts for establishing this new company, created very great discontents at home<sup>b</sup>.

The managers of the East India Company in Scotland, finding their designs for carrying on that trade so vigorously opposed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers vested in them by the late act of parliament, resolved to turn their endeavours another way for the present, and to attempt the settlement of a colony in America, on the isthmus of Darien. Every body knows, that this is a very narrow tract of country, which unites the two great continents of north and south America, and that consequently it must be very advantageously seated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and as the new colony sent thither actually purchased their lands from the native proprietors, and settled there by consent, it was apprehended that the Spaniards had no right to dispute this establishment; and that, if they did, the planters might defend themselves without involving the nation in a war.

The colony was accordingly settled at a vast expence; but it was soon found, that great mistakes had been made in relation to the consequences expected from it. For the Spaniards not only considered it as an invasion on their rights, and began to take our ships upon it; but the English also grew very uneasy, and made warm representations to his majesty on this subject, which produced private orders to the governors of Jamaica, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the Scots at Darien, but even to deny them provisions. As it was foreseen that these measures would naturally occasion great disturbances in that part of the world, it was found requisite to send a squadron thither to protect our trade,

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Burnet, in his history of his own times, has treated this matter very fairly, and, as far as I can judge, set this matter in a true light. It is a great misfortune, that we have not any HISTORY of public companies, which would be both a useful and entertaining work. What I have offered is very succinct, as the nature of this history obliged me to make it. To give the reader an accurate account of this business would take up some sheets, and indeed the business deserves it.

to awe the Spaniards, and to hinder the increase of pirates, which had been very great ever since the conclusion of the peace, occasioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment; and having been long used to live by plunder, had not either the will or the means to procure a subsistence for themselves by any honest employment. There were also some other reasons which made the sending such a naval force requisite, as will appear in the subsequent account of its proceedings<sup>c</sup>.

Rear-admiral Benbow was made choice of to command this squadron, which consisted of three fourth rates, and a small French prize. He sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-ninth of November, 1698, and arrived at Barbadoes the twenty-seventh of February following. He executed there, and at the Leeward Islands, what he was directed by his instructions to do, and being informed that the Spaniards at Carthagena had seized two of our ships, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating against the Scots at Darien, he, like a brave and public-spirited commander, as he really was, resolved to prevent it, and restore these ships to their right owners. With this view he stood over to the Spanish coast, and coming before Boca-Chica castle, he sent his men on shore for wood and water, which though he asked with great civility of the Spanish governor, he would scarce permit him to take<sup>d</sup>.

This highly nettled the admiral, who thereupon sent his own lieutenant to the governor, with a message, importing, that he not only wanted these necessaries, but that he came likewise for two English ships that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there some time, which, if not sent to him immediately, he

<sup>c</sup> Kenner, Burnet, State tracts in the time of king William, and particularly a little treatise, intitled, An inquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots colony of Darien, 8vo. 1700, which is not printed in the folio collection of tracts before mentioned.

<sup>d</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3450. Most people thought this squadron too small, too weakly manned, and sent too late in the year; and many reflections to this purpose were thrown out in pamphlets, to disturb the minds of the people, and alienate the affections of the seamen. But rear-admiral Benbow's conduct was irreproachable, and, though he was a downright sailor, his manner of acting was so engaging, that he not only performed more than was expected, but returned with ample commendations from all our colonies.



would come and take by force. The governor answered him, in very respectful terms, that if he would leave his present station, in which he seemed to block up their port, the ships should be sent out to him. With this request the admiral, without the least hesitation, complied; but finding the governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country distemper, which doubtless the Spanish governor foresaw, he sent him another message, that if in twenty-four hours the ships were not sent him, he would come and fetch them; and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of seeing what respect an English officer had to his word. The Spaniards, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but sent out the ships within the time; with which the admiral returned to Jamaica, where he was received with much kindness and respect.

There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello had seized several of our ships employed in the slave-trade, on the old pretence, that the settlement at Darien was a breach of the peace. At the desire of the parties concerned the admiral sailed thither also, and demanded these ships; but received a surly answer from the admiral of the Barlovento-fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-admiral Benbow expostulated with him on this head, insisting, that, as the subjects of the crown of England had never injured those of his Catholic majesty, he ought not to make prize of their ships for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied shrewdly, that since both the crowns were placed on the same head, it was no wonder he mistook the subjects of one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the Spaniards saw that the colony at Darien received no assistance from Jamaica, the ships were with much to do restored. The admiral, in the mean time, sailed in quest of one Kidd, a pirate, who had done a great deal of mischief in the East and West Indies, and of whom we shall have hereafter occasion to speak more largely. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a supply of provisions from England,

† Burchet's naval history, p. 577.

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and soon after orders to return home; which he did with six men of war, taking New England in his way<sup>f</sup>.

While rear-admiral Benbow was thus employed, vice-admiral Aylmer was sent with a strong squadron into the Mediterranean, in order to confirm our treaties with the governments of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which he performed very effectually; for, being a man of a generous temper, he executed all things with such magnificence, and treated the deputies sent on board him in a manner so well suited to their tempers, that they were easily drawn to do those things for him, which an officer of another disposition would never have obtained<sup>g</sup>.

It was intended, too, that he should have secured the galleons, in case the French attempted to seize them on the death of the king of Spain, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though no body pretended to fix any imputation on his character in this respect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of the admiralty, for not fitting out this fleet sooner. This, among many other things, made up part of the charge brought against the management of the navy by the house of commons, in their address to the king, presented in the month of April, 1699; wherein, after taking notice of the late sending of this fleet, they add, "That the  
"viſtualling any of his majeſty's ſhips, by others than by the  
"viſtuallers appointed for that ſervice, or their agents, was con-  
"trary to the courſe of the navy, and might be of ill conſe-  
"quence. That many and new unneceſſary charges had, in  
"an extraordinary manner, been introduced into the navy,  
"which was a great miſmanagement. That the deductions of  
"poundage, taken by the pay-maſters of the navy, for ſlop-cloths,  
"dead-men's wages, tobacco, cheſt at Chatham, chaplain, and  
"ſurgeon, was without warrant, and ought to be accounted  
"for. That it was inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the navy,

<sup>f</sup> Burchet, Kennet, *Life of king William, Preſent ſtate of Europe, &c.*

<sup>g</sup> London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3427. This fleet failed from Portſmouth, Sept. 13, 1698. But Mr. Burchet's account is ſo indifſinct, that Mr. Lediard, in tranſcribing it, thought this fleet was fitted out in 1700, and under that year has placed it in his naval hiſtory, p. 729. I am the more ſurprized at this, becauſe he takes notice of the commons addreſs in 1699, which actually took its riſe from an inquiry into the late fitting out of this ſquadron.

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“ for the same person to be one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral and treasurer of the navy at the same time. And that the passing of any account of monies impressed for the contingent uses of the navy, without regular vouchers, or such other proofs as the nature of the service would admit, either with or without a sign manual, was contrary to the rules and methods of the navy, and of dangerous consequence. All which they begged leave to lay before his majesty, desiring that he would be graciously pleased to take effectual care, that the mismanagements herein complained of might be prevented for the future.”

The king gave a soft answer, which yet was satisfactory enough to this charge. It ran in these words: “ Gentlemen, I will consider of your address. It is my desire, that all sorts of mismanagements and irregularities should be prevented or redressed. You may be assured, that I will take the best care I can in relation to the navy, the right management whereof is of great concern to the kingdom <sup>b</sup>.”

The earl of Orford, who was at this time at the head of the navy, and who, as all our writers agree, governed pretty absolutely, on a supposition that bringing over to the court a body of men who had been formerly looked upon as stubborn malecontents, would justify every measure that he should think necessary for so salutary a purpose, saw at what the commons were driving, and therefore very prudently resolved to abate the edge of their resentment, by laying down his employments, which he did accordingly, and thereupon a new commission of admiralty passed, in which the earl of Bridgewater, the lord Haversham, Sir Robert Rich, Sir George Rooke, and Sir David Mitchel, were constituted commissioners. And thus things were twisted about, rather as the interest and influence of parties required, than as was fittest for the public service, which, though always pretended in speeches and addresses, yet this was so visibly a cloak for the pernicious designs of party, that we may safely assert, *private interest* was never more considered than at this

<sup>b</sup> Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 102.

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“ for

time, when nothing was so much talked of as *public spirit*; may we live to see things conducted with more sincerity!

We are now come to a necessary part of this history, which will appear one of the strongest instances of the truth of the foregoing observation; I mean, the affair of Kidd, the pirate, which, by an unaccountable strain of party-resentment, makes a considerable figure in our general histories, and belongs, in a particular manner, to this; for which reason I shall treat it circumstantially, and, to the best of my judgment, exactly agreeable to truth. There had been for many years loud and very just complaints of piracies in the West Indies, which, for the sake of the profit made by purchasing their ill-gotten goods, had met with too much encouragement from the inhabitants of several of our plantations. This induced king William, in the year 1695, to declare the earl of Bellamont, a nobleman of Ireland, and a person of very great worth and honour, governor of New York and of New England, believing him to be a proper person to restrain such mischiefs, and in time to put an end to the complaints made about them.

After he was raised to this station, and before he set out for his government, he began to inquire as to the most proper methods for extinguishing these abuses, and represented it to one colonel Levingston, a gentleman of considerable property in New York, as a thing which nearly concerned the honour of that plantation. This induced the colonel to mention to his lordship one-captain William Kidd, who was lately arrived from New York in a sloop of his own, as a brave bold fellow, who knew most of the pirates haunts, and might therefore be employed against them with great probability of success. The earl readily approved the scheme, and knowing how much the king had the business at heart, mentioned it to his majesty, who applauded the design, and recommended it to the board of admiralty. But the public affairs being then in a perplexed situation,

i The earl of Orford was afterwards impeached, as we shall have occasion to shew; but there was never any proof offered on that impeachment; and to be sure his lordship's faults were in his ministerial character, and not as a commander. He was very sincere and serviceable to his party, at the head of the admiralty board; but at sea he forgot all distinctions, and had regard to nothing but merit.

and great difficulties found in manning the fleet, the board, though they signified their approbation of the thing, thought fit to lay it aside<sup>k</sup>.

Colonel Levingston, having exact information of all that had passed, applied himself a second time to the earl of Bellamont, and offered an amendment to his first project. He observed, that this was a thing which would admit of no delay; and since the public could not immediately bear the expence, or consequently undertake the intended expedition, it might not be amiss if some few persons of distinction should venture on carrying it into execution at their own expence. This, too, was attended with much difficulty; but at last it was agreed, that the lord-chancellor, (then lord Somers), the duke of Shrewsbury, the earl of Romney, the earl of Orford, and some other persons, together with colonel Levingston and Kidd, who were to have between them a fifth of the whole undertaking, should raise six thousand pounds for the expence of the voyage<sup>l</sup>.

The king was so well pleased with the thing, and thought it of so great consequence as well as of so much benefit to the public, that he likewise promised to contribute, and therefore a tenth part of the goods taken from pirates was reserved to his majesty in the grant made of the rest to the persons engaged in fitting out Kidd. But, when the business was brought to bear, the king could not advance the money conveniently, and so the persons above-mentioned were obliged to be at the whole expence. Captain Kidd had a commission, in the common form, to take and seize pirates, and bring them to justice, without any special clause or proviso whatever. He knew none of the adventurers but the lord Bellamont, who introduced him to the earl of Orford, and another person, carried him to the earl of Romney.

<sup>k</sup> Bishop Burnet and Mr. Oldmixon have both insisted pretty largely on this matter. As to the former, he did not certainly understand it; for he actually took the grant of pirates' goods to be illegal and unjustifiable, and seems to intimate some hastiness or imprudence in this business; whereas nothing can be clearer than that public spirit was the sole motive to this design, and that Kidd's owners became so, because he could not be fitted out otherwise. As to the latter, though very prolix, yet his account wants, in a great measure, the light of evidence, which arises very fully from an impartial stating of the matters of fact, and therefore I have dwelt so long upon it.

<sup>l</sup> See an impartial account of the affair of captain Kidd, 4to.

As for the rest, he never saw them; and so little was there of secrecy or management in this business, that he had no instructions either public or private; only the earl of Bellamont gave him sailing orders, in which he was directed to act according to the letter of his commission<sup>m</sup>.

Thus furnished, captain William Kidd sailed in the Adventure galley towards the end of the year 1695 for New York, and in his way took a French prize. From thence he sailed to Madeira, thence to Bonavista and St. Jago, from whence he proceeded to Madagascar, and from thence he cruized at the entrance of the Red Sea; but, effecting nothing, he sailed to Calicut, and took a ship of one hundred and fifty tons; the master and three or four of the crew were Dutchmen, the rest Moors: this ship he carried to Madagascar; from thence he sailed again, and about five weeks after took the *Quedah Merchant*, of four hundred tons; the master was one Wright an Englishman: she had on board two Dutch mates, and a French gunner; the crew were Moors, in all about ninety persons\*.

The ship he carried to St. Mary's near Madagascar, and there he shared the goods with his crew, taking forty shares to his own use. Here ninety of his crew, who were a hundred and fifty-one in all, left him, and went on board the *Mocha Merchant*, an East India Company ship, which had turned pirate; and there was every grain as much reason to charge that company with the piracies the *Mocha Merchant's* crew committed, as there was to charge Kidd's adventurers with his. He and his men burnt his own ship the Adventure galley at St. Mary's, and they all went on board the *Quedah Merchant*, and sailed for the West Indies. Being denied succour at Anguilla and St. Thomas's, he sailed to Mona, lying between Porto-Rico and Hispaniola, and there, by the means of one Bolton, got some provisions from Curacoa. He bought a sloop of Bolton, in which he loaded part of his goods, and left the *Quedah Merchant*, with the rest of the goods, in trust with Bolton, and seventeen or eighteen men in her. In this sloop he touched at se-

<sup>m</sup> This plainly shews, there was nothing secret or mysterious in this expedition, but that he was sent on the design expressed in the king's commission, and on that only.

\* This is taken from his trial, and other authentic accounts of him.



veral places, and disposed of a great part of his goods, and at last came to Boston in New England; where the earl of Bellamont seized him and what goods he had left; for this fellow either had, or pretended to have a notion, that the *Quedah Merchant*, being manned by Moors, was a lawful prize, though there was no proof that the commander of her and his crew had committed any piracies on the English or any other European, or indeed Indian nation.

As soon as this was done, his lordship sent advice, of his taking Kidd, to England, and desired that a ship might be sent to bring him home. This was accordingly complied with; but the *Rochester*, which was the ship employed in this service, being disabled, was forced to return, which heightened the clamour that had been already raised about this transaction, and which was outrageous in the very same proportion it was groundless<sup>o</sup>.

The source of this clamour was undoubtedly a private pique to particular persons, which induced some warm men to put a question in the house of commons, "That the letters-patent, granted to the earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates' goods, were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, an invasion of property, and destructive to commerce." This was carried in the negative, but it did not hinder those who supported the question from charging lord Somers and the earl of Orford with countenancing pirates; and to give some colour to this groundless and most improbable charge, as soon as it was known that the *Rochester* was returned, it was suggested, that the sending that ship was mere collusion; that the earl of Bellamont was as deep in this affair as the rest; and upon this a motion was made, and carried in the house of commons, for an address to his majesty, that Kidd might not be tried till the next session of parliament, and that the earl of Bellamont might be directed to send home all examinations and other papers relating to this business, which the king promised very readily<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> The noise made about this fellow disturbed the government so much, that it was one reason for sending rear-admiral Benbow to the West Indies.

<sup>p</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. lii. p. 774. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 237. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 205.

This affair must naturally give his majesty, and indeed the whole world a strange opinion of the patriotism of those times. He knew the whole matter better than any body, and was pleased to say, with great truth and justice, that, if he might be admitted as a witness, he could vindicate, from his own knowledge, the noble persons now attacked, in all they had done. He must, therefore, be thoroughly persuaded, that this was a very unjust and iniquitous prosecution, in relation to which he had reason to think himself happy, that he was not able to perform his promise of contributing towards this design, since that might have given a handle to some warm member for calling him *pirate*, as Mr. Howe actually called him a *felon*, for making the treaty of partition, to which we shall speedily come.

But, how clear soever the king and other impartial judges might be, this spirit was still so prevalent in the house of commons, that even after making some inquiries into this fact, and having not only his examination, but Kidd himself in their power, whom they ordered to be brought to their bar, and questioned him there, (very little to their credit or to the purpose), yet, when they afterwards found an opportunity of attacking the earl of Orford and lord Somers by impeachments, they did not fail to throw in their encouragement of Kidd as part of the charge<sup>9</sup>. In the articles against the earl of Orford they make the fifth and sixth, which for the satisfaction of the reader I shall insert, to shew with how great solemnity the most trifling affair may be made to appear.

“ V. And whereas complaints were made to the commissioners  
 “ for executing the office of lord-high admiral of England,  
 “ where the said earl at that time presided, by the company  
 “ trading to the East Indies, of divers piracies committed in the  
 “ South-seas to the destruction of their trade, desiring they  
 “ might have letters of marque granted to them, whereby to be

<sup>9</sup> It was pretended that Kidd would make discoveries, and upon this he was sent for to the bar of the house of commons, where he behaved very meanly; and Sir Edward Seymour, who sent for him, said, “ The fellow was not more a knave than a fool.” But the true intent of bringing him thither was to set up another discovery, viz. That, before he returned to Newgate, he went to the house of the earl of Halifax, and conferred there with the lords who were said to be concerned with him; but of this the proof was as weak as the story incredible.

“ impowered,

" Impowered, though at their own charge; to suppress such  
 " piracies : but the said earl, preferring his own interest, discour-  
 " aged and rejected their request and proposal, and in some  
 " short time after, jointly with others, did procure a commission  
 " for one William Kidd, as likewise a grant under the great  
 " seal of England, to and for the use of him the said earl and  
 " others, of the ships and goods of certain persons therein  
 " named, and also of all the goods found on board the said  
 " ships. And the said company having intimation of a commis-  
 " sion granted to the said Kidd, being apprehensive of the ill  
 " consequences of the same, did apply themselves to the said  
 " board of admiralty, desiring to know what powers and in-  
 " structions were given: but such their reasonable request was  
 " denied, and Kidd, who was known to be a person of ill  
 " fame and reputation, ordered to pursue the intended voyage,  
 " in which he did commit divers piracies and depredations on  
 " the high seas, being thereto encouraged through the hopes of  
 " being protected by the high station and interest of the said  
 " earl, in violation of the laws of nations, and the interruption  
 " and discouragement of the trade in England,

" VI. That the said earl, within the time aforesaid, when an  
 " horrid conspiracy was discovered against his majesty's sacred  
 " person, and the kingdom was under an apprehension of an  
 " immediate invasion from France, and divers ships of war,  
 " particularly the ship *Duchefs*, were armed out, and equipped  
 " and manned in defence of the realm, to oppose the intended  
 " invasion, did his utmost endeavour to prejudice his office,  
 " being the first commissioner for executing the office of lord  
 " high-admiral of England, without the privity of the other  
 " commissioners, contrary to his oath and duty, and preferring  
 " his hopes of gain to himself to the safety of the public, did  
 " order captain Steward, commandr of the ship *Duchefs*, to  
 " deliver over, and put on board, the said Kidd, mentioned in  
 " the foregoing article, out of the said ship the *Duchefs*, a great  
 " number of able seamen, levied and provided at the expence of  
 " the public, and then discharging their duty in defence of their  
 " country, and against their own consent, to the prejudice of  
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“ the public security, and to the endangering the said ship the  
 “ Duchefs, if it had been attacked by the enemy.”

The earl of Orford's answer will sufficiently declare how little foundation there was in fact for what the commons advanced, and therefore I shall give what he offers, as to these two articles, in his own words: “ As to the fifth article,” says his lordship, “ the East India Company, about the beginning of March, 1696, “ did apply to the admiralty-board, of which the said earl was “ one, to impower their ships and officers to seize and take all “ pirates infesting the seas within the limits of their charter, and “ likewise to erect a court of admiralty in those parts to try and “ condemn such pirates as they should take. Upon which ap- “ plication, the board of admiralty did take advice, and were “ informed they had no authority to grant the same, and denies “ he, the said earl, ever discouraged or rejected the Company's “ request therein, unless it were by telling them, that the ad- “ miralty by law could not grant the same; and denies that the “ Company was ever denied letters of marque in common form, “ to the knowledge of the said earl: and saith, as to the matter “ of Kidd in this article mentioned, he was gone upon his ex- “ pedition about twelve months before that time; and as to his “ commission, and the grant in the said article mentioned, the “ said earl humbly conceives, and is advised, the same were not “ contrary to law, but sure he is the said expedition was in- “ tended for the public good and service; and saith, the said “ Kidd had no powers or instructions from the board of admi- “ ralty, other than the ordinary and common letters of marque, “ the contents whereof are common and well known to mer- “ chants; and the said earl doth deny that he knew the said “ Kidd to be of ill fame and reputation. But, in case the said “ Kidd had committed any piracies, he the said Kidd is answer- “ able, and ought to answer for the same, he never being or- “ dered by the said earl so to do, nor had he ever any the least “ encouragement given him by the said earl, or any other, “ to his knowledge, to expect or hope for any protection

† See the articles of impeachment against Edward earl of Orford, printed by order of the house of commons in 1701.

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“ therein, or in any illegal action done or committed by  
“ him.”

But his lordship's answer to the latter article is still stronger. In that he says, “ He believes it to be true, that there was a  
“ horrid and barbarous plot and conspiracy against his majesty's  
“ sacred person, and that there was an apprehension of an im-  
“ mediate invasion. But the said earl hopes, no neglect of duty  
“ in his station can be imputed to him to prevent the same.  
“ And as for the ship *Duchefs*, which was amongst many others  
“ armed and equipped in defence of the realm, the said earl  
“ saith, that the men, in the said article mentioned to be taken  
“ from on board her, were but some of the very persons that  
“ were just before taken from on board captain Kidd, and re-  
“ turned by their own consent on board captain Kidd again, not  
“ being above twenty in number; and saith, all fears of the in-  
“ vasion were then over, and at an end; and denies that the  
“ same was intended to weaken, or did weaken, the said ship,  
“ or the navy-royal, or that the said seamen, so returning on  
“ board the said Kidd, were levied or provided at the expence  
“ of the public, or did return or were put on board the said  
“ Kidd against their own consent, or to the prejudice of the  
“ public security, or that the ship *Duchefs* was thereby endan-  
“ gered, if she had been attacked, as in the said article is al-  
“ ledged.”

These articles were agreed to by the house of commons on the eighth of May, 1701, the very day that Kidd was brought upon his trial for piracy at the Old-Bailey, where he was convicted, with many of his companions, and soon after executed; but could never be prevailed upon, as weak and as bad a man as he was, to charge any of the noble persons, who were his owners, with having any thing to do with his proceedings. Yet, even after his death, the commons, in an impeachment by them preferred against John lord Somers, charge him as lord-keeper of the great seal of England, in conjunction with the earl of Orford, first commissioner of the admiralty, and Richard earl of Bellamont, governor of New York and of New England, and

\* See these answers in the same collection. They are very indifferently abridged by most of our historians; as in truth they must be, since, by abridging them; some facts must necessarily be left out.

of others then in great stations, and in high power and authority, for sealing a commission to one William Kidd, a person of evil fame and reputation, since convicted of piracy, and with procuring a grant of pirates' goods to be taken by the said William Kidd, under colour of the said commission, in trust for himself and other persons, with abundance more to the same purpose, intended purely to hurt that lord's character, and render it impossible for his majesty to employ him longer in his service; though his lordship, conscious of his own innocence, took every measure possible to have this matter brought to a fair, open, and speedy trial<sup>c</sup>.

But while things were thus carried on at home, the nation suffered exceedingly for want of due care being taken to put an end to those depredations committed by pirates abroad, and therefore several experienced officers were sent to Madagascar, where they had made a very strong settlement, in order to root out and destroy them; but with so little success, that the government began at last to despair of effecting any thing in this way, till Mr. secretary Burchet, and I speak it to his honour, devised a method which answered the end very speedily. This was, sending a proclamation by captain James Littleton, who was afterwards a flag-officer, and commissioner of the navy, promising pardon to all the pirates who surrendered, and a reward in case they would secure and deliver up any of their commanders. This soon brought in many of the private men, and made the rest, especially their chiefs, so jealous of each other, that they could not hold together, or venture upon any new enterprises: so that captain Littleton, having brought off some and separated the rest, very soon destroyed such as were most refractory, and re-established that free navigation which had been so long interrupted in those parts<sup>d</sup>. I know that this will seem to some a very trivial affair to be so long insisted on; but as it shews the spirit of those times, and accounts for a very famous persecution, I hope the majority of those who peruse this work, will not think it impertinent, especially as it has some connection throughout with the subject of this book.

<sup>c</sup> This affair went off by the lords appointing a day for the trial of the peers, and the commons refusing to be present at that trial, or to make any proofs.

<sup>d</sup> Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, *Life of king William*, &c.



But we now return to matters of a more public concern. A war had arisen between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, which greatly affected the peace of the north; a thing that can never happen without interesting the maritime powers. It will be necessary to say something as to the grounds of this war, because the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the English nation, and ought to establish it as a maxim, that whenever it is really necessary to assist our allies, we ought to do it vigorously, and at once; which is the way not only to serve them, but to save a very considerable expence to us. There was, towards the close of the year 1699, a private treaty made by several princes for attacking the king of Sweden, afterwards the famous Charles the twelfth, but then a perfect youth, and even for dismembering the Swedish monarchy. According to this scheme, the king of Denmark was to invade Holstein, the elector of Brandenburg was to fall into the Swedish Pomerania, the king of Poland was to attack Livonia, and in case the dukes of Zell and Hanover moved to the assistance of the Swedes, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, were to fall upon them.

This was an alliance founded intirely upon interest and ambition, for the Swedes had done nothing to deserve this treatment; and therefore, upon the first breaking out of this confederacy, his Swedish majesty addressed himself to king William and the States-General, as guarantees of the treaties made for securing the tranquillity of the north, by preserving there a proper balance of power. At first it was thought requisite to interpose only our good offices. But when the king of Denmark over-ran Holstein, and the king of Poland first attempted to surprize, and then besieged Riga in Livonia, it became necessary to take other measures, especially when it was known that the Czar was inclined to enter into the confederacy. The point in debate with his majesty was, whether he should do what was necessary, and what he was obliged to by treaties, without consulting the house of commons; or whether he should lay the whole matter before the parliament, and leave the decision of it to them. Some of the ministry were for taking the latter method, but the king was for the former, and with good reason; he said, the executive part of the government was in him,

and therefore he would do what was fit for him to do, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting <sup>w</sup>.

His majesty, in the spring of the year 1700, sent over a strong squadron to Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who, in the latter end of May, was joined by a Dutch squadron; and, having the command of the whole fleet, he sailed for the Sound, where he arrived about the middle of June <sup>x</sup>. There he found the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of line-of-battle ships, ranged athwart the narrow passage, under the guns of their castle of Cronenburg, opposite to Helsingburg; and here also he received assurance from count Wuchtmeister, admiral-general of Sweden, that he would take the first opportunity of joining him with the squadron under his command. Not long after a signal was made, as had been agreed, from Helsingburg, that the Danish fleet were under sail; whereupon our admiral weighed anchor, and advanced into the Sound, to prevent any mischief which might otherwise happen to the Swedes. But the Danish ships anchored again on this side of the grounds, not only to guard the passage, but to prevent our joining with the Swedish squadron, which were now come down to the south-side of that channel.

In this posture the fleets lay for some time, Sir George Rooke expecting that the Swedes would, according to what had been promised, have pushed through; which in all probability they might have done in less than two hours, for it had blown fresh at S. S. E. But the opportunity being lost, he got under sail, and came nearer to the island of Huen <sup>y</sup>. Meanwhile the Danes plyed towards him in a line of battle, but anchored about noon near three leagues off, in the mouth of the channel leading up

<sup>w</sup> The reader may consult our general histories, and particularly the memoirs of bishop Burnet on this subject, which he has treated fully and freely. The truth is, the scheme, however fair in appearance, was like to be attended with such consequences, that baron Plessé, who was a very honest man, and had served his Danish majesty long as prime minister, could not digest it, but resigned his employments.

<sup>x</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 786. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 243. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3602. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 462.

<sup>y</sup> Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 213. Columna rostrata, p. 270, 271. Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. iii.

to Copenhagen, and the Swedes were much about the same distance on the other side of the grounds. The Danes then endeavoured to amuse the admiral with an account of a treaty; in hopes that, while it was negotiating, he would suspend hostilities; but he pursued the spirit of his instructions, which required him to promote not a negotiation, but a peace; and therefore, being informed that the Swedish fleet had passed the channel of Flinterena on the third of July, he sailed the next day, and anchoring off Landscroon, the Swedish fleet joined him on the sixth; upon which the Danes retired into their harbour, where they were very well secured; and though the united fleets pretended to bombard them in the port of Copenhagen, yet either they could not, or would not, do them much mischief<sup>2</sup>.

The confederate fleet consisted of fifty-two ships of the line; but as so great a strength was not necessary to keep in the Danes, part was detached for other purposes; for there were sent to Gottenburg a fourth and a fifth rate of the English, and three ships of the States-General, to cover the forces which the king of Sweden intended to transport to Tonningen, on the river of Eyder, and three English, with six Swedish, together with three Dutch ships, were ordered into the south channel going into Copenhagen, with the bomb-vessels, from whence they bombarded the Danish fleet some hours, but not with much greater success than before; nor did those on our side receive any damage from their shells, or the shot from the town, the ships and the puntoons. Preparations were now making for a vigorous descent in Roge-bay, and between Copenhagen and Elsinore at the same time; but the winds being contrary, these troops which embarked at Udstedt, being chiefly horse, could not get over to the bay before-mentioned, as was intended, so that they were put on shore, and ordered to Landscroon and Helsingburg, to be transported from thence; and the latter end of July, the king of Sweden landed with about five thousand foot, near four miles on this side Elsinore, without any great loss, although the Danes had brought down a body of horse and foot, and three or four field-pieces, to oppose them.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 244. Oldmixon, Burchet, and the Present State of Europe for the year 1700.

This quick motion was intended to accelerate the negotiations that were then carrying on, and it had the desired effect; for the Danes, excessively alarmed at so unexpected a proceeding, sent orders to their plenipotentiaries at Travendale to sign the preliminaries on the terms proposed by the mediators; and this being signified to Sir George Rooke, he refused to let the combined fleet cover any longer the descent of the Swedes, there being enough already done to secure a peace, which was signed on the eighteenth of August, 1700, and left the king of Sweden at liberty to act against the Czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions in this critical juncture<sup>a</sup>.

This whole transaction was extremely honourable, and at the same time very advantageous to the maritime powers, who cannot, as I observed, be at any time, consistent with their interests, tame spectators of a war in the north. If they had not assisted the Swedes, who were then the weakest, the Danes would have drawn the negotiation into a great length, while their allies were distressing the king of Sweden in different parts of his dominions; and, on the other hand, if the combined fleets had acted as vigorously as the king of Sweden would have had them, the island of Zealand must have been reduced, and perhaps the city of Copenhagen taken, which would have inclined the balance too much the other way. This was the true reason that the bombardment had so little effect, and Sir George did not affect to conceal it: for when king Charles complained to him, that the English bombs flew over, and the Dutch fell short of the Danish fleet, and that he wondered the maritime powers sent so great a strength to do nothing; admiral Rooke answered him very calmly, "Sir, I was sent hither to serve your majesty, but not to ruin the king of Denmark." "Why then," replied the king, smiling, "you have certainly executed your commission, and have made such a war as will make a peace."

When the business was done, the combined fleets returned, and the States-General were so sensible of the prudent manage-

<sup>a</sup> Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. vii. part. ii. p. 480, 485. Burnet, Kennet, vol. iii. p. 786. Mercure historique and politique, tom. xxix. p. 226, 311.

ment of the English admiral, that they thanked his majesty for having intrusted him with the commission. I cannot help observing upon this occasion, that when Sir George Rooke was so unlucky as to labour under the displeasure of a powerful party in England, he was known and acknowledged in Holland to be the best officer, and the greatest seaman of the age. This, perhaps, was the reason, that, notwithstanding the difference of parties, king William always preserved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the most important commands,

In Scotland things ran very high on the old subject of complaint, *viz.* the ruin of the Darien colony. Things were printed on both sides on purpose to inflame the minds of the people, and many thought that it would at last have created a breach between the two nations. The coldness of the king's temper prevented this; he could not either be heated by the English representations, or blown into a passion by the hasty resolutions of the Scots parliament; and his moderation towards each of them, if it did not bring them both to a good temper, which was indeed never effected in his reign, yet it gave him an opportunity to keep the wisest people in England and in Scotland firm to his government, while, in the mean time, many unforeseen accidents brought about the ruin of the Scots company; so that the ends of their English adversaries were answered, without their having recourse to any harsh means; for after captain Drummond ran away with the *Rising Sun*, and engaged in some exploits which had too much the air of piracy, it was found impracticable to restore the affairs of the company, though the matter hung in suspense, and the fire of dissension lay raked up under the embers as long as king William lived, and had like to have blazed out in the reign of his successor; as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place<sup>b</sup>.

We are now to return to affairs nearer home. The death of the king of Spain changed all the affairs of Europe, and forced us, who had so lately made a very necessary peace, upon a new, expensive, and dangerous war, contrary to the genius, at least, if not, as the patriots of those times asserted, to the interest of

<sup>b</sup> Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, &c.

the nation<sup>c</sup>. It is certain that the king did all he could to avoid it, and that this was the great, if not the sole foundation of the two famous partition treaties, which were so much exclaimed against by those, whose steady opposition to a war had first brought the king and his ministry to think of them.

It has been much disputed, whether the French king or the confederates meant least to keep these treaties when they were made; but it so falling out, that the French king had a fairer opportunity of breaking the last than the confederate princes, this furnished them with an opportunity of charging him with breach of faith, and forging the king of Spain's will, which, however, were things believed by such only as knew little of the matter, since there never was a state-resolution taken with better advice, and more deliberation, than that of king Charles the Second's, calling the duke of Anjou, afterwards king Philip V. to the succession.

It has been also said, that the proclaiming the prince of Wales on the death of king James II. by the French king was one of the causes of the war; and whoever looks upon the public acts of those times, I mean declarations, addresses, votes, &c. will think the fact certain. Yet I am pretty confident it was quite otherwise, since king William signed the grand alliance at the Hague a week before king James died. But this pretence of the French king's breach of treaty and of his word was very plausi-

<sup>c</sup> In order to be sensible of this, we need only cast our eyes on the following passage of my lord Somers's letter to king William, dated from Tunbridge-wells, August 28, 1698, in answer to one written by the king in relation to the first treaty of partition.

"The second thing considered was the very ill prospect of what was like to happen upon the death of the king of Spain, in case nothing was done previously in providing against that accident, which seemed probably to be very near, the king of France having so great a force in such a readiness, that he was in a condition to take possession of Spain, before any other prince could be able to make a stand. Your majesty is the best judge whether this be the case, who are so perfectly informed of the circumstances of parts abroad.

"But, so far as relates to England, it would be want of duty not to give your majesty this clear account: That there is a deadness and want of spirit in the nation universally, so as not at all to be disposed to the thought of entering into a new war; that they seemed to be tired out with taxes, to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections. This is the truth of the fact, upon which your majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken."

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ble, and therefore it was very prudent to lay so great stress upon it, because it served to raise the resentments of the nation, and to excite that spirit that was wanting, and which much better motives never would have raised <sup>d</sup>.

I would by no means be understood to censure this war as unreasonable or unjust; in doing this I should quit my character as an historian, and at the same time write contrary to my opinion. All I aim at is to distinguish grounds from pretences, and to justify king William's measures in this respect from their true motives, rather than from those which were used only to colour them in compliance with the nation's temper at that time. The king, who was a very wise man, and a consummate politician, saw plainly, that the Spanish succession, if it fell entirely into the hands of the house of Bourbon, would leave it absolutely in the power of that house to give law to the rest of Europe, and to destroy that independency so necessary to Great Britain and Holland, which yet results from the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the house of Austria. He saw, too, that the sense which other powers had of their particular grievances and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining such a force as might be able to bring that monarch to reason, and to consent to such an establishment as would leave things in their former state, and secure the several potentates of Europe in the possession of their just rights.

<sup>d</sup> The citation in the last note sufficiently shews the king's sentiments, and those of his minister, upon this subject; and therefore, as I write at such a distance of time, when truth must be serviceable, and can do no hurt, I think I have a right to speak plainly, otherwise I should not have exercised it. As to the addresses from all parts of England, (in which the French king's character is very roughly treated on account of his proclaiming a person whom some call prince of Wales, and others an impostor), I can only say, that it was politically right at that time to encourage it. But as to the perfidiousness of the French king, it is not so clear in this case, because he knew at the time, king William had negotiated a new grand alliance, and consequently stood to him in the light of his capital enemy. The excuse, indeed, he made for proclaiming the son of king James was trifling and disingenuous. He said it was no breach of the treaty of Ryswick, because he gave him the titles only of king of England, &c. but did not assist him to recover them. On the other hand, king William wrote a letter to the new king of Spain, to felicitate him on his accession, though he never intended to own him. These are acts of policy, not of perfidy.

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This induced him to engage reciprocally Papists and Protestants to support each other's pretensions; for, by the grand alliance, Great Britain and the States undertook to procure satisfaction to the Pope, as, on the other hand, the emperor and other Catholic princes stipulated to support the Protestant interest, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in respect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cause; and, though these articles exposed the alliance to very popular objections amongst party-men at home and abroad, yet to persons of judgment and sagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole must be regarded, and to this the particular views of all the separate princes and powers who compose it must give way; and therefore if, considering things in this light, the general alliance formed against France in 1701, was right and well founded, all the cavils, raised against it from the party-spirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjust<sup>c</sup>.

When the resolution was once taken to have recourse again to arms in order to preserve the balance of power, the first care was for the fleet, which his majesty resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy, his majesty being extremely sensible of the ill consequences that attended the want of this salutary precaution at the beginning of the last war. Preparatory to this was the new commission of the admiralty in the spring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man universally beloved and esteemed<sup>f</sup>.

The command of the fleet was very judiciously bestowed upon Sir George Rooke, who on the second of July went on board the *Triumph* in the Downs, where he hoisted the flag. He soon after sailed to Spithead, where he was speedily joined by the rest of the fleet, consisting of forty-eight ships of the line, besides

<sup>c</sup> This is the substance of all the state tracts that were written in those times, and which served, as they generally do, only to puzzle and confound people; whereas we, being now out of the reach of their influence, see things as they were, and are able to crowd the substance of many pamphlets into a single paragraph.

<sup>f</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 814. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 462. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3692.

frigates,

frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels<sup>s</sup>. He had under him some of the greatest seamen of the age, viz. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopson, John Benbow, Esq; and Sir John Munden: he was, not long after, reinforced by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, besides frigates and small vessels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waessenaar.

The whole fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helen's until the middle of August for want of provisions; and when he put to sea, the wind blew in a few hours so high, that he was constrained to put back again into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he sailed from thence, and the second of September he detached vice-admiral Benbow with a stout squadron for the West Indies: and as this was the principal business of the fleet, and indeed a thing in itself of the highest importance, the admiral detached a strong squadron of English ships under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten sail of Dutch men of war, besides frigates; under rear-admiral Waessenaar, to see the West India squadron well into the sea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean, and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of sending a squadron early to the West Indies; without putting it in the power of the French to procure any exact account of its strength: the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his instructions for some time, and then returned with the largest ships into the Downs<sup>b</sup>.

After this fleet was sent to sea, his majesty, on the 18th of January, thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the com-

<sup>s</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 598. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome xxx. p. 597, 699. *London Gazette*, N<sup>o</sup>. 3700, 3720.

<sup>b</sup> Burchet's naval history, book v. ch. 4. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 289. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome xxxi. p. 181, 453. Some of these people seem to find fault with Sir George Rooke on account of his doing little while he was at sea with so great a fleet. But the merit of this admiral was, that he always knew, and did what was to be done. This was a fleet of amusement, the war was not declared, and therefore, the longer Sir George could keep the French and their allies in suspense, the greater service he did; though, without this key, hasty people might mistake the thing, and believe he did no service at all.

missioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the right honourable Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations<sup>1</sup>. The design of this promotion was to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board: and this end it answered perfectly; for his lordship immediately sent away captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz to bring home the sea stores, and the merchants effects, before the war broke out, as also two hulks that had been left in that harbour, from the time of the last war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ships which remained in that port. This the captain with his small squadron, consisting but of three frigates, effectually performed<sup>k</sup>.

His lordship also took the like care of our trade in all other parts, and by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very easy of access, gave much more satisfaction to the merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of admiralty, since they were first introduced, had ever done. Indeed his lordship's merit and success in this arduous employment was so conspicuous and so universally acknowledged, that it is not easy to understand upon what principles the management of the fleet was changed in the ensuing year, except that it might be thought necessary to raise prince George of Denmark to that dignity, that he might appear to have had a principal concern in advising and managing affairs; which, however, was in this respect but very little to his royal highness's advantage, as will be shewn in our account of transactions under the next reign<sup>l</sup>.

The war was now the great object of our councils as well as those of France, though hitherto it was not declared, and negotiations were still carried on in Holland, as if both parties had

<sup>1</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 831. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 470. London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3776

<sup>k</sup> Burchet's naval history, book v. ch. 7.

<sup>l</sup> This is a strong proof of king William's justice and good sense. Many of the enemies of that prince have remarked, that he introduced here the Dutch custom of boards, by putting all great offices into commission; but hitherto no body has remarked, that, when he resolved to enter into a second general war, he very prudently and honestly altered this method in the navy, by appointing a lord high-admiral; which shews, that he was more intent on the nation's being well served at sea, than on his ministers being well supported in the house of commons.

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inclined to an amicable determination of these differences, which was, however, the intention of neither. The expectation of a rupture made our sea officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon shewing their mettle sometimes a little too much. For instance, the marquis of Caermarthen's yacht fired upon a French ship in the harbour of Rotterdam to oblige her to strike, which she did immediately. The commander of the yacht, not satisfied with this, sent for the master of the French vessel on board, and obliged him to pay twelve livres for the shot. This was complained of by count d'Avaux, the French minister, in very high terms; and it is very probable, that the States would have expressed their dislike of it at another season, but things were then in such situation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on these accidents, whatever might have been thought of them at another time. The States indeed were obliged to unite themselves closer than ever to Great Britain, since their safety, as well as ours, depended on the force of this alliance, as that did on our union<sup>m</sup>.

In the midst of these preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two East India Companies, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and lord Halifax for the new. By this instrument it was agreed, that the old company's stock in the funds should be transferred to the new, and that the old company should purchase of the new as much of their stock as, with that which was transferred by the old, should make up a moiety of the whole capital of the united companies. The old company were likewise to give an equivalent for the new company's dead stock. During seven years each

<sup>m</sup> This steadiness of the States was chiefly owing to their confidence in king William, which, without question, induced them to enter into this long and dangerous war, though they were so much exhausted by the former. His majesty no doubt pressed them to it, because he thought it their interest, as it really was, and ours too. Yet such has been the violence of parties, that the Tories here have charged king William with making us principals in this war to serve the Dutch, while the patriots in Holland have loaded his memory with the imputation of sacrificing the interest of the republic to those of his three kingdoms. It is hard to say which is most wonderful, the wisdom and integrity of the king, or the ingratitude of the people in both countries.

company was to have an equal power in the administration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve persons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company respectively, who were to be styled **MANAGERS OF THE UNITED TRADE TO INDIA**; and, after these seven years were expired, the old company were to surrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its style, and to be called **THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES**: and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has subsisted with so great credit to themselves, and benefit to the nation, ever since<sup>n</sup>.

One of the last acts of king William's administration, was a solemn message to the lower house of parliament, in relation to an union between England and Scotland, in which he said, "He should esteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place, and therefore he was extremely desirous a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, which he therefore recommended in the most earnest manner to the house of commons." In compliance with this message the house did appoint a day to consider of the proposition contained therein; but the death of the king prevented their coming to any resolution.

Before this happened, however, they resolved that forty thousand men should be granted for the service of the fleet in the ensuing year, and shewed such an inclination to enter heartily into all the measures necessary to render the grand alliance effectual towards the ends for which it was made, that the French, who little expected that such a spirit would be shewn in this parliament, were much surprized, as easily foreseeing that the new war would distress them much more than the old had ever done, because it was like to be better managed<sup>o</sup>.

His extraordinary attention to business is thought to have hastened the king's decease, which happened on the 8th of March,

<sup>n</sup> Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 296.

<sup>o</sup> I do not take this upon the credit of Larrey and other historians of his rank, but from the best French memoirs that I have met with, in which it is confessed, that their court was deceived by the strong assurances given them: by the late king's party, who, to do them justice, were in all probability deceived themselves.



1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great steadiness of mind, and shewed himself in his last moments as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. I ought now to say somewhat of this prince's character, and to sum up all with a general view of the capital events in his reign; but as I have already treated very copiously of such as have any affinity with the principal design of this work, and as the fame of king William III. stands in no need of my feeble assistance, I shall content myself with saying, that never any prince better understood the general interest of Europe, or pursued it with greater firmness, and that whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign, to the prejudice of our affairs, were not so much owing to any mistakes in his conduct, as to the circumstances of the times, our own unfortunate divisions, and the fatal consequences of both.

The only thing now left to be performed, before we proceed to another chapter, is the collecting, as far as the slender memoirs that have come to our hands will allow, some account of the most eminent seamen who died in this reign; and in treating of these the reader is desired to remember, that no party is espoused; that every man is considered as a person of worth and honour so far as he pursued his principles, and was just to the prince he served, and faithful to the interest of his country. By the help of this necessary and well founded distinction we shall be able to do strict justice to all those brave men who exposed their lives in their country's service at sea, of what party soever they were, or were reputed; which, however, hath been seldom done in a work of this kind, where, generally speaking, the heroes are all on one side, and there are none but indifferent people on the other: whereas in truth there is no foundation for such characters, honest and brave men being found alike on both sides, though they have sometimes had the misfortune to be hated and defamed by such as have less regard to merit than opi-

P The reader, if he is inclined to pursue this subject farther, may consult Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, the life of king William, &c. where he will often find that flattery is as dangerous to the reputation of a prince as prejudice itself. Some writers, out of pure zeal, would make king William more than man; and others, blinded by malice, refuse to see, what his actions made visible to all the world, that he was one of the greatest men, and one of the wisest princes, in every respect, of the age in which he lived.

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nion, and who thought it excusable to raise a clamour against a great man in an opposite interest, though they were sensible this clamour sprung from prejudice, and not any love to justice. These reflections I thought necessary, to prevent the reader's being surprized by what he meets with in the following pages, wherein I have as much disregarded the common cry, as I have been careful, by an accurate comparison of facts, to come as near, in every instance as I could, to the naked truth, which, when discovered, I have not either exaggerated or concealed.

### MEMOIRS of GEORGE LEGGE, Baron of Dartmouth, &c.

**I**F remarkable loyalty, and a steady adherence to the interest of the prince who raised him, joined with all the abilities requisite to fill the many high employments he possessed, ought to render the memory of a man valuable to posterity, then the memoirs of lord Dartmouth deserve our utmost attention; for he was, even in the opinion of such as were not his friends, one of the ablest and best men of the age in which he lived, or, to express it in the words of a writer who ought always to meet with credit when he speaks well of the dead, "the worthiest noble-man of the court of king James II." to whose fortunes he adhered, though he had always opposed with firmness the counsels which were the causes of his distress.

The family of Legge came over hither from Italy, where to this day the eldest branch are nobles of Venice. Here in England there are two flourishing families of this name; one in Herefordshire, the other settled at Legge's Place near Tunbridge in Kent, from whom the present earls of Dartmouth are lineal

<sup>9</sup> The author mentioned in the text is Bishop Burnet, whose character of this noble lord is to be found towards the end of his first volume. What he says of him is so just and generous, that it deserves the reader's notice. That prelate, speaking of the uneasiness king James was under on the fitting out of the Dutch fleet in 1688, and of the preparations he made for the defending himself, proceeds thus: "He recalled Strickland, and gave the command to the lord Dartmouth, who was indeed one of the worthiest men of his court. He loved him, and had been long in his service and in his confidence, but was much against all the conduct of his affairs; yet he resolved to stick to him at all hazards."

<sup>10</sup> Hist. de Venise, par le Sieur Anclor, de la Houffai, tome ii.

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descendants, as coming in a direct line from Thomas Legge of that place, who was sheriff of London in 1344, twice lord-mayor, and twice representative for the city in parliament<sup>a</sup>.

In the reign of Henry VII. the family settled in Ireland, where Edward Legge, Esq; was vice-president of Munster, and died in the year 1616, leaving behind him a very numerous posterity, viz. six sons and seven daughters, all of them distinguished by their great merit, and several of the daughters especially, by living to a very extraordinary age; Elifabeth, the eldest, to 105, Margaret, who married Mr. Fitzgerald, to upwards of 100, and Anne, the wife of William Anthony, Esq; who died in 1702, aged 102<sup>b</sup>. But let us now return to the person whose actions we are to record.

He was the eldest son of the famous colonel William Legge, groom of the bed-chamber to king Charles I. and a most constant follower of all his fortunes. Soon after the restoration, his father thought proper to send him to sea under the care of that great and gallant admiral, Sir Edward Spragge, in the first Dutch war in 1665, when Mr. Legge was barely seventeen<sup>c</sup>. He distinguished himself in all the actions of that and the succeeding year by such remarkable testimonies of conduct as well as courage, that in those days, when naval preferments were earned before they were enjoyed, he was without envy raised to the command of the Pembroke in 1667, when he was yet short of twenty, a preferment which did him as much honour as any he afterwards obtained<sup>d</sup>.

After the peace, he applied himself assiduously to the study of the mathematics, especially to such branches of that extensive science as have relation to the military art; and, having attained to great skill as an engineer, he was employed by his majesty in

<sup>a</sup> See Fabian's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 219, 224, 230. edit. 1559. He served the office of lord-mayor in 1347, and again in 1354. Stowe's survey of London, p. 526. edit. 1603, 4to. As to his being in parliament for the city, I have that in a MS. list of members for London, in which it appears he was chosen in 1349 and 1352.

<sup>b</sup> These particulars are chiefly collected from the memoirs of the family, though they are likewise confirmed by several monumental inscriptions.

<sup>c</sup> The reason of his going to sea under Sir Edward Spragge was, because of his near relation to the Legge family, his mother being second sister to colonel William Legge, this gentleman's father.

<sup>d</sup> This and several other particulars are taken from the family-memoirs.

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that character, and in 1669 succeeded his father in the command of an independent company of foot. In 1671 he was made captain of the Fairfax, and, in 1672, of the Royal Catharine, in which he served with the highest reputation; having beat the Dutch out who boarded her while she was sinking, and, after he had stopped her leaks, brought her safe into harbour; in which desperate service he received several wounds. In acknowledgment of this and other marks of military virtue shewn in that memorable year, he was, towards the end of it, made lieutenant-governor of Portsmouth, under his royal highness James duke of York; in 1673 he was made governor of that place, and at the same time master of the horse, and gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke<sup>x</sup>.

In 1677 he was added as an assistant in the board of ordnance; with a salary of 300 l. *per annum*, and the same year was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and had also a regiment of foot bestowed upon him. These extraordinary marks of royal favour were soon followed by still greater testimonies of esteem and confidence; for in 1681 he was sworn of the privy-council to king Charles II. and in 1682 had a special commission to review all the forts and garrisons throughout the kingdom of England, and was also constituted and appointed commander in chief. On the second of December, in the same year, he was, by letters-patent, raised to the dignity of a peer of this realm by the title of baron of Dartmouth in the county of Devon; with remainder, in case of failure of his issue-male, to his brother William Legge, Esq; and his issue; and, in the preamble of the patent, his own and his father's services are very justly and gratefully acknowledged<sup>y</sup>.

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<sup>x</sup> See the memoirs of the Dutch war, p. 119.

<sup>y</sup> The preamble of this patent recites, " That his majesty remembering the great merits of William Legge, one of the grooms of the royal bed-chamber to his late father king Charles I. especially in that unparalleled rebellion raised against him, in which being a person of singular skill and experience in military affairs, as also a valiant and expert commander, he faithfully served him in most of the battles and sieges of those unhappy times; also performed several eminent services to the said king since his most happy restoration: and farther considering that George Legge, eldest son of the said William, following his father's steps in divers military employments, especially in sundry sharp and dangerous naval fights, wherein he did freely hazard his life; for

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In 1683, the king finding it impossible to support the garrison of Tangier out of his own revenue, and having little hopes of obtaining any supply for that purpose from a parliament (his last having shewn a remarkable dislike to the keeping up of forces there), resolved; notwithstanding the immense sums it had cost him in fortifying the place, and in building a mole, which rendered the port both convenient and safe, to destroy the whole; and to bring back the troops he had there into England. The management of this affair required great secrecy, and much conduct in the commander in chief; and this probably determined the king to make use of lord Dartmouth; who was appointed governor of Tangier, and general of his majesty's forces in Africa, as well as admiral of the fleet; in order to enable him to execute his instructions, which he did very exactly and effectually; so that, on his return home, the king was pleased to make him a grant of 10,000*l.* as a reward for that service; besides other acknowledgments<sup>2</sup>.

Upon the accession of king James II. his lordship met with all the testimonies of royal favour and friendship which his many services, and unspotted fidelity to that prince, deserved; for he not only continued him in all the offices he then possessed, but raised him also to posts of still greater consequence; so that he was at once master of the horse to the king, general of the ordnance, constable of the Tower of London, captain of an independent company of foot, and one of the privy-council.

These employments he executed with so great diligence and reputation, that he stood as high in the favour of the people as he did in that of his prince, and was always considered as the greatest encourager of merit, and the most upright man in the administration of public affairs, that the age produced. He preserved the affection and confidence of his master to the last, and yet he was so far from giving in to the king's fatal inclinations

“ which respect being made general of the ordnance and artillery, and one of his most honourable privy council, his majesty thought fit to dignify him with some farther honour,” &c.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly a grant of a fair to be held twice a-year, and a market twice a-week, upon Blackheath in the parish of Lewisham in the county of Kent. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the greatest difficulty in executing his commission in Tangier was to blow up all the works there, without exposing the garrison to the Moors; which service he performed with equal caution and success.

to Popery and arbitrary government, that he opposed all counsels, looking either way, with much firmness and freedom, though he took care to restrain all his remonstrances within the just bounds of decency and duty<sup>a</sup>.

In 1687 king James making a short progress, and lord Dartmouth attending him therein at Coventry, the city presented his majesty with a large gold cup and cover, which he immediately gave to his lordship, and that too with a compliment as generous and as acceptable as the present. "I would have your lordship," said he, "receive this cup and cover as a mark of the city of Coventry's concern for the sufferings of your father in it." For, in the time of the civil wars, old colonel William Legge had remained long a prisoner in Coventry-gaol, after being taken at the battle of Worcester<sup>b</sup>.

When it was absolutely certain that the prince of Orange intended to invade England, king James saw the necessity of employing some more considerable person than Sir Roger Strickland, who had hitherto commanded the fleet, and whose being a Papist, though it recommended him to that trust, rendered him very disagreeable to the seamen: In this situation of things his majesty certainly made a very proper choice of lord Dartmouth for the important office of admiral, since no man had greater abilities, scarce any so great an affection for his majesty's person, or so hearty a zeal for his interest.

<sup>a</sup> Present state of England for the year 1687, by Dr. Edward Chamberlayne, p. 167.

<sup>b</sup> This story of his father's sufferings at Coventry certainly deserves the reader's notice; and therefore, not to be wanting either to his entertainment, or to the illustration of the history, I subjoin it here. The great share colonel William Legge had in the favour of king Charles I. made him so obnoxious to the rump, that they intended to have executed him, as they did the earl of Derby, for being in arms against them, and with that view they confined him in Coventry-gaol. His lady, knowing their cruelty, and having tried all her interest with the people in power in vain, at last contrived a very artful method for making his escape, which was as successfully executed. With this view she hired an old woman to lend him her clothes, which he put on; and, having a close-stool pan well-filled between his hands, the smell kept the keepers at such a distance, that he walked fairly off, without their making any inquiries. After the murder of K. Charles I. he was much about the person of the duke of York, which inspired his majesty with a great tenderness for him and all his family.



His lordship was much beloved by the seamen, and so universally esteemed by the officers of the navy, that he very soon put his fleet in a posture fit for service; and though, as I have shewn elsewhere, it has been strongly reported, that his lordship declined fighting the Dutch fleet, yet it is certain that it was never in his power, and that, if it had, both he and his officers would have performed what they took to be their duty. But, after being severely ruffled by the storm, the fleet was forced into Portsmouth, where his lordship quitted the command to Sir John Berry, and returned to London<sup>c</sup>.

After the revolution lord Dartmouth lived quietly, and submitted to the new government, yet was always suspected to retain his old sentiments for the person who had been so long, and withal so kind a master. For this reason, and on account of some suggestions that he carried on a secret correspondence with the exiled king, he was committed prisoner to the Tower of London. While he continued there, some rumours flew abroad of his being ill treated, which had such an effect on the sailors, who loved him as their father, that they assembled in great bodies on Tower-hill, where they expressed their resentment in such language, that it was at length found expedient to desire lord Dartmouth to confer with them; and, on his assuring them that the report they had heard was void of any foundation, they gave a chearful huzza, and dispersed immediately.

It is thought, however, that his confinement, and the want of his usual exercise, might contribute to the shortening his days; for on the twenty-first of October, 1691, he was seized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life in the forty-fourth year of his age<sup>d</sup>.

His relations applied themselves, on his decease, to the constable of the Tower, then lord Lucas, for leave to remove his body in order to its interment; which his lordship scrupled, with-

<sup>c</sup> In the second volume we have already given so full an account of this affair, that it would be tedious to add any thing more here, except that lord Dartmouth laid down his command as soon as he came on shore, and, when he could not act for his majesty, would not, as another favourite did, act against him.

<sup>d</sup> King James received the news of his death with great concern, and said, with a deep sigh, "Then faithful Will. Legge's honest son George is dead! I have few such servants now!"

out receiving exprefs directions from the king. But, upon application made to his majesty, he not only ordered, that the body should be immediately delivered to his lordship's relations, but, upon his being informed that they intended to bury it near the remains of his father in the Little Minories church, in a vault belonging to his family, his majesty gave further orders, that all such marks of respect should be paid at his funeral, as would have been due to him, if he had died possessed of all his employments. Which is a circumstance equally honourable to the memory of king William and lord Dartmouth, since it shews impartiality and greatness of soul in the former, and the true merit of the latter, which produced such a testimony of respect from so penetrating a judge <sup>e</sup>.

A monument of white marble, adorned with a proper inscription, was erected to the memory of his lordship, by his consort Barbara, baroness of Dartmouth, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Archbold, of Staffordshire, who died in 1718, and lies buried there by him <sup>f</sup>.

His lordship had by her an only son William, afterwards earl of Dartmouth, so created by her majesty queen Anne, in the tenth year of her reign. His lordship had also the honour of being secretary of state and lord privy-seal in the same reign, and discharged both those high offices with that integrity hereditary in his lordship's family, and deceasing Dec. 15, 1750, at his house on Blackheath in Kent, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, was succeeded in his honour and estates by his grandson William, now earl of Dartmouth.

### MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN BERRY, Knight, Rear-admiral of England.

**T**HERE cannot be a stronger testimony of real ability, than a man's surmounting, by his spirit and diligence, a long series of crosses and misfortunes, and thereby forcing himself, as it were, into an easier situation, and by degrees into a con-

<sup>e</sup> This is taken from the memoirs of the family.

<sup>f</sup> The inscription is very long, otherwise we should have inserted it, and his lordship's memory too fresh, to make this pass for an indifferent excuse.

dition

dition worthy of his merit. Fortitude in suffering is a virtue no less honourable than courage in atchieving, and the distresses of heroes, like the shades in a fine picture, afford a graceful relief to the brighter parts of the piece, and thereby considerably heighten its beauties. This observation cannot more fully be illustrated, than it will be by the account we are to give of the life and actions of Sir John Berry, who (without any assistance other than resulted from the contemplation of his courage and conduct) arrived at the dignity of rear-admiral of England, and shared the confidence of three succeeding kings.

The family of the Berries in Devonshire were seated at Berry-Nerber near Ilfarcomb, where they had flourished for some hundreds of years<sup>s</sup>. But the father of our gallant sea-officer was never in any extraordinary circumstances. He owed his reputation, which still subsists in his neighbourhood, not to the goods of fortune, but to his learning and abilities, and above all to his courage and loyalty. He was a clergyman, and vicar of Knoweston and Molland in that county, where he discharged his duty with equal fidelity to the church and to the state. For this the saints of those times not only turned him out of his livings, but plundered his house, and took even his bed from under him; all which they sold by public auction; except his books, which being a large and valuable collection, they, to shew their moderation and generosity, bestowed them upon an Independent preacher. Soon after this the truly reverend Mr. Daniel Berry (a victim to his honest principles) died of grief and want in the forty-fifth year of his age, and left behind him a widow, Elifabeth, daughter of John Moore of Moorhays, Esq; and nine small children, of which seven were sons and two daughters<sup>b</sup>.

The eldest, Robert, betook himself to the sea, where he succeeded very well. The second, John, of whom we are to speak, and who was born in his father's vicarage-house at Knoweston in the year 1635, being at the good old man's death about se-

<sup>s</sup> Pole's survey of Devonshire, MS. This village lies in Branton-hundred, in the middle between Combe-Merton and Ilfarcomb, at a small distance from the sea, and about twenty-seven miles from Exeter.

<sup>b</sup> Most of these particulars are taken from a monument erected in the year 1684, by Sir John Berry, to the memory of his father. His two churches of Knoweston and Molland were not above two miles asunder, lying both in Moulton-hundred, at the distance of about eighteen miles from Exeter.

venteen, went to Plymouth, where he bound himself apprentice to Mr. Robert Mering, a merchant in that town, and part-owner in several ships. He went to sea in his service, and was extremely unfortunate in setting out, being twice taken by the Spaniards, and suffering a long imprisonment, which, however, did him no great hurt in the main. On his return to England he found his master in very bad circumstances; which was no prejudice to him; for, in a short time after, Mr. Mering told him, that, having now no farther occasion for his service, he would, in reward of his past diligence, give him the remainder of his time, which he did freely.<sup>l</sup>

Mr. Berry, thus at large and at liberty to act for himself, immediately came up to London, where, by the help of some friends, he was preferred to be boatswain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy, called the Swallow, which, under the command of captain Insam, was ordered to the West Indies in company with two of his majesty's frigates, both of which were lost in the gulf of Florida; but the Swallow, by cutting down her masts, and heaving her guns overboard, as also her provisions, got clear, and in the space of sixteen weeks, during which they had nothing to eat but the fish they caught, or to drink but rain-water, they arrived at Campeachy. There they furnished themselves with provisions, and then sailed for Jamaica, where they arrived in three weeks<sup>k</sup>.

Sir Thomas Muddiford, who was a native of Devonshire as well as Mr. Berry, was then governor of that island, and he ordered the Swallow to be refitted, put eight guns on board her; and having intelligence that a pirate, who had taken one Mr. Peach bound from Southampton to Jamaica, and marooned him and all his crew, was still in those seas, he ordered the Swallow, now well victualled and manned, to put to sea in quest of her, and gave his countryman Berry the title of lieutenant.

In three weeks after they sailed from Jamaica, they found the pirate at anchor in a bay off the island of Hispaniola. He had

<sup>l</sup> The particulars mentioned in this life were most of them collected by Mr. Daniel Berry, brother to the admiral; but, as he wrote at a considerable distance of time, he often omits dates, and sometimes mistakes them.

<sup>k</sup> It is not easy to fix the time of Mr. Berry's first voyage to the West Indies; but probably it was in the year 1661.

about sixty men and twenty guns, whereas the Swallow had but forty men and eight small guns. Captain Insam, having considered the enemy's strength and compared it with his own, called up all his men, and addressed them in these words: "Gentlemen, the blades we are to attack are men at arms, old buccaners, and superior to us in number and in the force of their ship, and therefore I would have your opinion, whether"—"Sir," interrupted lieutenant Berry, "we are men at arms too, and, which is more, honest men, and fight under the king's commission; and, if you have no stomach for fighting, be pleased to walk down into your cabin." The crew applauded this motion, and declared one and all for captain Berry, who undertook this affair with great disadvantage.

The pirate rode at anchor to the windward, by which the Swallow was obliged to make two trips under her lee, in which she received two broadsides, and two volleys of small shot, without returning a gun. Mr. Berry then boarded her on the bow, pouring in his broadside, which killed the pirate twenty-two men on the spot: they then fought their way to the main-mast, where they called to the doctor and his mate to get overboard, and hang by the rudder, which they did; and soon after the pirate was taken, having only seven men left, and those all wounded, though they lived long enough to be hanged afterwards in Jamaica; and, which is still more remarkable, there was no body killed on board the Swallow but the boatswain's mate.

On their return to Jamaica captain Insam confined his lieutenant, and brought him to a court-martial, where, on the evidence of the men, the court declared he had done his duty, and ordered the captain to live peaceably with him in their voyage to England, which he did; and Mr. Berry, notwithstanding what was past, behaved towards him with all imaginable modesty and submission.

In a short time after he came home the Dutch war broke out, and Mr. Berry had a sloop given him, called the Maria, of fourteen guns, with the king's commission. He held this small com-

<sup>1</sup> These particulars are preserved in the MS. accounts of his brother's achievements, written by Mr. Berry; and I find the principal facts confirmed in an account of the most remarkable passages under lord Windfor, Sir Thomas Muddiford, and Sir Thomas Lynch, successively governors of Jamaica.

mand for about four months, in which space he took thirty-two prizes, and, for his extraordinary diligence, had the command given him of the *Coronation*, a hired ship of war of fifty-six guns.

In this ship he was soon after sent to the West Indies, where our colonies were in no small danger, as having both the French and Dutch upon their hands. On his arrival at Barbadoes the governor bought some large merchant-ships, converted them into men of war, and having made up nine sail, including the *Coronation*, manned and put them under the command of commodore Berry. With this little fleet he sailed for Nevis, in order to protect it from the French, who had already made themselves masters of St. Christopher's, Antigua, and Mountserat. He was scarce arrived before he had intelligence, that the French were preparing at St. Christopher's a very great force, which was intended for the conquest of Nevis. They had twenty-two men of war and frigates, six large transport-ships of their own, and four Dutch. With these they sailed towards Nevis as to a certain victory.

Commodore Berry sailed with his nine ships to meet them; and, as he turned the point of the island, one of his best ships blew up, which struck his men with astonishment. "Now you have seen an English ship blow up," said the commodore, "let us try if we can't blow up Frenchmen. There they are, boys! and, if we don't beat them, they will beat us." Having said this, he immediately began the fight with the French admiral, and, after a brisk engagement of upwards of thirteen hours, he forced this mighty fleet to fly for shelter under the cannon of St. Christopher's, whither he pursued them, sent in a fire-ship, and burnt the French admiral: seeing her in flames, he said to his seamen, "I told you in the morning, that we should burn a Frenchman before night; to-morrow we will try what we can do with the rest." But, while he was refitting his ships, the enemy wisely stole away, the French to Martinico, and the Dutch to Virginia<sup>m</sup>. Sir John Harman being sent with a squadron

<sup>m</sup> We are in some measure enabled to fix the date of this enterprize by the following remarkable passage, preserved in the philosophical transactions of the royal society: "On the nineteenth of August, 1667, there was a terrible hurricane in this island, at which time Sir John Berry, captain of the *Coronation* man of war, was in the harbour with that and several other ships, of which



iron to relieve him, commodore Berry returned to England, and served with great honour in the channel and in the Mediterranean.

In the second Dutch war (as it was called, though properly speaking it was the third) he had the command of the *Resolution*, a seventy-gun ship, in which he was present at the famous action in Southwold-bay, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1672: In this battle, the captain observing that his royal highness the duke of York, then lord high-admiral of England, was very hard pressed, he left his station, and came in to his relief, where the service proved so hot, that in less than two hours he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty men killed, as many more wounded, and his ship scarce able to float: upon this he was towed out of the line, stopped his leaks, and fell in to his place again in an hour, and there did such service, that when his majesty came to meet the fleet, and dined on board the *Royal Sovereign* at the Buoy in the Nore, he, of his own motive, called for captain Berry, and, having knighted him, said very graciously, "As our thoughts have been now upon honour, we will hereafter think of profit; for I would not have so brave a man a poor knight."

In the year 1682 it was thought expedient to send the duke of York down to Scotland, and for this purpose the *Gloucester* frigate, under the command of Sir John Berry, was ordered to be ready: and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the duke of York embarked on board that ship. In their passage Sir John observed on the third of May, when in the mouth of the Humber, as he apprehended, an error in the pilot's conduct, though he was looked upon as a man of great abilities in his em-

"one was commanded by captain Langford, who, having learned some of the prognosies of a turnado from a Charibbean, perceiving them, he told Sir John and the other commanders of it, who, depending on his intelligence, made their ships ready for the sea, and in the morning, about four of the clock, the wind coming very hard northerly, they put to sea, and came all back, in four or five days time, safe to the road again. Captain Langford was ashore, and being confident of the hurricane's coming, took such care before-hand to secure his sugars and goods in the store-house, that, when the hurricane had carried away the roof of the house, all, except one hoghead of sugar, remained safe." Lowthorp's abridgment, vol. ii. p. 106.

a Catalogue of knights made by king Charles II.

ployment. Of this he informed the duke, and desired they might ly to, at least for that night, which the pilot opposed; and, being a great favourite of the duke, his advice prevailed. But his royal highness was soon convinced of the superiority of Sir John Berry's judgment, since, in three quarters of an hour afterwards, the ship was lost, and about three hundred people in her, amongst whom were some persons of the first rank; and the duke himself narrowly escaped in the long-boat, Sir John Berry standing with his sword drawn in the stern of the boat to hinder people from crowding in, which undoubtedly saved the duke, since a very few more would have overfet the long-boat<sup>o</sup>.

For the loss of this ship Sir John, according to the rules of the navy, was tried by a court-martial; but, it appearing clearly to have happened through another man's fault, he was not only acquitted, but continued still in as great favour as ever both with the king and duke, who frequently consulted him as to the management of the navy.

When a resolution was taken in 1683 to blow up Tangier, and a considerable fleet was sent thither under the command of lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry was made choice of to be his vice-admiral, and had the sole command of the fleet while his lordship was on shore directing the blowing up of the works. In this critical expedition Sir John gave such remarkable testimonies of his courage and conduct, and took such care in bring-

<sup>o</sup> This accident happened by their striking upon the sand called the Lemon and Ore, sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber: Two things were very remarkable, that the duke took extraordinary care of colonel John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and called him first into the boat. The other was, that the mariners aboard the sinking vessel gave a loud huzza, when they saw the duke in safety. Bishop Burnet's account of this matter is too remarkable to be forgot. "The duke," says he, "got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons, who were taken, from that earnest care of his, to be his priests. The long-boat went off with very few in her, though she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. One hundred and fifty persons perished, some of them men of great quality." The Gloucester frigate was a ship of forty guns, there were upwards of fifty persons saved with the duke, and that eighty more should be able to go into her long-boat, is a fact that will gain but little credit at Wapping. Besides, the keeping the people out was Sir John Berry's act, and, if there had been any such circumstances of cruelty, one can scarce believe the sailors would have testified so much joy at his royal highness's escape.

ing off all the English and their effects, that, upon his return home, he was made a commissioner of the navy, in which post he continued to the day of his death<sup>p</sup>.

Under the reign of king James II. he was in as high favour as he could desire, the king constantly consulting him in matters relating to the management of the fleet; and he was one of the commissioners called in on that great reform of the navy, mentioned in the close of the 17th chapter, and had the chief hand in bringing things into that exquisite order in which they were found when the king withdrew to France<sup>q</sup>. He was not, however, considered solely as a commissioner, and as a man no longer fit for active employment; for when it was known that the Dutch meditated an invasion, and a fleet was fitted out to defend our coasts, Sir John Berry was appointed vice-admiral, and hoisted his flag on board the *Elisabeth*, a third rate, the admiral, lord Dartmouth, being in the *Resolution*, and the rear-admiral, lord Berkley of Stratton, first in the *Montague*, and then in the *Edgar*. After the landing of the prince of Orange, when lord Dartmouth thought fit to leave the fleet, the sole command of it devolved on Sir John Berry, who held it until it was laid up<sup>r</sup>.

The change of the government wrought none in the condition of our admiral. An experienced officer, and a man of honour, will be a welcome servant to every prince. King William was one who valued abilities, and understood them, and therefore he often sent for Sir John Berry to confer with him on naval affairs; and once particularly the king engaged with him in so close and earnest a conversation, that it took up the whole night, and Sir John was not dismissed the royal closet, until it was pretty far advanced in the morning. Yet this favour brought him no accession either of post or profit; he kept what he had, and probably thought that sufficient, being commissioner of the navy, governor of Deal-castle, and captain of an independent company<sup>s</sup>.

We now hasten to the last scene of his life, over which such a curtain has been drawn, as leaves it not in our power to let in

<sup>p</sup> Memoirs of the lord Dartmouth, cited in the former life.      <sup>q</sup> Memoirs relating to the state of the royal navy of England, by Samuel Pepys, Esq; p. 52.  
<sup>r</sup> Burchet's naval history, book iv. ch. 1.      <sup>s</sup> From the memoirs before mentioned.

the light. He was ordered, in the beginning of the month of February, 1691, to Portsmouth, to pay off some ships there; and, while he was employed in the discharge of this office on board one of them, he was suddenly taken ill, and thereupon carried on shore to Portsmouth, where, in three or four days, it was given out that he died of a fever; but, upon opening his body, it appeared clearly to the physicians and surgeons who were present, that he did not die a natural death, but that he had been dispatched out of the world by poison, though by whom, or for what reason, never appeared, or at least it was never made public<sup>t</sup>.

In his private life his wisdom, beneficence, integrity, and unfeigned attachment to the church of England, were as conspicuous as his courage and other military virtues in his public character: so that he died equally lamented, by all who knew him, either as a private gentleman or as an English admiral. His corpse, according to his own direction, was carried from Portsmouth to London, and decently interred in the chancel of Stepney-church, where a noble monument is erected to his memory, all of white marble, adorned with his bust in alabaster. Over his head are the arms of his family, *viz.* in a field, gules, three bars, or; and, on a white marble table underneath, the following inscription:

“ Ne id nescias, lector, D. Johannes Berry, Devonienfis,  
 “ dignitate equestri clarus, mari tantum non imperator, de rege  
 “ et patriâ (quod et barbari norunt) bene meritus, magnam ob  
 “ res fortiter gestas adeptus gloriâ famæ fatur, post multas re-  
 “ portatas victorias, cum ab aliis vinci non potuit, fatis cessit  
 “ 14mo Feb. 1691; baptizatus 7mo Jan. 1635.”

The lady of Sir John Berry survived him many years, but he left no issue by her, nor, so far as I have been able to learn, ever had any<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> This gentleman might be said to die in the flower of his age, if we consider him as an admiral, since he was little more than fifty-six, when thus carried off.

<sup>u</sup> This particular is likewise taken from his brother's memoirs.

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 vol. ii.

MEMOIRS of ARTHUR HERBERT, Baron  
Herbert of Torbay, Earl of Torrington, and Admiral  
and Commander in chief of the Fleet of England.

**I**T is the duty of historians to report things fairly, and to speak of men impartially, without exaggerating their virtues, or extenuating their vices, by exhibiting their characters to posterity in that light, in which, after the best inquiry they are able to make, they appear to themselves; for, as water never rises higher than its source, so it is impossible that an author should do more for his reader than his talents and his informations will permit. The latter were so inconsiderable when this work was first written, that it was thought more expedient not to attempt a life of this noble person, than to repeat a few facts and dates, so indifferently connected, as that it could not be presumed they would give even the most indulgent peruser any satisfaction.

After much pains and search some better materials have been found; and as almost every remarkable transaction of this great man's life fell within the compass of king William's reign, or at least not much later, and is more or less allied to those transactions of which we have been speaking, it seemed more natural to place what we have to say of him here, than at the time of his death, when they could not fail of making an apparent breach in the order of our history.

He was the son of Sir Edward Herbert of London, knight, of the noble family of Herbert of Chirbury, a branch of that of Pembroke, which suffering severely for the loyalty of Sir Edward, obliged his sons to think of making their fortunes by their industry and merit <sup>w</sup>. Arthur the eldest, though he had a small estate of his own, made the sea his choice, as his younger brother Edward did the law; and both attained the highest stations, the latter becoming chief-justice of the king's bench<sup>x</sup>, as well as the former admiral of the fleet of England.

Our young seaman, immediately after the restoration, was much taken notice of by his royal highness James duke of York, by whose favour he was very early promoted to the command of

<sup>w</sup> Peerage of England, vol. iii. p. 217.

<sup>x</sup> Wood's Athen. Oxon.

vol. ii. p. 222.

one of his majesty's ships of war; and, in the first Dutch war in the reign of Charles II. he commanded the *Pembroke* in the Straits'. He distinguished himself there, according to the manner of those times, in a very high degree, as appears from the following extract of a letter from Cadiz, dated in March 1667, which I chuse to produce in the same plain and artless language in which it was wrote, rather than hazard any variation in the facts, by attempting to give it a better dress.

“ Captain Herbert in the *Pembroke* is now in this port, being  
 “ newly returned from a fresh dispute with a *Zealand* man of  
 “ war, of thirty-four guns, and one hundred and eighty men,  
 “ with whom he fought some days before, in sight of that bay,  
 “ from two in the afternoon, till the night put an end to that  
 “ day's work. All that night the *Pembroke* frigate carrying  
 “ out a light for the *Zealander*, and the next morning, being  
 “ to the windward, fired a gun, and bore up to re-engage her;  
 “ but the *Zealander*, being the nimble sailer, bore away once  
 “ or twice before the wind, declining any farther dispute, which  
 “ the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put to leeward of the  
 “ port by a fruitless pursuit, the wind then blowing a strong le-  
 “ vant, came again for the bay, which the *Zealander* wanted  
 “ not the confidence to boast of as a mark of his victory. Since  
 “ this, the frigate being put ashore to wash and tallow, the  
 “ *Zealander* made several challenges, but went out again to sea,  
 “ before the frigate could get ready. Yesterday morning the  
 “ *Zealander* coming in, the frigate, being ready, went out to  
 “ meet him, and passed five times upon him within pistol-shot,  
 “ until the *Zealander*, finding the service too hot, bore in for  
 “ the bay, pursued for a long time by the frigate, which, being  
 “ unable to overtake him, fired her chace gun, and stood out  
 “ again to sea, the *Zealander* answering her challenge with a  
 “ friendly salute of three guns to leeward, but yet thought it  
 “ convenient to put into the bay, where he triumphantly fired  
 “ all his guns, leaving the *Pembroke* at sea in vain attending  
 “ him till the next morning. The captain of the *Zealander* af-  
 “ terwards came ashore, endeavouring to persuade the people  
 “ that his main-mast was disabled, and that he wanted shot for

† An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 2.



his guns. In this dispute the frigate had seven men killed, and five hurt, but none mortally, and her fore-mast somewhat disabled, but will speedily be refitted and made serviceable."

He continued after this affair in the Straits for about six weeks, till he had advice that rear-admiral Kempthorne<sup>a</sup> was sailed with his squadron for the Straits mouth, where he took care to join him with a small fleet of sixteen or seventeen merchantmen under his convoy, in order to proceed with the rear-admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their passage till about the middle of the month of May, when, being off the island of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and sunk at once; but captain Herbert and most of his crew were happily saved, there being none lost in the vessel but a few sick men, who were not able to help themselves, and whom the suddenness of the accident, and the confusion every body was in, hindered from being assisted by others. After this narrow escape captain Herbert went on board another ship of the squadron, and arrived safely at Portsmouth<sup>a</sup>.

It was not long before he had another ship given him, and both in that, and in the second Dutch war, he behaved upon all occasions with great spirit and resolution, receiving several wounds, and losing the sight of one of his eyes in his country's service; all which considered, it must seem very strange, that, when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage should be disputed. In one of the last sea-fights in the second Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, in which Sir Fretchville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay, and, as captain Herbert succeeded in his command, he was very near succeeding also to the same disaster, being desperately wounded in the action, and his ship so disabled, that together with the Resolution, which was in as bad a condition, she was by prince Rupert sent home to refit<sup>b</sup>.

After that war was over, captain Herbert had leisure to attend the court, and to solicit the rewards that were due to his services, in which he met with all possible kindness from the

<sup>a</sup> See the memoirs of admiral Kempthorne, foreign and domestic, May 1667.

<sup>b</sup> Monthly intelligence. Account of the proceedings of his majesty's fleet under the command of his serene highness prince Rupert, palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Cumberland, p. 4.

duke of York, who, as he had been hitherto careful of his fortunes, thought himself obliged to assist him in his pretensions; so that in the year 1680 or 1681 he was made rear-admiral of the blue<sup>e</sup>, and from that time was considered as a person who had as much probability of rising as any in the service. It was not long before an occasion offered which justified this conjecture; for it being found necessary to send a supply of troops and military stores to Tangier, then in our hands, as also a squadron to curb the insolence of the Algerines, who, notwithstanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to disturb our commerce, it was resolved, that the command of this armament should be given to admiral Herbert<sup>d</sup>, who was accordingly instructed to contribute as much as possible to the raising the siege of Tangier, and, when that was done, to use his best endeavours to bring the Algerines to a submission, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms than were contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in such a manner as to justify their piracies.

In 1682 rear-admiral Herbert sailed into the Mediterranean with a strong squadron, and a considerable number of tenders and store-ships, which arrived very safe under his convoy at Tangier. He found that fortrefs not a little straitened by the Moors, by whom it was so closely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Mr. Herbert not only relieved the garrison by the seasonable supply that he brought of provisions and military stores, but resolved also to restore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raise the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many seamen out of the fleet as he could possibly spare, formed them into a battalion, and by attacking the Moors on one side, while the garrison made a brisk sally, and drove them from most of their posts, on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire farther within land<sup>e</sup>.

He executed the other part of his charge with respect to the Algerines, with equal spirit and success, destroyed some of their ships, and disposed things in such a manner to disturb and distress

<sup>e</sup> So I find it in an account of naval promotions extracted from secretary Pepy's papers. <sup>d</sup> Burchet's naval history, p. 404, 405. <sup>e</sup> Columna rostrata, p. 252.

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that state by sea, as obliged the dey to summon a divan; in which it was resolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the English admiral: the terms were very speedily settled, without any of those ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleased; and, the business of his expedition being happily over, he returned home safe, with the squadron under his command, towards the latter end of the same year<sup>f</sup>.

Some time after this, but whether in the reign of king Charles II. or king James, I am not able to say, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, and was as much esteemed by the seamen, and in as high credit at court; as any officer in the service. He was also appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England; in conjunction with Daniel, earl of Nottingham; Sir Humphry Winch, bart. Sir Thomas Meeres, knt. Sir Edward Hales, bart. Henry Saville, Esq; Sir John Chicheley, knt. and John lord Vaughan, on the seventeenth of April, 1684, his name appearing in the commission, after that of Sir John Chicheley<sup>g</sup>. The favours he had received from the duke of York gave him room to expect farther preferments upon the accession of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, since, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made vice-admiral of England, and master of the robes<sup>h</sup>, there being at that time no man of his rank who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the person of that prince.

But when the scheme for repealing the test-act came under consideration, and king James thought fit to closet such of his officers in the army and fleet as had seats in the house of commons, it quickly appeared, that vice-admiral Herbert was none of those complying spirits, who for the sake of private profit would sacrifice the interest of the public<sup>i</sup>. His brother, the lord chief-justice Herbert, had exposed himself to public odium by giving judgment in his court, in favour of the king's dispensing

<sup>f</sup> An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington. Polater's chronological historian, vol. i. p. 299.

<sup>g</sup> The laws, ordinances, and institutions of the admiralty of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 367.

<sup>h</sup> Reresby's memoirs, p. 241. Standford's history of the coronation of K. James and Q. Mary, p. 21, 79.

<sup>i</sup> Reresby's memoirs, p. 241.

power, upon an action brought against Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment, without qualifying himself for it by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this seemed in some measure to have done all that the king wanted, he still persisted in his design of having the test-act repealed, which, amongst other extraordinary consequences, produced the disgrace of vice-admiral Herbert, who to that hour had never done any thing to disoblige the king, or had perceived the least coldness in his majesty towards him<sup>k</sup>. We have this story at large in bishop Burnet's history of his own times<sup>l</sup>, with some inferences from it that are very just; I shall give it the reader, therefore, in his own words.

“ So little regard,” says that prelate, “ had the chief-justice’s nearest friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother admiral Herbert, being pressed by the king to promise that he would vote for the repeal of the test, answered the king very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or conscience. The king said, he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people who talked more of conscience were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice: but though he was poor, and had much to lose, having places to the value of four thousand pounds a-year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise; for, as he had great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the king’s service, from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past service would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing.”

The bishop bears very hard, in the beginning of this account of the vice-admiral’s behaviour, upon that of his brother the chief-justice, as he does likewise in many other places; it is therefore but common justice to the character of that gentleman, who was a great lawyer, and in private life a very generous worthy man, to take notice, that he was very far from being so absolute a time-server as he is frequently represented; for the

<sup>k</sup> An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Vol. i. p. 671.

truth is, that he suffered as well as his brother for his regard to the public, and there seems to be no reason that this truth should not be as well known. When king James found it was in vain to think of attaining his purposes by a parliament, he placed all his hopes in what was certainly a fitter instrument for answering his design, and that was his standing army. Yet in the management of this there was some difficulty; for, being composed of Englishmen, they shewed an inclination rather to desert their colours than to act against their country. To prevent this, it was resolved to make use of an act of parliament, by which it was made felony for any soldier to quit his colours, after being duly enlisted in the king's service, in time of war, either in parts beyond the seas or in Scotland. But, to make this law operate in England was not very consonant to law, how much soever it might be to the king's will in this point; therefore the lord chief-justice Herbert was as far from complying in this, as his brother the admiral had been in that of the test; upon which he was removed, and was succeeded in his high office by Sir Robert Wright, who had not long after changed a poor soldier upon that statute, by way of wetting his commission<sup>m</sup>.

It is true, that Sir Edward Herbert followed the fortunes of his master, and remained with him in France, which shewed that what he did upon the bench, proceeded purely from conscience, and not from any private reason of hope or fear whatever. But this conduct of the chief-justice in succeeding times, was thrown in the teeth of his brother, and ill-natured people took occasion to suggest, that it was very unlikely one should be faithful to king William, while the other was excepted out of all acts of indemnity for his adherence to king James<sup>n</sup>. But let us now quit this short digression, which, however, shews what sentiments the soundest lawyers had of a standing army in those days, in order to return to the conduct of vice-admiral Herbert after he was removed from his employments, and reduced to the state of a private man, with no very considerable fortune to support even that.

<sup>m</sup> Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 692.

<sup>n</sup> In many of the pamphlets after the earl's disgrace, this was reflected on, and the author of the impartial account apologises for it.

The small appearance there was of his being able to live with honour or even with safety at home, and his inclination to follow many persons of great reputation, who at that juncture chose to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother colonel Charles Herbert, and by his cousin Henry Herbert, Esq; whom king William afterwards created lord Herbert of Cherbury. Upon his arrival at the Hague the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the service of the States, which was a very prudent and, in its consequences, beneficial step, numbers of English seamen following, and entering for his sake into the Dutch service<sup>o</sup>, which convinced the States that things were come to a crisis in England, and that the king had lost the affections of the subjects to a strange degree, when the seamen, who of all others had shewed themselves most hearty in his cause, began to forsake him.

At the prince of Orange's court vice-admiral Herbert was very sincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly understood the state of the English fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it; so that there is no colour of reason to wonder he was treated with very high respect, and received into the most entire confidence, more especially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a very cautious and reserved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expressed by some other persons, who thought to make their court, by representing an attempt upon England as a thing that might be easily accomplished; whereas the vice-admiral understood and spoke of it as an undertaking that required a very considerable strength, exceeding discreet management, and much deliberation<sup>p</sup>.

The same prelate we have before quoted gives us, on this occasion, a very different character of Mr. Herbert from that which he had drawn before, in order to shew how great his own merit was in managing a man who was altogether untractable in the hands of others, and even of the prince himself; the passage is very curious, and therefore the reader shall see it in the bishop's

<sup>o</sup> Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 266.

<sup>p</sup> An impartial account of many remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, &c.



own words<sup>9</sup>: “Admiral Herbert came over to Holland, and  
 “was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill-hu-  
 “mour; for he was on every occasion so fullen and peevish,  
 “that it was plain he set a high value on himself, and expected  
 “the same of all others. He had got his accounts past, in which  
 “he complained, that the king had used him not only hardly,  
 “but unjustly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury;  
 “yet he had a good understanding, and he had gained so great  
 “a reputation by his steady behaviour in England, that the  
 “prince understood, that it was expected he should use him as  
 “he himself should desire, in which it was not very easy to him  
 “to constrain himself so far as that required. The managing  
 “him was in a great measure put on me; and it was no easy  
 “thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God,  
 “that makes some men instruments in great things, to which  
 “they themselves have no sort of affection or disposition; for his  
 “private quarrel with the lord Dartmouth, who he thought had  
 “more of the king’s confidence than he himself had, was be-  
 “lieved the root of all the fulleness he fell under toward the  
 “king, and of all the firmness that grew out of that.”

It must appear more wonderful than any thing observed by our  
 historian, if this was the real character of the man, that the  
 States General and the prince of Orange should give him the title  
 of lieutenant-general-admiral, and intrust him with the supreme  
 command of their fleet. It is true our author says, that this was  
 not very easy to the States, or to the prince himself, who thought  
 it an absurd thing; but why did they do it then? Nothing less,  
 says he, would content Herbert. If this was so, we have some  
 reason to believe, that the States and the prince of Orange had  
 a very high opinion of his talents, or of his interest, in taking so  
 extraordinary a step, merely because he would not be content  
 without it<sup>5</sup>.

But it was more probable, that he was put at the head of the  
 fleet, because there were many reasons that made him the pro-  
 perest man for that command, such as the nature of the design  
 itself, his interest among the officers of the English navy, his

<sup>9</sup> History of his own times, vol. i. p. 762.

<sup>r</sup> Le Clerc histoire des pro-  
 vinces unies, tome iii. p. 409. Mercure historique et politique, tome v. p. 1236.

<sup>5</sup> History of his own times, vol. i. p. 764.

perfect acquaintance with our coasts, his being most likely to engage the governors of sea-port towns to come in to the prince, and, above all, the necessity they were under of having some Englishman in a high post, to prevent the people from considering this as a hostile invasion. Now, if we view this matter in these lights, it is no difficult thing to see, that, of all the English who were about his royal highness, vice-admiral Herbert was in every respect the fittest man to be intrusted with that command; and therefore, if nothing else would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill-humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute so much to the success of the enterprize; yet, of the two, it is infinitely more probable, that he did not insist upon this himself, but that the States and the prince of Orange conferred the command upon him as a thing which they saw to be very expedient, or rather absolutely necessary<sup>t</sup>.

It was certainly a very extraordinary undertaking in all respects, and will appear so, if we reflect that a great army was to be embarked; that seven hundred transports were to be prepared for that embarkation; that provisions, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the service, as well of the army as of the fleet, was to be procured in a short time, and with the utmost secrecy; all which was actually done by the indefatigable diligence of four commissioners, *viz.* Bentinck, Dykvelt, Van Hulst, and Herbert: it is plain therefore, that his skill in directing what was requisite for the fleet was entirely relied on; and, if he had been such a haughty, morose, overbearing person, he could have hardly maintained a fair correspondence with his colleagues for so long a space as they were engaged in making these preparations; as to which our historian tells us, that they were two months constantly employed in giving all the necessary orders, which they did with so little noise, that nothing broke out all that time<sup>u</sup>.

After such an instance of his capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the rest of his conduct would be of a piece. But what seems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the prince of Orange in trusting vice-admiral

<sup>t</sup> History of the revolution, p. 135.

<sup>u</sup> History of his own times, vol. i. p. 78r.

Herbert,

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Herbert, though a stranger, with so high a command, was, the publishing his letter to the commanders of the English fleet at the very same time with the prince of Orange's declaration; for, if they had not placed very strong hopes upon that, without question it had never been published at all, and, if they had such hopes, this alone will sufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commission, he was lieutenant-general by sea. Neither were these hopes of influencing the English seamen slightly grounded, since the pamphlets wrote in those times universally agree, that the seamen had a very general and warm aversion to Popery, disliked and despised such of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink admiral Herbert's health; so that these were very strong indications of their ill-will on one side, and their good-will on the other \*.

It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not such an effect so soon as it was expected; but this was chiefly owing to unforeseen and inevitable accidents; neither can any thing be affirmed about it with much certainty: but as the letter itself is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unless in a French translation, it may not be disagreeable to the reader here; and there is the more reason to insert it, because nothing can have a closer relation to this noble person's memoirs, since it must be allowed to have been the most remarkable and most important paper that ever fell from his pen, and was conceived in the following words.

To all commanders of ships and seamen in his majesty's fleet.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE little to add to what his highness has expressed in general terms, besides laying before you the dangerous way you are at present in, where ruin or infamy must inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the prince in the common cause

\* An impartial account of many remarkable passages in the life of the earl of Torrington, &c.

for the defence of your religion and liberties; for should it please God, for the sins of the English nation, to suffer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory serve you, but to enslave you deeper, and overthrow the true religion in which you have lived, and your fathers died, of which I beg you as a friend to consider the consequences, and to reflect on the blot and infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in all after-ages, that by your means the Protestant religion was destroyed, and your country deprived of its ancient liberties; and if it please God to bless the prince's endeavours with success, as I do not doubt but he will, consider then what their condition will be that oppose him in this so good a design, where the greatest favour they can hope for, is their being suffered to end their days in misery and want, detested and despised by all good men.

It is, therefore, for these and for many other reasons, too long to insert here, that I, as a true Englishman, and your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the prince for the defence of the common cause, the Protestant religion, and the liberties of your country.

It is what I am well assured, the major and best part of the army, as well as the nation, will do as soon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in so good an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on the navy for its defence, so you will yet go further, by making it as much as in you lies the protection of her religion and liberties; and then you may assure yourselves of all marks of favour and honour, suitable to the merits of so glorious an action. After this I ought not to add so inconsiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a most particular manner,

Aboard the *Leyden*,  
in the *Goree*,

Your faithful friend,  
And humble servant,  
AR. HERBERT.

When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with so much speed and secrecy, that no advices could be given in England that could be of any use; but notwithstanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They sailed on the nine-

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teenth of October, 1688, and they put back into port on the twenty-second. This was a great disappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of less firmness, or by an admiral of less experience, their expedition had been lost\*. It is reported, that admiral Herbert advised putting off the business to that late season of the year, because he judged that the winds would be more favourable; that the king's fleet would be less able to act; and that, when the enterprise was so long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over.

His serene highness came into this proposition for the reasons before-assigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was more immediately known to, and more fully comprehended by himself, and this was, that the season of the year for a campaign being over, the French were not like to make any attempts, and consequently the States-General ran little or no hazard by their troops being thus employed at this juncture†. It is on all sides acknowledged, that it was owing to reasons suggested by admiral Herbert, that the prince of Orange laid aside his intention of sailing northward to the Humber, which must have been attended with great inconveniencies, as no fleet could by long with safety on that coast‡: but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which however was followed, of publishing in all the Dutch gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the storm; that abundance of horses had been thrown overboard; that many persons of distinction, and particularly Dr. Burnet, were cast away and drowned, which had the effect, that was expected from it, of persuading such as were not in the secret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, or that it must be postponed for some months at least§.

It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneasy, and occasioned some very extraordinary proposals to the prince. Amongst the rest one was, that admiral Herbert with a stout squadron should proceed to the English

\* History of the revolution by R. F. Hist. de Guillaume III. prince d'Orange, et Mercure historique et politique; Octobre, Novembre, et Decembre, 1688.

† Burnet's History of his own times, vol. i. p. 778. ‡ Ker's history of England, vol. iii. p. 326. Life of K. William, p. 131. History of the desertions, p. 59.

coast, and fight the king's fleet, to which he was not at all averſe; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the leaſt; but having given the neceſſary orders for repairing the ſhips, and reſreſhing the troops, which was ſoon done, the fleet ſailed again upon the firſt of November <sup>b</sup>, and (as we have ſhewn elſewhere) arrived ſpeedily and ſafely on the Engliſh coaſt, where, by the ſkill and care of admiral Herbert, the troops were very ſoon landed, and, by his intelligence with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, amply ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries. In a very few days after, the good effect of the admiral's letter appeared by the coming in of ſeveral ſhips, the firſt of which was the Newcastle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of captain Churchill <sup>c</sup>; and, the way being once broke, the ſeamen declared in general for the prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the ſucceſs of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence of this noble perſon.

On the 8th of March, 1688, king William granted a comiſſion for executing the office of lord high-admiral to the following perſons, *viz.* Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John, earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Chicheley, knight, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, and William Sacheverel, Eſq; but the laſt declined accepting that poſt, declaring, that, as he underſtood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the ſalary with a ſafe conſcience <sup>d</sup>. As for the command of the fleet, that was intruſted with admiral Herbert from the beginning, and he had likewiſe the honour of bringing over the new queen <sup>e</sup>.

We have already given a large account of his behaviour in the buſineſs of Bantry-bay <sup>f</sup>, of the motives which induced him to fight the French fleet, and of the conſequences of that action, collected as well from the French as our hiſtorians: but after all, perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the account

<sup>b</sup> Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 787, 788. Kenneſ, vol. iii. p. 527. Life of king William, p. 133, 134. <sup>c</sup> Remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, &c. <sup>d</sup> Hiſtory of the proceedings of the houſe of lords, vol. i. p. 343. <sup>e</sup> See the naval hiſtory in 1689.

<sup>f</sup> Printed in a ſheet and a half in the Savoy.



published by authority, drawn from the admiral's own letter from on board the *Elifabeth*, dated May the second, 1689, and which imported,

“ That admiral Herbert, having refitted at Milford-haven the damages which some of his ships had sustained by ill weather on the coast of Ireland, intended to go directly for Brest; but the wind coming easterly, which might bring the French fleet out, he stood, on the twenty-fourth past, over to Kingsale, which he judged the likeliest way to meet them.

“ That accordingly, on the 29th, our scouts made signal, that they discovered a fleet keeping their wind, which made us likewise keep our own all night, to hinder them from getting into Kingsale. The thirtieth they heard the enemy was gone into Baltimore, being forty-four sail; whereupon ours bore away to that place, but found there was no sign of them. That in the evening our scouts got sight of them again to the westward of Cape-Clear: we steered after them, and found they were got into the Bantry; we lay off the bay all night, and the next morning, by break of day, stood in, where we found them at anchor. That they got presently under sail, and bore down upon our fleet in a line composed of twenty-eight men of war and five fire-ships. That when they came within musket-shot of the *Defiance*, the headmost of our ships, the French admiral put out the signal of battle, which was begun by them, they firing their great and small shot very furiously on the *Defiance* and the rest, as we came in our line. That then we made several boards to gain the wind, or at least to engage them closer; but, finding that way of working very disadvantageous, admiral Herbert stood off to sea, as well to have got our ships into a line, as to have gained the wind of the enemy, but found them so cautious in bearing down, that we could never get an opportunity of doing it; and in this posture continued battering upon a stretch until five in the afternoon, when the French admiral tacked from us, and stood away farther into the bay.

“ That admiral Herbert's ship, and some of the rest, being disabled in their rigging, we could not follow them; but we continued some time after before the bay, and our admiral gave him a gun at parting. In this action captain Aymer in

“ the Portland, who came in soon enough for the battle, with  
 “ others of the squadron mentioned, and ninety-four seamen  
 “ were killed, and about two hundred and fifty wounded, as  
 “ appears by a survey taken after the fight; and our ships re-  
 “ ceived little damage, except in their sails and rigging.

“ That, as for our officers and seamen, that right must be  
 “ done them, they behaved themselves with all the courage and  
 “ cheerfulness that could be expected from the bravest men;  
 “ and that on the other side, without lessening the enemy, it  
 “ may be said that they either wanted courage or skill to make  
 “ use of the advantage of the place, the wind, their fire-ships,  
 “ and their number, being at least double our force, they having  
 “ eighteen ships, the least of which was as big as the *Elisabeth*;  
 “ and it so happened, at the time of the engagement, admiral  
 “ Herbert had with him but eight third rates, ten fourth rates,  
 “ one fifth rate, and two tenders. And that the fleet designed  
 “ to rendezvous and resit at Scilly.”

As to the personal behaviour of admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hottest of the service himself, had several of the largest of the enemy's ships upon him at a time, notwithstanding which he continued to expose himself to encourage the seamen sword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, insomuch that many thought, that, if the rest of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did<sup>a</sup>: for which some officers were called to a court-martial, and broke; so much was the admiral a lover of discipline. On the fifteenth of May, when the king dined on board his ship, he was pleased to express great satisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of the same month, by the title of baron Herbert of Torbay, and earl of Torrington<sup>b</sup>. The house of commons also were pleased to give him thanks for the service he had done the

<sup>a</sup> Impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 19.      <sup>b</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 564. Life of king William, p. 231. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 10, 11.

nation, in taking the first opportunity to fight the French in Bantry-bay<sup>1</sup>.

The reader will, without doubt, be pleased to see this matter set in the most authentic light from the journal of the house, in which it appears, that Arthur Herbert, Esq; then burgeſs for the town of Plymouth in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks in conſequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered :

*Martis 21<sup>o</sup> die Maii, primo Willielmi et Mariæ.*

Mr. Speaker gave admiral Herbert the thanks of the house according to their order of Saturday last, to the effect as followeth, viz.

“ Admiral HERBERT,

“ THIS house hath taken notice of the great service you have  
 “ performed in engaging the French fleet : they do look upon it  
 “ as one of the bravest actions done in this last age, and expect  
 “ it will raise the reputation of the English valour to its ancient  
 “ glory. I do therefore, by the command of this house, return  
 “ you their hearty thanks for this service, and desire that you  
 “ will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the offi-  
 “ cers and seamen that served under your command, and to let  
 “ them know that this house will have a particular regard of  
 “ their merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give  
 “ them all due encouragement.”

Whereupon admiral Herbert spake to the effect as followeth :

“ SIR,

“ I AM in some confusion at this great and unexpected ho-  
 “ nour, and the more, because I want words to express my  
 “ sense of it. The best return that I think myself capable of  
 “ making, is to assure this honourable house, that, with my ut-  
 “ most hazard I will endeavour, by my future actions, to de-  
 “ serve it, and will not fail to obey their commands, in acquaint-  
 “ ing the officers and seamen, who were with me, of the fa-

<sup>1</sup> Chandler's debates, vol. 4i. p. 313.

“ vourable

“vourable acceptation, by this house, of their service. And,  
 “since the house have so favourable an opinion of their actions,  
 “I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, and I  
 “think it is a thing becoming the greatness of this nation, and  
 “indeed has been the care of almost all nations that have any  
 “commerce at sea: it is, to assign some place and revenue for  
 “the support of such as are maimed in the service and defence  
 “of their country. There is no sufficient provision made at pre-  
 “sent in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for  
 “the crown. I therefore humbly move, it may be ordered by  
 “this house, that an act may pass, that they may have a sup-  
 “port and subsistence, after they have by wounds been made  
 “incapable of farther service.”

Resolved, That the house will take care to make a provision for such seamen as are, or shall be wounded in their majesties service, and for the wives and children of such as are, or shall be slain therein; and that a committee be appointed to consider how the same may be done.

And it is referred to admiral Herbert, Mr. Hales, Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Ashburnham, Sir William Williams, Mr. Garway, Mr. Elwel, lord Cooke, Mr. Holles, Mr. Papillon, Mr. Gwyn, lord Falkland, lord Sherrard, Mr. Bickerstaff, Mr. Henry Herbert, Mr. Edward Russel, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Colchester, Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. P. Foleys, Sir Henry Capell, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Mr. Sacheverel, M. Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.

As he was at this time possessed of all that a man could well desire, the esteem of his prince, the favour of the people, and the love of the seamen, so it is allowed that he behaved in a manner every way worthy of his station, living very magnificently when in town, and shewing a great respect for his officers when at sea, which gained him a wonderful interest in the fleet; to this, though some have given a sinister turn, as if it was the chief cause of his acquittal by the court-martial that tried him, yet impartial judges will hardly believe, that he could have gained such an interest but by an extraordinary degree of merit, and by a readiness to distinguish it in other men, for which, while it was not in some degree criminal to affirm it, he was generally famous

in

in the navy<sup>a</sup>. When he went down to take the command, in the spring of the year 1690, of the confederate fleet, his character stood as fair as any officer's could do; and even the Dutch in their relations allow, that his conduct was very great in shifting and avoiding an engagement in pursuance of the advice of a council of war, founded upon the enemy's great superiority, till such time as he received positive orders to fight; and then he shewed likewise great judgment in the disposition he made for an engagement<sup>1</sup>.

We have little to add to the account we have already given of the action off Beachy-head on the 30th of June, except that in the battle there was not so much as one English man of war lost, and but one of the Dutch; that, in the whole course of the retreat, the earl of Torrington gave his orders with great prudence, and in such a manner as prevented the French from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithstanding the inequality of the fleets, and some unlucky accidents that happened in spite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordship at all discomposed, when, upon his being sent for up to town, he found so general a clamour raised against him, but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters before the council; insisted, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him easy in his mind as to the consequences, being persuaded, that, of the two, it was much better for him to ruin himself than to ruin the fleet, as he absolutely must have done, if he had acted otherwise than he did<sup>m</sup>.

All he could say, however, had little effect at that time; so that he was committed to the Tower, and commissioners were sent down to inspect into the condition of the fleet, and to make the necessary inquiries for framing a charge against him, it being held absolutely requisite to bring him to a trial, that the justice of the nation might not suffer in the opinion of her allies, the resentment of the Dutch having risen so high as to threaten pulling

<sup>a</sup> Inquiry into the conduct of maritime affairs since the revolution, p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of admiral Evertson in the former part of this volume.

<sup>m</sup> Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 603. Burchet's naval history, p. 428. Life of king William, p. 275.

down the house of lord Dursley, who then resided at the Hague<sup>n</sup>.

When the parliament met, October the second, 1690, his majesty was pleased to take notice in his speech, in a very particular manner, of the disaster that had happened off Beachy-head; and the paragraph being but thort, we shall insert it<sup>o</sup>: “ I cannot conclude without taking notice also how much the honour of the nation has been exposed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the last summer’s engagement against the French, and I think myself so much concerned to see it vindicated, that I cannot rest satisfied till an example has been made of such as shall be found faulty upon their examination and trial, which was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, but is now put into the proper way of being done as soon as may be.” But, notwithstanding this, the proceedings against the earl of Torrington were not very expeditious, and therefore he applied himself by way of petition to the house of peers, who took his case into consideration; but, after having fully debated it, left him to the ordinary course of proceedings, or, in other words, referred him to a court-martial.

Yet, in order to the constituting of such a court, as we have elsewhere observed, there were some difficulties to be got over, and those of such a nature as demanded the attention of the legislature, in order to effect which, a bill was brought in for vesting in the commissioners of the admiralty the same power in regard to granting commissions, which was already vested by law in the lord high-admiral of England<sup>p</sup>.

It may not be amiss to observe, that on the twentieth of January, 1689, the king had appointed a new board of admiralty, in which Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was first lord instead of the earl of Torrington, and Sir Michael Wharton was left out. On the fifth of June, 1690, the board was again changed and augmented from five to seven. These were Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, John, earl of Carbery, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Lowther, baronet, Edward Ruffel, Esq; Sir Richard Onslow, baronet, and Henry

<sup>n</sup> Impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 25.      <sup>o</sup> Debates in the house of commons, vol. ii. p. 384.  
<sup>p</sup> See this act in the statutes at large.



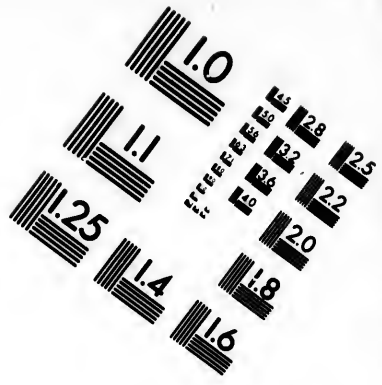
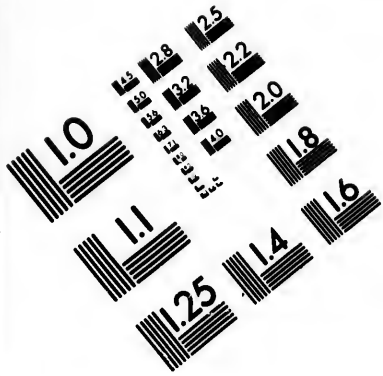
Priestman, Esq; and to this board it was that the intended act gave the power of appointing court-martials for the trial of any officer of what rank soever, as a lord high-admiral might do. When this bill came to be read a third time in the house of peers, it occasioned very warm debates, many lords being of opinion, that it would have been better, if, instead of a new board, his majesty had appointed a lord high-admiral, in which case there would have been no need whatever of a new law: but at length, however, it was carried by a majority of two only; upon which many of the lords entered their protests for the following reasons<sup>9</sup>:

“ Because this bill gives a power to commissioners of the admiralty to execute a jurisdiction, which, by the act of the thirteenth of Charles II. intituled, *An act for establishing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his majesty's navy, ships of war, and forces by sea*, we conceive they had not; whereby the earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life, for facts committed several months before this power was given or desired; we think it reasonable that every man should be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.

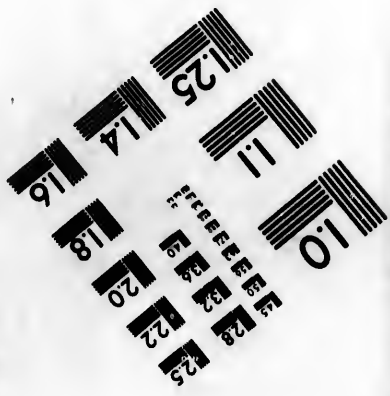
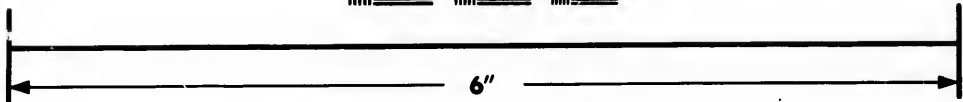
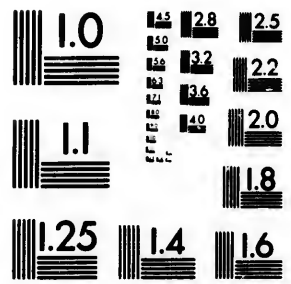
“ It is by virtue of the said act of the 13th of Charles II. that the earl of Torrington was judged by this house not to have the privilege of a peer of this realm for any offences committed against the said act; and there is no other law, as we conceive, by which the said earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a peer of this realm; which act, making no mention of commissioners of the admiralty, but of a lord high-admiral only, by whose authority all the powers given by that act are to be exercised, and without whose consent singly no sentence of death can be executed, we think it of dangerous consequence to expound a law of this capital nature otherwise than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to pass even explanatory laws, much less such as have a retrospect in them in cases of life and death, so we think it not at all necessary to make such a precedent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way al-

<sup>9</sup> The history and proceedings of the house of lords, vol. i. p. 405.





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“ ready established to bring this earl to a trial by a lord high-admiral.

“ Thirdly, the judges having unanimously declared, that the law-marine was no where particularised in their books, whereby the power or jurisdiction of the lord high-admiral may be ascertained, so that practice is all that we know of it; we conceive it unprecedented, and of dangerous consequence, that the jurisdiction exercised by the lord high-admiral should by a law be declared to be in the commissioners of the admiralty, whereby an unknown, and therefore unlimited power may be established in them.

“ Rivers, Huntington, Rochester, Weymouth, Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Thomas Roffen, Crew, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon, Bolton, J. Bridgewater.”

As soon as the bill had passed both houses, and had received the royal assent, the earl of Torrington was removed out of the Tower into the custody of the marshal of the admiralty, where he had not been long before he brought his case into the house of commons. This was done by a member's acquainting the house, that this noble peer was desirous of being heard at their bar in respect to the matter for which he was in custody. Upon this an order was made for his lordship's being brought thither the next day, the serjeant at arms was directed to serve the marshal of the admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, November the twelfth, the house being informed, that his lordship was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the serjeant, with the mace, to a chair set for him within the bar on the left-hand of the house as he came in; and having sat down thereon for some time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his lordship rose, and stood at the back of the chair uncovered, and was heard before the house; after which his lordship withdrew, the mace attending him<sup>r</sup>.

This is all we meet with in the journal; but a writer of those times assures us, that his lordship found himself so much embarrassed in the presence of that assembly, as not to be able to ex-

<sup>r</sup> Journal-book of the house of commons, *die Martis*, Nov. 11. and *die Mercurii*, Nov. 12, 1690.

press himself as he intended; upon which he acquainted the commons, that, being accustomed rather to act than to speak, he found himself at a loss for words, and therefore desired to make use of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's service; how many years he had spent therein, and of his having spilled much blood, as well as been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loss he had sustained for supporting the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of England under king James II. Last of all, he spoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy head, in respect to which he excused his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, shortness of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in support of what he said, produced some letters; but all this was of little or no use to his lordship. The house remitted him to that trial for which the late act had made way, and of which the highest expectations were raised at home and abroad, the king being resolved not to embark for Holland till it was all over<sup>a</sup>.

Accordingly, Saturday the sixth of December, 1690, his lordship went down to Sheerness in his yacht, the court-martial sitting there on board the Kent: on Monday, December 8, Sir Ralph Delaval, being in the chair as president, the commission was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjusted; after which the court adjourned to Wednesday the tenth, when the witnesses were heard on the part of the crown, as well Dutch as English<sup>b</sup>: but, notwithstanding the loudness of the common reports, there was very little appeared in proof, notwithstanding the court took all the pains they could to sift things to the bottom; his lordship then made his defence in the manner that has been before-mentioned, insisted largely on the superiority of the French fleet, on the shifting of the wind, which put it out of his power to succour the Dutch, on the care taken on securing a retreat, and the small advantage that the enemy reaped from their so much boasted success in this action, which had drawn upon their admiral, count Tourville, as many censures as

<sup>a</sup> Impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome ix. p. 657, 658. <sup>b</sup> Minutes of the court-martial on board his majesty's ship the Kent, Sir Ralph Delaval, president, December 8, 1690.



upon himself, and with pretty much the same reason. After mature consideration, both of the charge, of his defence, and of the evidence offered, the court, *nemine contradicente*, acquitted him wholly of any imputation whatever, from his conduct on that occasion. To which, when required to sign it, they most steadily adhered. It is said, that a certain Dutch rear-admiral, who was present, expressed his resentment very warmly, and it is certain, the proceedings were quickly after printed in Dutch, with some animadversions <sup>u</sup>.

On Thursday, December the eleventh, the earl of Torrington returned to town in his barge, with the union flag flying, as bearing still the king's commission of admiral and commander in chief. He returned to his own house, where he received the compliments of his friends, and the news, which could not surprize him much, that his commission was superseded. He was almost the only victim in that reign, for he never received any mark of favour, much less enjoyed any command afterwards <sup>w</sup>. He came, however, in a few days to the house of peers, where he constantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the least, which is a manifest proof that he was not governed by caprice, but by principle. He was always on the side of the crown, and very rarely in an opposition to its ministers; sometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly protested, that the reasons of his opposition might appear, and that the world might not ascribe his disagreement with men in power to prejudice or spleen. In matters that related to the navy, he was generally most forward, and in respect to them, the house heard him with much respect and attention, and upon such occasions he shewed himself commonly a friend to strict discipline, and a frugal management in the navy <sup>x</sup>.

He raised, while in employment, a considerable fortune, upon which he lived in a manner becoming his rank, during the remainder of his life. His lordship was twice married, but never had any children <sup>y</sup>; and at length, after having spent the latter

<sup>u</sup> Impartial account of some remarkable passages, &c. Burchet, Burnet, life of king William, Oldmixon, &c.

<sup>w</sup> Kennet,

<sup>x</sup> History and proceedings of the house of lords, vol. i. p. 436, 444. vol. ii. p. 5, 22, 29, 46, 72, 74, 430.

<sup>y</sup> Peerage of England, printed for Abel Roper, London, 1709, 8vo. p. 278.

part of his life in as much privacy and quiet as he had done the former scenes of it in action, he breathed his last, April the thirteenth, 1716, in a good old age, leaving the bulk of his estate to the right honourable Henry, earl of Lincoln, merely out of respect to that noble person's steady adherence to the same cause, which the earl of Torrington supported during his whole life<sup>2</sup>. These particulars, which had hitherto lain scattered in a variety of authors, we have, with the utmost diligence, gathered and digested according to the natural order of time, that the memory of so brave a man might not be altogether buried in oblivion, or that clamour, which the best of judges thought without foundation, be as fatal to his fame after death, as while living it was to his power.

These, however scanty, are all the memorials that we have been able to discover from books or information, as to the eminent seamen who flourished in this reign, except it be a very few dates in respect to the following illustrious persons.

John lord Berkley of Stratton was the son of Sir John Berkley, the faithful servant of king Charles I. and king Charles II. by whom, during his exile, he was created baron of Stratton, in the county of Somerset, and younger brother to Charles lord Berkley of Stratton, who died at sea in 1682. This noble lord was rear-admiral at the time of the revolution, groom of the stole, and first gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince George of Denmark: and, as we have seen, often admiral of the fleet in the reign of king William, and colonel of the second regiment of marines; of all which employments he was possessed when he died, February 27, 1696-7, leaving behind him no issue male, so that the title devolved on his younger brother William, father to the present worthy nobleman John lord Berkley of Stratton<sup>3</sup>.

The honourable Edward Neville, Esq; was the second son of George lord Abergavenny, and notwithstanding his high birth, arrived at his station in the navy by pure dint of merit. He died on board the Lincoln the twelfth of September, 1701, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, as his squadron made the land of Virginia, and left behind him a son, the late lord Abergavenny,

<sup>2</sup> Historical register for the year 1716, p. 219.  
of England, vol. iv. p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Collins's peerage

yearly, who deceased at the Bath, the twenty-first of September, 1744, and a daughter<sup>b</sup>.

We cannot shut up our account of this reign better than by an abstract of the royal navy, as it stood at the decease of king William, that the reader, by comparing it with the abstract at the end of Chapter XVII. may from thence discern how far, notwithstanding so long a war, and so many other interruptions and misfortunes, our naval force increased in the space of thirteen years.

**ABSTRACT of the ROYAL NAVY, as it stood December 25, 1701.**

Rates.	Number.		Guns.	Men.
I.	7	} carrying	714	5,312
II.	14		1,276	8,824
III.	45		3,199	18,561
IV.	63		3,253	15,329
V.	36		1,094	4,680
VI.	29		542	1,215
	<hr/>		10,078	53,921
Fire-ships	8		Tonnage	
Bomb-vessels	13		In Dec. 1688	101,032
Yachts	19		In Dec. 1701	158,992
				<hr/>
			Increase	57,960

<sup>b</sup> Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 12. Supplement to the peerage, by the same author, vol. vi. p. 402.

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