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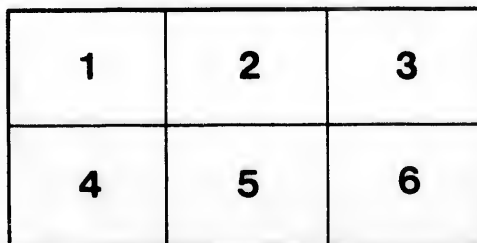
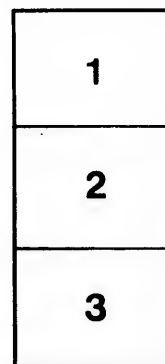
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SIR EDW.^d HAWKE
Admiral of the White.

BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:
OR,
M E M O I R S
OF THOSE
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,
TO WHOSE
INTREPIDITY, and CONDUCT,
THE
ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,
FOR
The VICTORIES of their FLEETS,
The INCREASE of their DOMINIONS,
The EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,
AND
Their PRE-EMINENCE on the OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH
The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY,
from the NORMAN INVASION, to the CONCLUSION of the
LAST WAR.

By JOHN KENT, Esquire.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

*"England is a Land which can never be conquered, whilst
the Kings thereof keep the Dominion of the Seas."*

Sir Walter Raleigh.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WALLIS, and C. STONEHOUSE,
at Yorick's Head, Ludgate-street.

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MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

CONTINUATION OF

The FIFTH PERIOD.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the latter PART of the REIGN of JAMES, the FIRST.

LET us now proceed to an Account of the naval Expedition against the *Algerines*. To what Causes it may be assigned, is yet a Point which no Historian hath incontestably determined. We learn from some Authorities, that *Gondomar*, the Ambassador from the Court of *Madrid*, having gained the Ascendant over the Understanding of *James*, persuaded him, contrary to his natural Inclination, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own Enemies, that it was necessary to fit out a formidable Fleet, in Order to humble the Foes of the King of *Spain* (a). By different His-

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torians,

(a) Rushworth's Collections, V. 4. p. 34. — Camden's Annals of the Reign of James, the First, A. D. 1620. — Wilson's History of James, the First, p. 726. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 30.

torians, We are informed that this Project was of an older Date; that the Earl of *Nottingham*, previous to his Resignation of the Post of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, had earnestly solicited the King to engage in Preparations for such an Enterprize; that Sir *Robert Mansel* had strongly intimated to *Buckingham* that it would reflect the highest Lustre on his Abilities in the naval Department, if the Expedition took Place, at the Dawn of his Administration. As this fortunate, and aspiring Favourite too easily induced the Sovereign to consent to the Gratification of all his Wishes, it is reasonable to suppose that, through his Influence, the Project was carried into Execution; notwithstanding that Sir *William Monson*, who had been consulted, delivered an Opinion, supported by strong, and clear Arguments, that it was rash, and ill-founded; and that, instead of raising the Reputation of the naval Power of the *English*, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, as the whole World would observe the Disappointment; whereas but Few could judge of its real Causes, or of the Injustice of measuring thereby the maritime Strength of *Britain* (

On the twelfth of *October*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, the Armament (c) set Sail

(b) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 253.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 31.

(c) The following is a LIST of the FLEET.

ROYAL NAVY.

SHIPS.	BURTH.	MEN.	Brafs GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
	Tons.			
The <i>Lion</i> , Admiral	600	250	40	Sir Rob. Mansel.
<i>Vanguard</i> , Vice-Admiral	660	250	40	Sir Rich. Hawkins.
<i>Rainbow</i> , Rear-Admiral	660	250	40	Sir Thomas Butten.

The

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 5

Sail from *Plymouth*, and, on the thirty-first, entered the Straights of *Gibraltar*, where the Admiral gave Orders that the Sick should be disembarked.

On the sixteenth of *November*, and when all Persons had returned on Board; the Fleet set Sail, and came to an Anchor in the Road of *Algiers*, and out of the Reach

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SHIPS.	BURTH.	MEN.	Brass GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
<i>Constant Reformation</i>	660	250	40	Captain <i>Arthur Maynwaring</i> .
<i>Antelope</i>	400	160	34	Sir <i>Hen. Palmer</i> .
<i>Convertine</i>	500	220	36	Captain <i>Thomas Love</i> .

SHIPS hired from the MERCHANTS.

SHIPS.	BURTH.	MEN.	Iron GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
<i>Golden Phoenix</i>	300	120	24	Captain <i>Samuel Argall</i> .
<i>Samuel</i>	300	120	22	Captain <i>Christopher Harris</i> .
<i>Marigold</i>	260	100	21	Sir <i>John Fearn</i> .
<i>Zouch Phoenix</i>	280	120	26	Captain <i>John Pennington</i> .
<i>Barbary</i>	200	80	18	Captain <i>Thomas Porter</i> .
<i>Centurion</i>	200	100	22	Sir <i>Francis Tanfield</i> .
<i>Primrose</i>	180	80	18	Sir <i>John Hamden</i> .
<i>Hercules</i>	300	120	24	Captain <i>Euseby Cave</i> .
<i>Neptune</i>	280	120	21	Captain <i>Robert Haughton</i> .
<i>Merchant-Bona-venture</i>	260	110	23	Captain <i>John Chidley</i> .
<i>Restore</i>	130	50	12	Captain <i>George Raymond</i> .
<i>Marmaduke</i>	100	50	12	Captain <i>Thomas Herbert</i> .

The

either of the Town, or of the Castle, the former of which the *English* saluted, but were not answered by a single Gun. On the Day following, the Admiral sent an Officer, with a white Flag, on Shore, in Order that he might acquaint the Vice-Roy with the Reasons which gave Occasion to the Arrival of the Fleet. Soon afterwards, four *Turks* returned, and declared that the Vice-Roy had received Orders from the *Grand Seignior*, to treat the *English* with the most inviolable Respect, and to permit them to disembark, whensoever they thought proper, and purchase such Provisions as they might want. They, also, promised that if the Admiral would, on the following Day, send on Shore a Person of Distinction, with the Letters from the King of *England*, sufficient Hostages should be given for his Safety (d).

On the twenty-ninth, an *English* Officer disembarked, and informed the *Turks* what Pledges were demanded for those Persons who were in Readiness to wait on them with the King's Letters. At four in the Afternoon, the Signal-Gun was fired from the *Lion*, and, soon afterwards, Captain *John Roper*, attended by several of the chief Persons belonging to the Fleet, proceeded in his Barge, for the Purpose of delivering the royal Credentials to the *Bashaw*, and the *Divan*. As he approached the Shore, he was informed, by a Messenger, that the principal *Turks* were absent, and the Hostages not ready; but that, on the Morrow, all Delays should be removed; yet no Regard was paid to these Promises.

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(d) During the Night, the Pirates brought into Algiers, three Prizes; a *Flemish*, and two *English* Vessels; the one bound from *Plymouth*; and the other from *North-Yarmouth*.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 7

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On the second of *December*, *Roper*, and his Compa-
ny, landed at *Algiers*, and immediately two Inhabitants,
of the first Rank, were sent as Hostages to the Admi-
ral. On the third, six *Spanish* Men of War cast An-
chor within the Harbour, when the commanding Offi-
cer struck his Flag, in Honour to the *English*. He,
next, went on Board the *Lion*, and informed Sir *Ro-
bert Mansel* that he had arrived in Pursuit of some
Turkish Pirates, who, having engaged, taken and set
on Fire, a *Spanish* Ship, of the Burthen of seven hundred
Tons, reduced to Captivity the whole Crew, amount-
ing to three hundred Persons. This Squadron ap-
proached nearer to the Town, when some Shot were
exchanged, but no considerable Damage ensued from
either Side.

On the fourth, Sir *Robert Mansel* received an An-
swer to the King's Letters, from the *Divan*, and, on
the sixth, the *Turks* concluded their Negotiation, by
refusing to dismiss the *English* Officer, who had been
first sent to them, unless an *English* Consul were left at
Algiers. On this Occasion, Sir *Robert Mansel*, who,
together with his Associates, appears to have acted with
a Duplicity as shameful as that which He was reviling,
gave Orders that a common Sailor should be sumptu-
ously attired, and dispatched, with the Name of Con-
sul, to the *Divan*. This Trick succeeded; the Man
was respectfully entertained, and, soon afterwards,
forty *Englishmen*, who had been purposely freed from
their Captivity, went on Board the Fleet, where, agree-
ably to their Instructions, they informed the Admi-
ral that the *Turks* would embrace an early Oppor-
tunity to give him Satisfaction with Respect to every
other Demand which he had made. On the seventh,
Sir *Robert Mansel*, still persisting in Deceit, sent Letters
of Instruction to the pretended Consul, and bade him
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deliver a Paper to the *Bashaw*, who was reproached, in the bitterest Terms, for the Perfidy of his Conduct.

On the eighth, and when most of the Provisions were expended, the Fleet set Sail for *Majorca*, where Sir *Robert Mansel* intended to remain with it, until the Commencement of the ensuing Spring. On the Evening of the twenty-fifth, eight Sail of *Turkish* Vessels approached the Fleet, but, on being chased, steered a different Course, and, previous to the next Morning, were out of Sight.

On the twenty-sixth, the *English* entered the Road of *Alicant*; but were disappointed in their Expectations of receiving a Supply of Provisions from their own Country. On the twenty-seventh, some Ships belonging to the Fleet stood out to Sea, and, after the Expiration of two Days, returned without Success, notwithstanding that they had chased a *Turkish* Vessel.

On the twelfth of *January*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-one, an Express arrived from *Carthage*, inclosing Letters dispatched from *England*, and bearing Date on the fourteenth of the preceding Month of *December*. The Contents were that Provisions sufficient for the Subsistence of the whole Fleet, during six Months, had been delivered at *Malaga*. On the twenty-first, fifteen *Flemings* rowed, in their Boat, towards the *Lion*, and, having been permitted to go on Board, informed the Admiral that, being chased, near *Cape Martin*, by the *Turks*, they, to preserve their Lives, had left their Ship. At this Period, and during some Days, several Vessels were dispatched in Pursuit of the former, but they returned without having been able to descry Them.

On the twenty-fifth, Captain *Roper* proceeded, with Letters, for *England*; and, on the twenty-seventh, all the Remainder of the Fleet set Sail, except the *Marmaduke*.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 9

maduke, the Captain of which, together with the Master, was sick on Shore.

On the twenty-eighth, they fell in with seven Sail of *Flemish* Men of War, under the Command of the Admiral of *Zealand*. These were a Part of a large Armament consisting of twenty-two Ships, and divided into Squadrons, for the Purpose of cruizing near the Streights.

On the sixteenth of *February*, and when the Fleet was within the Bay of *Gibraltar*, Supplies arrived from *England*, in two Merchant-Ships, and two Men of War. These last were the *Mercury*, of the Burthen of two hundred, and forty Tons, having, on Board, sixty-five Men, mounting twenty brass Guns, and being commanded by Captain *Pet*; the *Spy*, of the Burthen of one hundred, and sixty Tons, and carrying eighteen brass Guns. Her Complement amounted to fifty-five Men, and her Captain was *Edward Giles*.

Few Occurrences are mentioned in the Journals from this Period, until the twenty-ninth of *April*, when the Fleet arrived in the Road of *Majorca*. From hence, reinforced by three large Brigantines, and a *Polacre*, of the Burthen of one hundred, and twenty Tons, all of which had been purchased by the Admiral, the Fleet departed for *Algiers*. Arriving there, on the twenty-first of *May*, the Ships were thus stationed: The Men of War belonging to the royal Navy, and the *Golden Phœnix*, drew up in a *North*, and *South* Line, the Admiral riding in the Middle of them, *East* of the *South* End of the *Mole*. Next to the Admiral, on the *Northern* Side, came to an Anchor the *Reformation*, and the *Golden Phœnix*, the *Convertine*, on the *South* Side, and the *Antelope* on the *North* Side of the *Reformation*, the Vice-Admiral innermost on the *South* Side, and the Rear-Admiral outermost on the *North* Side.

Side. The Remainder of the Fleet came to, astern of the Admirals of their respective Squadrons, and then anchored, with the Wind at *West*.

On the Day following, six of the Merchant-Ships were ordered to ply about to the *Westward*, and near to the Shore, for the Purpose of preventing any Pirates from passing between it, and the Fleet. Preparations were also made for executing, at the succeeding Night, the Design of setting Fire to the Ships within the *Mole*. Two *Turkish* Prizes, the one of the Burthen of an hundred Tons, and the other of the Burthen of sixty Tons, were filled with dry Wood, Oakham, Pitch, Rosin, Tar, and various Combustibles, being, at the same Time, provided with Chains, Grappling-Irons, and Boats to bring off the Men. Next followed the three Brigantines, procured by the Admiral, at *Alicant*. On Board of These were Fire-Balls, Buckets of Wild-Fire, and Fire-Pikes, for the Purpose of fixing them to the Vessels of the Enemy. A Gunlod was also prepared, and raised by Chains, and Grappling-Irons. It was resolved that it should be discharged into the Midst of the Ships within the *Mole*, whilst a Boat attended for the Purpose of bringing off the Men who might be concerned in this Enterprize. Seven Boats, filled with armed Men, followed to sustain those belonging to the Fire-Ships, in Case of a Pursuit, at their Retreat. These, also, were supplied with Fire-Works, for the Purpose of destroying the Ships without the *Mole*.

As the Wind proved unfavourable, the Attempt was deferred until the twenty-fourth, when it blew briskly at *South-South-West*. The Ships now advanced, towards the *Mole*, but when they had approached within Musket-Shot of the Head, so still a Calm ensued that it was impossible for them to enter. The Crews of the Boats, and Brigantines, perceiving that they were

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 11

discovered by the Brightness of the Moon, which was then at Full, and hearing the Alarm that was given to the Town, by the Sentinels posted on the Ramparts, determined to proceed, and the rather, because a *Chistian* Slave, who swam from *Algiers*, informed them that the *Turks*, not suspecting an Attack, had left their Ships almost intirely unguarded. Their Endeavours were, notwithstanding, fruitless, as the Wind was yet too gentle either to nourish, or disperse their Fire-Works.

In this Service, only six Men were killed, before the Place. Five were so dangerously wounded that they expired soon after their Return, and thirteen were slightly hurt. This Number cannot be deemed considerable, if it be remarked that the Attempt was made under the Walls of the Town, from which Place the Ordnance, and Musquets were discharged continually against them. The only Damage which they sustained was during their Retreat, previous to which they owed their Security to their Situation, as they had entered within the Mole before the Alarm was given to the Town, and the Ships which were stationed between it, and the Boats, defended them from the Fire of the Enemy. Thus ended an Expedition as unfortunate, as it was dishonourable.

On the twenty-fifth, the *English* weighed Anchor, and stood off to Sea, when four Sail of Pirates, in Spite of the Endeavours of the latter to intercept them, steered their Course by the *Westermost* Point of Land, and entered within the Harbour. On the twenty-eighth, the *Bonaventure*, and the *Hercules* ran a Pirate ashore. On Board of this Vessel were an hundred, and thirty *Turks*, together with eleven *Christian* Captives. All were drowned, except twelve *Turks*, who, with Difficulty, swam to Land.

On

On the thirtieth, the Fleet again entered the Bay, and anchored within the Distance of three Miles from the Town. On the Day following, the *English* received Information from two *Genoese* Slaves, who had escaped from *Algiers*, that, on the Night of their Departure, seven of the best Ships belonging to that Place had entered the *Mole*, which would probably have fallen into their Hands. They added that all future Attempts of this Nature must prove ineffectual, as the *Turks*, in Order to prevent the Entrance of Vessels, had placed a Boom across the *Mole*, whilst their Ships within it were filled with armed Men, and, without, three Gallies, and fifteen Boats, were stationed before the Boom, to guard it.

Notwithstanding these Advices, the *English* continued in the Road, until the fourth of *June*, during which Time, their Cruizers took, and brought in a Vessel, on her Passage from *Leghorn*, to *Algiers*, and laden with *Venice* Cloth, and many valuable Commodities, exclusive of two thousand Pounds, in Money. From this Event, We meet with no material Transaction, and it will be sufficient to add that the Ships returned to *England*, previous to the Conclusion of the Month.

This ill-concerted Enterprize is observed to have had no other Effect than that of exposing the *English* Commerce to the Depredations of the *Algerines*, who committed more Injuries than they received, notwithstanding that two Fleets (feeble indeed in their Operations,) were afterwards sent out against them, the one under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the other under that of the Earl of *Denbigh*. On these Undertakings, a naval Historian (e) hath made some severe, but just Remarks, and particularly complains that, although the whole Nation was grievously of-

(e) Sir William Monson.

entered the Bay;
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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 13

fended, as will always be the Case, during such Mis-
carriages, yet they were never softened either by any
candid Investigation of the Point, or any spirited At-
tempt to redress the Evils which resulted from it; a
Proceeding which irritated them beyond Measure,
and contributed, in a high Degree, to excite that Vio-
lence which was felt afterwards, amidst the Horrors of
a civil War. (f).

In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and
twenty, the *East India* Company fitted out four new
Ships; the *London*, of the Burthen of eight hundred
Tons; the *Hart*, of the Burthen of five hundred
Tons; the *Roebeck*, of the Burthen of three hun-
dred Tons; and the *Eagle*, of the Burthen of two hun-
dred, and eighty Tons. All these, in the Month of
February, set Sail, under the Command of Captain *An-
drew Shilling*, from *Tilbury*, and proceeded on their
Course together, until they approached the Shores of
Dabul, where they separated for different Voyages;
but, soon afterwards, rejoining, prepared for an Attack
against the *Portuguese*, who lay in wait for the Purpose,
at least, of hindering, if not destroying the commercial
Intercourse of the *English*, with the *Persians*. On their
Passage to *Jasquez*, the intended Scene of Action,
they intercepted, engaged, and took a *Portuguese* Ves-
sel, laden with Dates, and Raisins, and having on
Board a Number of *Arabian* Horses designed to be
transported from *Muscat*, to *Chaul*.

As

(f) The Particulars relative to this Expedition are taken
from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 2. p. 881. — Harris's Coll.
Part 1. p. 369 — An Account published by Authority, in
the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred, and Twenty-one. —
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 31, 32, 33. —
and Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 459, 460,
461, 462.

As the *English* advanced towards the *Portuguese* Fleet, They perceived that it consisted of four Galleons, two Gallions, and ten Frigates, which last were stationed, with Supplies of Men, and Ammunition, at a short Distance, and near the *Eastern* Extremity of *Jasques* Road. An Engagement soon ensued, and lasted, without Intermission, during nine Hours, when, as the Night advanced, all Hostilities ceased. For the Space of the four succeeding Days, the *English* remained unmolested, and landed the Merchandize, and Money, belonging to the *East-India* Company. At length, the Enemy reinforced by Men, and Ammunition, from *Ormuz*, had the Resolution to approach nearer, and were saluted with a Broadside, which gave Occasion to a Battle that was maintained with equal Obstinacy, by each Party, during a considerable Time, when the *Portuguese* cut the Cables of their Ships, and availing themselves of their Frigates, which took them in Tow, retreated to a securer Distance. The greatest Loss endured by the *English* was the Death of their Admiral, who was so severely wounded, that He expired on his Passage to the Shore. They, afterwards, took two *Portuguese* Prizes, one of which was valuably freighted. In *April*, of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one, the Ships separated, and proceeded on different Voyages (g).

About this Period, a Colony was planted at *New-Plymouth*, in *New-England*, being the first Establishment in that Country. One chief Occasion of this Event was the Situation of Mr. *Robinson*, and Mr. *Brewster*, independent Ministers, and several *English* Families,

(g) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 203.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 723—728.—Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 463.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 15

lies, who, in Order to avoid a Persecution on Account of their religious Principles, had retired into *Holland*, where the Toleration with which they were favoured was not sufficiently powerful to screen them from a Multitude of Hardships. Concluding that, in *America*, they should not only enjoy a greater Liberty of Conscience, but become enabled to make ampler Provisions for their Families, they applied through the Intercession of the Secretary, *Sir Robert Naunton*, to *King James*, who declared that they should be protected in every lawful Enterprize which they might think proper to undertake, in that Quarter of the Globe.

Accordingly, *Mr. Brewster* (for *Mr. Robinson* did not live to proceed upon the Voyage,) entered into a Treaty with the Company for an extensive Tract of Land, in the *South Western* Parts of *New-England*, and embarking, with his Associates, at *Delft*, directed his Course to *Southampton*, from whence, after having been joined by another Ship, on Board of which were several Nonconformists, he departed for *America*.

At the Commencement of *November*, these Adventurers arrived at *Cape Cod*, the most remarkable Point of *New-England* (*b*), and cast Anchor in the Bay, which was capable of containing a thousand Sail, and surrounded by Shores, where the various Produce of the Earth was dispersed in great Abundance.

On

(*b*) It was their Intention to have seated themselves near *Hudson's River*; but their Dutch Pilot had been bribed by his Countrymen to steer their Vessel more to the Northward, and not to touch at that Part of the Continent of which they themselves intended to take Possession. This they afterwards effected; but, in the Sequel, were dispossessed by the English, who called the Country *New-York*.

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Purchas's Pilgrims,
History, Folio. V.

On the eleventh of *November*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, and, previous to their Landing, they drew up, and signed an Instrument, in which they declared themselves to be Subjects of the Crown of *England*, joining in a Body-politic, and solemnly engaging Submission to the Laws that should from Time, to Time, be enacted for the Benefit of the Colony. When these Forms were concluded, they chose Mr. *John Carver* to be their Governour.

They, next, sent out Parties, in Order that they might examine the Situation of the Country, and deliver in a Report concerning the most proper Spot for the Establishment of a Colony. At their Return, the whole Company were so satisfied with the Result of their Observations, that they resolved to proceed, as soon as possible, to the Place which had been the most approved. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of *December*, they visited, and fixed upon an Eminence on the main Land, where, formerly, Corn had grown, and which, at that Time, was watered by many Springs. Near it, and in View from an adjacent Hill where the *English* intended to erect a Fort, was a capacious Bay, and within it were *Rhode*, and *Elizabeth* Islands. No Time was now lost; a necessary Number of Edifices were constructed; but, in Order that as few as possible might serve, the Colonists divided themselves into nineteen Families, who, after an assiduous Toil, during three Months, had intirely laid the Foundations of a Town.

The Land immediately adjoining to this Spot was uninhabited; a Circumstance which (according to the Information of a Savage, who arrived amongst the *English*, with Offers of Amity from the next adjacent peopled Country,) was owing to a Plague which raged until the Mortality had become universal.

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As the Colonists were settled far to the *Northward* of the Territory for which they had engaged, they wanted an Authority to confirm them in their Possessions; and therefore, it was agreed, to chuse, until they should be impowered to proceed legally, by a Charter from the King, a Set of Rulers, who were to govern them as nearly consonant as possible to the Laws of *England*.

In the following Year, this Plantation, which was reinforced by thirty-five Men, from *England*, and supplied with all Necessaries, received the Name of *New-Plymouth*, in *New England*. Soon afterwards, one of the *Indian* Princes declared War; and this Event suggested to the *English* the Necessity of erecting Forts, in Order to secure themselves against the Invasions of their Enemies. From this Place, were gradually made the Drafts for the other Districts of the Country; and on so slight a Foundation arose that Province which, until a late melancholy Period, was equally remarkable for its Prosperity, and its Commerce.

The King afterwards confirmed the Possession to these Colonists by a Patent, and (reserving the Sovereignty to the Crown of *England*;) thereby enabled them to elect a Governour, Council, and a general Court, in the Manner of a Parliament, who should have a full Power of Administration, and Execution, in all legal Cases whatsoever (i).

In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, Captain *Roger North*, the Brother of the Lord *Dudley North*, having procured a Patent (not-
VOL. IV. B withstanding

(i) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 230.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Introduction to a collection of Voyages, p. 56.—Harris's Coll: Part 1. p. 52.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1843.—Lediard's naval History, Folio. p. 463, 464.

withstanding that one granted to Captain *Harcourt* was still in Force,) and established a Kind of Company, prepared for a Voyage to the River of *Amazons*, chiefly for the Purpose of settling on the adjacent Land, and making a Return of such Commodities as it afforded.

On the thirtieth of *April*, he set Sail from *Plymouth*, accompanied by an hundred, and twenty Gentlemen, exclusive of Passengers, and the Crews belonging to a Ship, a Pinnace, and two Shallops. In the Course of seven Weeks, these Adventurers approached the Mouth of the River, and, having sailed, several hundred Leagues, along the Shore, were so fortunate as to discover a fertile Country, the Inhabitants of which were courteous in their Manners. Having concluded his commercial Negotiations, Captain *North* left the Majority of his Company upon the Spot, and returned to *England* with such a large Cargo of valuable Merchandize as seemed an Earnest of Ease, and Opulence, during the Remainder of his Life; but the infatuated *James*, overpowered by the artful Insinuations of *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, imprisoned this celebrated Adventurer, and detained his Goods until they were damaged, and unfit for Sale. This Act of Oppression retarded the Continuance of his Project, notwithstanding that several of his Company remained in the Country of the *Amazons*, during a considerable Time (*k*).

We shall conclude the Relation of the naval Events of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, with a brief Account of an Engagement between the *Margaret* and *John*, an *English* Ship, mounting eight Guns, and of the Burthen of one hundred, and sixty

(*k*) Smith's general History of Virginia, App. p. 40.—
Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 465.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 19

fixty Tons, and two *Spanish* Men of War, each of the Burthen of three hundred Tons, and carrying sixteen brass Cannons.

The *Margaret* and *John*, commanded by Captain *Chester*, was proceeding to *Virginia*, at once so full of Passengers, and deeply laden, as to be judged apparently unfit for the Purposes of engaging. Near the Island of *Dominica*, this Vessel was intercepted, and attacked by two *Spanish* Ships, at a Time when War had not been declared against the *English*, but so gallantly did the latter, although often boarded by the Enemy, stand on their Defence, during the Space of six Hours, that the *Spanish* Ships received such considerable Damage, and lost such Numbers of their Crews, that they could not, without Difficulty, bear away from their Opponents. On the Day following, and when their Vessels had been refitted, the *Spaniards* sailed near the *English*, but dreading the Consequences which might result from a renewal of the Fight, permitted them to pursue their Voyage (l), (m).

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(l) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1780.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 128.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 465.

(m) The following is a Continuation of the List of Supplies sent to Virginia, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one; and one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-two.

	SHIPS.	BURTHEN. PERSONS. CATTLE.		
		Tons.		
1621, May.	The <i>Eleanor</i>	30	10	
	<i>George</i>	180	120	
	<i>Charles</i>	120	80	
	<i>Marmaduke</i>	100	80	
	<i>Temperance</i>	80	50	
August.	<i>Warwick</i>	160	100	
	<i>Tiger</i>	40	40	
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Virginia, App. p. 40.-
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Towards the Conclusion of the Month of *October*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one, the *Jacob*, of *Bristol*, a Ship of the Burthen of one hundred, and twenty Tons, was overpowered, and taken, after a severe Engagement, by a *Corfair*, belonging to *Algiers*. The *Turks* took out of this Prize all the Crew, excepting four Persons, and sent on Board of her thirteen of their own Men, one of which was appointed Captain, and directed to set Sail. in her, for *Algiers*.

On the fifth Night from their Departure, a violent Storm arose, and the four *Englishmen*, to whom the Dread of Slavery appeared more terrible than Death, availed themselves of the Confusion which this Event occasioned, in Order to regain their Liberty. Observing

	SHIPS.	BURTHEN.	PERSONS.	CATTLE.
		Tons.		
1621, <i>August</i> .	<i>Sea-Flower</i>	140	120	
	<i>Flying-Hart</i>	200	60	40
Novemb.	<i>Discovery</i>	60	20	
	<i>Bona Nova</i>	200	50	
	<i>Hopewell</i>	60	20	
1622, <i>April</i> .	<i>Godspeed</i>	150	100	
	<i>Gift of God</i>	140	100	
	<i>Primrose</i>	80	60	
	<i>Charity</i>	80	30	
	<i>Benaventure</i>	50	10	
<i>May</i> .	<i>White Lion</i>	180	40	40
	<i>Furtherance</i>	180	80	
	<i>Mary & John</i>	160	80	
	<i>James</i>	120	80	

Supplies sent by the Company to the *Sommers Islands*.

	SHIPS.	BURTHEN.	PERSONS.
		Tons.	
1622, <i>April</i> .	<i>Joseph</i>	150	100
<i>July</i> .	<i>James</i>	150	80
<i>August</i> .	<i>Concord</i>	180	70

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 21

ing that the Captain was assisting his Companions to strike the Sails, they rushed, suddenly, upon him, and pushed him overboard. Having seized a Rope, the End of which lay floating on the Ocean, he approached the Ship's Side, and was on the Point of climbing up, when he received a Blow, in Consequence of which he fell backwards, and, thus rendered unable to regain his Hold, soon perished amidst the Waves. The other *Turks*, engaged in Attention to their Duty, were Strangers to the Calamity which befel their Captain, nor suspected an Insurrection from the *English*, until they observed that they were armed with Cutlasses, which they had seized out of the Cabbin belonging to the Master. After a feeble Opposition, two of the Pirates were slain; a third jumped overboard, and was drowned, whilst the remaining nine fled, for Shelter, below the Hatchways, and were immediately confined. Thus successful, the *English* directed their Course to *Saint Lucar*, in *Spain*, where the *Turks* were sold to some of the principal Inhabitants, and languished, afterwards, under that Slavery which they had designed for Others (n).

On the first of *November*, and in the same Year, the *Nicholas*, of *Plymouth*, a Ship of the Burthen of forty Tons, and commanded by *John Rawlins*, departed for the Streights in Company with the *Bonaventure*, of the same Port, and of the Burthen of seventy Tons.

On the eighteenth, the *English* arrived within Sight of *Gibraltar*, and discovered five Ships in full Sail towards them. In a short Time, they came along Side, hoisted *Turkish* Colours, and attacked, and took the *Nicholas*, and the *Bonaventure*. The last Vessel was

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(n) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 370.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 466.

the Prize of the Admiral, who put on Shore twelve of her Crew, together with several *Englishmen* who had been made Captives during a previous Engagement. The Vice-Admiral, who took the *Nicholas*, directed that *Rawlins*, and five of his Associates, should be brought on Board of his Ship, and that three *Englishmen*, and a Boy, should remain in the Prize, under the Guard of thirteen *Turks*. Towards the Close of the succeeding Night, a dreadful Tempest separated the Vice-Admiral Ship from the *Nicholas*. On the twenty-second, the former, having *Rawlins* on Board, entered the Harbour of *Algiers*; and, on the twenty-sixth, the latter arrived within the Road, when the Prisoners were all conducted to the *Bashaw*, who chose the most robust, and healthy Persons amongst the *Englishmen*, and gave Orders that the rest should be sold, in the public Market-Place.

As *Rawlins* had lost the Use of one Hand, he was purchased by the Captain, who took him, at a low Price, and, soon afterwards, on Account of his Infirmary, sold, together with two of the Crew belonging to the *Nicholas*, for a small Sum, to one *John Goodall*, an *English* Renegado, who, with his Associates, had purchased the *Exchange*, of *Bristol*, a Ship formerly taken by the Pirates, but then lying, unrigged, within the *Mole*, and not sufficiently manned for the Purposes of a Voyage.

On the seventh of *January*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty two, the *Exchange*, which now mounted twelve Guns, was intirely equipped, and departed on a Cruize. On Board, were sixty-three *Turkish Moors*, nine *English* Slaves; and one *Frenchman*, and four *Hollanders*, who were free. To serve as Gunners, the Captain had procured two Soldiers,

ILLUSTRIOUS SE A MIN, &c.

diers, the one an *English*, and the other a *Dutch* Renegado.

Rawlins, to whom the Loss of Liberty was rendered doubly painful by the Reflection that he had become the Slave of one who drew his first Breath within the Land of Freedom, and should have disdained the Thought of holding a Fellow-Subject in Captivity, determined to avail himself of the first favourable Opportunity to break loose from Bondage. For this Purpose, he had secretly procured Ropes, iron Crows, and all necessary Implements, in Order to close up the Scuttles, Gratings, and Cabbins, and to secure the Captain, and all his Company. It was likewise agreed amongst his Assistants, that, at a Signal given, the *English*, being Masters of the Gun-Room, should either blow their Enemies up at once, or destroy them, as they issued from their Cabbins. *Rawlins*, cautiously, and by Degrees, discovered his Intentions to the four *Hollanders*, who not only expressed their Determination to join him, but brought over to his Party the Renegadoes, their Countrymen, whilst the *English* prevailed also on the Renegadoes of their Nation to co-operate in the Enterprize.

During the Time that these Plans were in Agitation, *Rawlins* persuaded the Captain, who had already passed the Mouth of the Streights, to steer his Course *Northwards*. On the sixteenth of *February*, the Pirates seized a Bark belonging to *To-bay*, and laden with Salt. On Board of this Prize, (which had been cleared of all the Crew, except a Mate, and two Mariners,) were placed ten *Turks*, together with the *English*, and the two *Dutch* Renegadoes, who had promised to assist in the Execution of the Plot. Before they quitted the Ship, *Rawlins* embraced an Opportunity of assuring them that he should make his Attempt, either during

that, or the succeeding Night. He likewise informed them what Signal would be given immediately previous to the Opening of the Enterprize, and strongly recommended to them that they should set every Sail, and steer towards the *English* Coast.

On the following Morning, the Prize was out of Sight, and the Captain of the *Exchange*, inflamed with Rage at the Conduct of those whom he had appointed to take Care of her, insinuated that it was his Determination to return immediately to *Algiers*. *Rawlins* was now convinced of the Necessity of improving the present Moment. He, therefore, informed the Captain that much Water was in the Hold, but that it did not reach the Pumps, because the Ship had too deep a Lading near the Head. Deceived by this Report, the latter gave Orders that four Guns should be removed towards the Stern, and accordingly, two were placed in Front of the Binnacle, and two in the Steerage. *Rawlins*, having procured as much Powder as was necessary to prime the Pieces, represented to the Captain the Expediency that, in Order to right the Ship, all Hands should be employed at the Pump. During this Operation, he procured two lighted Matches, and lest they should be discovered, secreted one within a Can, and the other between two Spoons. Soon afterwards, he discharged a Gun, by the Shot from which the Binnacle was broken all to Pieces. At this Report, the *English* immediately assembled, and cleared the Hold of the *Moors*, and *Turks*, who had been left below. The Captain, and his Adherents, now endeavoured to seize the *English* who were stationed between the Decks; but so gallant, and effectual was their Resistance, that several of the former were killed by the Discharge of Musquets, through the Gratings, and the Survivors cried out for Mercy. They were directed by their
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Conquerors to go down singly into the Hold, where (to
criminally ungovernable was the Rage of *Rawlins*, and
his Associates!) many were massacred; and the most
intimidated, to avoid sharing the same Fate, plunged at
once into the Ocean. Out of forty-five, no more than
six were saved. Amongst these, was the Captain,
who, together with his Companions, was conveyed by
Rawlins, and his brave Adherents, to *Plymouth*, where
they arrived, on the fifteenth of *February*, in the Year,
one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-two.

The *Torbay* Bark arrived safely at *Penzance*, in *Corn-
wall*, and either so artful were the *English*, or such was
the Ignorance of the *Turks*, that the latter were per-
suaded that the Vessel was sailing towards *Algiers*, un-
til the Day that they approached the Shore. At this
Period, they attempted to resist, but were overpow-
ered, and confined underneath the Gratings. When
the *English* had cast Anchor, the *Turks* were landed,
and afterwards sent, as Prisoners, to *Exeter* (o).

During the Course of this Year, Sir *Ferdinando
Gorges*, who had superintended the Administration of
Affairs in *New-England*, reflecting on the Extent of
the Bounds which had been fixed to the Plantations in
those Parts, and the slow Progress of all Enterprizes
for the Establishment of Colonies, suggested to Sir
William Alexander, a Member of the Privy Council,
Secretary of State for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and,
afterwards, Earl of *Stirling*, the Expediency, and Ad-
vantage of introducing another Settlement in that
Country. Accordingly, a Patent was obtained, and a
Ship sailed, with Colonists, for *Nova Scotia*, which
Place was to be holden by Sir *William*, of the Crown of
Scot-

(o) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p 370.—Lediard's naval His-
tory, V. 2. Folio. p. 466, 467, 468.

Scotland, and governed by the Laws peculiar to that Kingdom.

The Vessel, which had proceeded too late from *England*, was forced to winter at *Newfoundland*. At the Commencement of the ensuing Spring, the Colonists renewed their Voyage, and, having, on their Arrival at the destined Port, fixed on a Spot proper for a Settlement, returned to *England*, fully resolved to revisit the Place at the Beginning of the next Year, and carry thither whatsoever might be necessary for the Execution of their Enterprizes.

Yet the Affairs of this Plantation were not prosperous; and, although several Ships resorted thither from *England*, for the Purpose of exchanging Merchandize; yet neither the *English*, nor the *Scotch*, were able to introduce a Settlement, and the *French*, availing themselves of this Circumstance, took Possession of the Country, and erected Fortifications at *Port Royal*, on the *Northern* Side of *Funda Bay*, and in forty-five Degrees of *North* Latitude. It is needless to acquaint the Reader that this Place was retaken by the *English*, and, afterwards, recovered by the *French*, who held it during some Time (p).

We now proceed to a Continuance of the Relation of the Affairs of *Virginia*. The rapid Increase of Population, and the long, and uninterrupted Peace which, from the Æra of the Marriage between *Rolfe*, and *Pocahontas*, had been observed by the *Indians*, and the Colonists, proved the Means of suggesting to the last, Ideas of Security as fatal as they were groundless. Accustomed to mix with the *English*, at their Entertainments,

(p) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 859.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 20. — Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1871.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 468.

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Folio. p. 468.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 27

tainments, to join in all their Occupations, to enter
their Houses at Discretion, to sleep with them under
the same Roof, and to examine, and use the various
Implements which they had brought from *Europe*, the
Indians were not, at any Period, Strangers to their Pur-
suits, and knew, almost without the Trouble of In-
quiry, whether they were at Home, or in the Woods,
in Bodies, or dispersed, in a Situation of Defence, or
totally unguarded. Grown expert in the Management
of Fire-Arms, they not only supposed themselves suffi-
ciently formidable to contend against the Colonists, but
secretly wished for an Opportunity to perpetrate the
most violent, and barbarous Hostilities.

A melancholy Event soon gave Occasion to the In-
dulgence of their Wishes. An *Indian*, who had mur-
dered his Master, an *European*, was shot by two Boys,
the Servants of the deceased. The whole Race of Sa-
vages, fired with Revenge, now determined to engage
in a general Massacre of the *English*, and, for the Exe-
cution of their Purposes, had fixed on the Forenoon of
the twenty-second of *March*, a Time when the Ob-
jects of their Barbarity, working in their Plantations,
would be at once defenceless, and dispersed. This
dreadful Enterprize was to extend, in the same Instant,
to all the several Settlements, excepting that which was
situated on the *Eastern Shore*.

In the preceding Afternoon, the Savages, the more
effectually to colour their Designs, presented the *Eng-*
lish with Deer, Turkies, Fish, and Fruits, but bor-
rowed their Canoes, in which they crossed the River,
for the Purpose of advising with a neighbouring Race
of *Indians*, concerning the properest Measures for the
Accomplishment of their execrable Conspiracy. On
the Morning of the Massacre, they mixed, unarmed,
amongst the Colonists, partook of their Repasts, and
pre-

preserved every feigned Appearance of Freedom, and of Friendship. When the Time approached for the Perpetration of their Design, they gradually withdrew, but, on a sudden, returned with Hatchets, Axes, and Fire-Arms, and, rushing upon the *English*, without Regard to either Sex, or Age, destroyed all who fell within their Power. Some who made a brave, and early Resistance, had the good Fortune to escape.

In the List taken of the *Christians* who were murdered, during the Course of that Morning, the Number amounted to three hundred, and forty-seven, most of whom died of Wounds given with their own Instruments, and working Tools. The Massacre would have been more general, but that the Plot was providentially discovered, during the Night, which preceded the Execution of it, by a faithful *Indian* to his Master, Mr. *Pace*. To this timely Information, *James-Town*, and the neighbouring Settlements, were indebted for their Safety. The *English* were now become so exasperated against the Savages that they prepared for open War, nor did they abstain from the Commission of the most violent Hostilities, until the Nations concerned in the detested Massacre had been totally extirpated (q).

The Calamities by which *Virginia* was afflicted so terrified the Majority of the surviving Colonists, that a Multitude of Families retired hastily to the Coasts of *Carolina*, and settled in the Province of *Mallica*, near the Head of the River of *May*, where they performed the Offices of Missionaries amongst the *Mallicans*, and the *Apalachites*, whose Sovereign they are recorded to have baptized. Such was the Occasion of the first *English* Settlement, in these Parts, but it was not until
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(q) Smith's general History of Virginia, p 144. — Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 468, 469.

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a later Period that a regular System, either of Polity,
 or of Commerce, was introduced amongst the Colo-
 nists (r).

In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-
 three, happened the dreadful Massacre, at *Amboyna*. Of
 this, we shall present the Reader with a full, and impar-
 tial Relation, because (to borrow the Language of a
 Naval Writer (s),) it gave Birth to that Hatred which
 the *English* had conceived against the *Dutch*; an Ha-
 tred long in its Duration, and, fatal in its Effects. By
 a Treaty concluded between *Great Britain*, and the
United Provinces, in the Year, one thousand, six hun-
 dred, and nineteen, it was stipulated that the *Dutch*
 should enjoy two thirds, and the *English* one of the
 Trade carried on at *Amboyna*. In Pursuance of this
 Agreement, Factories were not only erected in that
 Island, but in other Places. The *Dutch*, who beheld
 with Envy, and Malevolence, the Conveniencies of
 their Situation, and the Progress of their Commerce,
 were determined instantly to pursue such Measures as
 should effect the Extirpation of the *English*. Accord-
 ingly, under Pretence that a Conspiracy was forming,
 they seized the chief Persons in the Factory, and, by
 Torture, wrung from them a Confession of Crimes
 which they never had committed. This abandoned
 Process was followed by the Execution of a great Num-
 ber of the *English*; but the *Dutch*, under the specious
 Shew of Clemency, agreed to discharge the rest.
 They, notwithstanding, entered forcibly into Posses-
 sion of all the other Factories belonging to the *English*,
 on the Islands which produced Spice, and thus mono-
 polized

(r) British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 329.—Lediard's
 Naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 469.

(s) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 34.

polized that valuable Article of Commerce. That these miserable Victims to the Avarice, and Barbarity of their Persecutors, were absolutely innocent, seemed evident from Circumstances that could not be contested. The *English* had only few Houses wherein their Factories were established; but the *Dutch* had rendered themselves, by the Construction of strong Fortresses, too powerful to be resisted. The Number of the *English* did not exceed twenty. In the Castle belonging to the *Dutch*, were two hundred Soldiers; and, within the Harbour, rode eight large Ships of War. At the Place of Execution, the Prisoners protested solemnly that they were not guilty of the Crimes which had been alleged against them, and, would have taken the Sacrament on the Truth of their Assertions, but that the *Dutch* prevented them from receiving it (1).

To place this abominable Transaction in the clearest Point of View, we shall, first, transcribe an Account which hath been delivered by a professed Advocate for the *Hollanders* (2), and next, insert, with some necessary Alterations, a Narrative of Proceedings, taken from the Depositions of six *English* Factors, whereof four were condemned, and pardoned, and the remaining two acquitted, at *Amboyna*. All of these were, at their Return, examined upon Oath, in the *English* Court of Admiralty.

“ The Island of *Amboyna* was, during a long Time, the Subject of Dispute between the *Dutch*, and the *English*. The *East-India* Company, who had made them-

(1) See a Pamphlet entitled “ A true Relation of the unjust, cruel, and barbarous Proceedings against the *English*, at *Amboyna*,” published by Authority. 1624. Quarto.

(2) M. Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*. V. 1. p. 129.—Coke's Detection of the Court, and State of England, p. 96, 97.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 31

“ themselves the Masters of it, entered into a Treaty
“ with the *English*, for the Purpose of driving out the
“ *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*; and by one of its Arti-
“ cles, they agreed to furnish ten Ships of War to
“ facilitate the Execution of the Enterprize. When
“ the necessary Preparations for this Armament were
“ neglected, the King of *Ternate*, taking an Advantage
“ of the Weakness which this Omission had occasion-
“ ed, agreed to a Suspension of Arms with the *Spani-*
“ *ards*, and, forming an Alliance with the King of *Ti-*
“ *dore*, the declared Enemy of the *Dutch*, attacked the
“ several Islands dependant on *Amboyna*. Having re-
“ duced them, he determined to direct his Hostilities
“ against the Citadel, and in this Design, the *English*
“ are reported to have been concerned, and detected by
“ a *Japanese*. The Governour heard from all Quar-
“ ters that the *English* had taken Possession of the Cita-
“ del. Astonished at these Reports, which were, not-
“ withstanding, false, he took Measures for his De-
“ fence, and gave Orders that the *Japanese* should be
“ apprehended, and brought before him. This Man
“ confessed that the *English* were engaged in a Conspi-
“ racy against the Governour; that, during the Ab-
“ sence of this Officer, the Citadel was to be seized,
“ and that the *Japanese* had promised to assist in the
“ Execution of the Design. The Governour immedi-
“ ately arrested every Individual who was charged with
“ having entered into the Conspiracy. The *English*
“ confessed that their Factor had obliged them to swear,
“ upon the Gospel, that they never would reveal the
“ Secret. They, notwithstanding, violated their
“ Oaths, and signed their Confessions, which, by some
“ of the Criminals, were made freely, whilst the Rest
“ felt themselves constrained thereto, by the Violence
“ of the Torture. They were all executed, and this
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“ Transaction is usually called the Massacre of *Amboyna*. The *English* have always maintained that the Crime was purely imaginary, and only made Use of as a Pretext to sacrifice some of their Fellow-Subjects to the Vengeance of a Governour; and, therefore, they continued to demand Satisfaction for this Loss from the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, to the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventy-two, when, such was the indifferent State of their Affairs, that they were glad to relinquish their Complaints.”

We now proceed to the second Narrative. “ At the Commencement of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, a most cruel Scene was acted at *Amboyna*, one of the *Sindæ* Islands, lying near the *Moluccas*, in the *East-Indies*. A Treaty had been concluded in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, between *England*, and the *United Provinces*, by which it was determined that, in Consideration of the severe Losses, and enormous Expences incurred by the *Dutch*, in turning the Channel of Trade in the Islands of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese*, they should enjoy two thirds of that Commerce, whilst the *English* might keep Possession of the remaining third.”

“ In Pursuance of this Agreement, *English* Factories were established at the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, the last of which is the principal Place in the *East-Indies*, where grow the Mace, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, and Cloves. Scarcely had the *English* been settled at these Islands, during two Years, when the *Dutch*, in Order to deprive them of their Share in the Spice-Trade, pretended that they had engaged with the Natives in a Conspiracy, and that they had

“ formed

the Massacre of *Amboy*. maintained that the and only made Use of their Fellow-Subjects; and, therefore, satisfaction for this Loss hundred, and twenty thousand, six hundred, was the indifferent were glad to relin-

narrative. "At the thousand, six hundred, cruel Scene was acted. Islands, lying near. A Treaty had thousand, six hundred, and the *United* ined that, in Con- and enormous Ex- turning the Chan- *Moluccas*, *Banda*, t, and *Portuguese*, f that Commerce, fession of the re-

English Factories *Banda*, and *Amboy*- cipal Place in the, Nutmegs, Cin- d the *English* been Years, when the of their Share in they had engaged and that they had "formed

"formed a Design of seizing the Citadel, and forcing
"all the Garrison, together with every Subject of the
"United States to depart immediately for *Europe*. This
"Charge will be deemed the more absurd, when it is
"reflected that only twenty *English* resided at *Amboy*,
"and that the *Dutch* had, under their Command, a mi-
"litary Force consisting of two hundred Soldiers, and,
"likewise, eight powerful Ships, at Anchor within the
"Harbour. It is, here, necessary to premise that, on
"the eleventh of *February*, a *Japanese*, who, during
"the Night, was walking on the Rampart at *Amboy*,
"proposed to the *Dutch* Sentinel some Questions con-
"cerning the Strength of the Castle, and the Garrison
"within it. His Inquiries, so far from being criminal,
"were not improper, as he wished to understand the
"Course of the military Watches, and the Strength of
"that Aid which he might expect, in Case of any sud-
"den Attack in that Quarter where, as a Soldier, he
"was accustomed to serve the *Dutch*. These Barbari-
"ans, who had long waited for a Pretence to persecute
"the *English*, availed themselves of this Opportunity,
"apprehended the *Japanese*, and by inflicting on him
"the severest Tortures, compelled him to declare that
"he, together with a Number of his Countrymen, had
"been engaged by all the *English* to assist in the intend-
"ed Reduction of the Citadel. Soon afterwards,
"others of the *Japanese* were imprisoned, stretched
"upon the Rack, and compelled to give such Evidences
"as the *Dutch* thought fit to dictate. A *Portuguese*,
"the Guardian of the Slaves belonging to the Citadel,
"was also interrogated at the same Time."

"During the Examination, which lasted nearly four
"Days, the *English* went freely to the Castle, and re-
"ceived Intelligence of these alarming Measures, yet,
"being conscious of their Innocence, they made no
Vol. IV.

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"At-

" Attempt to save themselves by Flight. At this Pe-
 " riod, *Abel Price*, the Surgeon to the *English* Factory,
 " being imprisoned in the Castle, for having attempt-
 " ed, during a Fit of Intoxication, to set Fire to an
 " Edifice, inhabited by the *Dutch*, was informed that
 " the *Japanese*, who were brought before him, lan-
 " guishing under the Effects of the Cruelties which
 " they had endured, confessed that the *English* had en-
 " gaged in a Conspiracy, for the Purpose of taking Pos-
 " session, by Violence, of the Castle; and he was also
 " threatened with Punishments equally severe, unless
 " he made Depositions to the same Effect as those
 " which had been given by the *Japanese*. At first, he
 " persisted not only in Declarations of his own Inno-
 " cence, but affirmed that his Associates were free from
 " their imputed Guilt. On the fifteenth of *February*,
 " and when the Torture was inflicted, his Resolution
 " failed. He confessed to every Question that was
 " asked."

" Captain *Towerjon*, and the Rest of the *English* re-
 " siding within the Town, were now sent for, and all,
 " except one, attended on the Governour. He spoke in
 " general Terms concerning the Accusation which was
 " lodged against them, and then gave Orders for their
 " Imprisonment, until the Day of Trial. The *Eng-*
 " *lishman* who had absented himself, was next arrested,
 " at his own Dwelling. His Merchandize, together
 " with that of his Associates, was taken into Custody,
 " by Inventory; and all the Chests, Boxes, Books,
 " Writings, and other Articles, were carefully secured.
 " Captain *Towerjon* was committed a close Prisoner to
 " his Chamber, and strictly watched by a Guard of
 " *Dutch* Soldiers. *Emanuel Thompson* was detained
 " within the Castle; and *John Beaumont*, *Edward Col-*
 " *lins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, *Timothy John-*
 " *son*,

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 35

son, John Fardo, and Robert Brown, the remaining
seven, were sent on board of the *Dutch* Ships, and
immediately put in Irons. On the same Day, the
Governour dispatched an armed Party to the two
lesser Factories in the same Island; and gave Orders
for the Apprehension of *Colston*, *Clarke*, and *Sharrock*;
at *Kitto*; and of *Coskins*, *Webber*, and *Sadler*, at *Larica*.
These, on the sixteenth, were brought, Prisoners, to
the Castle. At the same Time, three *Englishmen*
were seized at *Cambello*, and three more at *Lobo*, two
small Factories. On the twentieth, they arrived, in
Chains, at *Amboyna*."

"As, in Order to shorten their excruciating Tor-
ments, the *Japanese*, and others declared their
Knowledge of Incidents which never had existed, it
was imagined that the *English*, if exposed to the same
Cruelties, would unanimously confess that they had
been guilty of the Crimes alledged against them.
Accordingly, their inhuman Persecutors proceeded to
inflict the Torture. Each devoted Victim was first
obliged to suspend himself by his Hands, from the
Top of a large, and lofty Door. In this Position,
He was fastened by two Staples of Iron, when his
Arms were stretched out to an Extent as great as
could possibly be attained. His Legs were next
raised to the Height of two Feet, and distended, with
equal Violence, to a similar, and parallel Distance.
A Cloth was now bound about his Neck, and Face,
so closely that no Water could glide down the outer
Side of it. Drops of Water were then poured gently
on his Head, until the whole Quantity which had
fallen rose within the Foldings of the Cloth some-
what higher than his Head. During this dreadful
Situation, it was impossible that he could draw
Breath, and not suck in the Water, which, still trick-
ling

“ling down, forced the inward Parts, gushed from his
“Nose, Ears, and Eyes, and, at length, threw him in-
“to fainting Fits. At this Juncture, he was let down,
“and suffered to discharge the Water from his Sto-
“mach. When only slightly recovered, he again
“endured the same tormenting Operations; and these
“were repeated until his Eyes had started from their
“Sockets, and his Body became distended to an enor-
“mous Size. If, still, his Fortitude could rise superior
“to such Excess of Agony, and he disdained to pur-
“chase a Relief from it, by unjustly loading either his
“Countrymen, or himself with Accusations, he was
“again drawn up to bear Anguish of a severer Kind.
“Lighted Candles were placed underneath his Arm-
“pits, his Elbows, the Soles of the Feet, and the
“Palms of the Hands. When the Flame was extin-
“guished, by the melting Matter dropping from the
“Flesh, the Candles were again lighted; nor did the
“Barbarians admit a Discontinuance of this horrid
“Process, until the Parts were burned nearly to the
“Bone. Leading Questions were now put to the dis-
“tracted Sufferer, and such Interpretation were given
“to his Answers as rendered them adequate to the
“most ample Confession of his Guilt. He was now
“conveyed to a dark Dungeon, where he remained,
“during five Days, a miserable, and loathsome Object,
“naked, debarred from the Attendance of a Surgeon,
“to dress his Wounds, and scarcely supplied with Nou-
“rishment sufficient for the Preservation of his Life.
“These execrable Persecutors appear to have been
“skilled in all the wild Varieties of Cruelty; and we
“learn from the melancholy History of the wretched
“Victims, that when their Toes, and Fingers had
“been slit, and their Breasts deeply lanced, the wounded
“Parts were filled with Gunpowder, and set on Fire.”

“Amongst

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"Amongst the *English*, *Coslins*, *Johnson*, *Clark*, and
 " *Thompson*, endured the various Tortures to the last
 " Extremity, and until they were seduced into a Con-
 " fession of Guilt which they had never practised, en-
 " couraged, or discovered. *Brown*, *Collins*, *Weiberell*,
 " *Fardo*, and Others, were disarmed, at the Expiration
 " of an Hour, of that *Christian* Fortitude with which
 " they had supported the Excess of Agony; and bore
 " Testimony to the absurdest Falsities. The Rest, at
 " once intimidated by the Sufferings of their Associ-
 " ates, delivered an Evidence as agreeable to the Wishes
 " of their Judges, as it was wide from Truth. Yet,
 " the Majority, at the Time of their Examination, whe-
 " ther before, or after the forced Confession of a Design
 " to seize the Castle, protested that they were innocent,
 " and affirmed that by delivering Depositions against
 " others, they had sacrificed all Honesty, and Friend-
 " ship, to their private Feelings. When *Coslin*, *Grigs*,
 " and *Fardo*, were brought forward, in Order that they
 " might confront *Tower*, who solemnly asserted that
 " he was guiltless, they fell on their Knees, and, after
 " having prayed to the SUPREME BEING for the Par-
 " don of their Sins, declared that their whole Evidence
 " was false, and given only to escape from that terri-
 " ble, but undeserved Punishment which had been in-
 " flicted on their Companions. Yet, in the next Mo-
 " ment, when these affrighted Wretches were threaten-
 " ed with the Torture, they renewed their Affirma-
 " tions to all their former pretended Confessions."

"It is, however, necessary to remark that all the
 " *English* who were sentenced to be executed (*) did,
 " from

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(*) Some, through the Interest of their Dutch Friends, re-
 ceived a Pardon; and Others, in Consequence of the same
 Mediation, were acquitted.

“ from that Period, solemnly assert, on their Hopes of
 “ Pardon, and Salvation, that they, and those devoted
 “ Individuals whom they had accused, were not guilty
 “ of the Crime for which they were to suffer. Thus,
 “ at the End of this Schedule, Captain *Towerfon* writes;
 “ (‘ I am not guilty of that which is laid to my charge,
 “ and for which I am condemned to die.’) *Grigs*,
 “ who had accused *Towerfon*, inserted within his Ta-
 “ ble-Book, the following Memorandum, which was
 “ signed by himself, and by *Beaumont*, *Price*, and
 “ *Brown*: (‘ By extreme Torture, we have been con-
 “ strained to utter what we never meant, and we take
 “ it upon our Deaths, that we perish guiltless of the
 “ Accusation which hath been laid to our Charge.’)
 “ The Words of *Colson* are, (‘ On my Salvation, and,
 “ as I hope for Redemption through JESUS CHRIST,
 “ I am clear of that Conspiracy for which I am to die,
 “ neither do I know that any *Englishman* is the least con-
 “ cerned in it.’) In one of his Tablets, also, is the
 “ following Declaration, signed with his own Name:
 “ (‘ I have confessed that which, (as I hope for ever-
 “ lasting Mercy,) is false; and I was compelled, for
 “ fear of Torment, to give an unjust Evidence against
 “ Captain *Towerfon*, who (I do most solemnly declare,
 “ as I hope, hereafter, to meet with Pardon for my
 “ Sins,) is as ignorant of this Conspiracy as a Child
 “ unborn.’) All these Writings were preserved; but
 “ other Attestations, to the same Purport, (and, parti-
 “ cularly, that of Captain *Towerfon*, who was observed
 “ to make several Minutes, during his Imprisonment,)
 “ were suppressed by the *Dutch*.”

“ On the twenty-sixth of *February*, all the *English*
 “ under Sentence of Death, except *Towerfon*, and
 “ *Thompson*, were led into the Hall belonging to the
 “ Castle, and directed to prepare for Execution. Im-
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"mediately on their Appearance, the *Japanese* cried
"out; ('O, Ye *English*! when did we ever eat, or talk
"with you?') To which they answered; ('Why
"then have you accused us?') These artless Savages
"then discovered their tortured Bodies, and, with a
"peculiar Eloquence, exclaimed, ('Ah! if a Stone
"had been thus burning amidst the Flames, would it
"not have changed its Nature! How much sooner
"then must we change our Nature, who are but Flesh,
"and Blood.') When the *Dutch* Ministers visited the
"ten *Englishmen* who were standing in the Hall, they
"exhorted them, as the Remainder of their Lives
"would necessarily be short, to make a full, and true
"Confession. Still these unhappy Victims persisted
"in their Innocence, and desired that they might re-
"ceive the Sacrament, as a Confirmation of their Pro-
"fessions, and as a Seal of the Pardon of their Sins;
"but this Favour was refused. When the Preacher
"observed to the *English* that the clearer they were
"from Guilt, the greater would be their Reward,
"Colson delivered to him his Purse, and besought him
"to exhort the Governour to repent of that bloody
"Tragedy, in which he, and his Associates had been
"the unrelenting Actors. At this Moment, the *Eng-*
"lish declared that the Words which Colson had last ut-
"tered coincided with their own Sentiments. When
"Fardo charged all his Countrymen, as they should an-
"swer for their Sincerity, at the Judgment Seat of the
"ALMIGHTY, to confess truly, and for the Satisfac-
"tion of the World, whether they were innocent;
"Colson answered; ('If I be guilty of it, more, or
"less, let me never be a Partaker of the Joys of Hea-
"ven.') It was now that the others cried out
"('Amen! for me, GOOD LORD!') They next re-
"quested Forgiveness of each other, on Account of
"those

“ those false Accusations which had been extorted from
 “ them, either by the Dread of Punishment, or the
 “ horrible Severity with which it was inflicted. Each
 “ freely pardoned his Associate ; for no Individual was
 “ falsely accused, but he himself had falsely accused an-
 “ other. The following Night was spent, by the *Eng-*
 “ *lish*, in Prayer, in singing of Psalms, and adminis-
 “ tering Comfort to each other, whilst the *Dutch*
 “ Guards, with the most brutal Mockery, and Inso-
 “ lence, would have presented them with full Cups of
 “ Wine, out of which they bade them drink, and giv-
 “ ing a Loose to Merriment, and Intoxication, set their
 “ Miseries at Defiance.”

“ On the twenty-seventh of *February*, being the
 “ Day appointed for the Execution, the condemned
 “ Persons first requested *John Powle*, and, afterwards,
 “ all who had been either acquitted, or pardoned, to
 “ bear Witness to their Friends in *England*, of their
 “ Innocency, and that they were absolutely murdered
 “ by the *Dutch* ; for the Pardon of whom they should
 “ pray to GOD, and trusted that He would vouchsafe
 “ to extend his Mercy to their Souls.”

“ When the *English* had been conducted to the Place
 “ of Execution, (not by the nearest, and common
 “ Way, but in Procession around the Town,) they
 “ severally declared on Oath that they were free from
 “ their imputed Guilt, and then chearfully submitted
 “ to the last, and fatal Punishment. The Persons exe-
 “ cuted were Mr. *Towerjon*, Agent to the *English*, at
 “ *Amboyna* ; *Colson*, *Thompson*, *Johnson*, *Wetherell*, *Clark*,
 “ *Grigs*, *Fardo*, *P. ice*, and *Brown*. With these, suf-
 “ fered one *Perez*, a Native of *Portugal*, who swore
 “ upon the Cross, that he was innocent ; and, likewise,
 “ nine *Japanese*, who solemnly exculpated themselves,
 “ amidst all the Ceremonies prescribed by their Reli-
 “ gion,

ad been extorted from
Punishment, or the
was inflicted. Each
for no Individual was
ad falsely accused an-
was spent, by the Eng-
Psalms, and administ-
er, whilst the *Dutch*
Mockery, and Infor-
m with full Cups of
them drink, and giv-
Intoxication, set their

February, being the
tion, the condemned
le, and, afterwards,
ed, or pardoned, to
in *England*, of their
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gion, and implored Heaven to forgive their Prose-
cutors."

"On the Day following, the new *Dutch* General
sent *Beaumont*, *Sharroek*, and *Webber*, the four who
had been pardoned, to different Factories. Even
the *Hollanders* did not relinquish their Oppressions,
but forcibly took Possession of the *English* Settle-
ments at *Seran*, *Pooleroon*, and the other neighbour-
ing Islands. Thus, did they become almost entirely
enabled to monopolize the Spice-Trade, in those
Parts."

We shall remark, nearly in the Words of a naval
Writer (*y*), (to whose Researches we are so frequently
indebted,) that it is indeed strange that, considering
the maritime Strength of the *English* at the Time when
they received this Insult, and the quick Sense which
they have always entertained of any national Affront,
no proper Satisfaction was procured, nor any vigorous
Measures entered into, for the Purpose of exacting it.
But the Wonder will, in a great Measure, cease, when
we reflect on the State of the Crown, and of the People,
at that Period. The King had been engaged, during
many Years, in a tedious, base, and disgusting Nego-
tiation, for the Accomplishment of a Marriage be-
tween his Son *Charles*, and a Princess of the royal Fa-
mily of *Spa*. . To the chimerical Advantages which
he proposed to reap from this Connexion, had he sa-
crificed the Interests of his House, the Glory of his
Government, and the Affections of his People. Yet
his Endeavours were unsuccessful; and he was, at
length, compelled to break off the Treaty abruptly, and
think of preparing for the Commencement of Hostili-
ties; a Situation from which he had always been much,
and criminally averse, but, particularly, at the Close of
his

(*y*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 37.

his Life, and Reign. Such was the Posture of Affairs, when the bloody Scene was acted, at *Amboyna*; and therefore, although it had excited a general Spirit of Resentment, and occasioned severe Expostulations with the Republic, yet the Attention of the Crown to the proposed War, with *Spain*, and its Concern for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, joined to the Necessity that the *Dutch* should be cautiously applied to, at so critical a Juncture, prevented the *English* Court from proceeding farther than Remonstrances, whilst the *United States* preserved exclusively a lucrative, and important Branch of Commerce.

The Historian adds that he hath taken the more Pains to decide the Point, because it is full Proof of a Truth which ought never to be forgotten; domestic Dissensions are particularly fatal to the *English*, as a trading Nation; and it is impossible for them to maintain their Commerce in a flourishing Condition, if they do not, at least, enjoy Peace, and with it, Unanimity at home, howsoever unfavourable their Affairs may prove abroad (z).

On the seventeenth of *February*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, attended by the Earl of *Buckingham*, set Sail for *Spain*, on a Visit to the *Infanta*. The Fleet which, on this Occasion, was equipped to be his Convoy, consisted of eight Men of War, and two Pinnaces, under the Command of the Earl of *Rutland*. The only Advantage which resulted from this short Voyage was a faint, but just Idea which the Prince was enabled to conceive of maritime Affairs. An Inquiry concerning the Transactions at the Court of *Madrid*, is foreign to our Subject. Be it sufficient to remark that, on the ninth of *September*, *Charles* took Leave of the *Infanta*, and

(z) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 38.

the Posture of Affairs, at *Amboyna*; and a general Spirit of Expostulations with the Crown to the Concern for the Necessity that applied to, at so critical a Court from proceeding, whilst the *United States*, and important Branch

hath taken the more use it is full Proof of a forgotten; domestic to the *English*, as a possible for them to maintain Condition, if they and with it, Unanimity able their Affairs may

uary, in the Year, one twenty-three, *Charles*, the Earl of *Buckingham*, the *Infanta*. The Fleet equipped to be his Conqueror, and two Pinnaces, of *Rutland*. The only this short Voyage was the Prince was enabled to. An Inquiry concerning of *Madrid*, is foreign to to remark that, on the Leave of the *Infanta*, and Admirals, V. 2. p. 38.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 43

and disembarked, towards the Conclusion of the Month, at the Isles of *Scilly*.

Notwithstanding that it is difficult to ascertain the Time when the *English* first settled at *Barbadoes*, yet, as the Event was previous to the Demise of *James*, it cannot be improper to place it towards the Conclusion of this Reign. That the Island had been visited by the *English*, at a Period which preceded the Commencement of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, appears from an Act, passed, during the Course of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and sixty-six, in the Assembly of *Barbadoes*, for the better ascertaining of the Laws of that Island. Herein, it is observed that all Acts confirmed by any Governour, and Councillour, President, and Council, by Virtue of any Commission from *James*, or *Charles*, the First, &c. &c.

Thus far it is certain; that about the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty four, a Ship, belonging to Sir *William Curteen*, and, on her Passage from *Fernambuco*, in *Brazil*, was driven, by Strefs of Weather, on this Coast, which hath been mentioned, by *Ligon*, as the most windwardly Island of the *Caribbes*, *Tobago* only excepted (a).

That the Ship touched at this Island, about the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty four, may be concluded (to borrow the Opinion of a naval Writer (b),) for the following Reasons. It is evident that no *Englishman* could sail to *Brazil*, but under the Protection of the *Dutch West-India Company*, the *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese*, having made it an invariable Rule

(a) *Tobago* is observed to lie in eleven Degrees, and sixteen Minutes of North Latitude; and is above a Degree nearer to the Line than *Barbadoes*.

(b) *Lediard's naval History*, V. 2. Folio. p. 473.

Rule to inflict Death on such Strangers as should adventure amongst them, on that Part of the Continent.

Although the *Dutch West-India Company*, after the Expiration of the Truce between *Philip*, the third, King of *Spain*, and the Crown of *Portugal*, began, by Permission of the *States-General*, to trade thither, yet they never sent any Fleet, until the Commencement of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, previous to which Period, it cannot be imagined that the *English* would have ventured to *Brasil*, the *Dutch* not having established any Settlement; and as King *James* died, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, it is natural to conclude that, during the Course of the preceding Year, the Ship belonging to Sir *William Curteen*, arrived at *Barbadoes*.

Whether Sir *William* was on board, or what Rank, exclusive of Knighthood, he held in Life, are Points which cannot be determined. *Ligon* hath only observed that a Vessel, belonging to Sir *William Curteen*, was driven near the Coast, and cast Anchor before it. The Crew landed, and, during some Time, examined the Situation of the Place, which was incumbered with Woods, where no Animal could be discovered, except Hogs, that had been left there by the *Portuguese*, from whom the Island received its Name (c).

On their Return home, the *English* delivered a full, and favourable Report of the Discoveries which they had made; and, soon afterwards, several Noblemen, and others made Preparation for the Establishment of a Colony on the Island. Men were now sent thither in Vessels, freighted with Provisions, and working Tools, for the Purpose of cutting down the Woods, clearing

(c) *Los Barbados*; a Portuguese Term, and probably allusive to the Barbarity of the Inhabitants.

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Part of the Continent.

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clearing the Ground, and forwarding the various Arts
of Agriculture.

Amongst the several Adventurers, *William*, Earl of
Pembroke, was the Chief. Under his Patronage, the
Colony was established, and a Captain *Cannon*, whom
he had recommended, presided over it, with the Rank
of Governour. The first Planters were, notwithstand-
ing, obliged to abandon their Settlements, or hold them
of the Earl of *Carlisle*, who obtained a Grant of the
Land from the Crown (d).

At this Period, also, Preparations were made, at the
Expence of Mr. *Ralph Marisfield*, and his Associates,
for the Establishment of a Colony, at the Island of
Saint Christopher. It was determined that this Enter-
prize should be conducted by Captain *Warner*, a Person
of strict Integrity, active Passions, and extensive Know-
ledge. On the twenty-eighth of *January*, in the Year,
one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, he ap-
proached the Place, attended only by fifteen Persons;
William Tested, *John Rhodes*, *Robert Bims*, *William Be-*
nsfield, Serjeant *Jones*, Mr. *Ware*, *William Ryle*, *Row-*
land Grasscock, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Weaver*,
Edward Warner, (the Son of the Captain,) Serjeant
Polon, a Sailor, and a Cook.

At their Arrival, they found three *Frenchmen*, who,
at first, not only opposed the *English*, but endeavoured
to persuade the *Indians* to take Arms against them. In
a short Time, all Parties became reconciled, and lived
together. At length, the *English* constructed a Fort,
raised Houses, and planted Fruits. At the Commence-
ment of *September*; their Crop of Tobacco bore a plenti-
tiful

(d) *British Empire in America*, V. 2. p. 2.—*Lediard's*
Travels in America, V. 2. Folio. p. 473, 474.

tiful Appearance; but, on the nineteenth of the Month, it was destroyed, during the Violence of a Hurricane. For this Space of Time, *Warner*, and his Associates subsisted on Fish, *Cassado* Bread, Potatoes, Plantains, Pines, Guanoes, and Turtles.

On the eighteenth of *March*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, Captain *Jefferson*, and three Passengers, arrived in the *Hopewell*, of *London*, which was freighted with those slight Articles of Commerce that were the most likely to captivate the Attention of the *Indians*. The *English* now reaped a large Crop of Tobacco; and, with it, Captain *Warner* returned to *England*, leaving on the Island his Associates, at that Period, deserted by the *French*, who formed a Settlement apart from all the rest (e).

In the Spring of this Year, the King fell sick of a tertian Ague; and when the flattering Courtiers, recurring to the Proverb, observed that, during that Season, the Disease was Health for a Monarch; he, calmly, and with a Smile, replied that, by the Expression, was understood a young Monarch. When rendered feeble by the Repetition of his Fits, he prepared for Death with a religious Fortitude, and, on the twenty-seventh of *March*, expired, in the twenty-third Year of his Reign, and the fifty-ninth Year of his Age. The Character of a Prince who was pacific even to a Degree of Pusillanimity, would appear foreign to the Subject of this Work; yet, in Justice to his Memory, it is necessary to remark, and prove that he was at once the zealous Patron of the Navy, and the liberal Encourager of Commerce.

It

(e) Collection of Voyages, V. 2. p. 361.—Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 474.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 47

It is on Record (f) that during the Reign of this Prince, nine Ships were added to the royal Navy. An accurate Historian (g) hath concluded that the List must be defective, because no Mention is made of the largest Vessel, built at this Period; and built also in Consequence of an express Order from the Sovereign: As the Account is equally authentic, and exact, it may be proper that we should present it to the Reader.

"In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, the King built a most goodly Ship for War, the Keel whereof was one hundred, and fourteen Feet long; and the Cross-Beam was forty-four Feet, in Length. She will carry sixty-four Pieces of great Ordnance, and is of the Burthen of fourteen hundred Tons. This royal Ship is double built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within, and without, with all Manner of curious Carving, Painting, and rich Gilding, being, in all Respects, the greatest, and goodliest Ship that ever was built in *England*. This glorious Ship, the King gave unto his Son, *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*. On the twenty-fourth of *September*, the King, the
"Queen,

(f) A List of SHIPS built, in Consequence of an Order from KING JAMES, the First *.

SHIPS.	MEN in HARBOUR.	MEN at SEA.
<i>The Reformation</i>	9	250
<i>Happy Entrance</i>	7	160
<i>Garland</i>	7	160
<i>Saint George</i>	9	250
<i>Mary-Rose</i>	6	120
<i>Triumph</i>	12	300
<i>Swifisure</i>	9	250
<i>Bonaventure</i>	7	160
<i>Saint Andrew</i>	9	250

* Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 277.

(g) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 43.

OF

teenth of the Month,
nce of a Hurricane.
, and his Associates
Potatoes, Plantains,

the Year, one thou-
e, Captain *Jefferson*;
e *Hopewell*, of *Lon-*
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ely to captivate the
English now reaped a
it, Captain *Warner*
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French, who formed
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King fell sick of a
ering Courtiers, re-
nat, during that Sea-
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that, by the Expres-
onarch. When ren-
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was pacific even to a
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and the liberal En-

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361.—Lediard's na-

“ Queen, the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *York*, and
 “ the Lady *Elizabeth*, with many great Lords, went
 “ unto *Woolwich*, to see it launched, but, because of
 “ the Narrowness of the Dock, it could not then be
 “ launched; whereupon the Prince came, the next
 “ Morning, by three o’Clock, and then, at the Launch-
 “ ing thereof, the Prince named it after his own Dig-
 “ nity, and call it *The Prince*. The great Work-
 “ Master in building of this Ship, was Master *Phineas*
 “ *Pet*, some Time Master of Arts, of *Emanuel College*,
 “ in *Cambridge* (b).

From the same Authority (i); we learn that the King
 went on Board of a large *East-India* Ship, of the Bur-
 then of twelve hundred Tons, which was built in *Eng-
 land*, and appears to have been the first Vessel of that
 Size, launched within the Kingdom. *James* called it
The Trade’s Increase, and gave, also, to a Pinnace, of the
 Burthen of two hundred, and fifty Tons, which was
 built at the same Time, the Name of the *Pepper-Corn*.
 This Circumstance is confirmed by the following Pas-
 sage, from a contemporary Writer (k). “ Our *East-
 “ India* Merchants have lately built a goodly Ship, of
 “ the Burthen of more than twelve hundred Tons, to
 “ the Launching whereof the King, and Prince were
 “ invited, and had a bountiful Banquet. The King
 “ graced Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Governour, with a
 “ Chain, in the Manner of a Collar, of more Value
 “ than two hundred Pounds, with his Picture hanging
 “ at it, and put it about his Neck, with his own Hands,
 “ naming the great Ship, *The Trade’s Increase*; and the
 “ Prince, a Pinnace, of the Burthen of two hundred;
 “ and

(b) Stowe’s Annals, continued by Howes, p. 996. —
 Camden’s Annals of the Reign of James, A. D. 1610.

(i) Stowe’s Annals, p. 994.

(k) Winwood’s Memorials, V. 3. p. 118.

the Duke of York, and
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The great Work-
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then of two hundred;
"and

y Howes, p. 996.—
es, A. D. 1610.

p. 118.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 49

"and fifty Tons, (built to wait upon her,) *The Pepper-*
"*Corn*."

These Circumstances alone would indicate how af-
siduously the King attended to the Maintenance of
respectable marine Establishment. Let it be added
(that we may place his Conduct, on these Occasions, in
the fairest Point of View,) that the new Ships were
built in the Course of five Years, preceding the Year,
one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-three, and that
fifty thousand Pounds were annually set apart for the
Expences of the Fleet exclusive of the Value of thirty-
six thousand Pounds in Timber, which was granted;
every Year, from the royal Forests (l). Whensoever
the Exigencies of the State required that such a Mea-
sure should be embraced, the Vessels belonging to the
Merchants were instantly converted into Ships of War.
Thus, it is apparent that throughout a Reign when
Peace was anxiously cultivated, and uninterruptedly
preserved, the *English* Fleet became formidable in the
Eyes of all *Europe*; and even James, the passive James
had effected the Establishment of a formidable maritime
Equipment, and, with Pleasure, assured his Parliament;
that the Navy had not, at any preceding Period, been
in so excellent a Condition (m).

A discerning naval Writer (n) observes that al-
though he cannot exactly ascertain the Additions
which were made to the royal Fleet, by this Prince, yet,
from an Inspection of some authentic Calculations, he
will venture to affirm that the Ships of War, belonging
to *Elizabeth*, at the Time of her Decease, might include
somewhat more than sixteen thousand Tons; and that,
during the Reign of James, they amounted to more

VOL. IV. D

(l) Parl. Journ. 11. Mar. 1623.

(m) Parl. Hist. V. 6, p. 94.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 44.

than twenty thousand Tons (o). To this Account, we shall subjoin, that the Navy of *England*, which was a Terror to its Enemies, when *Elizabeth* filled the Throne, amounted (exclusive of Pinnaces,) to thirty-three Ships (p), the largest of which was not equal to a fourth Rate Man of War, in the present *Æra* (q), (r).

It may, in this Place, be necessary to observe, from a respectable Authority (s), that, under the public spirited Administration of *Elizabeth*, the *English* first acquired a competent Idea of the Benefits of an extensive Commerce, and appeared determined to take upon themselves the Management of their own Trade, which, until that *Æra*, had rested almost exclusively in the Hands of Foreigners. During the Continuance of the War with *Spain*, the commercial Conduct of the Merchants was unexceptionable. In so true a Spirit of Patriotism, did they prosecute their private Advantage, that it proved, likewise, of public Utility, by increasing the Number of Seamen, and of powerful Vessels, belong-

(o) This Calculation is taken from a Manuscript containing Notes on Hackluyt's Voyages.

(p) Coke's Institut. B. 4. C. 1.— Consultation in Parliament for the Navy.

(q) Sir Walter Raleigh (in whose Opinion no Ship of War should ever have been builded larger than of the Burthen of six hundred Tons,) observes, in his Discourse concerning the Invention of Shipping, that the Fleet, during the twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, consisted only of thirteen Ships, which were afterwards augmented by eleven. Mr. Hume remarks that Sir Walter probably reckoned some to be Pinnaces, which Coke called Ships.

(r) James also granted a Commission of Inquiry, for the Reformation of Abuses in the Navy, the Proceedings upon which are still preserved.—M. S. in Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, E. 8.

(s) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 39.

to this Account, England, which was Elizabeth filled the maces,) to thirty- was not equal to present Æra (9),

to observe, from der the public spi- ne *English* first ac- fits of an extensive ed to take upon own Trade, which, exclusively in the Continuance of the duct of the Mer- true a Spirit of private Advantage, Utility, by increas- f powerful Vessels, belong-

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union no Ship of War an of the Burthen of ourse concerning the during the twenty- th, consisted only of uginented by eleven. ably reckoned some

of Inquiry, for the ne Proceedings upon Sibl. Cott. Vitellius,

, V. 2. p. 39.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 51

belonging to the Kingdom. After the Accession of *James*, and the Establishment of Peace, this rational Line of Action was removed for one more novel, and surprizing. The *English* Traders were conscious of the great Advantage which resulted from the Use of large, and stout Ships, but instead of building such, deemed it sufficient to put Cargoes on Board of those belonging to their Neighbours, and that, because, in Consequence of this Method, the Expence was rendered, in a small Degree, less burdensome. Thus did the *English* Shipping decay, in Proportion as the Trade increased; until, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, this absurd Policy was attended by such alarming Consequences, that the Port of *London* did not possess even Vessels of the Burthen of two hundred Tons. The *Trinity House* now, presented a Petition to the King, setting forth the Matters of Fact, and the dreadful Effects which must ensue with Regard to the naval Power of the State, through the Decay of Seamen, and praying that he would put into Execution some old, and wholesome Laws, which were calculated for the Redress of this Evil; suggesting, at the same Time, the Example of the State of *Venice*, that, on a like Occasion, had prohibited their Subjects from transporting any Goods, in foreign Bottoms. At this particular Period, the Merchants unanimously opposed the *Trinity House*, and, as their Interest was more firmly established at the Court, prevailed against it. Yet, previous to the Expiration of the Year, Opinions began to change, and these Merchants convinced of their Error, set their Hands to the Petitions of the Mariners. An extraordinary Circumstance produced this fortunate Effect. Two Ships, each of the Burthen of three hundred Tons, and the Property of *Dutch* Merchants, residing at *London*, entered the River *Thames*, laden with Currants,

and Cotton. The Eyes of all the *English* Traders were immediately opened. They now perceived that in Consequence of their wilful Errors, they had returned to the very Point from which they set out, and that if some bold, and effectual Remedy was not immediately applied, the *English* Commerce would be gradually driven again by Aliens, on foreign Bottoms. They instantly drew up a Representation of this Evil, and presented it to the King, in Council. A Proclamation was now issued, which forbid any Native of the Kingdom, either to export, or import Goods, unless they were in *English* Bottoms (†).

When Men become habituated to a Course of Industry, the resulting Benefits will make them persist in a Determination not to wander from it, and even the Difficulties which, at first, oppose them, will, at length, turn to their Advantage. Thus when the *English* Merchants had constructed, and furnished with Artillery, and all necessary Stores, a convenient Number of large Ships within their own Ports, they found themselves in a Condition to launch into many Trades which were before unthought of; and, although, during some Time, they were exposed to the Depredations of the *Algerines*, and other Pirates of *Barbary*, yet, in the End, they rose superior to these Misfortunes, and embraced the Resolution of building still larger Vessels, and of adding to the Crews, and Stores of those which were of smaller Burthen. So fortunate were the Consequences of this Proceeding, in the Space of seven Years, that, whereas Ships of the Burthen of one hundred Tons were reckoned extremely large Vessels, and were generally built, and brought from beyond the Seas, so, now, there

(†) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 328.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 40.

there were several Merchantmen, of the Burthen of three, four, or five hundred Tons, belonging to different Ports, and more than an hundred Ships, each of above the Burthen of two hundred Tons, belonging to *Newcastle*, alone; all builded at Home, and better builded than they could possibly have been elsewhere. Previous to the Death of King *James*, the *English* Trade was so far increased, that (if we can rely on the Sentiments of the discerning Sir *William Monson*,) *Great Britain*, was very little, if at all inferior, in maritime Force, to the States of *Holland* (u).

In the Course of this Inquiry relative to the State of Commerce, during the Reign of *James*, we must again avail ourselves of the indefatigable Researches of a late celebrated Historian (x), who remarks that the Parliament entered continually into grievous Lamentations concerning the Decay of Trade, and the Increase of Popery: such violent Propensities have Men to murmur at the present Times, and harbour Discontent against their Fortune, and Condition. These popular Complaints made a deep Impression upon the King, who, notwithstanding, was unable to account for that Want of Money, which had been so much exaggerated (y). Judiciously is it affirmed (z) that a more sensible Augmentation of the Advantages which distinguish a flourishing People did not exist at any Period prior to the Reign of *James*, the first. The Peace which he maintained proved favourable to the Interests of Commerce;

D 3

(u) Stowe's Annals, p. 994.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 329—350.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 41.

(x) Mr. Hume.

(y) Rymer's Foedera, V. 17. p. 413.

(z) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 180.

OF
English Traders were perceived that in they had returned set out, and that if as not immediately could be gradually Bottoms. They of this Evil, and 1. A Proclamation Native of the King-Goods, unless they to a Course of In-nake them persist in om it, and even the nem, will, at length, hen the English Mer-hed with Artillery, ent Number of large y found themselves in Trades which were ough, during some Depredations of the vary, yet, in the End, tunes, and embraced rger Vessels, and of those which were of ere the Consequences of seven Years, that, one hundred Tons els, and were general-and the Seas, 10, now, there racts, p. 328.—Camp- 40.

metce; his natural Temper led him to the Cultivation of the gentler Arts; and, as Trade remained yet in its Infancy, all Additions to it must have been the more evident to those who were not blinded by melancholy Prejudices (*a*).

In Justice to an Historian (*b*) who, on most Occasions, is too candid to engage in Misrepresentations, we shall select two Passages in Support of the naval, and commercial Prosperity of this *Æra*. "The great
" Blessings of GOD, through Increase of Wealth, in
" the common Subjects of this Land, and especially
" upon the Citizens of *London*, are such, within the
" Memory of Man, and, chiefly, within these few
" Years of Peace, that unless there were now due Men-
" tion of some Sort made thereof, it would, in Time
" to come be held incredible."—"Amongst the mani-
" fold Tokens and Signs of the infinite Blessings of
" ALMIGHTY GOD, bestowed upon this Kingdom,
" by the wonderful, and merciful Establishment of
" Peace within ourselves, and the full Benefit of Con-
" cord with all *Christian* Nations, and others: Of all
" which Graces let no Man dare to presume that he
" can speak too much; whereof, in Truth, there can
" never be enough said; neither was there ever any
" People less considerate, and less thankful than at this
" Time, being not willing to endure the Memory of
" their present Happiness, as well as in the universal
" Increase of Commerce, and Traffic, throughout the
" Kingdom, great Building of royal Ships, and of Ves-
" sels by private Merchants, the Re peopling of Cities,
" Towns, and Villages, beside the discernible, and
" sudden Increase of fair, and costly Buildings, as well
" within

(*a*) Hume's History of England, 8vo, V. 6. Appendix, p. 180.

(*b*) Stowe.

to the Cultivation remained yet in its have been the more ded by melancholy

o, on most Occa- Misrepresentations, port of the naval, Era. "The great ase of Wealth, in nd, and especially e such, within the within these few were now due Men- it would, in Time Amongst the mani- finite Blessings of on this Kingdom, l Establishment of ull Benefit of Con- and others: Of all to presume that he n Truth, there can as there ever any ankful than at this ure the Memory of as in the universal fic, throughout the Ships, and of Vef- peopling of Cities, he discernible, and y Buildings, as well "within

o, V. 6. Appendix,

"within the City of *London*, as the Suburbs thereof, "and especially within these twelve Years"

A Performance (c) which carries with it a strong Appearance of Authenticity, fixes all the Mariners employed in the Service of the Merchants, at the Number of ten thousand Persons. Sir *Thomas Overbury* (d) observes that the *Dutch* possessed three Times more Shipping than the *English*, but that their Vessels were of inferior Burthen to those of the latter. We have already remarked that Sir *William Monson* (e) supposed the naval Power of the *English* to be scarcely inferior to that of the States of *Holland*. Let it now be added that a discerning Investigator (f) concludes this to be an exaggerated Declaration. The *Dutch*, at this Æra, traded to *England* with six hundred Ships. The *English* traded to *Holland* with only sixty Ships (g).

It hath been remarked (h) that the Catalogue of Manufactures for which the *English* were eminent, during the Reign of *James*, would appear exceedingly contemptible in Comparison of those which flourish amongst them, at the present Period. The Generality of the more elaborate, and curious Arts, were only cultivated abroad, and particularly in *Italy*; Shipping, and the founding of Iron Cannon were the sole Arts in which the *English* excelled. They seem indeed to have possessed alone the Secret of the latter; and great

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(c) "The Trade's Increase" *Harleyan Misc.* V. 3.

(d) "Remarks on his Travels." *Harl. Misc.* V. 2.

349.

(e) *Naval Tracts*, p. 329, 350.

(f) *Hume's History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, 181.

(g) *Raleigh's Remains*.

(h) *Hume's History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, 181.

Complaints were made, at the Meeting of every Parliament, against the Exportation of *English* Ordnance.

Nine tenths of the Commerce of the Kingdom consisted in Woollen-Goods (*i*): Wool was, notwithstanding, allowed to be exported until the nineteenth Year of the Reign of *James*. The Exportation of it was then forbidden by Proclamation; yet the Edict was never strictly executed. Most of the Cloth was exported raw, and was dyed, and dressed by the *Dutch*, who (as it is pretended,) gained, annually, by this Manufacture, seven hundred thousand Pounds (*k*). An illustrious Historian (*l*) makes the Loss incurred by the Nation amount to four hundred thousand Pounds. He remarks that about eighty thousand undressed Cloths were exported yearly, and computes, without mentioning other Articles, that the national Loss, by *Kerfies*, bordered on an hundred thousand Pounds, a Year (*m*). An Edict issued by the King, and forbidding the Exportation of Cloth, in its raw State, had succeeded so ill, during one Year, in Consequence of the Refusal of the *Dutch* to buy the dressed Cloth, that great Murmurs arose against it. The Measure was retracted by the King, and complained of by the Nation, as impolitic to a criminal Excess. It is allowed that it appears to have been premature (*n*).

At so low an Estimation, even within the Kingdom, was the fine *English* Cloth, that *James* was reduced to the Necessity of seeking Expedients, by which he might

(*i*) Parl. Journ. 26th May, 1621.

(*k*) Ibid. 20th May, 1614.

(*l*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Observations.

(*m*) Mr. Hume imagined that the Account of two hundred thousand Cloths, exported yearly during the Reign of Elizabeth, appeared to be exaggerated.

(*n*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 182.

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8vo. V. 6. Appendix,

engage the People of Fashion to wear it (e). The
 Manufactures of fine Linen was totally unknown with-
 in the Nation (p).

The Company of Merchant-Adventurers, possessed,
 in Virtue of their Patent, the sole Commerce of wool-
 len Goods, notwithstanding that they formed the sta-
 ple Commodity of the Nation. An Attempt was
 made, during the Reign of *Elizabeth*, to lay open this
 important Trade, and, for a Time, had been attended
 with bad Consequences, by a Conspiracy of the Mer-
 chant-Adventurers, not to make any Purchases of
 Cloth. The Queen, therefore, immediately restored
 their Patent (q).

Justly is it observed (r), that a groundless Fear of
 the like Accident enslaved the Nation to those exclusive
 Companies which so much confined every Branch of
 Commerce, and of Industry. The Parliament, not-
 withstanding, annulled, in the third year of the Reign
 of *James*, the Patent of the *Spanish Company*, and
 the Trade to *Spain*, which was, at first, extremely in-
 significant, soon became the most considerable in the
 Kingdom. The Historian (s) adds that it is strange
 that they were not thence encouraged to abolish all the
 other Companies, and that they went no farther than
 obliging them to enlarge their Bottom, and to facilitate
 the Admission of new Adventurers.

In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-
 two, the King erected a Board of Trade. One of the
 Reasons assigned in the Commission is the Necessity of
 intro-

(e) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 415.

(p) *Id* Ibid.

(q) Hume's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix,
 p. 182.

(r) *Ibid*.

(s) Hume's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix,
 p. 183.

introducing a Remedy to the low Price of Wool, which begat Complaints of the Decay of the woollen Manufactory (t). Mr. *Hume* deems it more probable that this Fall of Prices proceeded from the Increase of Wool; and, (after having observed that the King likewise recommends it to the Commissioners, to inquire, and examine whether a greater Freedom of Trade, and an Exemption from the Restraint of exclusive Companies, would not be beneficial,) adds that Men were then fettered by their own Prejudices, and that *James* was justly afraid of embracing a bold Measure, the Consequences of which might be uncertain. The Digesting of a Navigation-Act, similar in its Nature to that famous Act which was executed, afterwards, by the *Republican* Parliament, is likewise, recommended to the Commissioners. With too much Reason, it is observed that the arbitrary Powers which, during that Epoch, were commonly assumed by the Privy-Council, appeared evidently throughout the whole Tenour of their Commission (u).

The silk Manufacture was not established in *England*. In Consequence of an Order from the King, Mulberry-Trees were planted, and Silk-Worms introduced. To the Success of such Measures, the Climate proved unfavourable. The Plantations of Hops, in *England*, had increased considerably during this Reign (x).

Of the Discovery of *Greenland*, the Establishment of the Whale-Fishery, and the Incorporation of a Company, for the Purpose of exploring a *North-West* Passage, we have already treated. The late spirited At-

(t) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 410.

(u) *Hume's History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 183.

(x) *Stowe*.

Price of Wool, decay of the woollen, it more probable from the Increase of that the King Commissioners, to in- greater Freedom of the Restraint of ex- (beneficial,) adds that own Prejudices, and embracing a bold which might be uncer- tion-Act, similar in which was executed, af- tament, is likewise, s. With too much tary Powers which, only assumed by the ty throughout the (u).

established in Eng- ter from the King, Silk-Worms intro- cafares, the Climate ations of Hops, in y during this Reign

the Establishment Incorporation of a loring a *North-West* The late spirited At-

Attempts to render this last Enterprize less fruitless, appear almost to have weakened the Necessity of intro- ducing a beautiful, and just Remark: "In such noble Projects, Despair ought never to be admitted, until the absolute Impossibility of Success, can be fully ascertained (y)."

The Exports of *England*, from *Christmas*. of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, to *Christmas*. of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, are computed at two millions, four hundred, and eighty-seven thousand, four hundred, and thirty-five Pounds. The Imports are computed at two millions, one hundred, and forty-one thousand, one hundred, and fifty-one Pounds: The Balance in Favour of *Eng- land* was three hundred, and forty-six thousand, two hundred, and eighty-four Pounds (z). In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-two, the Ex- ports were computed at two millions, three hundred, and twenty thousand, four hundred, and thirty-six Pounds. The Imports were computed at two millions, six hundred, and nineteen thousand, three hundred, and fifteen Pounds. The Balance against *England* was two hundred, and ninety-eight thousand, eight hun- dred, and seventy-nine Pounds (a). The Coinage of *England* from the Year, one thousand five hundred, and ninety-nine, to the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, amounted to four millions, seven hun- dred, and seventy-nine thousand, three hundred, and fourteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence (b). Hence, it appears that, in the Main, the Balance was considerably in Favour of the Kingdom. As the annu-

(y) Hume's History of England, V. 6. 370. Appendix, 184.

(z) Misselden's Circle of Commerce, p. 121.

(a) Id. Ibid.

(b) Happy future State of England, p. 78.

annual Imports, and Exports, rose together nearly five millions, and the Customs never yielded so much as two hundred thousand Pounds, a Year, of which Tonnage made a Part; it seems that the new Rates affixed by James, did not, on the whole, amount to one Shilling in the Pound, and, consequently, were still inferior to the Intention of the original Grant of Parliament. The *East-India* Company usually carried out a third of their Cargo, in Commodities (c). The Trade to *Turkey* was one of the most advantageous to the Nation (d). In this Reign, also, copper Half-Pence, and Farthings were coined (e). Tradesmen in general had carried on their retail Business, chiefly by Means of leaden Tokens. The small silver Penny was soon lost, and, at this Period, was no where to be found (f).

The Amount of the royal Revenue, as it stood in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen, thus stated (g); of Crown Lands, eighty thousand Pounds a Year. By Customs, and new Impositions, nearly an hundred, and ninety thousand Pounds, annually. By Wards, and other various Branches of the Revenue, exclusive of Purveyance, an hundred, and eighty thousand Pounds, a Year. The whole amounted to four hundred, and fifty thousand Pounds. In the same Account, the ordinary Disbursements of the King are mentioned as exceeding this Sum, by thirty six thousand Pounds (h). All the extraordinary Sum

(c) Mann's Discourse on the *East-India* Trade, p. 16.

(d) Ibid. p. 17.

(e) Anderson's History of Commerce.

(f) Hume's History of England; 8vo. V. 6. Appendix p. 186.

(g) Abstract, or brief Declaration of his Majesty's Revenue, with the Assignations, and Defalcations upon the same.

(h) The Excess was, formerly, greater, as appears from the Account, by the Earl of Salisbury.—Hume's History of England, 8vo. Appendix, p. 171.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 61

which *James* had raised by Subsidies, Loans, Sale of the Title of Baronet, Money paid by the *States*, and by the King of *France*, together with Benevolences, were, in the whole, about two millions, and two hundred thousand Pounds, of which the Sale of Lands afforded seven hundred, and seventy-five thousand Pounds. The extraordinary Disbursements of the King amounted to two millions, exclusive of more than four hundred thousand Pounds, which were given in Presents. On the whole (to use the Language of a celebrated Writer,) a sufficient Reason appears, partly from unnecessary Expences, and, partly, from the Want of a rigid *Œconomy*, why the King, even early in his Reign, was deeply involved in Debt, and felt it very difficult to support the Government (i).

Farmers, and not Commissioners, were appointed to levy the Customs. On this Occasion, Mr. *Hume* remarks that it seemed indeed, requisite that the former Method should always be tried before the latter; although a preferable one. He adds that when Men's own Interest is concerned, they fall upon an hundred Expedient to prevent Frauds in the Merchants; and these the Public may afterwards imitate in establishing proper Rules for its Officers.

The Customs were supposed to amount to five *per Cent.* of the Value, and were levied upon Exports, as well as Imports. The Imposition upon Exports, is affirmed to have amounted, on some few Occasions, in Consequence of Additions made by *James*, to twenty-five *per Cent.* This Practice, so detrimental to Industry, still prevails in *France*, *Spain*, and many Countries of *Europe*. In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and

(i) *Hume's History of England*, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 172.

and four, the Customs yielded, annually, one hundred, and twenty-seven thousand Pounds. Towards the Conclusion of this Reign, they rose to an hundred, and sixty thousand Pounds (*k*). According to some Calculations, they amounted to an hundred, and ninety thousand Pounds.

Interest, during this Reign, was at ten *per Cent.* until the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, when it was reduced to eight *per Cent.* This high Interest hath been considered as an Indication of the great Profits, and of the small Progress of Commerce (*l*).

The extraordinary Supplies granted by Parliament, during the whole Reign, did not amount to more than six hundred, and thirty thousand Pounds, which, divided for twenty-one Years, make thirty thousand Pounds a Year. In this Account, no Mention is inserted of the Supplies amounting to three hundred thousand Pounds, which were given to the King by his last Parliament. These were paid to their own Commissioners, and the Expences of a *Spanish* War, are justly observed to have been much more than sufficient to exhaust them (*m*).

Subsidies, and Fifteenths, have been frequently mentioned by Historians; but neither the Amount of these Taxes, nor the Method of levying them, have been well explained. Mr. *Hume*, from whom this Remark is taken, observes that it appears that the Fifteenths formerly corresponded to the Name, and were that proportionable Part of the *loveables* (*n*). But a Valuation

(*k*) Parl. Journ. 21 May, 1604.—31 May 1621.

(*l*) Hume's History of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 172.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Coke's Inst. B. 4. C. 1. of Fifteenths. *Quinzies.*

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as at ten *per Cent.* un- hundred, and twenty- eight *per Cent.* This as an Indication of all Progress of Com-

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been frequently men- the Amount of these ing them, have been m whom this Remark rs that the Fifteenths e, and were that pro- es (*n*). But a Valua- tion

—31 May 1621.
V. 6. 8vo. Appendix,

Fifteenths. *Quinzini.*

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 63

tion having been made in the Reign of *Edward*, the Third, that Valuation was always adhered to, and each Town paid, unalterably, a particular Sum, which the Inhabitants themselves assessed upon their Fellow-Citizens. The same Tax was called, in corporate Towns, a Tenth; because that, there, it was, at first, a Tenth of the Moveables. The whole Amount of a Tenth, and Fifteenth, throughout the Kingdom, or a Fifteenth (as it is often more concisely called,) was about twenty-nine thousand Pounds (*o*). The Amount of a Subsidy was not invariable, like that of a Fifteenth. In the eighth Year of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, a Subsidy amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand Pounds. In the fortieth Year, it was not above twenty-eight thousand Pounds (*p*). It afterwards fell to seventy thousand Pounds, and was continually decreasing (*q*). Mr. *Hume* adds that the Reason is easily collected from the Method of levying it. It appears from the Subsidy-Bills (*r*) that one Subsidy was given for four Shillings in the Pound, on Land, and two Shillings, and eight Pence on Moveables throughout the Counties; a considerable Tax, had it been strictly levied. But this was only the ancient State of a Subsidy. During the Reign of *James*, there was not paid the twentieth Part of that Sum. The Tax was so far personal, that a Man paid only in the County where he lived, although he should possess Estates in other Counties, and the Assessors formed a loose Estimation of his Property, and rated him accordingly. To preserve, however, some Rule in the Estimation, it seems to have been the Practice to keep an Eye

(*o*) Coke's Inst. B. 4. C. 1. Subsidies temporary.

(*p*) Parl Journ. 11 July, 1610.

(*q*) Coke's Instit. B. 4. C. 1. Subsidies temporary.

(*r*) See the Statutes at large.

Eye to former Assessments, and to rate every Man, according as his Ancestors, or Men of such an estimated Property were accustomed to pay. This was a sufficient Reason, why Subsidies could not increase, notwithstanding the great Increase of Money, and the Rise of Rents. But there was an evident Reason, why they continually decreased. The Favour, as is natural to suppose, ran always against the Crown; especially during the latter End of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, when Subsidies became numerous, and frequent, and the Sums levied were considerable, compared to former Supplies. The Assessors, although accustomed to pay Regard to ancient Estimations, were not bound to observe any such Rule; but might rate a new any Person according to his present Income. When Rents fell, or Parts of an Estate were sold off, the Proprietor was sure to represent these Losses, and obtain a Diminution of his Subsidy; but where Rents rose, or new Lands were purchased, he kept his own Secret, and paid no more than formerly. The Advantage, therefore, of every Change, was taken against the Crown; and the Crown could obtain the Advantage of none. To render the Matter worse, the Alterations which happened in Property, during this Age, were, in general, unfavourable to the Crown. The small Proprietors, or the twenty Pound-Men went continually to Decay; and when their Estates were swallowed up by a greater, the new Purchaser did not increase his Subsidy. So loose (observes our Author,) is the whole Method of rating Subsidies, that the Wonder was not how the Tax should continually diminish; but how it yielded any Revenue at all. It became at last so unequal, and uncertain, that the Parliament was obliged to change it into Land-Tax (s).

(s) Hume's History of Eng. 8vo. V. 6. p. 175; Appendix



ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 65

The Price of Corn, and of other Necessaries of Life, during the Reign of *James*, is remarked (t) to have been no lower, or rather to have risen higher, than at present. In Consequence of a Proclamation issued by the King, and establishing public Magazines, whensoever Wheat fell below thirty-two Shillings, a Quarter, Rye below eighteen Shillings, and Barley below sixteen Shillings, the Commissioners were empowered to purchase Corn for the Magazines (u). Such Prices, at that Period, must be considered as low, yet, by the present Estimation, they would rather pass for high. In this Reign, the usual Bread of the Poor was made of Barley (x). The best Wool was generally at thirty-three Shillings, a Tod. Lately, it was not above two thirds of that Value; although it is to be presumed that our Exports in woollen Goods are somewhat increased. So rapid also hath been the Progress of Arts, and Industry, that the finer Manufactures have rather diminished in Price, notwithstanding the great increase of Money. In one of the Plays, written by *Shakespeare*, the Hostess assures *Falstaff* that the Shirts which she had purchased for him were of *Holland*, and at the Price of eight Shillings, a Yard; a great Price, at this Day, even supposing what is not probable, that the best *Holland*, at that Time, was equal in Goodness to the best that can now be purchased. In like manner, a Yard of Velvet, towards the Middle of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, was valued at twenty two Shillings (y). It may be inferred that Cattle bore a high Price, as well

VOL. IV.

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(t) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 175. Appendix.

(u) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 526.—21 Jac. 6. C. 28.

(x) Ibid. V. 20. p. 157.

(y) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 176. Appendix—See a Compendium, or Dialogue inserted in the Memoirs of Wool, Chap. 23.

as Corn, from the Observation (z) that *Henry Prince of Wales*, made an Allowance of nearly a Groat, a Pound, throughout the Year, for all the Beef, and Mutton used within his Family. It also deserves Consideration, that the general Turn of that Age, which no Law could prevent, was the Converting of arable Land into Pasture; a certain Proof that the latter was found more profitable; and consequently that the Butcher's-Meat, as well as Bread, was rather higher than at present (a). From the Regulation of the Market, with Regard to Poultry, and some other Articles, at an early Period, in the Reign of *Charles*, the First, it appears that the Prices were high. A *Turkey Cock* was sold for four-Shillings, and six-Pence; a *Turkey Hen* for three Shillings; a Pheasant Cock for six Shillings; a Pheasant Hen for five Shillings; a Partridge for one Shilling; a Goose for two Shillings; a Capon for two Shillings and six Pence; a Pullet for one Shilling, and six-Pence; a Rabbit for eight Pence, and a Dozen of Pigeons for six Shillings (b). The Historian adds that it must be remarked that, during the present *Æra*, *London* is more than thrice as populous as it was in the Reign of *James* the First; a Circumstance which much increases the Price of Poultry, and of all Articles which cannot be conveniently brought from a Distance; not to mention, that these Regulations by Authority are always calculated to diminish, but never to increase the

(z) Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 449.

(a) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 176. Appendix.

(b) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 19. p. 511.—Mr. Hume justly observes that we may judge of the great Grievance of Purveyance by this Circumstance, that the Purveyors often gave but Sixpence for a dozen of Pigeons, and two Pence for a Fowl.—See Parl. Journ. 25 May, 1626.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 67

the Market-Prices. The Contractors for victualling the Navy were allowed, by Government, eight Pence, a Day, for the Diet of each Man, when within the Harbour, and seven Pence Halfpenny, a Day, when at Sea (c); which would suffice at present. This Subject is concluded with an Observation that the chief Difference in Expence between that Age, and the present, consists in the imaginary Wants of Men, which have since extremely multiplied. These are the principal Reasons why the Revenue of *James* would go farther than the same Money in our Time, although the Difference is not near so great as is usually imagined (d).

Concerning the Establishment of Colonies, we have already treated, and, therefore, in this Place, resume the Subject, merely to introduce an Observation which, at the Period when it fell from one of the most discerning of our Historians (e), made a deep Impression; and was perhaps more than generally attended to; but its Fallacy is now demonstrated in a Series of Events which the few Lovers of their Country who yet remain untainted by the Corruption of surrounding Parties, must contemplate with equal Horror, and Despair.

“Speculative Reasoners raised many Objections, during the Reign of *James*, to the Establishment of remote Colonies, and foretold that after draining their Mother-Country of Inhabitants, they would soon shake off her Yoke, and erect an independent

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(c) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 441.

(d) It is proper that we should inform the Reader that these Remarks were written by Mr. Hume, in the Year, one thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-five; and that, in this short Period, the Prices have risen more than during the preceding hundred, and fifty Years.

(e) Mr. Hume. *History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. p. 188. Appendix,

“ Government in *America* ; but Time hath shewn that
 “ the Views entertained by those who encouraged such
 “ generous Undertakings, were more just, and solid.
 “ A mild Government, and a great naval Force have
 “ preserved, and may still preserve, during some Time,
 “ the Dominion of *England* over her Colonies. And
 “ such Advantages have Commerce, and Navigation
 “ reaped from these Establishments, that more than
 “ a fourth of the *English* Shipping is, at present (*f*),
 “ computed to be employed in carrying on the Traffic
 “ with the *American* Settlements.”

To the Remark that Agriculture was anciently very imperfect in *England*, Mr. *Hume* judiciously adds that the sudden Transitions, which have been so often mentioned by Historians, from the lowest to the highest Price of Grain, and the prodigious Inequality of its Value, at different Years, are sufficient Proofs that the Produce depended intirely on the Seasons, and that Art had as yet done nothing to fence against the Inclemency of the Heavens. He subjoins that, during the Reign of *James*, considerable Improvements were made, as in most Arts, so in this, the most beneficial of any. A numerous Catalogue might be formed of Books, and Pamphlets, treating of Husbandry, which were written about this Time. It is observed that the Nation was, notwithstanding, still dependent on Foreigners for daily Bread; and although its Exportation of Grain now forms a considerable Branch of its Commerce, in Spite of its probable Increase of People, there was, in that Period, a regular Importation from the *Baltic*, as well as from *France*; and, if it ever stopped, the bad Consequences were sensibly felt by the Nation. Sir *Walter Raleigh*

(*f*) This Remark was written about the Year, one thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-five.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 67

Raleigh computes that two Millions went out, at one Time, for Corn. It was not until the fifth Year of the Reign of *Elizabeth* that the Exportation of Corn had been allowed in *England*; and *Camden* observes that Agriculture, from that Moment, received new Life, and Vigour (*g*).

Relatively to the Coinage, we shall remark that by an Indenture of the second Year of the Reign of *James*, the first, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty-two Carats, fine, and of two Carats, Alloy, was coined into thirty-seven Pounds, and four Shillings, by Tale; namely, into Unites, passing for twenty Shillings; double Crowns, at ten Shillings; *Britain* Crowns, at five Shillings; Thistle Crowns, at four Shillings; and Half Crowns, at two Shillings, and six Pence, each. A Pound Weight of Silver, of the same Standard, was coined into sixty-two Shillings, by Tale; namely, into Shillings, Sixpences, Two-Pences, Pence, Halfpence, Crowns, and Half-Crowns. In the third Year of this Reign, a Pound Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, and of twenty-three Carats, three Grains, and a Half, fine, was coined into forty Pounds, and ten Shillings, by Tale; namely, into Rose-Rials, at thirty Shillings, a Piece; Spur-Rials, at fifteen Shillings, a Piece; and Angels, at ten Shillings, a Piece. In the ninth Year of this Reign, a Proclamation was issued, directing that Gold should be raised, at the Rate of two Shillings, in every twenty Shillings. On the succeeding Year, a Pound Weight of the old Standard-Gold was coined into forty-four Pounds, by Tale; namely, Rose-Rials, Spur-Rials, and Angels. A Pound Weight of Gold, of twenty-

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(*g*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 188, 189. Appendix.

70 MEMOIRS OF, &c.

two Carats, fine, was coined into forty Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and four Pence; namely, into Unites, at twenty-two Shillings; Double-Crowns, at eleven Shillings; *Britain* Crowns, at five Shillings, and Sixpence; Thistle-Crowns, at four Shillings, and four Pence, three Farthings; or Half *British*-Crowns, at two Shillings, and nine Pence, a Piece (*b*).

(*b*) Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 8. p. 305, &c. &c.



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V. 8. p. 305,

M E M O I R S

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Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

WERE we to trace the Conduct of this eccentric Hero through every striking Circumstance in which a fearless Disposition, extensive Talents, an active Perseverance, great Virtues, and some fatally-directed Vices induced him to engage, we should enter into a Field much wider than that which hath been already taken for the Discussion of Occurrences connected with the Nature of our History. Let it suffice, therefore, that we present the Reader with a brief Detail of those particular Transactions which lay Claim to his Attention.

The celebrated Subject of this Memoir was the Son of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Esquire, of *Fardel*, in the County of *Devon*, by his third, and last Wife, *Catherine*, the Daughter of Sir *Philip Champernon*, of *Modbury*, and the Relict of *Otho Gilbert*, Esquire, of *Compton* (a). Thus, was he also the uterine Brother of

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those

(a) *Modbury*, and *Compton*, are both situated in *Devonshire*.

those illustrious Knights, Sir *John*, Sir *Humphrey*, and Sir *Adrian Gilbert*; a Circumstance at least as honourable as his Descent from a Family coæval with the Conquest (*b*).

In the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and fifty-two, Mr. *Raleigh*, being possessed of a long Lease, resided at *Hayes*, a Farm situated in the Parish of *Budley*, and, in that Part of *Devonshire* which borders *Eastward* upon the Sea, and lies at a small Distance from the Place where the River *Ottery* discharges itself into the *British* Channel. Here, and at this Period, his Family was augmented by the Birth of *Walter*, who, when he had passed the earliest Days of Life, in acquiring a competent Knowledge of the Elements of Literature, was sent to the University of *Oxford*, and admitted into *Oriel College*, where, in the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-eight, he had distinguished himself by a Proficiency in Learning, far beyond his Age (*c*). After a short Residence at this Place, he travelled into *France* (*d*), accompanied by several young, and enterprising Volunteers, of honourable Families, who bore Arms in Defence of the Protestants, during that Period, amounting to twenty-five thousand fighting Men, and encamped near *Limosin*, under the Admiral *Coligny*, and the Prince of *Condè* (*e*). In this Kingdom, *Raleigh*

(*b*) Camden's *Britannia*, in *Devon*. — John Prince's *Worthies of Devon*. Fol. 1701. p. 531. — Visitation of *Wilt*s, *Dorset*, and *Somerſet*, MS. A. D. 1623. — Visitation of *Devonshire*, by William Hervey, Esquire, *Clarencieux*, MS. in the Herald's Office. — Life of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by *Oldys*, p. 4, 5, 6.

(*c*) Wood's *Athen*. Oxon. V. 1. Col. 345. — Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 46.

(*d*) About the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-nine.

(*e*) Camden's *Annals*, A. D. 1569 — J. De Serres. Anno 1569. — Jac. August. Thuani *Historiarum sui Temporis*, Tom. 2. Folio. 1626. Lib. 46. p. 601.

leigh served for a considerable Space of Time, improving his military Knowledge, and gaining, by the Prudence, and Intrepidity of his Conduct, the Reputation of an accomplished Soldier. To what an Excellence he had arrived in the first Instance, is evident from those judicious Observations, which are still extant, and relate to the civil Wars of *France*, under the Reign of *Charles*, the ninth, a Tyrant whose ferocious Disposition was equalled only by his Bigotry, and Dissimulation. Such was *Raleigh*, when considered as a military Writer; and that he, with equal Valour, and Discretion, reduced to Practice the Theory of martial Science, hath been attested by those Officers who fought near him in the Field of Battle. We learn that he followed the Wars, under the Banners of the *Hugonots*, during the Space of five Years, and next, passed into the *Netherlands*, where he acted as a Volunteer against the *Spaniards* (*f*). These Countries were, in the sixteenth Century, the Scenes, and Schools of Heroism. Hither, every gallant Youth, who had embraced the Profession of a Soldier, hastened to acquire Honour, by the Exposure of his Person, in the Heat of Action. To the Generality of Adventurers, the Intervals of Rest from an Engagement were more fatal than the Foes whom they attacked. A Licentiousness of Manners, too prevalent in Camps, had introduced a baneful Corruption, and the milder Virtues (without the Influence of which Human-Nature must sink into Disgrace,) were become the Aversion of a set of Men who deemed the wild Sallies of a ferocious Disposition to be the truest Characteristics of a perfect Soldier. Amidst this deluded Multitude, *Raleigh* remained superior to Seduc-

(*f*) Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 28.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 47.

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Seduction, and turning to Advantage every Incident connected with a military Service in a foreign Country, became at once so much the inquisitive Philosopher, the polished Gentleman, and the well-instructed Officer, that, on his Return to *England*, he was considered as a Man scarcely equalled either with Regard to present Endowments, or the sanguine Hopes which he had raised in his Acquaintance concerning the future Application of exalted Talents (*g*).

In the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-eight, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, the Brother-in-Law of *Raleigh*, obtained from *Elizabeth* a Patent, by Virtue of which he was impowered to establish a Colony within some Northern Districts of *America*, which were not possessed by any Prince who had engaged in Treaties of Alliance with the Crown of *England*. The Particulars connected with this Enterprize have been already presented (*b*) to the Reader; and it is, in this Place, sufficient to observe that *Raleigh*, who had accompanied his brave, but unfortunate Relation, returned to his native Country, in the Spring of the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-nine.

We, next, trace our illustrious Adventurer bearing Arms under the President of *Munster* (*i*). At a succeeding Period (*k*), he served as an Officer, amongst the Troops commanded by *Thomas*, Earl of *Ormond*,
a near

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 47.

(*b*) See from the twenty-fifth to the forty-seventh Page of the third Volume of this Work.—Consult, also, Howell's Letters, V. 2. No. 54.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 164—173.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1369.—Oldy's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 13.—Hooker's Dedication, prefixed to the Translation, and Continuation of the Irish Chronicles.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 47, 48.

(*i*) A. D. 1580.

(*k*) A. D. 1581.

a near Relation to *Elizabeth*, but more ennobled by his Virtues, and, particularly, that firm Adherence to his Duty which enabled him to turn, with a generous Disdain, from Temptations of greater Prevalence than any to which others in such exalted Stations had ever been exposed. The *Spaniards*, headed by *San Josepo*, an *Italian*, had constructed, and fortified a Castle, called *Del Ore*, at *Smerwick*, in the County of *Kerry*. Of this Hold, an Attempt was made to dispossess them, by *Arthur*, Lord *Grey*, the newly-appointed Deputy, a ferocious Tyrant, and implacable in his Hatred against the *Irish*, whom he now treated with the most unrelenting Barbarity, under Pretence that he could not more effectually adhere to his Instructions for the speedy, and successful Termination of the War. When *Ormond* was obliged to retreat to *Rathkeal*, *Grey*, attended by a Body of Forces, amounting to eight hundred Men, advanced from *Dublin*, whilst, in Order to support his hostile Operations, the *English* Admiral, Sir *William Winter*, proceeded, with his Fleet, to *Smerwick*. Previous to the Attack, the Troops within the Garrison were summoned to surrender. They replied that they would stand on their Defence, and endeavour, with Force of Arms, to obey the Mandates of the Pope, destroy Heretics, and compel the surviving Natives to acknowledge the Authority of their Master *Philip*, whom the Church of *Rome* had formally invested with the Sovereignty of *Ireland*. This Answer, less rational, than bold, was followed by a furious Sally, during which the *Spaniards* were violently repulsed. On the Day following, Sir *William Winter* erected a Battery of Cannon between the Fortress and the Shore, whilst, on the Land-Side, the Lord *Grey* drew up his Artillery, at an advantageous Distance, for the Purpose of annoying the Besieged, who, when again pressed to yield,

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yield, and rely upon the Mercy of the *English*, declared that they not only should repel Hostilities, but endeavour to extend the Progress of their Arms. The Attack was now commenced, and *Josopo*, the Commander of the Fort, convinced of the Inefficacy of Resistance, yet dissenting from the Opinion of his Associates, intreated for a Permission to capitulate. *Grey* answered that to Traitors no Concessions could be granted; and the Enemy driven to the most terrible Extremities, implored for Mercy, and submitted. It is with equal Abhorrence, and Concern, that we pursue the Sequel of this Relation. *Raleigh*, the enlightened, the celebrated *Raleigh* was appointed to superintend the Perpetration of Cruelties which would have disgraced a Savage. The Laurels reaped by this intrepid Soldier, during the Reduction of the Fortress, were, afterwards, besmeared with Blood. Forgetful of his Honour, he accepted of an ignominious Office, and coolly, when all Contention had subsided, assisted in the Slaughter of the Garrison. Too justly was it asserted, in the Presence of *Elizabeth*, that the Lord Deputy, and his Officers, had tyrannized with such Barbarity, that little remained in *Ireland* for her to reign over but Carcasses, and Ashes (*l*).

In Vindication of these severe Proceedings, it hath been urged that the vanquished were so numerous, daring, and ungovernable, that an Attempt to confine them

(*l*) Stowe, p. 688 — Camden, p. 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339. — Hooker's Supplement to the Irish Chronicle, Folio. p. 171. — O Sull. Hist. Cath. — Leland's History of Ireland, B. 4. C. 2. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 48, 49. — Cox's History of Ireland, p. 368. — Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 233, 234. — See also the 199th 200th and 201st Pages of the second Volume of this Work. — Oldy's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio, p. 16.

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f Ireland, p. 368.—
5. p. 233, 234.—See
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Valter Raleigh, Folio,

them within a Prison must have been too precarious a Method, whilst their Conquerors were under the Necessity of precluding them from the Power of a second, and more effectual Resistance; that a total Extirpation of such Enemies, was the only firm Security on which the *English* could rely; that in the very Moment previous to the Order for the Execution of the *Spaniards*, who had surrendered, the Lord Deputy received Advice of the near Approach of one thousand, and five hundred of the rebellious *Irish*; that no Vessels were in Readiness to convey the Foreigners to their native Land; and that the Soldiers in the Service of the victorious Party, declared that they would turn their Arms against their own Chiefs, if refrained from the full Liberty of plundering the Fort. It was not in the Power of such Apologies to screen the *English* either from the Execration of their Adversaries, or the Censures of the World. All *Europe* considered this Massacre with Horror; but the *Catholics*, in particular, exclaimed against it, as the most cruel, and flagitious Infringement of a solemn Oath, by which *Grey* had taught the *Spaniards* to expect the Liberty of departing secure from Insult, and with the Honours of War.

The great Law of Candour, which no Historian should ever venture to transgress, will not suffer us, in this Place, to conceal a Testimony, that was intended to palliate the Barbarity of the the Lord Deputy, and his Associates. How effectually it may operate as an Exculpation of the Guilt supposed to have been incurred by *Raleigh*, is, without Comment, submitted to the Judgment of the Reader. A celebrated Writer, who was Secretary (*m*) to *Grey*, and near the Scene of Action,

(*m*) Edmond Spencer.—View of the State of Ireland, V. 6. p. 1611. 12mo.

tion, hath transmitted to Posterity the following Account.

“ When first their Secretary *Seignior Jeffrey*, an “ *Italian*, was sent to treat with the Lord Deputy, for “ Grace, he was flatly refused it. And afterwards, “ when their Colonel, named *Don Sebastian*, came “ forth to intreat that they might depart, with their “ Arms, like Soldiers, and, at least, be spared their “ Lives, according to the Custom of War, and the “ Law of Nations, the Request was strongly denied “ to him, and he was told by the Lord Deputy, that “ they could not justly plead either the Custom of War, “ or the Law of Nations; for that they were not any “ lawful Enemies; and if they were, he insisted upon “ their shewing by what Commission they came thither, into the Dominions of another Prince, to “ War. When they said that they had no Commission “ to produce, but were only Adventurers that came to “ seek Fortune abroad, and to serve in Wars amongst “ the *Irish*, who desired to entertain them, it was then “ answered that the *Irish*, such as the Earl (and *John*,) “ of *Desmond*, with the rest, were no lawful Enemies, “ but Rebels, and Traitors; and, therefore, they “ who came to succour them, were no better than “ Rogues, and Runnagades, and especially when coming without a Licence, or Commission from their own “ King; wherefore it would be dishonourable for him, “ in the Name of his Queen, to condition, or make “ any Terms with such Rascalls. So he left it to their “ Choice, whether they would yield or not. Then “ the said Colonel did absolutely yield himself, and the “ Fort, with all therein, craving only Mercy, which “ it was not thought good to shew them.”

We learn that *Raleigh* performed other Services in *Ireland*; a minute Relation of which is foreign to our
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Purpose. These were so favourably represented by his Friends, in *England*, that, in the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty one, he was appointed, under a joint Commission, one of the Governors of *Munster*. His Conduct, during the Execution of this Office, gave the highest Satisfaction to the Queen, who rewarded him with a Grant of a large Estate situated in the Country which he had subdued (n).

Soon after his Return to *England*, he attracted the Notice of his Sovereign, by one of those Acts of Gallantry which were not only natural to him, but formed a principal Ingredient of his Character. Whilst *Elizabeth* was engaged in taking her frequent Exercise on Foot, she approached a Spot of Ground, the Surface of which had been strewn with Rubbish. Unwilling to soil her Shoes, she stopped short, and seemed averse from going forward, when *Raleigh*, who had observed her, at a Distance, ran up, and throwing off his velvet Cloak, (a Part of the fashionable Habit which he wore,) fell respectfully on his Knees, and extended it across the Path. The Queen trod gently over it, and, at the same Time, discovered her Approbation of this Politeness, with a gracious Smile. Encouraged by a Condescension which appeared the Earnest of his better Fortune, he resorted daily to the Court. When he perceived that *Elizabeth* still honoured him with her Attention, he wrote on the Pane of a glass Window, which was obvious to her Eye,

"*Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall,*"

and, soon afterwards, observed that his royal Mistress had added

"*If thine Heart fail thee, climb not at all (o).*" It

(n) Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 28, 29.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 50.

(o) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Folio. 1662. in *Devon*.—Walpole's *Royal, and noble Authors*. Article *Elizabeth*. V. 1. p. 31.

It is justly observed that, howsoever romantic these Passages may appear, the gravest Historians have not scrupled to admit them. The experienced Reader who knows how often an unexpected Compliment, or artificial Bait for Favour, will catch it sooner than the most substantial Services, would, perhaps, doubt whether such Incidents are to be called Accessaries, so much as Principals in worldly Promotions; but esteem those Circumstances as the most instructive in the Lives of great Men which display the Footsteps of their Advancement, and how they first fell into the Track of Distinction. The Acquisition of Glory hath been compared to that of Riches. The profound Mystery lies in procuring the prime Stock; an ordinary Prudence will increase it (p).

When the Duke of *Anjou*, who, in the Character of a Lover, had resided during three Months, at the Court of *Elizabeth*, departed, in Order to assume the Government of the *Netherlands*, the Queen expressly commanded that *Raleigh* should attend him. When our Hero returned from this Service, he was intrusted with Letters, addressed by the Prince of *Orange*, to the Queen. (q) Shortly afterwards, he fixed his Residence within the Court; and was patronized even by contending Statesmen, who seemed rejoiced to prove how true a Judgment they could form of Merit (r). In the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three, he was concerned in the second Attempt of his brother Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, whose miserable End hath been already

(p) Oldy's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio p. 19

(q) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 37.—Aulic Coquin. p. 90.—Sir Walter Raleigh's Invention of Shipping, in his select Essays, p. 36.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 51.

(r) Shirley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 19.—Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 487.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 50.

ready mentioned (s). The Concern with which *Raleigh* received the News of this Calamity, howsoever violent, did not prevent him from cherishing the popular Zeal for the Progress of Colonization; and equally eager to gratify his own Wishes, and keep alive the Spirit of Discoveries, he drew up a Memorial of the Advantages likely to result from an Endeavour to explore those Regions which were situated to the Northward of *America*, and presented it at the Council-Board. Such was the Success of this Measure, that the Queen granted him her Letters-Patent, of which it may be necessary to present the Reader with a Copy.

“ELIZABETH, &c. *To all People greeting.* Know ye that out of our especial Grace, we grant to our trusty, and well-beloved Servant, *Walter Raleigh*, Esquire, his Heirs, and Assigns, the free Liberty to discover such remote heathen, and barbarous Lands, not actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince, nor inhabited by *Christian* People, as to him, or them shall seem good, to hold the same, with all Prerogatives, Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, by Sea, and Land, as we by Letters-Patent may grant, or any of our Progenitors have granted; with Licence to inhabit, or remain, build, and fortify, at the Discretion of the said *Walter Raleigh*, his Heirs, &c. the Statutes, or Acts against Fugitives, or such as depart this Realm unpunished, notwithstanding. We likewise grant him, or them, full Power to take, or lead such of our Subjects as shall willingly accompany him, or them; also to employ, and use sufficient Shipping, and Furniture for Transportations, and Navigations in that behalf; so that none of those Persons be such as are restrained by us, or our Heirs, or Successors. Farther, that the said

VOL. IV.

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Walter

(s) See from the thirty-fourth, to the forty-fourth Page of the third Volume of this Work.

Walter Raleigh, and his Heirs shall enjoy for ever, all the Soil of such Land so to be discovered, and of all such Cities, Castles, or Towns, in the same, with the Right, and Royalties, as well marine, as other, within the said Land, or Seas adjoining, with full Power to dispose thereof in Fee-Simple, or otherwise, according to the Laws of *England*, at his, and their Will, to any Person within the Allegiance of us, or of our Heirs, reserving always to us, for all Services, Duties, and Demands, the fifth Part of all the Ore of Gold, and Silver there obtained after such Discovery. All which Lands, and Countries shall be for ever holden by the said *Walter Raleigh*, his Heirs, &c. by Homage, the said Payment reserved only for all Services. We likewise grant to the said *Raleigh*, and his Heirs, Licence for their Defence, to repel by Land, or Sea, all Persons that shall without his, or their Liking, attempt to inhabit the same Countries, or within two hundred Leagues of the Places in them, where he, or they, within six Years to come, shall make their Dwellings, if not before inhabited by the Subjects of any *Christian* Prince, in Amity with us. Giving also Power to him, or them, to take those Persons, with their Ships, and Goods, and keep them as lawful Prize, who, without his, or their Licence, shall be found trafficking within the Limits aforesaid (our Subjects, and others, in Amity with us, only excepted). And as well for uniting in more perfect League, such Countries with our Realms of *England*, and *Ireland*, as for the Encouragement of Men to these Enterprizes, we declare that all such Countries so possessed shall be of our Allegiance. And we grant unto the said *Walter Raleigh*, his Heirs, and unto all, being of our Allegiance, whose names shall be entered into some Court of Record, within our Realm of *England*, and to their Heirs who, with the Assent of the said *Walter Raleigh*,

his Heirs, &c. shall, in his Journies for Discoveries, or Conquest, hereafter travel such Lands that they, and every of them, being either born within our said Realms of *England*, or of *Ireland*, or in any other Place within our Allegiance, and who shall hereafter be Inhabitants of any of the Lands aforesaid, shall have all the Privilege of free Denizens, and Persons, Natives of *England*, in such ample Manner as if they were born, and personally resident in our said Realm of *England*, any Law, &c. notwithstanding. And, farther, for the Safety of all that shall adventure themselves, we grant the said *Walter Raleigh*, and his Heirs, full Power, and Authority within the said Lands, in the Way thither, and from thence, to correct, punish, pardon, and govern, by their good Discretions, and Policies, as well in Causes, capital, as criminal, as civil, both marine, and other, all our Subjects who so adventure themselves, and shall inhabit the Territories aforesaid, or shall abide within two hundred Leagues, of any such Places, where he, or they shall inhabit, within sixty Years next ensuing, according to such Statutes, as shall be, by him, or them established, so that the said Statutes, or Laws conform as near as conveniently may be, with those of *England*, and do not oppugn the Christian Faith, or any Way withdraw the Peopie of those Lands, from our Allegiance. We also grant full Power to our trusty, and well-beloved Counsellor, Sir *William Cecil*, Lord *Burghley*, our High-Treasurer of *England*, and to the Lord-Treasurer for us, and our Heirs, and to the Privy-Council of us, and our Heirs, or any four, or more of them, that he, or they, under their Hands, or Seals, authorize the said *Walter Raleigh*, or his Heirs, by themselves, or Officers, to transport out of *England*, and *Ireland*, any of their

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his

Goods, with other Commodities as to the said Lord-Treasurer, or the said Privy-Council shall be thought convenient, for the better Relief, and Support of the said *Walter Raleigh*, or his Heirs, any Act notwithstanding. Provided always, that if the said *Walter Raleigh*, or his Heirs, or any other, by his, or their Licence, shall rob, or spoil, by Sea, or Land, or do any unlawful Hostility to any of our Subjects, or those of Kings, or States, in perfect League, and Unity with us, we shall, upon just Complaint, make Proclamation that the said *Walter Raleigh*, or his Heirs, shall, within the Terms to be limited, make full Satisfaction; so that we, and those who complain may be fully contented; and that if he, or they make not such Satisfaction, within such Time, it shall be lawful for us to put him, or them, out of their Allegiance, and, from that Time, for all Princes, or others to pursue with Hostility, as not to be avouched, or defended by us, although any Mention of the yearly Value of the Premises, or any Part thereof, or of any other Grant by us, or our Predecessors, to the said *Walter Raleigh*, before this Time made, be not expressed; or any other Provision, or Restraint, to the contrary notwithstanding. In Witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents, at *Westminster*, on the twenty-fifth of *March*, in the twenty-sixth Year of our Reign (t)."

Encouraged by this Success, *Raleigh* equipped, at his own Expence, two small Vessels, and appointed to the Command of them the Captains *Philip Amadas*, and *Arthur Barlow*, who, on the twenty-seventh of the following Month of *April*, set Sail from the *West of England*, for the Coast of *North-America*, where they

(t) Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 243.

they arrived safely, at the Commencement of *July*, and took possession of that rich Country, named afterwards *Virginia* (u).

At this Period, *Raleigh*, in Conjunction with Sir *William Courtenay*, was chosen by the Freeholders, to represent the County of *Devon*. During the first Sessions of his Attendance in the House of Commons, a Bill passed in Confirmation of his Patent for the Discovery of foreign Countries (x); and, soon afterwards, he was advanced, by *Elizabeth*, to the Dignity of Knighthood. In the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, he fitted out a second Fleet, for *Virginia*, which returned with a *Spanish* Prize, valued at an immense Sum (y). He was also concerned in the Preparations for the Voyage of Captain *Davis*, who attempted the Discovery of a *North-West* Passage. On this Account it was that a Promontory in the Streights, named after that Adventurer, received the Appellation of *Mount Raleigh* (z). The politic *Elizabeth* thought fit to countenance these public-spirited, and expensive Projects. Pleased with the adventurous Disposition of our Hero, she invested him with the Power to licence the vending of Wines, throughout the Kingdom, and also conferred on him a Seigniorie in *Ireland*, consisting of twelve thousand Acres, which he planted, at his own Expence, preserving them during a long Period, and until he sold them to

F 3

Richard

(u) Not by Raleigh, but Elizabeth – Oldy's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Fado. p. 25.

(x) Brown Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, V. 2. p. 254.

(y) See from the 319th to the 321st Page of the third Volume of this Work.

(z) See from the 70th to the 79th Page of the third Volume of this Work.

Richard Boyle, the first Earl of *Corke* (a). Encouraged by the Munificence of his Sovereign, he now fitted out a third Fleet, for *Virginia*, and also two Barks to cruize on the *Spaniards*, near the *Azores*, the Captains of which were so successful that they were obliged to leave many of their Prizes, near the Scene of Action (b). This illustrious Adventurer, not more prosperous in his naval Enterprizes, than in the Fruits of his assiduous Attendance on *Elizabeth*, was, towards the Conclusion of the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-six, raised to the Posts of Seneschal of the Dutchies of *Cornwall*, and of Lord Warden of the Stannaries in *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*. It hath been remarked that these Preferments, although not superior to his Merit, exposed him to the Malice of those undeserving Individuals, who despaired of attaining, by their Intrigues, to the like Advantages (c).

In the Year one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven, Sir *Walter Raleigh* equipped, at his own Charge, a fourth Fleet, and, soon afterwards, (d) provided a fifth, both of which were destined for *Virginia*. Concerning these Voyages, let it be sufficient to observe that they were not successful, although the Adventurers were Men of unquestionable Resolution, and established Reputation.

The Conduct of our Hero, during the memorable Period when all the naval, and military Power of *Spain* was collected for the Destruction of the *English*,
hath

(a) Oldy's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 26 — Cox's History of Ireland, p. 389—391.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 52.

(b) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 2. p. 120.

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 52.

(d) A. D. 1588.

hath been already mentioned (*e*). We shall here add that he was a Member of the Council commanded to devise the most effectual Means of repelling an Invasion, and that the Operations which he suggested were the Result of great naval Experience, deep Policy, and a consummate Knowledge of the fittest Application of those insular Advantages peculiar to the *English*. As the Remarks of *Raleigh* refer particularly to the Engagement with the *Armada*, and must convince the Reader that, during an *Æra* when the Progress of the nautical Arts was neither rapid, nor enlightened, this illustrious Scaman surpassed, in a Knowledge of the Marine, the Generality of his Contemporaries, we shall insert a Passage from his History of the World (*f*).

“Certainly he that will happily perform a Fight at
 “Sea, must be skilfull in making Choice of Vessels
 “to fight in. He must believe that there is more be-
 “longing to a good Man of War, upon the Waters, than
 “a great Daring; and he must know that there is a
 “great deal of Difference between fighting loose, or at
 “large, and grappling. The Guns of a slow Ship
 “pierce as well, and make as great Holes as those in a
 “swift Ship. To clap Ships together, without Con-
 “sideration, belongs rather to a Madman than to a
 “Man of War; for, by such ignorant Bravery was
 “*Peter Stroffie* lost at the *Azores*, when he fought
 “against the Marquis of *Santa-Croce*. In like Sort, had
 “Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*, been
 “lost in the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and
 “eighty-eight, if he had not been better advised than
 “a great many malignant Fools were, who found

F 4

“Fault

(*e*) See from the 232d to the 305th Page of the third Volume of this Work.

(*f*) B. 5. C. 1. Sect. 6.

“ Fault with his Demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an
 “ Army aboard of them, and he had none. They
 “ had more Ships than he had, and of a higher Build-
 “ ing, and Charging, so that, had he entangled him-
 “ self with those great, and powerful Vessels, he had
 “ much endangered the Kingdom of *England*. For,
 “ twenty Men, upon the Defence, are equal to an hun-
 “ dred that board, and enter; whereas, then, con-
 “ trariwise the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twenty
 “ of ours, to defend themselves withal. But our Ad-
 “ miral knew his Advantage, and held it, which,
 “ had he not done, he had not been worthy to have
 “ held his Head. Here, to speak of Sea-Fights, I
 “ say that a Fleet of twenty Ships, all good Sailors,
 “ and good Ships, have the Advantage in the open Sea,
 “ of an hundred as good Ships, but of slower sailing.
 “ For if the Fleet of an hundred Sail keep themselves
 “ in a close Squadron, the twenty Ships in any Angle
 “ shall force them to give Ground, and to fall back
 “ upon their own next Fellows, of which so many as
 “ entangle are made unserviceable, or lost. Force
 “ them they may easily, because twenty Ships which
 “ give themselves Scope, after they have given one-
 “ Broadside of Artillery, by clapping into the Wind,
 “ and staying, may give them the other, and so the
 “ twenty Ships batter them in Pieces, with a perpetual
 “ Volley; whereas those that fight in a Troop, have no
 “ Room to turn, and can always use but one, and the
 “ same beaten Side. If the Fleet of an hundred Sail
 “ give themselves any Distance, then shall the lesser
 “ Fleet prevail, either against those that are arrear,
 “ and hindermost, or against those that by Advantage
 “ of over sailing their Fellows, keep the Wind; and,
 “ if upon a Lee Shore, the Ships next the Wind will
 “ be constrained to fall back into their own Squadron;
 “ and

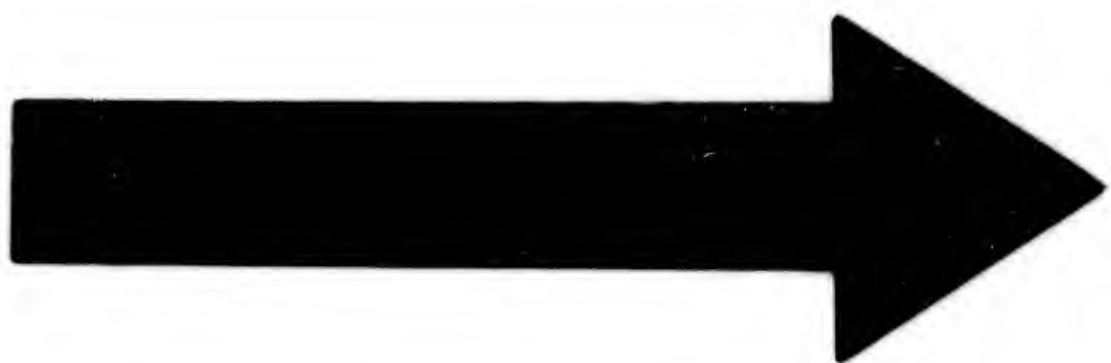
and then it is all to nothing that the whole Fleet must suffer Shipwreck, or render itself. That such an Advantage may be taken upon a Fleet of equal Speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old Time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may be easily observed."

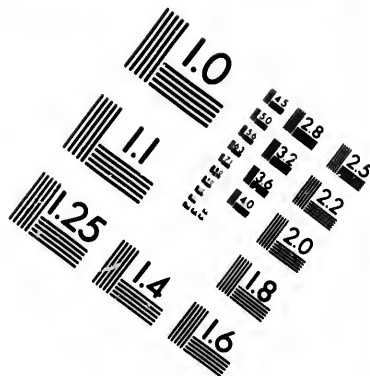
Concerning the Superfluity of great Ordnances, in the royal Navy, this discerning Investigator remarks that "Many Times, there is no Proportion of Shot, and Powder allowed, rateably to that Quantity of great Ordnance, as was seen in the Sea-Battle, with the *Spaniards*, in the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, when it so nearly concerned the Defence, and Preservation of the Kingdom. So as then many of those great Guns, wanting Powder, and Shot, stood but as Cyphers, and Scare-Crows, not unlike to the *Easflering* Hulks; who were wont to plant great red Port-Holes, in their Broadfides, where they carried no Ordnance at all (g)."

At this Period, the Queen granted to Sir *Walter Raleigh* some additional Emoluments resulting from the Wine-Office, and, soon afterwards, he made an Assignment of all his Right, and Interest, in the Colony of *Virginia* to some Merchants of the Port of *London*. We next observe him busied in Preparations to assist *Don Antonio*, of *Portugal*, to recover his Dominions. It is here unnecessary to enlarge on the Particulars of the Expedition (h) which followed, and we shall only remark that our Hero, on this Occasion, intercepted, and took several Hulks, belonging to the *Hanse Towns*,
for

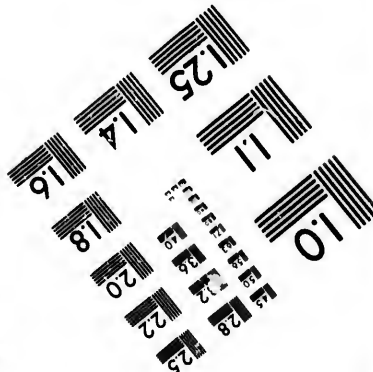
(g) Raleigh's Observations on the royal Navy, 8vo. 1650. p. 26.

(h) See the 129th Page of the third Volume of this Work.

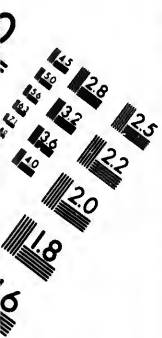




6"



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for which Service, the Queen presented him with a Chain of Gold (i). In the following Year, he made a Voyage to *Ireland*, and towards the Conclusion of it, formed the Design of attacking the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, of seizing the Plate-Fleet, and of plundering *Panama*. The Reader already knows the chief Circumstances relating to this Enterprize (k). Be it sufficient, in this Place, to inform him that the *Madre de Dios*, a Carrack taken by Sir *John Burroughs*, one of the Commanders of the *English Fleet* (l), “ was in
 “ Burthen no less than sixteen hundred Tons, whereof
 “ nine hundred were Merchandize; she carried thirty-
 “ two Pieces of brass Ordnance, and betwixt six and
 “ seven hundred Passengers; she was built with Decks,
 “ seven Stories, one main Orlope (m), three close
 “ Decks, one Forecastle, and a spare Deck of two
 “ Floors a-piece. According to the Observations of
 “ Mr. *Adams*, an excellent Geometrician, she was,
 “ in Length, from the Beak-Head to the Stern, one
 “ hundred and sixty-five Feet; in Breadth, near forty-
 “ seven Feet; the Length of her Keel was an hundred
 “ Feet; of the Main-Mast, an hundred, and twenty-
 “ one Feet; the Circuit at the Partners, was nearly
 “ eleven Feet, and her Main-Yard, an hundred, and
 “ six Feet. Her Lading consisted of Spices, Drugs,
 “ Silks, Callicoes, Carpets, Quilts, Cloth made of the
 “ Rind of Trees, Ivory, Porcelain, and Ebony,
 “ exclusive of Pearl, Musk, Civet, Amber-Grease,
 “ and many other Commodities of inferior Value.
 “ The *Cargeson* freighted ten of our Ships for *London*,
 “ and

(i) Oldy's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 50.

(k) See the 281st Page of the third Volume of this Work.

(l) See the 212th Page of the same Volume.

(m) Platform.

“and was by moderate Computation, valued at an hundred, and fifty thousand Pounds, Sterling (n).” How anxious *Raleigh*, and his Associate Sir *John Hawkins* were that the Prize might be conducted home in Safety, is evident from the following Letter addressed by them, to the Lord Admiral.

“We have conferred together about the *East-India* Ship to be brought to *Plymouth*, by Sir *John Burroughs*; and, in our Opinions, she can be no less worth than five hundred thousand Pounds; being a Ship of so great Burthen, and laden with such rich Commodities as it appeareth that she is; wherefore we have considered that the *Spanish* Men of War, lying upon the Coast of *Bretagne*, hearing of so great a Prize taken from the King, or the Merchants of the Country; and envying that such a Benefit should grow to us, to their Hindrance, and Dishonour, will endeavour by all possible Means, being distant but a Day, or a Night’s sailing, either to recover the Ship again, or to burn her, and all her Lading, rather than she shall be delivered here; seeing that the Places of Defence where the Ship may remain, are not able to resist their Power. In our Opinion, therefore, we think fit, and do pray your Lordship, that the three Ships of her Majesty’s, which are appointed to keep the narrow Seas may, by your Lordship’s Letter, and Directions, be appointed to sail to the *Westward*, and there also to guard the *Indian* Ship, for a Time, until the *Garland*, and some of the same Fleet be returned, whose Arrival cannot be any long

(n) True Reporte of the honourable Service at Sea, performed by Sir John Burroughs, Lieutenant-General of the Fleet, prepared by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Warden, &c.—Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 2. p. 194.

“long Time expected; or until some Order may be
 “taken for the unlading, or keeping of her otherwise;
 “which we pray your Lordship may be done with
 “some Expedition. And so we humbly take our
 “Leave.”

On this Occasion, the Proprietors, and Captors were deprived of the greater Part of those Shares which they claimed, and naturally expected. A celebrated naval Writer (*o*) hath remarked that the Queen's Adventure, in this Voyage, consisted only of two Ships, the smallest of which was at the taking of the Carrack. Of this Title, joined to her royal Authority, she so effectually availed herself, that the Individuals who had engaged in the Enterprize were obliged to submit themselves to her Pleasure, and thus suffered by Extortions. This Circumstance is a melancholy Proof that the Authority of the Sovereign was not, in that despotic Æra, controulable by Law. *Raleigh*, with great Humility, and Earnestness, intreated, but ineffectually, the covetous *Elizabeth* to accept of an hundred thousand Pounds, in Lieu of all Demands; and he observed that the Present, which the Proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand Pounds, was the greatest that ever Prince had received from a Subject (*p*).

It hath been observed that whilst Sir *Walter Raleigh* remained at home, his great Genius displayed itself in all the Employments worthy of a Citizen, in a free State. He shone in the Senate, as a Patriot, and the Remains of his Speeches leave us in Doubt whether we ought to admire most his Force of Eloquence, or the Extent of his Understanding. Of learned Men, he avowedly the Patron, and all public Undertakings were promoted by his Encouragement; a Sanction which

carried

(*o*) Sir William Monson, p. 181.

(*p*) Strype, V. 4, p. 128, 129.

carried with it a greater Weight, as, at this Æra, he was one of the declared Favourites of the Queen (q).

During his Abode within the Court, *Raleigh* prevailed too powerfully in seducing the Affections of one of the Ladies of Honour to *Elizabeth*. The fair Object of his Addresses was the Daughter of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*. Disgrace succeeded to the Gratification of their Love; and when the Pregnancy of the unhappy Female had advanced too far to be concealed, she was driven from the Palace, whilst her Admirer, notwithstanding that he had repaired the Injury by giving her his Hand, in Marriage, became equally exposed to the Displeasure of his Sovereign (r). At this Juncture, and in Order that he might be restored to Favour, *Raleigh* addressed a Letter to Sir *Robert Cecil*, who was undoubtedly requested to inform the Queen of its Contents. As they prove to what base, and ridiculous Excesses the Arts of Flattery were carried even by one of the most spirited, and accomplished Heroes of his Time, and present us, also, with a striking Picture of the Vanity of *Elizabeth*, who, at the Age of sixty, could be delighted with such an abject Strain of Gallantry, it cannot be improper to insert them.

“ My Heart was never broke until this Day, that I
 “ hear that the Queen goes away so far off, whom I
 “ have followed so many Years, with so great Love,
 “ and Desire, in so many Journies, and am now left
 “ behind her, in a dark Prison, all alone. While she
 “ was yet near at Hand that I might hear of her, once
 “ in two, or three Days, my Sorrows were the less,
 “ but

(q) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 58.—
 D'Ewes, p. 478. 484. 488. 490.—Hayward Townshend's
 Historical Collections, Folio. p. 65.—Naunton's Fragmenta
 Regalia.—Lloyd's State Worthies.

(r) Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 79.

"but even now my Heart is cast into the Depth of all
 "Misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like
 "Alexander; hunting like Diana; walking like Venus;
 "the gentle Wind blowing her fair Hair, about her
 "pure Cheeks, like a Nymph; sometimes sitting in the
 "Shade, like a Goddess; sometimes singing like an
 "Angel; sometimes playing like Orpheus. Behold the
 "Sorrow of this World! Once amidst hath bereaved me
 "of all. O Glory! that only shineth in Misfortune,
 "what is become of thy Assurance? All Wounds have
 "Scars but that of Fantasie; all Affections their re-
 "lenting but that of Womankind. Who is the Judge
 "of Friendship, but Adversity? Or when is Grace
 "witnessed but in Offences? There were no Divinity,
 "but by Reason of Compassion; for Revenges are
 "brutish, and mortal. All those Times past, the
 "Loves, the Sighs, the Sorrows, the Desires, cannot
 "they weigh down one frail Misfortune? Cannot one
 "Drop of Gall be hid in so great Heaps of Sweetness?
 "I may then conclude, *Spes, et Fortuna, Valet.* She
 "is gone, in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one
 "thought of Mercy, nor any Respect of that which
 "was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list.
 "I am more weary of Life, than they are desirous that
 "I should perish; which, if it had been for her, as it
 "is by her, I had been too happily born (s)."

It was during his Retirement that *Raleigh* meditated
 the Discovery of *Guiana*, and drew up Instructions for
 Captain *Whiddon*, an Officer of great Experience,
 whom he sent to survey the Coast, and who returned
 with a favourable Report of the Riches of the Country,
 and the Possibility of subduing it. From this Moment,
 Sir *Walter* resolved to undertake the Voyage, and, ac-
 cordingly, fitted out a Squadron of Ships, partly at his

OWN

(s) Murden, p. 657.

own Expende, and partly by the pecuniary Assistance of the Lord High-Admiral *Howard*, and of Sir *Robert Cecil* (t).

On the sixth of *February*, in the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, he sailed from *Plymouth*, and, on the twenty-second of *March*, arrived at the Island of *Trinidado*. Here, he easily reduced the small City of *Saint Joseph*, and took Prisoner, *Antonio Boreo*, the *Spanish* Governour, who fully described to him the neighbouring Continent, and the Trade to those Parts which had not hitherto been explored by any Adventurers from *England*. On this Information, he quitted the Ship at *Trinidado*, and, attended by an hundred Men, proceeded in several small Barks, during a Course of four hundred Miles, up the River *Oronoque*, in Search of *Guiana*. *Carrapana*, and other petty Princes of the Country, resigned, through his Hands, their Sovereignities to *Elizabeth*. Yet such was the intense Heat of the Weather, and the Violence of the Rains, that he was compelled to retire in as much Danger of being borne down by the rapid Torrents of Water, as crushed by the Rage, and Power of his Enemies. When the Inhabitants of *Cumana* refused to pay the stipulated Ransom for their Town, he reduced it to Ashes; and, having next levelled *Saint Mary's*, and *Rio de la Hacha*, to the Ground, returned, with all his valuable Acquisitions, to *England*. A naval Writer (u) hath remarked that, concerning the whole of his Proceedings, the Manner of his entering within this hidden Country, and making a farther Progress in the Space of a Month, than the *Spaniards* had done in half a Century; of the Nature of the Soil, and the Certainty of finding many, and rich Mines of Gold, Sir *Walter* hath left us so fair,

so

(t) Campbell, V. 2. p. 59.

(u) Ibid. V. 2. p. 60.

so copious, and so well written a Relation, that if his subsequent unfortunate Voyage had not thrown a Shade over so bright a Prospect, we could scarcely render a Reason why *Guiana* should not, at this Period, have been as thoroughly known, and as completely settled by the *English*, as *Virginia*. With due Deference to the Judgment of this Historian, and all proper Veneration for the Name of *Raleigh*, it would, in our Opinion, be difficult to avoid subscribing to the Assertion that, at his Return, he published an Account of *Guiana*, full of the grossest, and most palpable Lies that ever were attempted to be imposed on the Credulity of Mankind (x). Not less improbable than the Fables of this celebrated Adventurer is the Attestation of a foreign Author (y), who, in his Description of *Manoa*, the Capital of the Empire of *Guiana*, observes that every Vessel within the Palace was either of Gold, or of Silver; that in the royal Wardrobe were hollow Statues of Gold, which seemed Giants; and that there were Figures of the same Metal, in full Proportion, representing all the Beasts, Birds, Trees, and Herbs that the Earth brings forth, and all the Fishes that the Sea, or Waters of his Kingdom breed. Finally, *there was nothing* in his Country, whereof he had not the Counterfeit in Gold.

As we have ventured to dispute the Veracity of the Account relative to the Riches discovered within the Empire of *Guiana*, it seems necessary, in Point of Candour, that we should lay some Remarks, written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, before the Reader, whose Opinion should not be biaised, even by a Suppression of confident Assertions. "Because there have been divers

"Opi-

(x) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 377.

(y) Fran. Lopez. de Gomara. Hist. gen. delas Ind. Cap.

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" Opinions conceived of the gold Ore brought from
 " *Guiana*; and because an Alderman of *London*, and
 " an Officer of her Majesty's Mint, have reported that
 " it is of no Value, I have thought good, by the Ad-
 " dition of these Lines, to give Answer as well to that
 " malicious Slander, as to other Objections. It is true
 " that whilst we were at the Island of *Trinidado*, I was
 " informed by an *Indian* that not far from the Port,
 " where we anchored, there were found certain mi-
 " neral Stones, which they esteemed to be Gold, and
 " were confirmed in their Opinion, because they had
 " seen both *Englishmen*, and *Frenchmen* gather, and
 " load vast Quantities of it. Upon this Probability,
 " I sent forty Men, and gave Orders that each of them
 " should bring a Stone of that Mine, to make an Essay
 " of the Goodness of it, which being done, I assured
 " them at their Return, that it was Marcasite, and of no
 " Value; notwithstanding which, several trusting more
 " to their own Opinion than my Knowledge, kept of
 " that Marcasite, and have made Essay of it since my
 " Return, at several Places. In *Guiana*, I never saw
 " Marcasite; but all the Rocks, and Mountains, all
 " the Stones in the Plains, Woods, and by the Sides of
 " the River are, in Effect, throughout shining, and
 " seem to be vastly rich, which being proved to be no
 " Marcasite, are the true Signs of rich Minerals; but
 " are no other than *El Madre del Oro*, (or the Mother
 " of Gold,) as the *Spaniards* call it, or, as others call it,
 " the Scum of Gold. My Company brought also of
 " divers Sorts of these into *England*, every one taking
 " the most beautiful to be the best, which is not al-
 " ways a Rule. For my Part, I did not contradict
 " any Man's desire, or Opinion, and should have al-
 " lowed them very little Liberty, if I had denied them
 " the Pleasure of satisfying themselves in this Point;
 Vol. IV. G " but

“ but I was convinced that Gold must be found either
 “ in Grains, separate from the Stone, as it is in most
 “ of the Rivers of *Guiana*, or else in a kind of hard
 “ Stone; which we call the white Spar, or Flint, which
 “ I endeavoured to break, by all the Means I could,
 “ because there appeared, on the Outside some small
 “ Grains of Gold; and, in a Clift, after much Diffi-
 “ culty, with our Daggers, and the Head of an Axe,
 “ we got out a small Quantity of it. Of this kind of
 “ white Stone, in which Gold engenders, we saw many
 “ Hills, and Rocks, in every Part of *Guiana*, through
 “ which we travelled; and of this, there have been ma-
 “ ny Trials made. In *London*, it was first essayed by
 “ Mr. *Westwood*, a Refiner, in *Wood-street*; and it held
 “ after the Rate of twelve, or thirteen thousand Pounds,
 “ a Ton. There was some of it again tried by Mr.
 “ *Palmer*, Comptroller of the Mint; and Mr. *Dim-*
 “ *mock*, in *Goldsmiths-Hall*, and it held twenty-six
 “ thousand, and nine hundred Pounds, a Ton. There
 “ was also, at the same Time, and by the same Per-
 “ sons, a Trial made of the Dust of the same Mine,
 “ which held eight Pounds, and six Ounces Weight of
 “ Gold, in the hundred. There was, likewise, at the
 “ same Time, a Trial of an Image of Copper, made
 “ in *Guiana*, which held a third Part of Gold; besides
 “ several Trials, made in the Country, and by others,
 “ in *London*. But, because there came bad with the
 “ good, and, belike, the said Alderman was not pre-
 “ sented with the best, he was pleased to lay a Scandal
 “ upon all the rest, and to disparage the Enterprize,
 “ to the utmost of his Power. It has also been con-
 “ cluded by many that, if there had been any such
 “ Ore in *Guiana*, and I had discovered it, I should
 “ have brought home a greater Quantity; but, first
 “ I was not bound to satisfy any Body of the Quant-

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"ty, excepting those who were Adventurers, if any
 "Store had been returned; but it is very true that had
 "all their Mountains been of massy Gold, it was im-
 "possible for us to have made any longer Stay to have
 "wrought it; and whosoever hath seen with what
 "Strength of Stone the best gold Ore is encompassed,
 "will not think it easy to be had out in Heaps, espe-
 "cially by us, who had neither Men, Instruments, or
 "Time to perform it."

In the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-
 five, Sir *Walter Raleigh* equipped, at his own Charge,
 two Vessels, named the *Delight*, and the *Discoverer*, the
 Command of which was given to Captain *Kemeys*, who
 sailed in them to *Guiana*, for the double Purpose of
 prosecuting his Discoveries, and of affording the pro-
 mised Succour to the *Indians*, during that Period, en-
 gaged in War against the *Spaniards*, who opposed them
 with such unrelenting Severity, as betrayed an Inten-
 tion, not only to subdue, but totally to extirpate them.
Kemeys, at his Return to *England*, published an Account
 of his Expedition (z). A naval Writer (a) on whom,
 (perhaps only when with too much Enthusiasm, he
 extols the Conduct of his Heroes,) we cannot abso-
 lutely rely, observes that it might have converted to
 the Sentiments of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, respecting the
 Empire of *Guiana*, all whom either invincible Ignor-
 ance, or over-weening Prejudice had not destined to
 remain Infidels,

We have already entered (b) so minutely into the
 Particulars connected with the celebrated Expedition
 to *Cadiz*, where the Conduct, and Intrepidity of Sir

G 2

Walter

(z) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 683.

(a) Campbell, V. 2 p. 61.

(b) See from the 329th to the 389th Page of the second
 Volume of this Work.

Walter Raleigh were gloriously conspicuous, that it becomes needless to resume the Subject. Let us proceed therefore, to observe that, at his Return, our illustrious Adventurer applied with Ardour to the Renewal of his Attempt for the effectual Establishment of a commercial Intercourse with the People of *Guiana*. Thither, at the Commencement of the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-seven, he dispatched the *Watt*, a large, and well-provided Pinnace, under the Command of Captain *Leonard Berrie*, who, on his Arrival, in the Month of *March*, was admitted to a friendly and communicative Conversation, with the Inhabitants of the Coast, who revealed all Circumstances, within their Knowledge, which bore the least Relation to the State, and Opulence of the higher Country. This Expedition (from which *Berrie* returned to *Plymouth* on the twenty-eighth of the following Month of *June*) hath been considered (c) as an indubitable Proof of two Facts; first, that Sir *Walter* himself was in earnest with Regard to this Discovery; otherwise there can be no Cause alleged, why, having so many Matters of Importance upon his Hands, he should busy himself in an Undertaking of this Kind; secondly, that no Hopes could, on such an Occasion, be better founded than his own, since the Account which hath been given of the Voyage, is not liable to any just Objections (d). It is not to the preceeding Remark, that the Compiler of this Work can implicitly assent; but he reserves, for another Place, a Review of those Materials, by which he hath been taught to form a different Opinion.

Then next important public Service, during which we trace the active Intrepidity of *Raleigh*, is the Expedition

(c) Campbell, V. 2. p. 68.

(d) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 692.

pedition to the *Azores*, an Event of which a copious Relation hath been already given (e). In the following Year, he was again a Member of the House of Commons, and distinguished himself by his Patriotism, and by his Service to the Crown; a Line of Conduct which is too justly observed to have been in later Periods, deemed absolutely inconsistent (f). Availing himself of a firm Interest with *Elizabeth*, he procured an Exoneration of some intolerable Impositions, and, by his Importance in the Senate, facilitated the Advancement of the Supplies. Indulgences were likewise obtained through his Interference, for the Tinnerns, in *Cornwall*, and to these, as to all the Poor, he approved himself a rational, and speedy Advocate. In the Year one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-nine, he was appointed Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, the rapid Equipment of which was regarded by the Powers of *Europe*, with equal Apprehension, and Surprise (g). Although he did not enjoy this Honour longer than the Space of a single Month, yet it must be considered as a striking Proof of that favourable Opinion which was conceived of him by *Elizabeth*, since, during that Period, she had equal Reason to dread domestic Troubles, and Invasions from abroad. In the Year, one thousand, and six hundred, he accompanied the Lord *Cobham*, into *Holland*; and, after having been admitted to a Conference with Prince *Maurice*, of *Nassau*, returned to *England*, where the Queen advanced him to the Government of the Isle of *Jersey*, but reserved, from the annual Profits of that Employment, three hundred Pounds,

G 3

to

(e) See from the 398th to the 422d Page of the second Volume of this Work.

(f) Campbell, V. 2. p. 70.

(g) See the 425th, 426th, and 427th Page of the second Volume of this Work.

to be disposed of in such a Manner as she should deem the most fitting (*b*).

We next observe Sir *Walter Raleigh* engaged, with others, in quelling the Insurrection of the Earl of *Essex*, the Enemy whom he most hated, and whose Life he sought for by those flagitious Arts which are but little short of Murder. The Variance that broke out between these jealous Candidates for martial Fame, in Consequence of the Action at the Island of *Fayal* (*i*), gave Rise to Animosities which were buried only in the Grave. We might be taxed with wandering far beyond the necessary Limits of this Work, did we enter into a minute Relation of the ridiculous, but not less aggravating devices, by which such violent, and ambitious Rivals, endeavoured, at one Moment (*k*) to excite the Compassion, and, at another Moment (*l*), to engross the Admiration of the Queen. Be it sufficient to introduce some obvious Reflections on the partial Narrative of a celebrated Writer (*m*), who, like a Multitude of Historians, to exalt the Fame of *Raleigh*, hath depressed the Character of *Essex*. After having remarked that Sir *Christopher Blunt* proposed to the latter, the Assassination of the former, he adds, that it was judged *impracticable*. What Conclusion can be drawn from these Words, except that *Essex* only objected to the Intention of destroying *Raleigh*, because it must have

(*b*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

(*i*) See the 405th, and 406th Pages of the second Volume of this Work.

(*k*) Birch's Memoirs, p. 444, 445.—Sydney's Papers, V. 2. p. 196.—Sydney's Letters, V. 2. p. 151—159.

(*l*) Clarendon's Disparity, printed in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 4th Edit. 1685. p. 190.—Walpole's royal, and noble Authors, Article *Essex*.—Bacon's Papers, V. 2. p. 438.—Oldy's Life of Raleigh, Folio. p. 132.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 71.

have been difficult to execute it? When a Crime so horrid in its Nature is imputed to a Nobleman, whose Name, in Spite of all his Blemishes, and Vices, is still mentioned by Posterity, with a Degree of Reverence, it becomes necessary that we should place a Series of Facts, in a more candid, and incontrovertible Point of View. The Parties who are the Subject of this particular Discussion, as naval Heroes, have placed their personal Intrepidity beyond the Reach of Censure. It is not, therefore, without the Concern resulting from a disappointed Wish to mark the Characters of each as irreproachable, that, in the present Work, we follow the Dictates of rigid Justice, and, having cleared the Innocence of *Essex*, proceed to the Ascertainment of the Turpitude of *Raleigh*. The Scheme for depriving Sir *Walter* of his Life was recommended by Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and others, to Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* (n); but it doth not indisputably appear that the Earl was either privy, or consenting to it; nay, there is Reason to suppose from the *Commendations* which he bestowed on the subsequent Behaviour of *Gorges*, that the News of the Perpetration of such an Act would have been received by him, with equal Horror, and Repentment. Had there existed a premeditated Design to commit the Murder, it certainly could not have been judged *impracticable*; as *Raleigh*, who sent for *Gorges*, was alone, whilst the latter came attended by a Force, at least sufficient to assist him in the Execution of such a Deed. In the Manuscript, written purposely to vindicate himself from the Imputation of betraying

G 4.

Essex

(n) "Declaration of the Practices, and Treasons attempted, and committed by Robert, late Earl of Essex, and his Accomplices, against her Majesty, and her Kingdoms," printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the Queen, 4to. 1601.

Essex, at this Meeting, he declares that he revealed the Contents of the Message to the Earl, who, having advised with the select Council, at *Drury-House* (o), answered that he made no Objection to an Interview upon the *Thames*, but deemed it necessary that in Order to facilitate his Return, he should take a Guard, and not venture to approach the Shore. The following is an Account, drawn up by *Gorges* (p), of the Conference between him, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. "When his Boat came to me, he, being *all alone*, and I, *having two Gentlemen*, he told me, that he had sent for me to admonish me to make all Haste out of the Town, down to my Charge (q), there being a Warrant out for the sending me to the *Fleet*. For this kind Advertisement, I gave him Thanks; but told him withal, because I knew that the present Occasion would soon discover itself, that it came too late, for that I had engaged myself in another Matter. He further inquired of me what it was? I told him that there were two thousand Gentlemen who had resolved, that Day, to live, or die Freemen. He protested unto me that he heard not of it, until that Morning, but did not see what they were able to do against the Queen's Authority. My Answer was that it was the Abuse of that by him, and others, which made so many
"honest

(o) Of this junto were Sir Charles Davers, (to whom the Place belonged,) the Earl of Southampton, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir John Davies, John Littleton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others.

(p) A brief Answer to certain false, slanderous, and idle Objections made against Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, as if he had been a Man on Purpose employed to practise the Ruin of the late Earl of Essex, &c. Written by Himself, in the Gatchouse, June 14, 1601. MS. Bibl. Cott. Julius. F. 7. Fol. 428. Cap. 2.

(q) Gorges was Governour of Plymouth Fort.

"honest Men resolve to seek a Reformation thereof.
 "His Reply was no Man is without a Colout for his
 "Intent, and advised me to look to myself, and to re-
 "member my Duty, and Allegiance; I answered
 "that I knew not any Man, who did not more re-
 "spect his Allegiance, than his Life, as the End
 "would make apparent; and thus we parted, he to
 "the Court, and I to *Essex-House*. If it be demanded
 "of me why I did not then take Sir *Walter Raleigh*;
 "first, it was not a Matter, I ever proposed, *although*
 "many persuaded me so to do; secondly, I never held
 "it an Act fitting amongst Men to betray any that re-
 "pose Trust in us; and he, putting himself into my
 "Hands, with what Honesty could I have avowed so
 "barbarous a Deed, unless he had given me the first
 "Occasion, by *violent Deeds, or unkind Words*, for
 "either of which I was both resolved, and prepared.
 "At my Return, I delivered unto my Lord what had
 "passed between Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and myself, *which*
 "*he received with Applause* (r), as may be testified by
 "those who were present, and are yet alive. The
 "Reason why I acknowledge that I had Means to
 "have taken, or to have killed Sir *Walter Raleigh*
 "was the better to make it appear that *there was neither*
 "*malicious, nor butcherous Course intended to him, or any;*
 "and also to give him Cause to acknowledge himself
 "in that Respect beholden unto me; whereby to take
 "from him Occasion to exercise his Power, (which I
 "knew to be great, at that Juncture), to my Ruin.
 "For I did believe that he could not, in Reason, be
 "so

(r) It is almost unnecessary to ask whether if Essex wished
 for the Assassination of Raleigh, he would have commended
 the Conduct of Gorges, who did not offer him the least Vio-
 lence, even when it was, probably, in his Power to commit
 a Murder.

“so void of human Respect, as not to requite one
 “Courtesy with another; as also that it was no Matter
 “of Treason against her Majesty, but rather a Mani-
 “festation to the contrary, approving this Intent
 “to be particular against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and
 “others.”

The Historian observes that *when the Mischief broke out, Sir Walter did his Duty; and no more than his Duty* (s). The Result of farther Inquiries will leave us sensible of the Fallacy of this Assertion. Did he not exceed the Limits of his Duty, by strenuously endeavouring to persuade Sir *Robert Cecil*, (even in the very Moment when that Statesman began to melt into Compassion for the unhappy Criminal), that it was necessary to enforce the Execution of the Earl of *Essex*? Is it possible that a different Construction can be put upon the Sentence “If you take it for a good Counsel to
 “relent towards this Tyrant, you will repent it when
 “it may be too late?” Should the Meaning of these Words appear ambiguous, it certainly is explained in a subsequent Expression in the Letter, of which a Copy will be submitted to the Reader; “But if the Father
 “continue, he will be able to break the Branches, and
 “Tree, Root, and all.” It is to be remarked that Judgment had been passed on *Essex*; and, under that Idea, it would be difficult to prove that an Advice *not to relent* might be applied to the Expediency of detaining the Earl in Prison; or indeed, to any other Measure, except that of bringing him to the Scaffold. Had Sir *Robert Cecil* endeavoured to save the Life of *Essex*, although on Terms severe, and ignominious to the latter, even then he must have *relented*; and *not relenting*, we can consider him only as an Accomplice of those flagi-
 tious

(s) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

tious Individuals who laboured to effect the Extirpation of an aspiring Favourite, the equal Object of their Fear, and Detestation. Such were the Counsels of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Man who hath been represented, by too partial a Contemporary (*t*), as in Possession of that eminent, and eccentric Worth, which might seem at once *to conquer both Example, and Imitation*.

Previous to the Conclusion of some necessary Remarks on this Subject, we shall transcribe, from the Hand-writing of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Letter addressed to Sir *Robert Cecil* (*u*).

Sir,

" I am not wise enough to give you Advice, but if
 " *you take it for a good Counsel to relent towards this Ty-*
 " *rant, you will repent it, when it may be too late.* His
 " Malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of
 " your mild Courses; for he will ascribe the Altera-
 " tion to her Majesty's Pusillanimity, and not to your
 " good Nature; knowing that you work but upon her
 " Humour, and not out of any Love towards him. The
 " less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm
 " you, and yours. And if her Majesty's Favour fail
 " him, he will again decline to a common Person. For
 " after-revenges, fear them not. For your own Father
 " that was esteemed to be the Contriver of *Norfolk's*
 " Ruin, yet his Son followeth your Father's Son, and
 " loveth him. Humours of Men succeed not, but
 " grow by Occasions, and Accidents of Time, and
 " Power. *Somerfet* made no Revenge on the Duke of
 " *Northumberland's* Hearers. *Northumberland*, that
 " now

(*t*) *Geography Delineated*, by Nathaniel Carpenter, 4to. Oxon. 1625. Lib. ii. Cap. 11. p. 261.

(*u*) MS. Collection of the Earl of Salisbury. See Murdin's State-Papers, p. 811.

“ now is, thinks not of *Hatton's* I.Tuc. *Kellway* lives,
 “ that murdered the Brother of *Horsey*, and *Horsey* let
 “ him go by all his Life-Time. I could name you a
 “ thousand of those, and, therefore, after-fears are but
 “ Prophecies, or rather Conjectures from Causes re-
 “ mote. Look to the present, and you do wisely.
 “ His *Son* shall be the youngest Earl of *England*, but
 “ one (*), and, if his Father be now kept down, *Will*
 “ *Cecil* shall be able to keep as many Men at his Heels
 “ as he, and more too. He may also match in a better
 “ House than his, and so that Fear is not worth the
 “ fearing. But, if the Father *continue*, he will be able
 “ to break the Branches, and pull up the Tree, Root,
 “ and all. Lose not your Advantage; if you do, I
 “ note your Destiny.

“ Let the Queen hold *Bothwell* while she hath him.
 “ He will ever be the Canker of her Estate, and Safety.
 “ Princes are lost by Security, and preserved by Pre-
 “ vention. I have seen the last of her good Days, and
 “ all ours, after his Liberty.”

Yours, &c. W. R.

Sir W. R. to Sir R. C. 1601.

It is scarcely necessary to ask how the Son of *Essex* could, by Descent, at least, have been the youngest Earl of *England*, but one, unless his Father had died near the Period at which this execrable Letter was written? From the Contents of it, let the Reader judge whether *Raleigh* clearly advises *Cecil* not to spare the Life of his formidable Rival. Can there be a Difficulty in relying on the Assertion that he had pressed the
 Queen

(*) As he could not have enjoyed the Earldom, until after the Decease of his Father, doth not this Passage prove that *Raleigh* recommended to *Cecil*, the Execution of *Essex*.

Queen to sign a Warrant for the Execution (y)? Or need we remain any longer at a Loss to account for the general Hatred which broke out against *Raleigh*, and raged with redoubled Violence, when he was observed placed at a Window within the Tower, and gazing on the last Sufferings of *Effex*? Yet he solemnly declared that he *shed Tears for him when he died*. The charitable Confidence with which it is customary to receive the Asseverations of Individuals who are on the Point of launching into Eternity, might prevent us, in this Instance, from supposing that Sir *Walter* could advance a Falsity; but whilst the Letter, the Authenticity of which remains unquestionable, can be referred to, it must excite our Horror, and Astonishment, whensoever we reflect that, at the Scaffold, he called on the God of Truth to witness that he had *no Hand in the Death of Effex, nor bore him any ill Affection, but always thought that it would have been better for him that the Life of this Lord had been preserved* (z). At the Place of Execution, Criminals have uttered Words, in the Hope that if they were believed, a Pardon might ensue. Perhaps, *Raleigh* had amused himself with the Idea that he could have softened *James*, by a public Protestation of his Innocence, in Regard to the Persecution of the Earl of *Effex*, with whom the King had corresponded, and whose Memory he respected. It is a melancholy Consideration that here, where he should have been most defensible, we cannot vindicate the Hero who is yet ranked amongst the great Preservers of his Country. His last Assertions are imputed to an Anxiety for Life, in Order to extenuate a Conduct which it is more than difficult to justify.

One

(y) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

(z) See the last Speech of *Raleigh*, in his Life, by Oldys, p. 230.

One of the warmest Partizans of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, after having observed that he established his Advice, in the preceding Letter, on his Concern for the Safety of *Elizabeth*, adds, that in this Respect, he had the Concurrence of the Earl, who declared to the Preachers sent to attend, and to worm out his Secrets, in Prison, that the Queen could never be safe whilst he lived (a). We are more inclined to believe, Authorities from which we learn that these were not the Sentiments of *Essex*, but the Inventions of his Enemies; although (to use the Words of a discerning Writer,) it is likely that this Proof of Penitence, and Concern for *Elizabeth* would produce a contrary Effect to what they intended, and would revive all that fond Affection which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy Prisoner (b). It is not probable that if *Essex* had considered his Execution as necessary for the Preservation of the Queen, he would have declared immediately after the Sentence was pronounced against him, that *he should be sorry if he were represented to Elizabeth, as a Person who despised her Clemency*, although he should not (he believed) make any cringing Submissions to obtain it (c). But no Circumstance whatsoever hath rendered the Report of his having insisted on the Expediency of his Death more groundless than that wherein we trace the Wife of *Nottingham* secreting from his Sovereign the Ring which he had charged her to deliver (d). It is beyond a Doubt that he sent this Pledge of future Mercy in the full Confidence that he should receive a Pardon.

The

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 72.

(b) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 430.

(c) Ibid. p. 428.—Walpole's royal, and noble Authors, V. 1. p. 147. Article Essex.

(d) See the 432d, 433d, and 434th Pages of the second Volume of this Work.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH. 111

The Reader may also remember the Assertion that *Essex* addrested to *Elizabeth* a Letter, which *Wiseman*, a Follower of his Fortunes, either wilfully, or through Forgetfulness, neglected to present in Time sufficient for the Hinderance of the Execution of the Judgment (e). To one of these Events, we may suppose that Sir *Walter Raleigh* alluded, when he informed Doctor *Robert Tounson*, the Dean of *Westminster*, who attended him in his last Moments, that *the Earl was taken off by a Trick*. This Information was given in private, and, therefore, *Tounson* hath not inserted it in his Letter (f).

A naval Writer (g) hath remarked that “ it is not at all impossible that those artful Statesmen, (who had so much Address as to make the Populace, during that Æra, and, by employing the Pen of a learned Historian, the World, in general, now believe, that they were Seconds only in these Quarrels, and that *Essex*, and *Raleigh*, were Principals,) hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other, by inflaming the Earl against Sir *Walter* first, (which induced the former to write, in the Prejudice of the latter to *James*, the appointed Successor to *Elizabeth*, with whom, by the Hands of Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, he maintained a constant Correspondence,) and, afterwards bringing him to the Block, (allowing the Truth of these Informations,) that they might run no Hazard (in a new Reign,) from the Abilities of *Raleigh*. It is added that the Conjecture hath been rendered probable from the whole Thread of the Relation, and “ that

(e) Consult Note b, at the Bottom of the 432d Page of the second Volume of this Work.

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 99. Written by Dean Tounson, to Sir John Isham, of Lamport, in Northamptonshire, and still preserved in the Family.

(g) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 75.

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“that it would not be a very difficult Task to prove
 “that it was really probable, from incontestable Authorities. So easily, within a Court, can Malice,
 “and Cunning, obtain Advantages over Valour, and
 “Abilities.” With this Passage, we quit the Subject, and leave the Reader to his own Conclusions.

In the Summer of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and one, Sir *Walter Raleigh* attended the Queen, during her Progress; and, on the Arrival of the Duke *de Biron*, in the Character of an Ambassador from the Court of *France*, he was directed to treat with him concerning the Nature of his Negotiations. During the last Parliament, in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, he was an active Member, and distinguished himself, on all Occasions, by opposing such Bills as, under Colour of deep Policy, were contrived for the Oppression of the meaner Sort of People, amongst which was the Act whereby every Man was compelled to till a third Part of his own Ground; nor was he less ready to countenance such Laws as bore hard upon the Rich, and even upon the trading Part of the Community; where it was evident that private Interests, clashed with public Benefits, and there was a Necessity of hurting some, for the Sake of doing good to the Majority of the Public. This proves that he had a just Notion of Popularity, and could well distinguish between deserving, and desiring it. In Support of this Assertion, let it be observed that he promoted a Law for the Restriction of the Exportation of Ordnance, which, until that Period, had proved highly advantageous to such Individuals as were concerned in this particular Branch of Commerce, but of inexpressible Detriment to the Nation, as being the great Source of the Power which the Enemy maintained at Sea, the *Spanish* Navy not making use of any Cannon,

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non, except that which was obtained from *England* (b).

It hath been allowed that in the Point of Monopolies, his Conduct was more open to the Severity of Censure; yet, even here, he is observed to have given Proofs that he made a moderate use of the Grants which he had obtained from the Crown, offering to surrender his own freely, on Condition that the rest might all be cancelled (i).

It may not, in this Part of the Memoir, be improper to observe that at the Commencement of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and two, Sir *Walter Raleigh* employed *William Mace*, a Native of *Weymouth*, to proceed on a Voyage to *Virginia*, in Search of the Adventurers who had been left there towards the Close of the preceding Century. Having sailed nearly forty Leagues to the *South-Westward* of *Hatarask*, in the Latitude of thirty-four Degrees, he loitered there, during a Month, inattentive to the Purposes of his Enterprize, and, at length, returned, pretending that the Inclemency of the Weather, and the Loss of his Ground-Tackle had deterred him from examining the Situation of the Harbour to which he was directed to repair.

The chief Commodities which *Mace* obtained, at *Hatarask*, were *China Root*, *Benzoin*, *Sassafras*, and *Cassia*.

At the Decease of *Elizabeth*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was not without Hopes that he might enjoy the Favour of her Successor, with whom he had endeavoured to ingratiate himself, by a Variety of splendid Presents,

VOL. IV.

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and

(b) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 76.

(i) Heyward Townsend's *Collections*, and Sir *Simon D'Ewes's Journal of the Parliaments of Elizabeth*.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 76.

and other Testimonies of Respect (*k*). He was, notwithstanding, well assured that *Essex* had endeavoured to fill the Mind of *James* with Prejudices against him, but these he expected to wear out by an assiduous Service. When the King had arrived in *England*, he was admitted to his Presence, and as this Interview gave Rise to more, *Raleigh* embraced an Opportunity of discovering an Inclination, and a Capacity to serve him. Yet not long after the Accession, he was coolly treated, and felt the Mortification of discovering that Sir *Robert Cecil*, who had been his Friend, and Associate, during the Contest against the Earl of *Essex*, foreseeing that if he became the Favourite of *James*, his own Administration would be dissolved, drew such a Character of him to the Prince, as he thought would be most likely to disgust him; censuring, in the severest Terms, the martial Disposition of Sir *Walter*, and insinuating that it would lead him to form Projects which must naturally terminate in a Rupture between *England*, and the neighbouring States (*l*). In Revenge for this Treatment, *Raleigh* drew up a Memorial wherein he plainly proved that the Appearance of Loyalty which the *Cecils* had maintained for *James*, was not the Effect of Choice, but of Compulsion; that, in Reality, the Intrigues of one of that Family had brought *Mary*, the Queen of *Scotland*, to the Block; and that they never thought of promoting his Succession, until they perceived that it must take Place, in Spite of their Endeavours to prevent it (*m*). The Memorial was far from

being

(*k*) Heylin's *Examen Historicum*, p. 170.—A brief Relation of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Troubles, p. 1.

(*l*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 77.—Baker's *Chronicle*.—Osborne's *Memorials of the Reign of James*.

(*m*) Welwood's Notes in Kennet's *History of England*, V. 2. p. 663, 664.

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being followed by those Consequences which Sir *Walter* had expected, although in not having distrusted the Success of it, he appears a Stranger to the Temper of the King. At this Period, *James* observed the Power of *Cecil*, and imagined that he had Need of it. Thus, forgetful that it was the Result of his own Favour, he became dependant upon him, as he was, afterwards, upon *Buckingham*; whom, during a Series of Years, he trusted, but did not love (*n*). These Circumstances, added to his Aversion from all martial Enterprizes, induced him to discountenance the Views of *Raleigh*; and, perhaps, to proceed to Lengths more violent; a Supposition which it is allowable to indulge, if we are so just to the Memory of *Cecil*, as to believe that he did not become the Enemy of *Raleigh*, without having first received a personal Offence. Be this as it may, Sir *Walter*, in spite of this respectful, and assiduous Attendance within the Court, was regarded with Indifference. To such a Treatment may naturally be ascribed his Determination to maintain a closer Intercourse with Individuals under the same Predicament, and who were formerly his Friends. This Step conducted him, at length, to his Ruin (*o*).

Amongst these Associates was the Lord *Cobham*, thoughtless in his Conduct, wavering in his Principles, and possessed of an immense Estate. At this Period, *Raleigh* was suspected to be of that philosophical Sect, which have since increased, from a small Number to an extensive Multitude, and are, in *England*, stiled *Free-*

H 2

Thinkers.

(*n*) See the Earl of Bristol's Answer to the Articles of High Treason, exhibited against him in Parliament, printed in Frankland's Annals of King James, and King Charles, p. 127, 128, 129.

(*o*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 152, 153.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 78.

Thinkers. The other Members of this Confederacy were Sir *Griffin Markham*, Sir *Edward Parham*, Mr. *Copely*, and Mr. *Broke*, the Brother to Lord *Cobham*. It is judiciously observed that what Cement could unite Men of such discordant Principles in so dangerous a Combination, what End they proposed, or what Means proportioned to their Undertakings, hath never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined (*p*). During the Reign of *Elizabeth*, *Cobham* had conferred with the Duke of *Aremberg*, a *Flemish* Nobleman, in the Service of the King of *Spain*, and, at that Period, residing in *England*, with the Title of Ambassador from the Arch-Duke, but, in Fact, as the Negotiator of a Peace, in Favour of the *Spaniards*. With him, *Cobham* renewed his Acquaintance, and recommended that a large Sum of Money should be presented to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, if, instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward the Peace (*q*). In the mean Time, some popish Priests, and other disaffected, and designing Persons, had framed a Plot against the King, and his whole Family, which was to be executed by seizing, if not destroying *James*, and his Children; and with some of the Conspirators, *Cobham* also had an Intercourse, by Means of his Brother, Mr. *Broke*. When this last Treason had been discovered, and traced to *Aremberg*, there arose a Suspicion of *Cobham*; and in Consequence of his Intimacy with *Raleigh*, the Proceedings of the latter were called in Question. All were apprehended, and *Cobham*, timorous to an Extreme, was prevailed on to charge Sir *Walter*, in his Confession, with a Variety of Crimes. The Enemies of *Raleigh* contrived to blend these Treasons together, notwithstanding

(*p*) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 9.
 (*q*) Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 97.

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notwithstanding that they, or, at least, *Cecil*, knew them to be distinct Points; and thus unfavourably he states them, in a Letter addressed to *Winwood*, wherein he discovers an Aversion from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and, at the same Time, his Sense of the Want of any real Evidence which might affect him; yet what appeared deficient in Proof, was made up in Force, and Fraud. The Priests, *Watson*, and *Clarke*, and Mr. *Broke*, their Associate, were first brought to the Bar, and, after a long Hearing, adjudged guilty. On the seventeenth of *November*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and three, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was tried at *Winchester*, and, without any Colour of Evidence, convicted by the Influence of the Court, of High Treason (r). It is too just an Observation that the virulent, and low Abuse which was thrown out on *Raleigh*, by the Attorney-General, Sir *Edward Coke*, may be deemed a severe Reflection, not only on his own Memory, but even, in some Degree, on the Manners of that Age. We learn, that Traitor, Monster, Viper, and Spider of Hell, were the Terms which he employed against one of the most illustrious Men in the Kingdom, who was under Trial for Life, and Fortune, and who defended himself with Temper, Eloquence, and Resolution (s).

Mr. *Campbell* hath remarked that it may be proved to a Demonstration, that the Charge exhibited against Sir *Walter Raleigh* was groundless, if we consider that all the Evidence adduced to support the Assertion that he engaged in a Conspiracy to seize the King, and his

H 3

whole

(r) *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 79.—*Winwood's Memorials*, V. 2. p. 8.—*Oldys's Life of Raleigh*, Folio. p. 157.

(s) *Hume's History of England*, 8vo. V. 6. p. 10.—*State Trials*, 1st Edit. p. 176, 177—182.

whole Family, was the hearsay Testimony of Mr. *Broke*, the Purport of which seems to have been that his Brother *Cobham* should have observed that "it would never be well until the Fox, and his Cubs were taken off;" and, afterwards, speaking to this *Broke*, that "he, Lord *Grey*, and others, were only on the bye; but *Raleigh*, and himself were on the Main;" intimating that they were only trusted with less important Matters, but that the capital Part of the Conviction was concerted between him, and Sir *Walter* (t). Yet when *Broke* suffered, and that, not undeservedly, he, on his own Confession, retracted this Circumstance, affirming that he never heard his Brother, the Lord *Cobham*, make use of that Phrase, relative to the Fox, and Cubs (u); and thus, did he destroy the Credit of the other Story which had been grounded on the Expression. In Support of this Fact, may be produced the undeniable Authority of the Lord *Cecil*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*, who applauds *Broke*, for discovering this Remorse, during his last Moments (x). So, from the Testimony of his chief Enemy, breaks forth the Innocence of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who, constantly, and judiciously, at his Trial, distinguished between the extraordinary Imputation of Treason, and the Conferences with *Aremberg*. Of the former, he denied the least Knowledge; but, with Regard to the latter, confessed that *Cobham* had talked to him concerning a large Present, on the Condition that he should promote a Peace with *Spain*. It was on this Occasion, that

(t) Sir Thomas Overbury's Copy of the Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 12. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 80.

(u) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 8.

(x) Ibid.

that he remonstrated, in severe Terms, against a Sentence which inflicted Death only because he had once heard a vain Man speak incoherent Language (y).

Although the Law made no Distinction between Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the rest of the supposed Conspirators, yet *James* was more lenient, and did not sign the Warrant for his Execution (z); but, on the Contrary, projected that extraordinary Contrivance of bringing the Lords *Cobham*, and *Grey*, together with Sir *Griffin Markham*, to the Block, and then granting them a Reprieve, purely to discover the Truth of the Allegations of *Cobham*, against *Raleigh*, and also to try what the Fear of Death might induce the other to confess (a). As these Expedients proved fruitless, *James* relinquished all Thoughts of taking away the Life of *Raleigh*; and if the latter laboured, during some Time, under an Uncertainty whether he should obtain this Mercy, it must be attributed rather to the Malice of his powerful Adversaries than to any ill Intention of the King, on whose Clemency, Sir *Walter*, if we may judge from Passages in his Letters, places great Dependence (b). The Historian (c), to whose Researches we are so frequently indebted, observes that he did not advance an Opinion of this Nature with any View of apologizing for the Conduct of *James*, but from a Respect due to Truth, and that it might appear how dangerous it is to live under a Prince, who suffers himself to be absolutely directed by his Ministers, since not only the Vices of such a Monarch are destructive, but even his Virtues become useless.

H 4

On

(y) Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 101—106.—
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 81.

(z) Stowe's Annals, p. 831.

(a) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 11.

(b) Raleigh's Remains, p. 192.

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 81.

On this Occasion, it cannot be improper that (without resting alone on the scrupulous Report of Facts, which cautious Historians, from a strict Regard to Truth, are inclined to deliver,) we should suggest to the Reader what appears to be the Reality of this mysterious Business. During the preceding Reign, the Lord *Cobham* had been connived at in maintaining a Correspondence with one *Lorenzi*, or *Laurence*, a *Flemish* Merchant, who was now in *England*, and forwarded the Dispatches of the latter to the Duke of *Aremberg*. It was the Opinion of contemporary Writers that *Lorenzi* (and probably by the Direction of *Aremberg*,) disclosed the Secret to Sir *Robert Cecil*, as the surest Means of ruining Sir *Walter*, and the most effectual Method of accelerating the Treaty of Peace with *Spain*. When *Raleigh* was arrested, he perceived his Danger, but had no Apprehension of his Accuser, and, therefore, in Hopes of disentangling himself, he, by Letter, directed Sir *Robert Cecil*, where to find *Cobham*, and *Lorenzi*. When this Letter was discovered to the former, he became incensed, and from Motives of Revenge, accused *Raleigh*, who yet appears not to have been connected with any Fact, except the Correspondence between *Cobham*, and the Duke of *Aremberg*. Had there been any Veracity in the Charge advanced by *Cobham*, *Raleigh*, instead of giving up that Lord, and *Lorenzi*, would, in Reality, have been furnishing two Witnesses against himself. The plain Truth then appears to be that *Aremberg* considered the Plot as an absurd, and impracticable Undertaking; but, at the same Time, judged that he should greatly forward the Interests of his Court, by procuring Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be involved in it; a Light in which *James*, and his Ministers, appear afterwards to have considered the Affair. It will

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scarcely be doubted whether this Event did not increase the Hatred which *Raleigh* had conceived against the *Spaniards*. From them, an inveterate Antipathy pressed with superior Violence on this great, and persecuted Individual, until, at length, *Gondomar*, pursuing the Blow which had been given by *Aremberg*, brought Sir *Walter* to the Block. Well, therefore, may this Treason be stiled now, as during that *Æra*, *Raleigh's Riddle*, but, in nothing more so, than in the Circumstance that through the Intrigues of two *Spanish* Ministers, the most inveterate Enemy of *Spain* was brought to an untimely End for having, as it was pretended, entered into a Correspondence with *Spain*, against a Prince who had seen through the whole Contrivance, so many Years before he gave Orders for his Execution (*d*).

In the Month of *December*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was remanded to the Tower, in which Place, his Wife, who had presented a Petition for that Purpose, was allowed to visit him. This Indulgence became succeeded by a valuable Mark of Favour, and the King granted all the Goods, and Chattels, which had been forfeited

in.

(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals V. 2. p. 83.—Winwood's Memorials. p. 8.—Weldon's Court, and Character of James. p. 31.—41.—Aulicus coquinarum. p. 74.—97.—Heylin's Examen historicum. p. 169—172.—Osborne's Works V. 2. p. 107.—Rushworth's historical Collections. V. 1. p. 9.—State-Trials. V. 1. p. 212.—Mr. Hume remarks that it appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh secretly offered his Services to the French Ambassador; and he adds that we may thence presume that meeting with a Repulse from that Quarter, he had recourse, for the same unwarrantable Purposes to the Flemish Ministers. Such a Conjecture, we are now enabled to form; but it must be confessed that, on his Trial, there appeared no Proof of this Transaction, nor indeed any Circumstance which could justify his Condemnation.

in Consequence of his Conviction, to Trustees, whom he was suffered to appoint for the Benefit of his Family. When a short Space of Time had elapsed from this (e), his Estate also was surrendered; an Act of Mercy, on which he put too promising a Construction, expecting that it might lead to a Restoration of that Felicity from which he had so lately fallen. He soon felt the Disappointment of his Hopes, when a new, and ambitious Favourite, eager to enrich himself by Grants of this Kind, discovered a Flaw in the Conveyance of the Estate of *Raleigh*, to his Son, which being prior to the Attainder, gave the Crown a Title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the Forfeiture was granted back to *Raleigh*. On an Information in the Court of Exchequer, Judgment was given for the Crown; and the Effect of that Judgment turned to the Benefit of the Favourite, who in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, obtained a complicated Grant of all which had been forfeited by Sir *Walter* (f). To this insatiable Plunderer (g), he addressed the following Letter (h), the Style, and Sentiments in which may justly claim the Notice of the Reader.

“ After

(e) Rymer's *Foedera*. V. 16. p. 596.

(f) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*. V. 2. p. 83.—
Brief Relation of the Troubles of Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

(g) Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset.

(h) It hath been copied, by the learned Mr. Oldys, from the most correct Manuscripts. On this Occasion it may be necessary to remark that Archbishop Tennison having mentioned in his *Baconiana* * the corrupt Copies from which several of the Letters in the *Cabala* were printed, adds a particular Circumstance relative to the Letter addressed by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to Sir Robert Carr. He had compared the Original with the Copy, and found forty material Alterations in the latter. Mr. Oldys had Access to two Manuscript Copies, of which one was in the Collection of Sir *Hans Sloane*, and the other in the Library of Mr. *James West*.

* Octavo. 1679. p. 77.

"After some great Losses, and many Years Sor-
 "rows, of both which I have cause to Fear I was mis-
 "taken in the End, it is come to my Knowledge that
 "yourself, whom I know not but by an honourable
 "Fame, has been perswaded to give *me*, and *mine* our
 "last fatal Blow, by obtaining from his Majesty, the
 "Inheritance of my Children, and Nephew, *lost* in
 "the *Law*, for *want* of a *Word*. This done, there
 "remains nothing with me but the Name of Life,
 "depoiled of all else but the Title, and Sorrow thereof.
 "His Majesty, (whom I never offended, for I ever
 "held it unnatural, and unmanly to hate Goodne(s),
 "stayed me at the Grave's Brink not, as I hope, that
 "he thought me worthy of many Deaths, and to be-
 "hold all mine cast out of the World with myself, but
 "as a King, who judging the Poor in Truth, hath
 "received a Promise from *God*, that *his Throne shall be*
 "*established for ever*. And, for yourself, Sir, seeing
 "your fair Day is but now in the *Dawn*, and mine in
 "the *Evening*, your own Virtues, and the King's Grace
 "assuring you of many Favours, and much Honour,
 "I beseech you not to begin your first *Building* upon
 "the *Ruins* of the Innocent; and that their Sorrows,
 "with mine, may not attend on your first Plantation.
 "I have been ever bound to your Nation, as well for
 "many other Graces, as for their true Report of my
 "*Trial* to his Majesty, against whom had I been found
 "Malignant, the Hearing of my Cause would not have
 "changed *Enemies*, into *Friends*, *Malice* into Com-
 "passion, and the Minds of the greatest Number pre-
 "sent into the Commiseration of my State. It is not
 "the Nature of *foul* Treason to beget such *fair* Pas-
 "sions; neither could it agree with the Duty, and Love
 "of faithful Subjects, especially of your Nation, to
 "bewail his overthrow, who had conspired against
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“their most liberal, and natural Love. I, therefore, trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that will kill us outright, cut down the Tree, with the Fruit, and undergo their Curse who enter the Field of the Fatherless, which, if it please you to know the Truth, is far less fruitful in Value, than in Fame; but that so worthy a Gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to your Service, being, Sir, Gentlemen not base in Birth, or Alliance, who have Interest therein; and myself, with utmost Thankfulness, will ever remain ready to obey your Commandments (i).”

This Application proved more than fruitless; and, in the following Year, the King granted to Sir Robert Carr, exclusive of *Sherborne*, and its dependent Estates, the Manors of *Pimford*, *Primessly*, and *Barton*, in *Devonshire*, which *Raleigh* himself had purchased, but which, with his other Demesnes were forfeited in Consequence of this Attainder (k).

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with a Degree of Fortitude, and Philosophy, that Reflects a Lustre on his Name, enlivened the Gloom of his Imprisonment, by the Exertions of his Learning. It was in the Tower that he digested a great Part of the Materials for his *History of the World*, concerning which, a most discerning Judge (l) observes, that if the Reader can have Patience to wade through the *Jewish*, and *Rabbinical* Learning, which compose the half of the Volume, he will find, when

(i) This Letter in two old Copies is dated December 1608.

(k) Case of *Carew Raleigh*, Esquire, at the Committee for the Sale of the Estates of Delinquents. MS. from the Collection of the Reverend Thomas Baker, of Saint John's College, Cambridge.—Oldys's Life of Raleigh. Folio. p. 165.

(l) Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix. p. 195.

when he comes to the *Greek*, and *Roman* Story, that his Pains are not unrewarded. *Raleigh* is deemed the best Model of that ancient Stile which some Writers have lately affected to revive.

It was not alone to this laborious Work, that Sir *Walter* limited his great Abilities. His Mind perpetually active, amidst the Durance of the Body, became engaged in a Variety of Studies, the illustrious Patron of which was Prince *Henry (m)*, who hath been justly deemed the Glory of the House of *Stuart*, the Darling of the *British* Nation, whilst he lived, and the Object of its sincere, and universal Grief, at the *Æra* of his untimely Death *(n)*. One of the last Pieces written by *Raleigh*, within the Tower, is his *Discourse of the Invention of Shipping*, wherein he mentions of the Use, Defects, and Improvements of the naval Arts; the Strength, and Deficiency of the Sea-Forces of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Venice*, together with the five Causes of the Rise of the *Hollanders*; the necessary Encouragement of a mutual Friendship between them, and *England*; and the Progress of the *Newcastle* Trade. In his *Observations, and Notes concerning the royal Navy, and the Sea-Service*, he treats, under distinct Heads, of the Officers of the Navy; of some Errors to be reformed in Ship-Building; of Mistakes with Regard to harbouring, and manning the Fleet; of surcharging Ships with great Ordnance; of the Defects in Sheathing, and Calking; of the Abuses in victualling; of the Inconveniency of the Cook-Rooms; of mustering, and impressing Mariners; of Arms, and Ammunition; and

(m) It was this gallant Youth who, more liberal, and discerning than his Father, remarked that no other King but James would keep such a Bird as Sir Walter Raleigh, in a Cage.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 85.

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6. Appendix.

and lastly, of Captains to serve on Board the royal Navy. Concerning the Art of War, by Sea, Sir *Walter Raleigh* discourses in the following Words. "I have written a Treatise to the Lord *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*. A Subject, to my Knowledge, never handled by any Man, ancient, or modern; but "God hath spared me the Labour of finishing it, "by the Loss of that brave Prince, of which, like an "Eclipse of the Sun, we shall feel the Effects here- "after. Impossible it is to equal Words, and Sor- "rows; I will, therefore, leave him in the Hands of "God that hath him; *Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes flu- "pent.*" A learned Writer (o) observes that this Work may lead us up to such of his Discourses as represent this Art, in Execution, and particularly those two gallant naval Actions wherein Sir *Richard Greenville* lost his Life, and himself won a most signal Victory, of which his own Pen hath preserved the faithful Memorials in his *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores*, and his epistolary Account of the Action, at *Cadix* (p). It is added that his Care did not terminate in the best Advice for the Regulations, and Maintenance of the Shipping, or in recording some of the most notable Atchievements performed therewith, but extended to the Choice, and Reparation of the most convenient Harbours, for their Reception; and that, not only by his Speeches in Parliament, but also by a Memorial which he presented to *Elizabeth*, touching the Port of *Dover*, in particular, and declaring how honourable, and profitable to her Majesty, and how necessary, and commodious to the Realm, the Rebuilding

(o) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Folio. p. 176.

(p) Abridgment of the History of the World, in Raleigh's Remains.

ing of it would be; with the least expensive, and most perfect Manner of performing the same (q)

Having mentioned the maritime Discourses of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, it may remain necessary, in a Work, which is professedly connected with the Subject, to introduce a Passage from his Remarks concerning the Invention of Shipping; and the rather as it must afford the Reader a clear Idea of the Progress of the naval Arts, during that *Æra* (r).

“Whosoever was the Inventor, we find that every Age hath added somewhat to Ships, and to all Things else. And, in my own Time, the Shape of our *English* Ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the Striking of the Top-Mast, (a wonderful Ease to great Ships, both at Sea, and in the Harbour), hath been devised, together with the Chain-Pump, which takes up twice as much Water as the ordinary Pump did. We have lately added the Bonnet (s), and the Drabler (t). To the Courses, we have devised Stud-ding Sails, Top-gallant-Sails, Sprit-Sails, and Top-Sails. The Weighing of Anchors by the Capston is also new. We have fallen into the Consideration of Cables, and thereby resist the Malice of the greatest Wind that can blow; witness our small *Milbrook*-Men of *Cornwall*, that ride it out at Anchor, Half-Seas over, between *England*, and *Ireland*, all the Winter-Quarter;

(q) Essay on Ways and Means, to maintain the Honour, and Safety of England, 1701.

(r) The Quotation is made from the *genuine Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 8vo. 1700.

(s) An additional Part laced to the Bottom of the Main-Sail, and Fore-Sail of some small Vessels, in moderate Winds. See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

(t) An additional Part of a Sail sometimes laced to the Bottom of the Bonnet of a square Sail, in Sloops, and Schooners. See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

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ter; and witness the *Hollanders*, who were wont to ride before *Dunkirk*, with the Wind at *North-West*, making a Lee-Shore in all Weathers. For, true it is that the Length of the Cable is the Life of the Ship, in all Extremities; and the Reason is because it makes so many Bendings, and Waves, as the Ship riding at that Length is not able to stretch it; and nothing breaks that is not stretched. In Extremity, we carry our Ordnance better than we were wont, because our nether Over-loops (u), are raised commonly from the Water, between the lower Part of the Port, and the Sea. In the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth, and, in his Presence at *Portsmouth*, the *Mary-Rose* by a little Sway of the Ship, in casting about, her Ports being within six Inches of the Water, was over-set, and lost, and in her, that worthy Knight, Sir *George Carew*, Cousin-German to the Lord *Carew*, now living; and, with him, besides many other Gentlemen, the Father of the late renowned Sir *Richard Grenville*. We have also raised our second Decks, and given more Vent thereby to their Ordnance lying on our nether Over-loops. We have added Cross-Pillars to our royal-Ships, to strengthen them, which being fastened from the Kelson (x) to the beams of the second Deck, keep them from settling, or giving way in all Distresses. We have given longer Floors to our Ships, than in elder Times,

(u) Orlop-Deck, or a platform of Planks laid over the Beams, in the Hold of a Ship of War, whereon the Cables are usually coiled, and the several Officers Store-Rooms contained.—See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

(x) A piece of Timber, which may properly be defined the interior, or counter-part of the Keel, (which is the principal Piece) as it is laid upon the middle of the Floor-Timbers immediately over the Keel, and, like it, composed of several Pieces scarfed together. For a more explicit Description, the Reader is referred to Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

Times; and better Bearing under Water, whereby they never fall into the Sea, after the Head, and shake the whole Body, nor sink Stern, nor stoop upon a Wind; by which the breaking loose of our Ordnance, or Disuse of them, with many other Discommodities are avoided. And to say the Truth, a miserable Shame, and Dishonour it were for our Ship-wrights, if they did not exceed all others in setting up of our royal Ships; the Errors of other Nations being more excuseable than ours; for the Kings of *England* have, for many Years, been at the Charge, to build, and furnish a Navy of powerful Ships for their own Defence, and for the Wars only; whereas the *French*, *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *Hollanders*, until of late, have had no proper Fleet, belonging to their Princes, or States (y)."

We shall conclude this Subject by observing, in Justice to the Memory of *Raleigh*; that the Mode of Ship-Building, towards the Close of the sixteenth, and the Commencement of the seventeenth Century, was regulated according to his Inventions; and Directions (z). The learned Writer of his Life (a) is of Opinion that to the same Purpose of effectually employing his superior Knowledge in naval Architecture, for the Safeguard, and Strength of the Nation, we may presume that *Elizabeth* conferred on him the Grants for *felling of Timber*, one of which is still extant (b), and intitled a *Warrant to Sir Walter Raleigh for two hundred Oaks to be taken from the Woods of Sir Francis Englesfield*.

VOL. IV.

I

After

(y) Discourse of Shipping, p. 16.

(z) Appendix to the History of the Invention of Arts and Sciences, 12mo 1686.

(a) Mr Oldys.

(b) In the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford.

After the Decease of *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, the Queen became the Patroness of *Raleigh*, and steadily defended him against the malignant Persecutions of the Earl of *Somerſet*. When this abandoned Favourite was committed to the Tower, his Estates became forfeited to the Crown; and it was on this Occasion that Sir *Walter*, ſecure from the Attacks of a once formidable Adverſary, obtained Permiſſion, after a Confinement of thirteen Years, within the Tower, to reſume his Liberty. The Miſfortunes of his Life had not inclined him to a Love of Indolence, and Retirement, for which, although the greater Part of his Poſſeſſions had been mercileſſly divided amongſt his Enemies, he yet wanted not a reaſonable Proviſion (c). It was his Wiſh to paſs the latter Æra of his Life, as he had employed the firſt, in the Purſuits of Honour, and in the Service of his Country. Such were the Sentiments of this enterprizing, and accompliſhed Hero; if we can rely on his own Aſſertions in the Letter addreſſed to Secretary *Winwood*, who, with equal Spirit, Diſcernment, and Generoſity, became his Advocate at Court, and was the chief Inſtrument of that Mercy which (howſoever meanly limited by the miſguided *James*), reſtored *Raleigh* to his Freedom, and to the Power of Subſiſtence. He feelingly obſerves “To die for the King, and not by the King, is all the Ambition which I have in the World (d).”

As in our Account of the Attempt made by *Raleigh* to eſtabliſh a Settlement in *Guiana*, we may be led to diſſent

(c) Prince Henry had attempted, but in vain, to prevail on James to reſtore his Eſtate; at length, he received as a Compensation for the Loſs of it, the Sum of eight thouſand Pounds.—See Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology. p. 47.

(d) Raleigh's Remains, p. 164.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 85.

dissent from the Opinion of a respectable Historian (e), whose labours are the Ground-Work of our own, it were a criminal Deviation from the Laws of Candour, should we endeavour to suppress those Remarks that he hath made on a Subject, which, although not involved in Obscurity, is generally misunderstood. He deems the Measure a laudable Emblem of the enterprising Genius of Sir *Walter*, who prosecuted, with unabated Constancy, that which he had contrived in the true Spirit of an extraordinary Discernment. He adds that we must "have seen how many Voyages to *Guiana* *Raleigh* encouraged, during the Reign of *Elizabeth*, "when considering the many great Employments "which he enjoyed, it might have been thought that "his Mind would have been otherwise occupied; "and, indeed, so it must have been, if he had not "been thoroughly persuaded, and that upon the best "Evidence in the World, his own Eye-Sight, and "Judgment, that this was the richest Country within "the Globe, and the worthiest of being settled, for the "Benefit of *Britain*. This Persuasion was so strong "upon him, that, during his Confinement, he held a "constant Intercourse with the People of *Guiana*, "sending at his own Charge, either every Year, or "every second Year, a Ship, to keep the *Indians* in "Hopes of his performing the Promise which he had "made them of coming to their Assistance, and of delivering them from the Tyranny, and Cruelty of the "*Spaniards*, who now encroached upon them again. "In these Ships, were brought over several Natives of "that Country, with whom Sir *Walter* conversed in "the Tower, and from whom, questionless, he received the clearest, and most distinct Intelligence of "the

(e) Mr. Campbell.

“the Situation, and Richness of the Mines, that he
 “could possibly desire (*f*). Upon these Inform-
 “ations, he offered to the Court, the Scheme for pro-
 “secuting his Discovery, three Years before he under-
 “took it in Person; nor was there then any Doubt,
 “either as to the Probability of the Measure, or as to
 “its Lawfulness, notwithstanding the Peace that
 “was made with *Spain*; otherwise the King would not
 “have made such Grants as he did, even at that Time;
 “which shews that he was then convinced that Sir *Wal-*
 “*ter* had, in his first Voyage, discovered, and taken
 “Possession of that Country, for the Crown of *Eng-*
 “*land*; and that, consequently, his Subjects were
 “justly intitled to any Benefits that might accrue from
 “this Discovery, without the least Respect had to the
 “Pretensions of the *Spaniards* (*g*). It may also deserve
 “our Notice that when Sir *Walter* first moved the
 “Court, upon this Subject, the *Spanish Match* was
 “not thought of, but the Warts of *James* were then
 “extremely pressing, and he may reasonably be pre-
 “sumed to have, at this Time, placed as great Hopes
 “in the Discovery, as he did in that Match; al-
 “though when, afterwards, he began to idolize this
 “Project, he grew somewhat out of Conceit with that
 “of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; so that if the latter had pleased,
 “he might, for seven hundred Pounds, have obtained
 “an ample Pardon, and Leave to relinquish his Voyage;
 “but he remaining firm to his Purpose, the King,
 “who felt his Necessities daily increase, was yet wil-
 “ling that he should proceed in his Enterprize, in
 “Hopes of his profiting thereby, without losing the
 “Prospect which he then had of concluding the *Spanish*
 “Match. Such was the Situation of Sir *Walter*, and
 “such

(*f*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 52—55.

(*g*) See Harcourt's Voyage to Guiana, 4to. 1613.

"such the Disposition of the Court, when he obtained
 "Leave to execute his Design, and was impowered
 "(but at the Expence of himself, and his Friends,) to
 "establish a Settlement, in *Guiana* (b)."

As the Tenor of the Commission granted, by *James*,
 to *Raleigh*, will, on this Occasion, become the Subject
 of Inquiry, it may be necessary to present the most ma-
 terial Abstract of it to the Reader.

"*James*, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to
 whom these Presents shall come, &c. Whereas Sir
Walter Raleigh, Knight, intendeth to undertake a Voy-
 age, by Sea, and Shipping, to the *South* Parts of *Ame-*
rica, or, *elsewhere*, within *America*, possessed, and inha-
 bited by *heathen*, and *savage* People; to discover some
 Commodities, and Merchandize, profitable for the Sub-
 jects of our Kingdoms, whereof the Inhabitants make
 little, or no Use; whence may ensue, by Commerce,
 some Propagation of the *Christian* Faith, and reformed
 Religion, amongst those idolatrous People; and where-
 as there are divers Merchants, &c. well disposed to as-
 sist Sir *Walter Raleigh*, had they Assurance to enjoy
 their due Share of the Profits returned, Sir *Walter Ra-*
leigh being *under the Peril of the Law*; and whereas di-
 vers other Gentlemen, his Kinsmen, and Friends, with
 several Captains and Commanders, are also desirous to
 follow, and venture their Lives with him, *if they might*
be commanded by none but himself; we, upon deliberate
 Consideration, desiring the Benefit of our Subjects, and
 also to give our princely Furtherance to the said Sir
Walter Raleigh, and his Friends, as well as to encou-
 rage others in the like laudable Enterprizes, advance
 the Conversion of Savages, and increase Traffic, by our

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(b) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 85, 86,
 87. — Camden's *Annals of King James*, A. D. 1615—1617.

Subjects of this Kingdom, have, of our especial Grace, &c. granted to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, full Power to carry, for the said Voyage, so many of our Subjects, or others, who will become our Subjects, as shall, willingly, accompany him; with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, &c. and all other things as he shall think necessary for the Use, and Defence of him, and his Company; besides Liberty to exchange, or otherwise dispose of his Goods, or Merchandize; also to return into this, or other of our Dominions, with such Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, and they to be converted to the proper Use of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his Company; paying to us, our Heirs, &c. the full fifth Part of all such Gold, and Silver, Bullion, and Ore of Gold, and Silver, Pearl, and precious Stones, as shall be so imported; with all such Customs, &c. as shall be due for any other Goods whatsoever. Furthermore, to encourage Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the Adventurers, we promise, *in verbo Regis*, that no Gold, Silver, or other Wares, by them imported from those Parts, so possessed, and inhabited, shall be seized by us, our Heirs, or any of our Officers, but that it shall remain (the fifth Part of the said Gold, Silver, Bullion, &c. as before, with all other Customs, and Duties being truly paid,) to the sole Use of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his Company. Further, of our most special Grace, &c. we constitute the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be the sole Governour, and Commander of all Persons who shall travel, or be with him, in the said Voyage, or in their Return. And we give him full Power to correct, punish, pardon, and rule them, according to such Orders, and Instructions as the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* shall establish, as well in Cases capital, and criminal, as civil, both marine, and other; so that the said Proceed-

ings, as near as conveniently may be, are agreeable to the Laws of this Realm, and to the *Christian* Faith, as now professed in the Church of *England*. And because in such Enterprizes, great Inconveniencies have grown, by Mutinies, and Disorders, for Want of sufficient Authority, we give full Power to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in Case of Rebellion, or Mutiny, by Sea, or Land, to exercise Martial Law, upon just, and apparent Necessity, in as ample a Manner, as our Lieutenant-General, by Sea, or Land, or our Lieutenants in the Counties of *England*. And we give to Sir *Walter Raleigh* full Power to appoint such Captains, and other Commanders, and Ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering, and governing his Company. We further command the Wardens of the *Cinque-Ports*, Customers, and other Officers, quietly to permit Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and all who shall adventure with him, to pass to the said *South*, or other Parts of *America*, possessed, and inhabited as aforesaid; and to return with any Goods whatsoever, and to sell, or otherwise dispose of the same to the only Use of him, and his Company; paying the fifth Part of all Gold, Silver, Bullion, &c. as before imported, and other Customs, and Duties aforesaid. And these Presents shall be to the said Wardens, &c. sufficient Warrant. And we grant to the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that these our Letters-Patent, or the Inrollment thereof, with all the Grants, Clauses, &c. therein, shall be sufficient, and effectual in Law, any Law, Statute, &c. notwithstanding. Witness ourselves, the twenty-sixth Day of *August*, in the fourteenth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*; and of *Scotland*, the fiftieth. *Per breve de privato Sigillo (i)*".

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(i) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 16. Folio. p. 789. — King James's Declaration of the Demeanour, and Carriage of Sir *Walter*

A naval Writer (*k*), after having remarked that, probably, the Commission passed the two Seals; and that such a Conjecture appears warranted from Expressions in a Letter (*l*), dictated by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, adds that the Commission was, notwithstanding, legal; and that although the formal Declarations of Grace, and Trust (*m*) are omitted, yet the Powers granted to this illustrious Adventurer are in themselves of great Extent, and as strongly drawn as Language can express; so that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had all imaginable Reason to conceive that this Patent implied a Pardon. Mr. *Campbell* observes that, by one Clause, he is constituted General, and Commander in Chief, during the Enterprize; and that, in another Clause, he is appointed, with the most ample Authority, Governour of the new Country, wherein it was his Determination to introduce a Settlement. He subjoins that by a third Clause, *Raleigh* enjoyed a Power which, in the present Age, is seldom delegated to our Admirals; the Power of exercising Martial Law, in such a Manner as the King's Lieutenant-General, by Sea, or Land, or any of the Lieutenants of the Counties of *England* possessed the Privilege of using it. He then asks whether it be possible to conceive that, on the Appearance of this Commission, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was regarded as a condemned Man, or that the Lords of the Privy-Council,

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Walter Raleigh, Knight; as well in his Voyage, as since his Return, &c. Quarto. 1618. p. 9—24.

(*k*) *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 88.

(*l*) "His Majesty doth assure all Sir *Walter's* Partners, by the Great Seal of England, that they shall truly, and quietly enjoy, &c. &c. out of which Great Seal of England, the Discoverer shall have, &c. &c.—Letter dictated by Raleigh, and addressed from Peter Vanlore, to Sir Adrian Thibaut, MS. Lately in the Possession of Brown Willis, Esquire, of Whaddon Hall, Bucks.

(*m*) In the usual Words, our *trusty*, and *well-beloved*.

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or the Lord Privy-Seal, could think it equitable for the King to grant such full Power over the Lives of others, to one who held but a precarious Title to his own Life? It is for these Reasons that the Historian supposes that when Sir *Walter Raleigh* consulted Sir *Francis Bacon*, whether it would not be adviseable to purchase, with a large Sum of Money, his Pardon, in the common Form, the latter answered, like an *honest* Man, and a *sound* Lawyer: "Sir! the Knee-Timber of your Voyage is Money. Spare your Purse, in this Particular; for, upon my Life, you have a sufficient Pardon for all that is passed already; the King, having, under his Broad-Seal, made you Admiral of your Fleet, and given you Power of the Martial Law, over your Officers, and Soldiers (n)." The Character of *Bacon*, still reeking with Ingratitude, should have inclined *Raleigh* to suspect the Sincerity of this Reply. It was natural to suppose that the voluntary Traitor to the Earl of *Essex* might be less scrupulous in deceiving one who had not, like that unhappy Lord, advanced his Fortunes, and tried to bind him to his Service with the Links of uncorrupted Friendship (o). We allow that it is a Maxim of the Civil Law that he that hath Power over the Lives of others, should be the Master of his own Life. Yet, in the Case of *Raleigh*, and, by an Expression in the Commission, this Principle is opposed; and that devoted Victim stands recorded

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(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 89. —
Howel's Letters, V. 2. p. 371.

(o) Bacon, although not bound by his Office to plead, at the Trial of *Essex*, his warmest Admirer, and his most liberal Protector, seduced by the mean, and, perhaps, falsely-grounded Hope of becoming acceptable to Elizabeth, exerted all his Eloquence for the infernal Purpose of bereaving that rash, and misguided Nobleman of his Life.

as "*being under Peril of the Law.*" The professional Abilities of *Bacon* are unexceptionable; and we should estimate them at too vile a Rate, by an Inference that he did not consider this Passage, as declaratory of the Predicament in which *Raleigh* was so clearly placed; a Man condemned, and unpardoned. With due Deference to the Judgment of the Historian (*p*), we must remark that he commends an Honesty which doth not appear to have existed (*q*).

When this Subject shall have been submitted at large, and in its different Points of View, to the Attention of the Reader, he will be enabled the more clearly to form a Judgment. On us, the Sentiments of a late elegant, and discerning Writer (*r*) make a strong Impression; and we must concur with his Opinion that *Raleigh*, whose Sufferings, during a severe Imprisonment, had reconciled him to the People, judged it politic, in Order to increase these favourable Dispositions, on which he built the Hopes of recovering his Liberty, to circulate a Report that he had found, within the Empire of *Guiana*, a golden Mine, which, according to his Representation, was sufficient not only to enrich all the Adventurers, but to introduce immense Treasures within the Kingdom. It hath been asserted

(*p*) Mr. Campbell.

(*q*) It may reasonably be asked whether the Sentence in the Commission "whereas divers other Gentlemen, his "Kinsmen, and Friends, with several Captains, and Commanders are also desirous to follow, and venture their "Lives with him, *if they might be commanded by none, but "himself,*" doth not imply that the *full Power* was given to Sir Walter Raleigh, chiefly on their Account; and render it somewhat probable that if they had not made this Condition, he would not have been appointed the chief Leader in the Enterprize?

(*r*) Mr. Hume.—History of England, V. 6. p. 93.

asserted (s) that *James* gave little Credit to these mighty Promises; both because he believed that no such Mine as the one described was any where in Nature, and because he considered *Raleigh* a Man of desperate Fortunes, whose Business it was, by any Means, to procure his Freedom, and to reinstate himself in Credit, and Authority. The Freedom which he obtained was grounded on the too dilatory, but humane Idea that his Punishment had been rigorous to an Extreme; and the Permission that he should engage in this romantic Enterprize, appears less the Consequence of an Inclination to oblige *Raleigh*, than of a Compliance with the Wishes of a Multitude of Adventurers, who expressed an Eagerness to depart immediately for *Guiana*, provided that they might be allowed to serve under him as their sole Commander (t). It must be observed that, in Spite of the most pressing Sollicitations, the King persisted in his Refusal to grant that Pardon which appeared necessary for the Man, who, by explicit Terms in his Commission, was intrusted with the full Power of passing Sentence of Death, in all capital Cases whatsoever, on those of his Associates who, after a fair Trial, might be discovered to have transgressed the Law. But the King affirmed that he could not yet confide in *Raleigh*, and, therefore, lest he should wander from the declared Rectitude of his Intentions, was determined to maintain in Force, and hold out, as a salutary Terror, the Judgment which had been given against him (u).

Raleigh, convinced that *James* was exceedingly averse from the Commission of Hostilities, by his Subjects, against

(s) Idem.—Ibid.

(t) See the preceding Note g; and also *Hume's History of England*, V. 6. p. 94.

(u) *Hume's History of England*, V. 6. p. 94.

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against the *Spaniards*, in any Quarter of the Globe, assured that Monarch, in the strongest Terms, that they had not established a Settlement near the Part of the Coast which was contiguous to the Mine. When *Gondomar*, surprized at the Appearance of a formidable Armament, expressed his Apprehensions that some Blow was meditated against the Territories of the King of *Spain*, his Master, Sir *Walter* still declared that Attacks of this Nature were, of all others, the most distant from his Intentions; and *James* threatened to take the Forfeiture of his Life, if he should dare, by any Act of Violence, to interrupt the Peace which then subsisted between the Courts of *London*, and of *Madrid*. The Ambassador, who yet suspected that the Operations of the Fleet, and Troops, were to be turned against some distant Colony, belonging to his Sovereign, sent Advice to *Philip*, of his impending Danger; and, in Consequence of this Alarm, all the *Spanish* Settlements, but more especially those situated along the Coast of *Guiana*, were powerfully fortified, and directed to prepare for Action.

The entertaining, and instructive Writer (x), of whose Researches we have availed ourselves, in the preceding Passage, hath pertinently remarked that when the Courage, and Avarice of the *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese* had discovered so many new Worlds, they were resolved to shew themselves superior to the barbarous *Heathens* whom they invaded, not only in Arts, and Arms, but also in the Justice of the Quarrel. They applied to *Alexander*, the sixth, who then filled the papal Chair; and he generously bestowed on the *Spaniards*, the whole *Western*, and, on the *Portuguese*, the whole *Eastern* Part of the Globe. He adds (with equal Shrewdness,) that the more scrupulous Protestants who acknowledged

(x) Mr. Humb.

knowledge not the Authority of the *Roman Pontiff*, established the *first Discovery* as the Foundation of their Title; and, if a Pirate, or Sea-Adventurer of their Nation had but *erected a Stick, or Stone, on the Coast*, as a Memorial of his taking Possession, they concluded the whole Continent to belong to them; and thought themselves intitled to *expel, or exterminate, as Usurpers, the ancient Possessors, and Inhabitants*. He concludes that it was in this Manner that Sir *Walter Raleigh*, about twenty-three Years before, had acquired for the Crown of *England*, a Claim to the Continent of *Guiana*, a Region as large as the Half of *Europe*; and although he had immediately left the Coast, yet he pretended that the *English* Title to the whole remained certain; and indefeazable. But it had happened, in the mean Time, that the *Spaniards*, either not knowing, or not acknowledging this imaginary Claim, had taken Possession of a Part of *Guiana*, had formed a Settlement on the River *Orenooko*, had built a little Town, called *Saint Thomas*, and were there working some Mines of small Value.

The Fleet, equipped, for the Expedition to the Mine, at the joint Expence of *Raleigh* (y), and his Friends, consisted of the *Destiny*, which was built under his own Direction. This Ship mounted thirty-six Pieces of Cannon, and was of the Burthen of four hundred, and forty Tons. On Board, were Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with the Rank of General, and, under him, as Captain, his Son, exclusive of two hundred Persons (z), whereof eighty were Gentlemen-Volunteers, and Adventurers, the

(y) In Support of this Enterprize, he had embarked his whole Fortune; to which were added the Profits arising from the Sale of an Estate, (at Mitcham,) until then, belonging to Lady Raleigh, who resigned it to her Husband.

(z) This Number was afterwards increased.

the Majority of whom stood in the same Table of Kindred, with Sir *Walter*. To the *Destiny* was added, first, the *Jason*, equipped in the Port of *London*, commanded by *John Pennington*, with the Rank of Vice-Admiral, having on Board eighty Men, and one Gentleman. This Vessel carried twenty-five Pieces of Ordnance, and was of the Burthen of two hundred, and forty Tons; secondly, the *Encounter*, (commanded by *Edward Hastings*,) mounting seventeen Guns, and being of the Burthen of one hundred, and sixty Tons. It must be, in this Place, observed that the Captain died, on his Arrival at the *Indies*, and was succeeded by an Officer, whose Name was *Whitney*. Thirdly, the *Thunder*, of the Burthen of one hundred, and fifty Tons, and commanded by Sir *Warham Saintleger*, with whom were six Gentlemen, sixty Soldiers, and ten Landmen; fourthly, the *Flying-Joan*, of the Burthen of one hundred, and twenty Tons, carrying fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, and having on Board twenty-five Men, over whom the Captain was *John Chidley*; fifthly, the *Southampton*, of the Burthen of eighty Tons, having six Pieces of Cannon, and being commanded by *John Bailey*, whose Crew amounted to thirty five Mariners, exclusive of two Gentlemen; sixthly, the *Page*, a Pin-nace, of the Burthen of twenty-five Tons, having on Board eight Sailors, who were commanded by Captain *James Barker*. Previous to his Departure from the *Coast of England*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was joined by other Ships, in Consequence of which Reinforcement, his whole Fleet amounted to fourteen Sail. Amongst these, were the *Convertine*, commanded by Captain *Kythes*; the *Confidence*, under the Charge of Captain *Woolston*; the *Flying-Hart*, a Shallop, commanded by Sir *John Ferne*; two Fly-Boats, under the Captains, Sa-

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musel King, and *Robert Smith*; and two Caravels, one of which was named the *Chudley* (a).

With a Part of this Fleet, Sir *Walter Raleigh* failed from the *Thames*, on the twenty-eighth of *March*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen; but was afterwards detained, by various Accidents, at *Plymouth*, until the Month of *July*, when he renewed his Course, and was next compelled, by the Severity of the Weather, to take Refuge within the Port of *Corke*. In the Morning of the nineteenth of *August*, he proceeded on his Voyage, and, touching at the *Canaries* (b), obtained a Supply of necessary Provisions. From hence, he failed towards *Guiana*, and arrived there at the Commencement of *November*. He was received with every Mark of Satisfaction by the *Indians*, who not only rendered him all the Service which could have been expected from them, but endeavoured to persuade him to end his Labours, (by fixing his Residence within the Country), and to assume the Reins of Government; a Measure which he had the Prudence to decline. Prevented by extreme Sickness from undertaking the Discovery of the Mine, in Person, he was reduced to the Necessity of intrusting that Service to Captain *Keymis*. For this Purpose, he, on the fourth of *December*, directed that five small Ships should sail into the River *Oronooko*, having on Board two hundred, and fifty Men, divided into equal Companies, of which the first was commanded by Captain *Parker*, the second, by Captain *North*, the third, by Mr. *Raleigh*, the fourth by Captain *Prideux*, and the fifth by Captain *Chidley* (c).

Key-

(a) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio.—Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology, 8vo. 1650. p. 22, 26, 24.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 90.

(b) September 6th.

(c) Raleigh's Apology, p. 26.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 91.

Keymis, who was appointed to conduct them, intended to have advanced towards the Mine; with a Guard, consisting only of seven Persons; but Sir *Walter* dissuaded him from his Purpose, in a Letter, of which the following is a Copy.

“*Keymis!* Whereas you were resolved, after your
 “Arrival into the *Oronoque*, to pass to the Mine, with
 “my Cousin *Herbert*, and six Musketeers, and, to
 “that End, have desired to have Sir *John Ferne’s* Shal-
 “lop; I do not allow of that Course; because that you
 “cannot land so secretly, but that some *Indians*, on
 “the River-Side, may discover you; who, giving
 “Knowledge thereof to the *Spaniards*, you may be
 “cut off, before that you can recover your Boat. I
 “therefore, advise you to suffer the Captains, and
 “Companies of the *English* to pass up *Westward* to the
 “Mountain *Aio*, from whence you have no less than
 “three Miles to the Mine; and to encamp between
 “the *Spanish* Town, and you, if there be any Town
 “near it, that being so secured, you may make
 “Trial what Depth, and Breadth the Mine holds;
 “and whether, or no, it will answer our hopes. And
 “if you find it royal; and the *Spaniards* begin to war
 “upon you, then let the *Serjeant-Major* repel them;
 “if it be in his Power and drive them as far as he
 “can; but, if you find that the Mine is not so rich as
 “to persuade the Holding of it, and it requires a second
 “Supply, then shall you bring a Basket, or two,
 “to satisfy his Majesty that my Design was not ima-
 “ginary, but true, although not answerable to his
 “Majesty’s Expectations, for the Quantity of which
 “I never gave Assurance, nor could. On the other
 “Side, if you shall find that any great Number of
 “Soldiers are newly sent into the *Oronoque*, (as the
 “*Cassique* of *Caliana*) told us there were, and that the

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" Passages are already enforced, so as without a manifest Peril of my Son, yourself, and the other Captains, you cannot pass towards the Mine; then be well advised how you land; for I know (a few Gentlemen excepted,) what a Scum of Men you have; and I would not for all the World receive a Blow from the *Spaniards*, to the Dishonour of the Nation. I myself, for my Weakness, cannot be present; neither will the Company land, except that I abide by the Ships, the Galleons of *Spain* being daily expected. *Piggot*, the Serjeant-Major is dead. Sir *Warham Saintleger*, my Lieutenant, is without Hopes of Life; and my Nephew, *George Raleigh*, your Serjeant-Major, is now but a young Man. It is therefore, on your Judgment, that I rely, when I trust, God will direct me for the best. Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall find me at *Punta de Gallo*, dead, or alive; and, if you find not my Ships there, yet there you shall find their Ashes; for I will fire with the Galleons, if it come to Extremity; but run away, I shall never."

In Obedience to this Order, *Keymis* landed, during the Night Time, with his Men, at a Place rather nearer to the Mine than the Spot which he had fixed upon at first. The *Spaniards*, who had received Intelligence of their Designs, began the Attack by a general Discharge of Artillery, and small Arms. The *English* returned the Fire, and at once, repelled and pursued their Assailants into the Town of *Saint Thomas*, which they began to plunder. *Raleigh* (the Son of Sir *Walter*,) to increase the Ardour of his Followers, exclaimed, "*This is the true Mine, and none but Fools look for any other.*" Having uttered these Words, he advanced gallantly upon the *Spaniards*, killed one of their Captains, and was, almost in the same Moment, severely wounded by another. As, bearing his Sword,

VOL. I.

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within

(d) Raleigh's Apology, p. 26.

within his Hand, he yet pressed forward, *Erinetta*, an Officer in the Service of the Enemy, felled him to the Ground, by a Stroke with a Musket, and he expired on the Spot, after having, in feeble Accents, pronounced a Prayer for the Forgiveness of his Sins, and the Prosperity of the Enterprize (*). Not intimidated by this unfortunate Event, *Keymis*, at the Head of his Associates, continued the Attack, took Possession of the Town, and, having secured those few Articles of Value which were within it, reduced the Buildings, together with the Forts, intirely to Ashes. He, next, proceeded up the River, with his Vessels, but unable to discover a sufficient Depth of Water, could not approach within a Mile of any Part of the Shore, which was contiguous to the Mine. Volleys of Musket-Shot were fired from the Coverts in the neighbouring Woods, by the *Spanish* Troops, at the Boats belonging to the *English*, who were thus frustrated in their last, but ineffectual Attempt, to disembark. It hath been observed (e) that *Raleigh* did not pretend that he had himself seen the Mine, which he had engaged so many People to go in Quest of; but declared that it was *Keymis* who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that Lump of *Ore* which promised such immense Treasures. Yet *Keymis*, who confessed that he was within two Hours-March of the Place, did not proceed towards it, absurdly pleading in his Vindication, that the Road which led to it could not be passed, but with the utmost Difficulty; and that, on the Supposition of his having discovered it, he must still have been at a Loss for Men to work it (f).

When

(*) Considering the Injustice of the Enterprize this Prayer for the Pardon, and the Continuance of Crimes, is something worse than ridiculous.

(e) Hume's History of England. V. 6. p. 96.

(f) Raleigh, in a Letter, addressed to his Wife, and printed in his Remains (p. 178.) observes that the Spaniards had

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When *Keymis*, at his Return, delivered to Sir *Walter*, the melancholy Tidings of the Death of young *Raleigh*, and the Miscarriage of the Enterprize, he censured him with all that Bitterness of Language, which was at once expressive of the Anguish of a Mind, distracted by Vexation, and Despair. He represented him as the Instrument of his inevitable Ruin, and declared that his Proceedings, flagitious to an Extreme, had wounded, beyond every Hope of Recovery, his Credit with the King. Severely stung by these merited Reproaches, and, perhaps, dreading the Punishment of his Misconduct, *Keymis* retired in the Agonies of Despair, unnoticed to his Cabbin, from whence the Crew, soon afterwards, heard the Report of a discharged Pistol. A Boy was immediately sent by *Raleigh* to demand the Occasion of this Incident, and *Keymis* answered that he had fired merely for the Purpose of unloading, and adding a cleaner Charge. When about two Hours had elapsed, his Servant entered, and perceived the dead Body of his Master, weltering in Blood. From a farther Examination, it appeared that he had, at first, endeavoured effectually to shoot himself, but the Bullet, which was small, had, in its Direction, only cracked a Rib. Resolved that the next Wound should be mortal in its Nature, he thrust a Knife into his Heart (g).

It is, here, proper that, without deviating from the Impartiality, so necessary in historical Discussions, we should observe that several of the Contemporaries of *Raleigh* insinuated that the Suicide, which had been committed by *Keymis*, was in Consequence of the Agi-

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tations

had several Gold, and Silver Mines near the Town, which were useless for want of Negroes.

(g) *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 139.—*Howell's Letters*.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*. V. 2 p 94.

tations of a guilty Mind, rendered insupportable by the Reflection that having persisted in, advancing the most abominable Falsities, with Regard to the Discovery of the Treasures in *Guiana*, he had imposed on the Credulity, and fatally diminished, whilst he should have encreased the Fortunes of his Associates. From this Suggestion, Sir *Walter* hath dissented, and, ascribing the Death of *Keymis*, intirely to his own positive, and ungovernable Temper, remarked that “He would not have laid violent Hands upon himself for the Opinion of any Man; nor, when he did, could he have said that he was ignorant of the Place, and knew of no such Mine; for what Cause had I (*Raleigh*), then to have rejected his Excuses, or to have laid his Obstinacy to his Charge. Several Captains might be put to their Oaths, whether, or no, *Keymis* did not confess to them, coming down the River, at a Place where they cast Anchor, that he could, from thence, have gone to the Mine, in two Hours (*b*).”

We now, enter on the Relation of those Incidents which were preceded by the Death of *Keymis*. The Majority of the Adventurers exclaimed that they had been duped by the Artifices of Sir *Walter*; they declared, in pointed Terms, that they could not imagine that he himself, notwithstanding his Assertions, had ever given Credit to the Existence of a Mine; they openly expressed their Opinion, that he had resolved, during the earliest Preparations for the Voyage, to direct his whole Force against the *Spanish* Settlements at *Saint Thomas*; and that from thence, if the martial Ardour of his Associates had been excited by Success, and the Plunder which attends it, he would have proceeded to

(*b*) *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 46.—*Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. Folio. p. 107, 108.

the Attack of every Town upon the Continent of *Guiana*. They, now, supposed that, rendered desperate by Reflections on the Punishment which might await him, should he return to *England*, without a Sum sufficient for the Purchase of his Pardon, he would engage in Enterprizes, at once daring, and unjustifiable; and that if, at length, the Produce of his Depredations should prove inadequate to the Completion of his Views within his own Country, he might retreat to foreign Climes, and secure a Shelter from the Repentment of his Sovereign. It hath been remarked that the Associates of *Raleigh*, already disappointed in the Hopes of gratifying their avarice, during the Sackage of *Saint Thomas*, a Town in which no Articles of Value could be discovered, had lost the Inclination to pursue Hostilities, where even Victory must be fruitless. They were not ignorant that many Circumstances existed in the Treaty, and late Transactions between the two Nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical War against the *Spaniards* (i),

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but

(i) Mr. Hume observes that when England made Peace with Spain, the Example of Henry the fourth, was imitated, who, at the Treaty of Vervins, finding a Difficulty in adjusting all Questions, with Regard to the Indian Trade, had agreed to pass over that Article in total Silence. The Spaniards having, all along, published severe Edicts against the Intercourse of any European Nation with their Colonies; interpreted this Silence, in their own Favour, and considered it as a tacit Acquiescence of England in the established Laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended that as they had never been excluded, by any Treaty, from Commerce with any Part of the King of Spain's Dominions, it was still as lawful for them to Trade with his Settlements, in either Indies, as with his European Territories. In Consequence of this Ambiguity, many Adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe Punishment, when caught; as they, on the other Hand, often stole, and, when superior in Power, forced a Trade with

but they deemed it safer to return to *England*, when they reflected that howsoever their martial Proceedings might have been connived at, had they co-operated with a Fleet acting under the royal Commission, yet as private Adventurers, they were amenable to Punishment. To sail homewards was the general Determination; and *Raleigh*, more like a Prisoner, than a Commander in Chief, arrived with his leaky Vessels, first at *Kingsale*, in *Ireland*, and next at *Plymouth* (k).

Scarcely had he reached the former Place, when a Proclamation was issued, declaring, in severe Terms, that the King had felt the highest Displeasure at his Conduct, and requiring all such as were acquainted with any Particulars relative either to his Intention, or his Practices, to attend, and deliver their Information, before the Council (l). At the Commencement of the Month of *July*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* landed at *Plymouth*, and, hearing of the Proclamation, determined to surrender. A Consideration of the precarious State of Health under which he had, for some Time languished, induced him to draw up in Writing, an Apology that he despaired of being able to present in Person. As it is our anxious Wish (notwithstanding that we may be influenced by Arguments which appear to frustrate an Attempt to exculpate this celebrated Adventurer) to bring forward every Reason, that can be urged in his Defence, we think it necessary to intro-

duce
with the Inhabitants, and resisted, nay, sometimes plundered the Spanish Governors. Violences of this Nature, which had been carried to a great Height on both Sides, it was agreed to bury in total Oblivion, because of the Difficulty which was found in remedying them upon any fixed Principles.

(k) Raleigh's Apology: and King James's Declarations. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 94.

(l) Rymer's Foedera, V. 17. p. 92.

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duce an important Quotation from his own Remarks (*m*).

"Because I know not whether I shall live to come before the Lords, I have, for his Majesty's Satisfaction, here set down as much as I can say, either for my own Defence, or against myself, as things are now (constructed.)"

("It is true that although I acquainted his Majesty with my Intent to land in *Guiana*, yet I never made it known) to his Majesty that the *Spaniards* had (any Footing there;) neither had I any Authority, but my Patent, to remove them (from thence) —And therefore, his Majesty had no Interest in the Attempt of *Saint Thomas*, (by any Fore-)Knowledge thereof, in his Majesty."

"But, knowing his Majesty's Title to the Country, to be the best. and most *Christian*, (because) the natural Lords did most willingly acknowledge Queen *Elizabeth* to be their Sovereign, (who by) me, promised to defend them from the *Spanish* Cruelty, I made no Doubt that (I might) enter the said Land, by Force, seeing that the *Spaniards* had no other Title, but Force, the Pope's Donation excepted; and considering also that they got a Possession there, divers Years since my Possession taken for the Crown of *England*. For, were not *Guiana* his Majesty's, then might I as well have been questioned for a Thief, for taking of Gold out of the King of *Spain's* Mines, as the *Spaniards* do now call me a Peace-Breaker. For, from any Territory confessed to be the King of

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"*Spain's*,

(*m*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology, MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Vitel. 117. uit. The Passages inclosed within Parentheses were defaced in the Manuscript, and are restored from a printed Copy.

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"*Spain's*, it is no more lawful to take Gold, than lawful for the *Spaniards* to take Tin out of *Cornwall*."

"Now, were this Possession of theirs a sufficient Bar to his Majesty's Right, the Kings of *Spain* might as well call themselves Dukes of *Britain*, because they held *Bluetts*, and fortified there; and Kings of *Ireland*, because they possessed *Smerwick*, and fortified there; and so in other Places."

"That his Majesty was well resolved of his Right there, I make no Doubt, because the *English*, both under Mr. *Charles Leigh*, and Mr. *Harcourt*, had Leave to plant, and inhabit the Country."

"Thus, *Oronoque* itself had long ere this had five thousand *English* in it, I assure myself, had not my Employment at *Cadiz*, the next Year after my Return from *Guiana*, and, after that, our Journey to the *Islands*, hindered me, for almost two Years; after which, *Tyr-Oen's* Rebellion made her Majesty unwilling that any great Number of Ships, or Men, should be taken out of *England*, until that Rebellion were ended. And, lastly, her Majesty's Death, and my long Imprisonment gave Time to the *Spaniards* to set up a Town of Sticks, covered with Leaves of Trees, upon the Banks of *Oronoque*, which they called *Saint Thomas*, but they have neither reconciled, nor conquered any of the *Caciques*, or natural Lords of the Country, which *Caciques* are still in Arms against them, as by the Governour's Letter to the King of *Spain* may appear."

"That by landing in *Guiana*, there can be any Breach of Peace, I think it, under Favour, impossible to break Peace, where there is no Peace. It cannot be."

"That the *Spaniards* give us no Peace there, doth appear by the King's Letters to his Governours, that

"that they shall put to Death all those *Spaniards*; and
 "Indians that trade *con los Engleses Enimigos*, with Eng-
 "lish Enemies. Yea, those very *Spaniards* which we
 "encountered at *Saint Thomas's*, did, of late Years,
 "murder six, and thirty of Mr. *Hall's* Men, of *London*;
 "and mine, who landed without Weapons, upon the
 "*Spanish* Faith, to trade with them. Mr. *Thorn*, also,
 "of *Tower-Street*, in *London*, besides many other Eng-
 "lish, were, in that Sort, murdered, the Year before
 "my Delivery out of the Tower.—(Now, if this kind
 "of Trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable
 "Trade in the *Indies*, between us, and the *Spaniards*;
 "but, if this be cruel War, and Hatred, and no Peace,
 "then there is no Peace broken by our Attempt.
 "Again, how doth it stand with the Greatness of the
 "King of *Spain*, first to call us Enemies, when he did
 "hope to cut us in Pieces; and then, having failed, to
 "call us Peace-Breakers;) for to be (an Enemy, and
 "Peace-Breaker in one, and the same) Action is im-
 "possible. But the King of *Spain*, in his Letter to the
 "Governour of *Guiana*, dated at *Madrid*, the nine, and
 "twentieth of *March*, before we left the *Thames*, called
 "us *Engleses Enimigos*, (*English Enemies*.)"

"Had it pleased the King of *Spain* to have written
 "to his Majesty, in seventeen Months Time^(*), for we
 "were so long in preparing, and have made his Majes-
 "ty know that our Landing in *Guiana* would draw af-
 "ter it a Breach of Peace, I presume to think his Ma-
 "jesty would have stayed our Enterprize, for the Pre-
 "sent. This he might have done, with less Charges
 "than to levy three hundred Soldiers, and to transport
 "ten Pieces of Ordnance, from *Puerto Rico*, which
 "Soldiers, added to the Garrison of *Saint Thomas*, had
 "they arrived before our coming, had overthrown all
 "our

(*) In the printed Copy, Mention is only made of seven
 Months.

“ our raw Companies. And there would have followed
 “ no Complaint.”

“ For the main Point of landing near *Saint Thomas*,
 “ it is true that we were of Opinion that we must have
 “ driven the *Spaniards* out of their Town, before we
 “ could pass the thick Woods, upon the Mountain of
 “ the Mine, which, I confess, I did first resolve upon ;
 “ but better bethinking myself, I reserved the Taking
 “ of the Town to the Goodness of the Mine, which if
 “ they found to be so rich as it might persuade the
 “ leaving of a Garrison there, then to drive the *Spani-*
 “ *ards* thence ; but to have it burnt, was never my In-
 “ tent, neither could they give me any Reason why
 “ they did it.”

“ Upon the Return, I examined the Serjeant-Major,
 “ and *Keymis*, why they followed not my last Direc-
 “ tions for the Trial of the Mine, before the Taking of
 “ the Town. And they answered me that although
 “ they durst hardly go to the Mine, leaving a Garri-
 “ son of *Spaniards*, between them, and their Boats, yet
 “ they said they followed those latter Directions (o), and
 “ did land between the Town, and the Mine ; and that
 “ the *Spaniards*, without any Manner of Parley, set
 “ upon them, unawares, and charged them, calling
 “ them *Peros Englejes*, (or *English Dogs*,) and, by Skir-
 “ mishing with them, drew them on to the very En-
 “ trance of the Town, before they knew where they
 “ were, so as if any Peace had been in those Parts, the
 “ *Spaniards* first broke the Peace, and made the first
 “ Slaughter ; for, as the *English* could not but land to
 “ seek the Mine, being come thither to that End, so
 “ being first reviled, and charged by the *Spaniards*,
 “ they could do no less than repel Force, by Force.”

“ Lastly,

(o) In the printed Letter, the Words are “ yet they of-
 “ fended those latter Directions.”

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"Lastly, it is a Matter of no small Consequence, to
"acknowledge we have offended the King of *Spain*, by
"landing in *Guiana*."

"For, first, it weakens his Majesty's Title to the
"Country, or quits it."

"Secondly, there is no King that hath given the
"least Way to any other King, or State, in the Traffic
"of the Lives, and Goods of his Subjects, to wit, as
"in our Case, that it shall be lawful for the *Spaniards*
"to murder us, either by Force, or Reason, and not
"be lawful for us to defend ourselves, and pay them
"with their own Coin; for this Superiority, and Infe-
"riority, is a Thing which no absolute Monarch ever
"yielded to, or ever will."

"Thirdly, it shews the *English* bear greater Respect
"to the *Spaniard*, and are more doubtful of his Forces,
"than either the *French*, or *Dutch* are, who daily in-
"vade all Parts of the *Indies*, without being questioned
"at their)—Return, yea, at (my own being) at *Ply-*
"mouth, a treacherous Gentleman, called *Flory*, went
"thence with four Sail, (and three hundred Landmen,)
"with Commission to land, to burn, and to sack all
"Places in the *Indies*, (that he could) master, and yet
"hath the *French* King married a Daughter of *Spain*."

"This is all that I can say, other than that I have
"spent my poor Estate, lost (my Son,) and my Health,
"and endured as many Sorts of Miseries, as ever Man
"did, in (Hope to) do his Majesty (acceptable) Ser-
"vice, and have not, to my Understanding, commit-
"ted any hostile Act, other than the Entrance upon a
"Territory belonging (rightly) to the Crown of *Eng-*
"land, where the *English* were first set upon, and slain
"by the usurping *Spaniards*. (I invaded no other
"Parts of the *Indies*, pretended to by the *Spaniards*)."

"I returned into *England*, with the manifest Peril of
"my Life; with a Purpose not to hold my Life by
"any

“ any other Act, than his Majesty’s Grace, and from
 “ which no Man, nor any Peril could dissuade me. To
 “ that Grace, Goodness, and Kingliness, I refer myself,
 “ which if it shall find that I have not yet suffered
 “ enough, it may, if it please, add more Afflictions to
 “ the Remainder of a wretched Life.”

As it is closely connected with the preceding Vindication, we shall submit to the Notice of the Reader, the following Copy of a Letter, which was written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and conveyed to the King, previous to the Departure of Count *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, from the Court of *London*.

“ May it please your most excellent Majesty ! If,
 “ in my Journey outward-bound, I had my Men murdered at the Islands, and yet spared to take Revenge ;
 “ if I did discharge some *Spanish* Barks taken, without Spoil ; if I did forbear all Parts of the *Spanish* Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Towns, on the Sea-Coasts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where, without any Directions from me, a *Spanish* Village was burnt, which was new set up within three Miles of the Mine ; by your Majesty’s Favour, I find no Reason why the *Spanish* Ambassador should complain of me.”

“ If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder twenty-six *Englishmen*, tying them Back, to Back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land, without so much as one Sword ; and it may not be lawful for your Majesty’s Subjects, being charged first by them, to repel Force, by Force, we may justly say, O miserable *English* !”

“ If *Parker*, and *Meacham* took *Campeachy*, and other Places, in the *Honduras*, seated in the Heart of the *Spanish* Indies ; burned Towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said unto them, at their
 “ Re-

"Return; and myself, who forbore to look into the

"*Indies*, because I would not offend, must be accused,

"I may as justly say, O miserable *Raleigh*!"

"If I have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suf-

"fered by Sickness, and, otherwise, a World of Hard-

"ships; if I have resisted, with manifest Hazard of my

"Life, the Robberies, and Spoils with which my

"Companions would have made me rich; if, when I

"was poor, I could have made myself rich; if, when I

"could have gotten my Liberty, which all Men, and

"Nature itself do so much Prize, I voluntarily lost it;

"if, when I was sure of my Life, I rendered it again;

"if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship, and Goods,

"and put five, or six thousand Pounds in my Purse;

"and yet brought her into *England*; I beseech your

"Majesty to believe that all this I have done, because

"it should not be said that your Majesty had given Li-

"berty, and Trust to a Man, whose End was but the

"Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your

"Majesty's Trust."

"My Mutineers told me that if I returned for *Eng-*

"*land*, I should be undone; but I believed in your

"Majesty's Goodness, more than in all their Argu-

"ments. Sure, I am the first that being free, and able

"to enrich myself, yet hath embraced Poverty, and

"Peril; and as sure I am that my Example shall make

"me the last. But your Majesty's Wisdom, and Good-

"ness, I have made my Judges, who have ever been,

"and shall ever be, your Majesty's most humble Vas-

"sal, *Walter Raleigh* (p)."

Whilst this illustrious, but unfortunate Adventurer,

was proceeding on the Road to *London*, his Kinsman,

Sir

(p) See Raleigh's Remains, from whence this Letter, which hath been compared with manuscript Copies, is printed.

"Re-

Sir Lewis Stucley, the Vice-Admiral of *Devonshire*, intercepted him; and, having made Mention of a verbal Commission, from the Secretary of State, for the Seizure of his Person, advised him to return to *Plymouth*. This abandoned Creature of the Court, who had pledged himself for the Execution of his Orders, at first encouraged *Raleigh* to concert such Measures as might facilitate his Escape; and, next, betrayed him. It was now insinuated that he had not only determined to withdraw immediately into *France*, but actually commenced an unjustifiable Correspondence with the Sovereign of that Nation; yet, if we can trust to his Professions on the Scaffold, his sole Design was to have returned to *Guiana*, for the Purpose of effacing, by happier Enterprizes, the Remembrance of his late Miscarriages (q). Mr. Campbell (after having premised that, on his second Apprehension, he was conducted to the Tower, from whence it was already settled that he should never be released, except by Death,) adds that it was the Earnestness of the *Spanish* Court, thrown into Action by their Instrument, Count *Gondomar*, that gave Rise to the unrelenting Severity with which *James*, and the Members of his Privy Council pursued the Life of *Raleigh*. He remarks that a cool, and strict Discussion of this important Point, must suggest to us that the violent Clamours of the *Spaniards* afford the strongest Proofs in Favour of the Enterprize undertaken by Sir *Walter*; since, if the Possession

(q) Captain Samuel King's Narrative of Sir Walter Raleigh's Motives, and Opportunities for conveying himself out of the Kingdom. With the Manner how he was betrayed. MS. two Sheets, Folio. 1618. p. 2.—Stucley's Petition, and Information touching his own Behaviour in the Charge of bringing up Sir Walter Raleigh. 4to. 1618.—Camden's Annals of King James. A. D. 1618.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 95.

Possession they must Preparation *Raleigh*, in pair his bro the Credulity noticed? F made, the the greater from that A nanced all f by thus con Opinion of dit of his P might have from an Att cludes by aff received upon that the form were as posit perience, tha and that fro Crown of A within the W

(r) Mr. Campbell suppress, as the Conduct of Sir Walter with the following "say, having" "I was compelled" "Francis Core" "lers, acknowledged" "the Map printed" "where the Island" "supposed to

Possession of *Guiana* had been of little Consequence, they must have observed with more Indifference the Preparations of the *English* to invade it. He asks why *Raleigh*, if considered as a Projector who sought to repair his broken Fortunes, by fraudulently imposing on the Credulity of others, was not suffered to remain unnoticed? He subjoins that the more Expeditions he made, the more glaring would appear his Folly; and the greater Advantage must the *Spaniards* have reaped from that Appearance, because it would have discountenanced all succeeding Enterprizes of this Nature; but, by thus contriving to murder him, they must, in the Opinion of every impartial Judge, have raised the Credit of his Project, although, during that Period, they might have deterred the Generality of Adventurers from an Attempt to carry it into Execution. He concludes by affirming that what the Friends of Sir *Walter* received upon Belief, the *Spaniards* were convinced of; that the former confided in him; but that the latter were as positive as himself; because they knew, by Experience, that the Empire of *Guiana* abounded in Gold, and that from the Moment of its Subjection to the Crown of *England*, the Dominion of the *Spaniards* within the *West-Indies* must be totally annihilated (r).

When

(r) Mr. Campbell (whose Arguments it were illiberal to suppress, as they were written with a View to vindicate the Conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh,) hath closed the Remark with the following Note: "This I have great Reason to say, having consulted many of the Spanish Authors, whilst I was composing the short '*History of Spanish America*.' Francis Coreal, one of the best, and latest Spanish Travelers, acknowledges the Country to be very rich; and, in the Map printed with his Travels, the Place is marked where the Lake of Parima, and the City of Manoa are supposed to be; and, in the French Translation, printed
" at

When the Privy-Council had closed their Examination of *Raleigh*, and his Associates, they delivered it as their Opinion that those Ideas which had been conceived of the Criminality of his Intentions, were now to be regarded as justly grounded; that he had deceived his Sovereign by plausible, and false Descriptions of the Nature of his Enterprize; that he had engaged in the Commission of the most violent Hostilities against the Subjects of a Power at Peace with *England*; and that he had plundered, and reduced to Ashes a Town belonging to the King of *Spain*. In Consequence of his Guilt, whether represented as a Breach of Orders, or as an Act of Piracy, he might have become amenable either to a Court-Martial, or to a Trial at Common Law; but it was deemed an established Principle that, as he lay under an actual Attainder for High-Treason, he could not be brought to Trial, [for any other Crime(s)]. It was, therefore, resolved to call him down to Judgment, upon his former Sentence, and this was accordingly effected, with every Circumstance of Brutality, and Insult. On *Wednesday*, the twenty-eighth of *October*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, he was awakened, during the Violence of a Fever, dragged from

“ at Amsterdam, in the Year, one thousand, seven hundred,
 “ and twenty-two, Sir Walter Raleigh’s Voyage to Guiana, is added as a necessary Supplement. Also, in Sanson’s Map, the Lake of Parima, and the City of Manoa
 “ are both visible; so that if what is reported of them be
 “ fabulous, yet the Opinion is not hitherto exploded. In
 “ some of De Lisle’s Maps, they are mentioned; for I have
 “ consulted several; and what is more, there are several
 “ Mines marked in this Country, of which the Spaniards
 “ are still suspiciously careful.”

(s) See the Point discussed at large, in Bacon’s Letters, published by Doctor Birch, p. 181.—Hume’s History of England, V. 6. p. 98.

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from his Bed, and conveyed instantly to the Court of *King's Bench*, at *Westminster*. Here, when the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* had been delivered to the Judges, by Sir *Walter Apsey*, and when the Conviction of *Raleigh*, at *Winchester*, had been read, Mr. *Henry Yelverton*, the Attorney-General, set forth that "the Prisoner having been, fifteen Years since, convicted of High-Treason; and having, then, received the Judgment of Death; his Majesty, of his abundant Grace, had been pleased to shew Mercy unto him, until now; that Justice calls to him, for Execution." "Sir *Walter Raleigh* (continued *Yelverton*,) hath been a Statesman, and a Man who, in Regard to his Parts, and Quality, is to be pitied. He hath been as a Star at which the World have gazed; but Stars may fall; nay, they must fall, when they trouble the Sphere, wherein they abide. It is therefore his Majesty's Pleasure, now, to call for Execution of the former Judgment, and I now require Order for the same." When *Fanshaw*, the Clerk of the Crown, had read the Record of the Conviction, and of the Sentence, the unhappy Prisoner was asked what he could advance as a Reason why Execution should not be awarded against him? He replied that his Voice was enfeebled by his late Sickneſs, and that he laboured, during that Instant, under the Paroxysm of an intermitting Fever; a Circumſtance which muſt naturally plead for the Permiſſion that he might reduce to Writing the Subſtance of his Vindication. Sir *Henry Mountague*, the Lord-Chief-Justice remarked that he ſpoke audibly enough; and Sir *Walter Raleigh* then expreſſed his Hopes that the Judgment which he had received to die ſo long ſince, could not, now, be ſtrained to take away his Life; as, in Conſequence of the royal Commiſſion for his late Voyage, it was implied to be reſtored, by the Grant of Power, de-

The Chief Justice of the Bench, Sir Henry Mountague, Lord Chief Justice, Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney General, Sir Walter Apsey, Clerk of the Crown, Sir Fanshaw, Clerk of the Court, Sir Henry Mountague, Lord Chief Justice, Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney General, Sir Walter Apsey, Clerk of the Crown, Sir Fanshaw, Clerk of the Court.

legated to him, in the Character of Marshal, over the Lives of others. He added that he was the more sanguine in his Expectations of Mercy, because that he had undertaken the Enterprize to acquire Honour for his Sovereign, and to enrich his Kingdom with Gold, "*of the Ore whereof*" (he observed,) *this Hand hath found, and taken in Guiana.*" He next attempted to explain the Measures which gave Rise to the Miscarriage of his Project; but the Lord-Chief-Justice interrupted him, and declared that whatsoever he spoke relatively to his last Expedition was foreign to the Purpose; that no Clause in his Commission, could, at the present Crisis, be of the least avail; that Treason was not pardoned by Implication; and that unless he could advance Arguments more intimately connected with the Point in Question, the Court must proceed immediately to give Execution. To these Remarks, Sir *Walter* answered, "Concerning my Judgment, at *Winchester*, I presume, most of you, that now hear me, are resolved *how that was obtained*; and I know that his Majesty was so *resolved*, touching that *Trial*, that if he had not been anew exasperated against me, certain I am, I might (if I could, by Nature,) have lived a thousand, and a thousand Years, before he would have taken the Advantage thereof." The Lord-Chief-Justice now recommended to him the Wisdom of Submission, and informed him that Execution must be granted upon the Judgment given, fifteen Years before, during all which Time, he had been as a Man dead in Law; but the King, in Mercy, spared him; that he might deem it barbarously oppressive, if this Measure were pursued in cold Blood; but it was otherwise; and fresh Offences had excited the Justice of the King to revive what the Law had formerly cast upon him. "I know" (continued he,) "that you have been va-

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"liant, and wise; and I doubt not but you retain both
 "these Virtues; for, now, you shall have Occasion to
 "use them. Your Faith hath heretofore been ques-
 "tioned; but I am resolved that you are a good *Chris-*
 "*tian*, for, your Book, which is an admirable Work,
 "doth testify as much. I would give you Counsel;
 "but I know that you can apply unto yourself far bet-
 "ter than I am able to give you—Yet, I give you the
 "Oil of Comfort, although, in Respect that I am a
 "Minister of the Law, mixed with Vinegar—Sorrow
 "will not avail you, in some Kind, for, were you
 "pained, Sorrow would not ease you; were you af-
 "flicted, Sorrow would not relieve you; were you tor-
 "mented, Sorrow would not content you; and yet the
 "Sorrow for your Sins would be an everlasting Com-
 "fort to you—You must act, as that valiant Captain
 "did, who, perceiving himself in Danger, said, in De-
 "fiance of Death, *Death, thou expectest me; but, maugre*
 "*thy Spite, I expect thee*. Fear not Death too much;
 "nor fear Death too little; not too much, lest you
 "fail in your Hope; nor too little, lest you die pre-
 "sumptuously. And, here, I must conclude my Pray-
 "ers to GOD for it, and that HE would have Mercy on
 "your Soul. *Execution is granted (r).*"

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(r) Harleyan Manuscripts. 90. C. 7. Folio. p. 439.—
 MS lately in the Collection of the deceased Mr. Granger.—
 Proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh, at Westminster, an-
 nexed to the Account (written by Sir Thomas Overbury,) of
 his Arraignment, at Winchester. 4to. 1648. p. 26 —Ol-
 dys's Life of Raleigh. Folio p. 124, 125. On this melan-
 choly Occasion, the Remark of Carew Raleigh is too perti-
 nent to be omitted. "Here, Justice was indeed blind!
 "blindly executing one, and the same Person, upon one,
 "and the same Condemnation, for Things contradictory;
 "for Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for being a Friend
 "to

At this alarming Juncture, Sir *Walter Raleigh* earnestly requested that he might not be cut off so suddenly; and observed that he stood in Need of Time, to discharge his Conscience, and to satisfy his Sovereign, and the World. He prayed that he might be heard on the Day of his Death; and, at the last, repeated his Intreaties, in the following Conclusion. "I do most humbly beseech your Lordships, that you will grant me some Time, before my Execution, that I may settle my Affairs, and my Mind, more than they yet are; for I have much to do, both for my Reputation, Conscience, and Loyalty; and I would beseech the Favour of Pen, Ink, and Paper, to express myself something whereby; and to discharge myself of some Trust of worldly Matters that were put in me; which Leisure, I beseech you think that I crave not for to gain one Minute of Life; for now, being old, sickly, in Disgrace, and certain to go to it, Life is wearisome to me. And I do, lastly, beseech your Lordships that, when I come to die, I may have Leave to speak freely at my Farewell, to satisfy the World only that I was ever loyal to the King, and a true Lover of this Commonwealth; for, this I will seal with my Blood." Thus, craving their Prayers, was he conducted to the *Gate-House*, adjoining to the *Palace-Yard* (u).

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"to the Spaniards, and lost his Life for being their utter Enemy. Thus Kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God; and, having made their Power subservient to their will, deprive themselves also of that just Power, whereby others are subservient to them." *Brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles*, p. 9.

(u) It is remarkable that James (who, during this disgraceful Era in his Reign, retreated to a Distance from the Capital

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Throughout the Course of this Memoir, we have felt an anxious, but unavailing Wish to place the Character of Sir *Walter Raleigh* solely in that Point of View where it might be contemplated with Admiration, and Esteem. Whilst we considered him, on some Occasions, as an Object of our Censure, a respectable, and contrary Opinion hath been impartially brought forward. To this Principle, let us still adhere, and (before we close an Inquiry concerning the Conduct of an accomplished Hero, with a Quotation from Remarks which violently impeach its Rectitude,) insert the Arguments of a Writer (x) who strenuously endeavoured to transmit his Memory unfilled to Posterity.

“ That the Judgment was illegal, and that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was really murdered, hath often been said, “ and (I believe,) seldom doubted; but I think that it “ hath not been made so plain as it might be; and,

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pital) had signed, and sealed the Warrant for the Execution of Raleigh, previous to the Appearance of the latter, at the Bar of the King's Bench; yet it was dated, from Westminster, and, on the twenty-eighth of October. In this Warrant (directed to Verulam, the Chancellor,) Mention is made that his *gracious Majesty*, “ Intending with the Manner of “ Execution, according to his former Judgment, and releasing him of the same to be drawn, hanged, and quartered” observes that “ our Pleasure is, instead thereof, “ to have the Head only of the said Sir Walter Raleigh cut “ off, at, or within our Palace of Westminster; and we do “ command the said Chancellor hereupon to direct two several Writs under the Great Seal; one to the Lieutenant “ of the Tower, or his Deputy, for the Delivery of Sir Walter Raleigh to the Sheriffs of Middlesex, at the said Place; “ and the other to the said Sheriffs, for the receiving the “ said Sir Walter Raleigh, from the said Lieutenant, and “ for executing him there; for which this shall be his Warrant, and Discharge, against us, our Heirs, and Successors, for ever.” Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 17. p. 115.

(x) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 97, 98.

“ therefore, in Respect to his good Name, I will attempt it, by shewing that the Judgment was absolutely illegal, and manifestly iniquitous.”

“ It is a Maxim in our Law that the King can do no Wrong; and most certain it is that no King can do legal Wrong; that is to say, can employ the Law to unjust Purposes. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, after his Conviction, was dead in Law; and, therefore, if the Commission granted to him, by *James*, had not the Virtue of a Pardon, what was it? Did it empower a dead Man to act, and not only to act, but to have a Power over the Lives, and Estates of the Living? It either conveyed Authority, or it did not. If it did convey Authority, then Sir *Walter* was capable of receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in Law, or, in other Words, he was pardoned. If it conveyed no Authority, then this was an Act of legal Wrong. I cannot help the Blunder; the Absurdity is in the Thing, and not in my Expression. A Commission under the Privy Seal, (if not under the Great Seal,) granted by the King, with the Advice of the Privy Council, to a dead Man; or, to put it otherwise, a lawful Commission given to a Man, dead in Law, is Nonsense not to be endured; and, therefore, to avoid this, we must conceive, as Sir *Francis Bacon*, and every other Lawyer did, that the Commission included, or rather conveyed a Pardon. Indeed, the same Thing may be made out in much fewer Words. Grace is not so strong a Mark of royal Favour, as Trust; and, therefore, where the latter appears, the Law ought, and, indeed, doth presume the former (y). This Judgment, therefore, did not

(y) This last Argument must be allowed to have great Weight; yet (with Deference to the Sentiments of Mr. Campbell,

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“ 1. There
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Campbell,) it d who is expressl “ under the Per fourth Volume (z) Hume's 559, 560, 561, introduced by a the Declaration rity, and when Examinations b fix Councillors Canterbury, a must be allowe undoubted Cre either by the N Apology, and cation of the I No. 2.

“not only murder Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but, in this Instance, subverted the Constitution, and ought to be looked upon, not only as an Act of the basest Prostitution, but as the most flagrant Violation of Justice that ever was committed.”

From these Conclusions, the Reasoning of a celebrated Historian (z) hath induced us to dissent; and whilst we scorn the Thought of aiming one unmerited Aspersions against the real Character of *Raleigh*, we openly declare that the decisive Passages of the following Quotation have, although with some Exceptions, confirmed us in Ideas which all the Sophistry of superior Talents will not be able to eradicate. Yet, on so delicate a Subject, where the honest Fame of a distinguished Hero is to be preserved, or ruined, we do not mean to influence the Reader. Not for the Purpose of misleading, is he presented with a Variety of Opinions; but, that his Judgment may be just.

“1. There seems to be an Improbability that the *Spaniards*, who knew nothing of *Raleigh's* pretended

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Campbell,) it doth not reach the Case of Sir Walter Raleigh, who is expressly mentioned, in the Commission, as “being under the Peril of the Law.”—See the 133d Page of the fourth Volume of this Work.

(z) Hume's History of England. 8vo V. 6. p. 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, Note I.—The Arguments of this Author are introduced by a Remark that some of the Facts are taken from the Declaration of James, which being published by Authority, and when these Facts were recent; being extracted from Examinations before the Privy Council, and subscribed by six Councillors, amongst whom was Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Prelate, no-wise complaisant to the Court, must be allowed to have great Weight, or rather to be of undoubted Credit. Yet the most material Facts are confirmed either by the Nature, and Reason of the Thing, or by the Apology, and Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh. The Vindication of the King is in the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. 3. No. 2.

" Mine, should have built a Town in so wide a Coast,
 " within three Miles of it. The Chances are extremely
 " against such a Supposition; and it is more natural to
 " think that the View of plundering the Town led him
 " thither, rather than that of working a Mine. 2. No
 " such Mine is *there* found, to this Day. 3. *Raleigh*, in
 " Fact, found no Mine; and in Fact, he plundered,
 " and burned a *Spanish* Town. Is it not more proba-
 " ble, therefore, that the latter was his Intention? How
 " can the Secrets of his Breast be rendered so visible
 " as to counterpoise certain Facts? 4. He confesses, in
 " his Letter to Lord *Carew*, that, although he knew it,
 " yet he concealed from the King the Settlement of the
 " *Spaniards*, on the Coast. Does not this Fact alone
 " render him sufficiently criminal? 5. His Commis-
 " sion impowers him only to settle on a Coast possessed
 " by savage, and barbarous Inhabitants. Was it not
 " the most evident Breach of Orders to disembark on a
 " Coast, possessed by *Spaniards*? 6. His Orders to *Key-*
 " *mis*, when he sent him up the River, are contained in
 " his own Apology, and, from them, it appears, that
 " he knew (what was unavoidable,) that the *Spaniards*
 " would resist, and would oppose the *English*, at their
 " Landing, to take Possession of the Country. His In-
 " tentions, therefore, were hostile from the Beginning.
 " 7. Without Provocation, and even when at a Dis-
 " tance, he gave *Keymis* Orders to dislodge the *Spaniards*
 " from their own Town. Could any Enterprize be
 " more hostile? And, considering the *Spaniards*, as
 " Allies to the Nation; could any Enterprize be more
 " criminal? Was he not the Aggressor, even although
 " it should be true that the *Spaniards* fired upon his
 " Men, at their Landing. It is said that he killed three,
 " or four hundred of them. Is that so light a Matter?
 " 8. In his Letter to the King, and in his Apology, he
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“ grounds his Defence on former Hostilities exercised
 “ by the *Spaniards*, against other Companies of *Eng-*
 “ *lishmen*. These are accounted for by the Ambiguity
 “ of the Treaty between the Nations. And it is plain
 “ that although these might possibly be Reasons for the
 “ King to declare War against that Nation, they could
 “ never intitle *Raleigh* to declare War, and, without
 “ any Commission, or contrary to his Commission.
 “ The chief Hurt which the *Spaniards* could receive
 “ from *England* was, in the *Indies*; and they never
 “ would have made Peace at all, if Hostilities had been
 “ still to be continued on these Settlements. By secret
 “ Agreement, the *English* were still allowed to support
 “ the *Dutch*, even after the Treaty of Peace. If they
 “ had also been allowed to invade the *Spanish* Settle-
 “ ments, the Treaty had been a full Peace to *England*,
 “ while the *Spaniards* were still exposed to the full Ef-
 “ fects of War. 9. If the Claim to the Property of
 “ that Country, as first Discoverers, was good, in Op-
 “ position to present Settlements, as *Raleigh* pretended,
 “ why was it not laid before the King, with all its Cir-
 “ cumstances, and submitted to his Judgment? 10.
 “ *Raleigh's* Force is acknowledged by himself to have
 “ been insufficient to support him in the Possession of
 “ *Saint Thomas*, against the Power of which *Spain* was
 “ Master on that Coast; yet it was sufficient, as he
 “ owns, to take by Surprise, and plunder twenty
 “ Towns. It was not, therefore, his Design to settle,
 “ but to plunder. By these Confessions, which I have
 “ brought together, he plainly betrays himself. 11.
 “ Why did he not stay, and work his Mine, as, at first,
 “ he projected? He apprehended that the *Spaniards*
 “ would be upon him with a great Force. But, before
 “ he left *England*, he knew that this must be the Case,
 “ if he invaded any Part of the *Spanish* Colonies. His
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" Intention, therefore, never was to settle, hut only to
 " plunder. 12. He acknowledges that he knew neither
 " the Depth, nor Riches of the Mine, but only that
 " there was some more Ore there. Would he have
 " ventured all his Fortune, and Credit, on so preca-
 " rious a Foundation? 13. Would the other Adven-
 " turers, if made acquainted with this, have risked
 " every thing to attend him? Ought a Fleet to have
 " been equipped for an *Experiment*? Was there not,
 " plainly, an Imposture in the Management of this Af-
 " fair? 14. He says to *Keymis*, 'Bring but a Basket
 " full of Ore, and it will satisfy the King that my Pro-
 " ject was not imaginary'. This was easily done from
 " the *Spanish* Mines; and he seems to have been actu-
 " ally displeased at *Keymis*, for not attempting it. Such
 " a View was a premeditated Apology to cover his
 " Cheat. 15. The King, in his Declaration, imputes
 " it to *Raleigh* that, as soon as he was at Sea, he im-
 " mediately fell into such uncertain, and doubtful Talk
 " of his Mine, and said that it would be sufficient if he
 " brought Home a Basket full of Ore. From the Cir-
 " cumstance last mentioned, it appears that this Impu-
 " tation was not without Reason. 16. There are
 " many other Circumstances of great Weight in the
 " Declaration of the King; that *Raleigh*, when he fell
 " down to *Plymouth*, took no Pioneers with him, which
 " he always declared to be his Intention, that he was
 " no-wise provided with Instruments for working a
 " Mine, but had a sufficient Stock of warlike Stores;
 " that young *Raleigh*, in attacking the *Spaniards*, em-
 " ployed the Words 'Come on, my Hearts! here is
 " the Mine that we must expect. They that look for
 " any other Mine are Fools;' that the Mine was
 " moveable, and shifted as he saw convenient: Not to
 " mention many other public Facts which prove him
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" to have been highly criminal against his Companions,
 " as well as his Country. *Howel*, in his Letters, says,
 " that there lived in *London*, in the Year, one thousand,
 " six hundred, and forty-five, an Officer, a Man of
 " Honour, who asserted that he heard young *Raleigh*
 " speak these Words (*a*). That was a Time when
 " there was no Interest in maintaining such a Fact (*b*).
 " 17. *Raleigh's* Account of his first Voyage to *Guiana*
 " proves him to have been a Man capable of the most
 " extravagant Credulity, or the most impudent Impos-
 " ture. So ridiculous are the Stories which he tells of
 " the *Inca's* chimerical Empire, in the Midst of *Guiana*;
 " the rich City of *El Dorado*, or *Manao*, two Days
 " Journey in Length, and shining with Gold, and Sil-
 " ver; the old *Peruvian* Prophecies in Favour of the
 " *English*, who, he observes, were expressly named as
 " the Deliverers of that Country (*c*), long before any
 " *Euro-*

(*a*) Vol. 2. Letter 63.

(*b*) To this Remark, by Mr. Hume, it may be added that *Howel* appears always more ready to applaud, than censure *Raleigh*, and compares his Return from *Guiana* to that of the Roman Consul, *Attilius Regulus*, who, rather than violate his Promise, went back (although convinced that Death must be the Consequence,) to his Enemies, the *Carthaginians*, by whom he had been taken Prisoner. *Howell's* Letters, V. 1. p. 6. V. 2. p. 372.

(*c*) The Europeans, when they set out, as the Deliverers of distant Countries, commence their friendly Offices, by an Attack against the Persons, and a Seizure of the Property, and Lands of Individuals who never saw, nor injured them. The Fate of *Bengal* alone (but, Examples are innumerable,) would justify this Remark. The Deliverer, therefore, is not that exalted Hero who, to secure the Freedom of his Fellow-Creatures, is prepared to shed his own Blood, even to the last Drop; but the Monster who insults Mankind with Offers of Assistance, and (in the true Spirit of Avarice, one of the worst Crimes which can disgrace our Nature,) having plundered a confiding People, secures his Acquisitions, by a general Massacre of the first Possessors.

“*European* had ever touched there; the *Amazons*, or
 “*Republic of Women*; and, in general, the vast,
 “and incredible Riches, which he saw on the Conti-
 “nent, where no one has yet found any Treasures.
 “This whole Narrative is a Proof that he was extreme-
 “ly defective, either in solid Understanding, or Mo-
 “rals, or both. No Man’s Character indeed seems
 “ever to have been carried to such Extremes as *Ra-*
 “*leigh’s*, by the opposite Passions of Envy, and Pity.
 “In the former Part of his Life, when he was Active,
 “and lived in the World, and was probably, best
 “known he was the Object of universal Hatred, and
 “Detestation, throughout *England*; in the latter Part,
 “when shut up in Prison, he became *much more un-*
 “*reasonably* the Object of great Love, and Admir-
 “ation (d).”

“As to the Circumstances of the Narrative, that
 “*Raleigh’s* Pardon was refused him, that his former
 “Sentence

(d) With due deference to the Judgment of Mr. Hume, we cannot implicitly confide in this Remark. It may surely be doubted whether, at any Period of his Life, Raleigh was an Object of universal Hatred, and Detestation, throughout *England*. The Violence of his Disposition, an over-bearing Pride, and his Persecution of Essex, who was idolized by the People, had, indeed, cast him almost irrecoverably from the Favour of an exasperated Multitude; yet he was followed, beloved, and honoured by Numbers of his Contemporaries. To assert that he was disliked by *all* his Fellow-Subjects, is wandering from the Candour to which Men in general, but Historians in Particular, should invariably adhere. On this Occasion, the Character is mangled which hath, in other Parts, been skilfully dissected. That in Prison, Sir Walter Raleigh was the Object of great Love, and Admiration, can never be disputed. It may be affirmed, in Contradiction to the celebrated Writer, that the Nation acted *reasonably*. They must have been prejudiced to a criminal Degree, who beheld without Surprise, Attachment and Applause, the calm Fortitude, the active Talents, and the literary Pursuits of this illustrious Prisoner, during a Confinement of thirteen Years, within the Tower.

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"Sentence was purposely kept in Force against him,
 "and that he went out, under these express Condi-
 "tions, they may be supported by the following Au-
 "thorities. 1. The King's Word, and that of six
 "Privy-Counsellors who affirm it for Fact. 2. The
 "Nature of the Thing. If no Suspicion had been
 "entertained of his Intentions, a Pardon would
 "never have been refused to a Man, to whom
 "Authority was intrusted. 3. The Words of the
 "Commission itself, where he is simply stiled Sir *Wal-*
 "*ter Raleigh*, and not *faithful, and well-beloved*, ac-
 "cording to the usual, and never-failing Stile, on
 "such Occasions. 4. In all the Letters which he wrote
 "to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, and to his own Wife, he
 "always considers himself as a Person unpardoned, and
 "liable to the Law. He seems, indeed, immediately
 "upon the Failure of his Enterprize, to have be-
 "come desperate, and to have expected the Fate
 "which he met with."

"It is pretended that the King gave Intelligence to
 "the *Spaniards* of *Raleigh's* Project; as if he had need-
 "ed to lay a Plot for destroying a Man, whose Life
 "had been fourteen Years, and still was in his Power.
 "The *Spaniards* wanted no other Intelligence to be on
 "their Guard, than the known, and public Fact of
 "*Raleigh's* Armament. And there was no Reason
 "why the King should conceal from them the Project
 "of a Settlement, which *Raleigh* pretended, and the
 "King believed to be intirely innocent."

"The King's chief Blame seems to have lain in his
 "Negligence, in allowing *Raleigh* to depart, without
 "a more exact Scrutiny; but, for this he apologizes,
 "by saying that Sureties were required for the good
 "Behaviour of *Raleigh* and all his Associates in the En-
 "terprize; but that they gave in Bonds for each other:
 "a Cheat which was not perceived, until they had

"failed, and which increased the Suspicion of bad Intentions."

"Perhaps, the King ought also to have granted *Raleigh* a Pardon for his old Treason, and to have tried him anew for his new Offence. His Punishment in that Case would not only have been just, but conducted in a just, and unexceptionable Manner (e). But we are told that a ridiculous Opinion (f) at that Time

(e) We feel a Difficulty in assenting to this Position. A King, the Fountain of earthly Mercy to convicted Criminals, extending his Pardon to an Offender for one Species of Guilt, in Order to obtain the Power of inflicting Death upon him, for another, presents us with the most disgusting Picture of Absurdity, Meanness, and Barbarity. A Forgiveness of the old Treason should immediately have followed the Release of Raleigh, from a long Confinement in the Tower; a Punishment much more than equal to his Delinquency. Where was the Necessity of reserving the Sentence as a Check, when he might have been brought to the Bar, for subsequent Crimes; Crimes which, with Retrospect to the Lenity of his Sovereign, must have pressed on him the more heavily? During the Proceedings against Sir Walter, at Winchester, an abandoned Jury, after a Deliberation of scarcely fifteen Minutes, and in Contempt of Law, and Equity, returned their Verdict *Guilty*, on the sole, and written Evidence of Cobham, a perfidious Friend; on most Occasions, notorious for the Profligacy of his Manners, and the wretched Application of a limited Understanding; but, at this memorable, and disgraceful Case, marked by such Contradictions in his Testimony as must affect with Horror the Minds of all who are not lost to every Sense of Virtue. Could a Jury be packed, to serve these flagitious Purposes, and shall we conclude that, on the Expiration of a Period which did not reach to fifteen Years, a sufficient Number of Court-Hirelings would be wanting to cast Raleigh, under the Evidence of Guilt, even in Spite of the popular, but ridiculous Idea that Hostilities directed against the Spaniards, within the Indies, during a profound Peace with Europe, were not illegal.

(f) On this Subject, (which hath occasioned the preceding Note) Osborne also observes that "*no Peace beyond*"

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(b) October

“Time prevailed in the Nation (and it is plainly supposed by Sir *Walter* in his Apology,) that, by “Treaty, War was allowed with the *Spaniards*, in the “*Indies*, although Peace was made in *Europe*: and, “while that Notion took Place, no Jury would have “found *Raleigh* guilty. So that had not the King “punished him upon the old Sentence, the *Spaniards* “would have had a just Cause of Complaint against “the King, sufficient to have produced a War, at “least to have destroyed all Cordiality between the Nations (g).

On the Morning after he had been brought to the Bar of the King's-Bench, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, notwithstanding that it was a Time of Festivity, and Joy (b) proceeded, in the Custody of the Sheriffs of *Middlesex*, to the old Palace-Yard, at *Westminster*, where, in Front of the Parliament-House, a Scaffold was erected for his Execution. On this he mounted with a chearful Countenance, and bowed courteously to the Lords, and others of his Acquaintance, who were present. When the proper Officers had made a Proclamation for Silence, *Raleigh* observed that as he was Yesterday taken out of his Bed, in a strong Fit of a Fever, which, as its untimeliness forebore no Occasion, nor Place, might suddenly return, he must first implore God that He would preserve him from its

Inter-

“the Line was a Belief so rivetted in the Opinion of all, as “that *Raleigh* could not have been indicted anew, without “the King's producing the original Articles, by which his “Accusers would have been convinced of Malice, or his “Prince of Folly.” *Memoirs of King James.* p. 108.

(g) Mr. Hume concludes his Remarks with the following Passages. “This explication I thought necessary, in Order “to clear up the Story of *Raleigh*; which, although very “obvious, is generally mistaken in so gross a Manner, “that I scarcely know its Parallel in the English History.”

(b) October the 29th; the Lord-Mayor's Day.

Interruptions, during the last Sufferings; and, next, desire the Audience that, if any Disability of Voice, or Dejection of Countenance should appear in him, they would impute his Situation not to Pusillanimity, but to the Disorder of his Body. Then, pausing for a short Time, he sat down, in View of a Window, at which the Lords *Arundel*, *Northampton*, and *Doncaster*, together with other Nobles, were then placed. As they were considerably removed from the Scaffold, he apprehended that they could not clearly distinguish his Words; and, therefore, remarked that he would strain his Voice, because he was desirous that they should hear him. The Lord *Arundel*, and others, having answered that they would rather approach the Scaffold, advanced immediately towards him. Then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, having again saluted them, proceeded thus.

"I thank God that HE hath sent me to die in the Light, and not in Darkness. I likewise thank God that HE hath suffered me to die before such an Assembly of honourable Witnesses, and not, obscurely, in the Tower, where, for the Space of thirteen Years together, I have been oppressed with many Miseries. And I return HIM Thanks that my Fever hath not taken me, at this Time, as I prayed to HIM it might not, that I might clear myself of some Accusations unjustly laid to my Charge, and leave behind me the Testimony of a true Heart, both to my King, and Country."

"There are two main Points of Suspicion that his Majesty hath conceived against me, and which, I conceive, have especially hastened my coming hither: therefore I desire to clear them to your Lordships, and resolve you, in the Truth thereof. The first is that his Majesty hath been informed that I have had some Plot, or Confederacy with *France*,

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 Vol. IV.

" for which he had some Reasons, although grounded
 " upon a weak Foundation. One was, that when I
 " returned to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Ro-*
 " *chele*, which was because I would fain have made
 " my Peace, before I came to *England*. Another Rea-
 " son was that again I would have bent my Course to
 " *France*, upon my last intended Escape from *London*,
 " being the Place where I might have the best Means
 " of making such Peace, and the best Safeguard, dur-
 " ing that Terror from above. These, joined with
 " the Coming of the *French* Agent to my House, here,
 " in *London*, only to confer about my said Voyage,
 " together with the Report of my having a Commission
 " from the King of *France*, might occasion my being
 " so suspected in this Particular, and his Majesty to be
 " so displeased with me. But this I say; for a Man
 " to call God to Witness, at any Time, to a False-
 " hood, is a grievous Sin. To call HIM as a Wit-
 " ness to a Falsehood, at the Point of Death, when
 " there is no Time for Repentance, is a Crime far
 " more impious, and desperate; therefore, for me to
 " call that MAJESTY to witness an Untruth, before
 " whose Tribunal I must instantly Appear, were, be-
 " yond Measure sinful, and without Hope of Pardon.
 " I do yet call that great God to Witness, that, as I
 " hope to see HIM, and be saved by HIM, and live
 " in the World to come, I never had any Plot, or In-
 " telligence with the *French* King; never had any
 " Commission from him, nor saw his Hand, or Seal;
 " that I never had any Practice, or Combination with
 " the *French* Agent, nor ever knew, or saw such a
 " Person, until I met him, in my Gallery, unlooked
 " for. *If I speak not true, O LORD! let me never enter*
 " *into thy Kingdom.*"

“The second Suspicion, or Imputation was that his Majesty hath been informed that I had spoken disloyally of him. The only Witness of this was a base *Frenchman*, a Runnagade, a chemical Fellow, whom I soon knew to be perfidious; for, being drawn by him into the Action of freeing myself at *Winchester*, in which, I confess that my Hand was touched, he, being sworn by Secrecy over-night, revealed it, the next Morning. It is strange that so mean a Fellow could so far encroach himself into the Favour of the Lords (*i*); and, gaping after some great Reward, could so falsely accuse me of seditious Speeches against his Majesty, and be so credited. But this I here speak; it is no Time for me to flatter, or to fear Princes, I who am Subject only unto Death. And for me, who have now to do with God alone, to tell a Lye, to get the Favour of the King, were in vain, and yet, if ever I did speak disloyally, or dishonestly of the King, either to this *Frenchman*, or any other, ever intimate the least Thought, hurtful, or prejudicial to him, the LORD blot me out of the Book of Life.”

“I confess that I did attempt to escape, and it was only to save my Life. I, likewise, confess that I feigned myself to be indisposed (*k*), at *Salisbury*; but I hope
“that

(*i*) This was *Manourie*, a French Quack. It appears yet stranger that he could have encroached himself into the Favour of the discerning Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*k*) It is probable that when this unhappy Man languished afterwards, under an intermitting Fever, the Court imagined that he was still acting his Impostures; and, therefore, over-ruled the Plea of Illness, and gave Orders that he should be conducted to the Bar of the King's-Bench, and, (almost immediately) from thence, to the Scaffold. If he was not suspected of having feigned Sicknefs, at this alarming Juncture, the rapid Cruelty of James, and his Advisers, is without a Parallel.

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(*l*) Doctor H
attended Raleigh

“ that it was no Sin ; for the Prophet *David* did make
 “ himself a Fool, and suffered Spittle to fall upon his
 “ Beard, to escape from the Hands of his Enemies,
 “ and it was not imputed unto him as a Sin. What I
 “ did was only to prolong Time, until his Majesty
 “ came, in hopes of some Commiseration from him.”

“ But I forgive that *Frenchman*, and, likewise, Sir
 “ *Lewis Stuckley*, the Wrongs which he hath done me,
 “ with all my Heart, for, I have received the Sacra-
 “ ment, this Morning, of Mr. *Dean* (1), and I have
 “ forgiven all Men ; but in Charity to others, am
 “ bound to caution them against him, and such as he
 “ is. For Sir *Lewis Stuckley*, my Keeper, and Kins-
 “ man, hath affirmed that I should tell him that my
 “ Lord *Carew*, and my Lord of *Doncaster*, here, did
 “ advise me to escape ; but I protest before GOD,
 “ that I never told him any such Thing ; neither did
 “ these Lords advise me to any such Matter. It is not
 “ likely that I should acquaint two Privy-Counsellors
 “ of my Escape ; nor that I should tell him, my Keep-
 “ er, that it was their Advice ; neither was there any
 “ Reason to tell it him, or he to report it ; for it is
 “ well known that he left me six, eight, or ten Days
 “ together, to go whither I listed, while he rode about
 “ the Country. He farther accused me that I should
 “ shew him a Letter, whereby I did signify that I
 “ would give him ten thousand Pounds to escape ; but
 “ God cast my Soul into everlasting Fire, if ever I
 “ made such Proffer of ten thousand Pounds, or one
 “ thousand Pounds ; but, indeed, I shewed him a Let-
 “ ter that if he would go with me, there should be
 “ Order taken for the Discharge of his Debts, when he
 “ was gone ; neither had I one thousand Pounds ; for,

M 2

“ if

(1) Doctor Robert Tounson, Dean of Westminster, who
 attended Raleigh, during his last Moments.

“ if I had, I could have made my Peace better with it,
 “ otherwise than by giving it to *Stucley*. Further, he
 “ gave out that when I came to Sir *Edward Parham's*
 “ House, who had been a Follower of Mine, and gave
 “ me good Entertainment, I there received some Dram
 “ of Poison: When I answered that I feared no such
 “ Thing, for I was well assured of those in the House;
 “ and, therefore, wished him to have no such Thought.
 “ Now, I will not only say, that God is the God of
 “ Revenge (*m*), but, also, of Mercy; and I desire
 “ God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.”

“ It was told the King that I was brought by Force
 “ into *England*, and that I did not intend to return
 “ again. Whereas Captain *Charles Parker*, *Mr. Tre-*
 “ *sham*, *Mr. Leak*, and divers others that knew how I
 “ was dealt withal by the common Soldiers, will wit-
 “ ness to the Contrary. There were an hundred and
 “ fifty of them, who mutinied against me, and sent for
 “ me to come to them; for, unto me, they would not
 “ come. They kept me close Prisoner in my Cabin,
 “ and forced me to take an Oath that I would not go
 “ into *England*, without their Consent, otherwise, they
 “ would have cast me into the Sea. After I had taken this
 “ Oath, I did, by Wine, Gifts, and fair Words, so work
 “ upon the Master-Gunner, and twelve of the Fac-
 “ tion, that I won them to desist from their Purposes,
 “ and intended, when I returned home, to procure
 “ their Pardon; and, in the mean while, I proposed
 “ that

(*m*) It were to be wished that the Insinuation that God
 is the God of Revenge had not been in the last Speech of
 one who professes to have forgiven all Men. This Passage
 tends rather to lessen than increase the Force of the succeed-
 ing Sentence: “ *I desire God to forgive him, as I expect to be*
 “ *forgiven.*” Perhaps these Words induced Mr. Hum-
 to observe that, on the Scaffold, Raleigh endeavoured to
 revenge himself, and to load his Enemies with the public Hatred.

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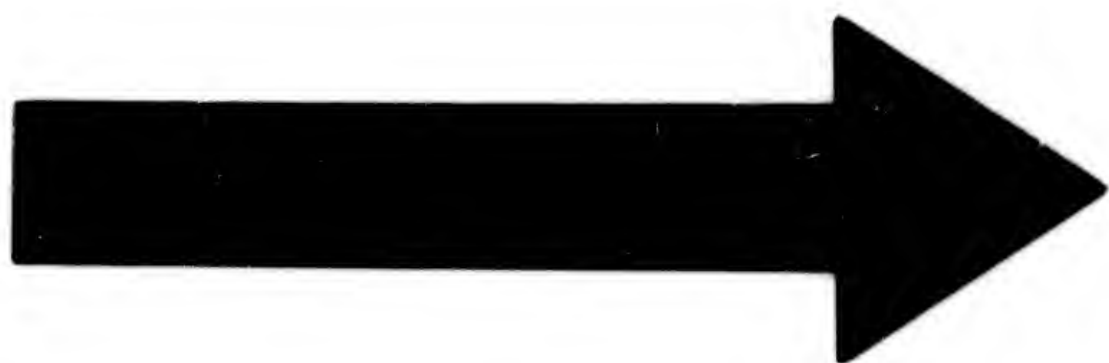
(*n*) Here, a
 not pretend to
 (*o*) Arundel
 “ they were th

“ that I would dispose of some of them, in *Ireland*; to
 “ which they agreed, and would have gone into the
 “ *North Parts*, from which I dissuaded them, and told
 “ them that they were *Reefbanks* who inhabit there, so
 “ drew them to the *South*; and the better to clear my-
 “ self of them, was forced to give them an hundred,
 “ and fifty Pounds, at *Kingsale*, otherwise I had never
 “ got from them.”

“ There was a Report also that I meant not to go
 “ to *Guiana*, at all; and that I knew not of any Mine,
 “ nor intended any such Matter; but only to get my
 “ Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it
 “ was my Intent to go for Gold, for the Benefit of his
 “ Majesty, myself, and those who went with me, with
 “ the rest of my Countrymen; although he that knew
 “ the Head of the Mine would not discover it, when he
 “ saw that my Son was slain (n), but made himself
 “ away. My Lord of *Arundel*! You being in the
 “ Gallery of my Ship, at my Departure, I remember,
 “ you took me, by the Hand, and said that you would
 “ request one Thing of me, which was that whether I
 “ made a good, or a bad Voyage, that I would return
 “ again into *England*, which I then promised, and gave
 “ you my Faith that I would (o). Another Slander
 “ was raised of me, that I should have gone away from
 “ them, and have left them, at *Guiana*; but there were
 “ a great many worthy Men, who accompanied me al-
 “ ways, as my Serjeant-Major, and divers others who
 “ knew it was none of my Intention. Also, it hath
 “ been said that I stinted them of fresh Water; to
 “ which I answer that every one was (as it must be in a
 M 3 “ Ship,)

(n) Here, also, the Reader will observe that Raleigh did not pretend to know any thing of the Mine.

(o) Arundel answered: “ So you did; it is true; and
 “ they were the last Words I said to you.”



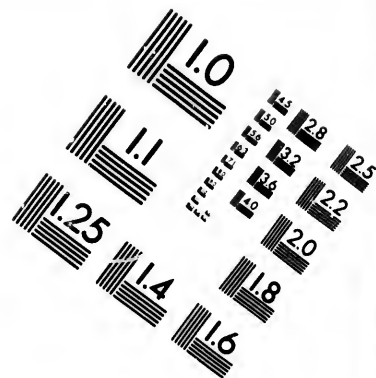
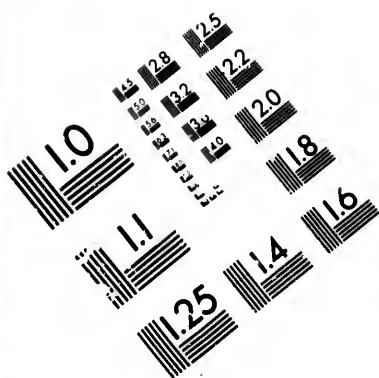
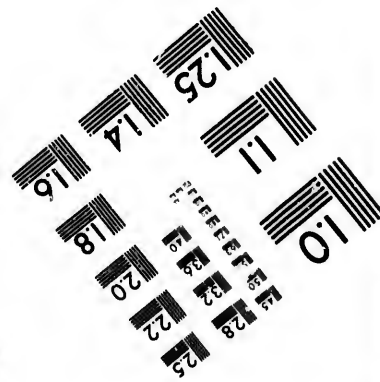
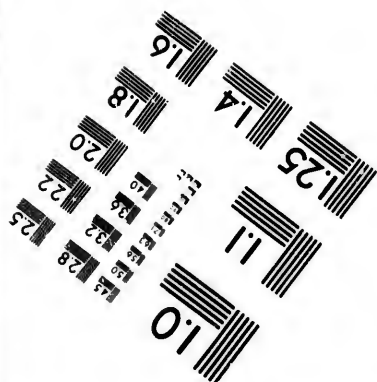
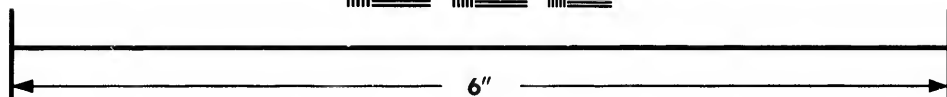
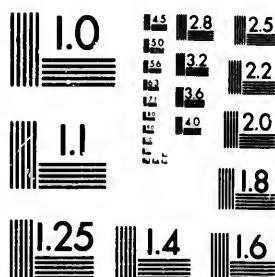


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“ Ship,) furnished by Measure, and not according to
 “ their Appetites. This Course all Seamen know must
 “ be used amongst them, and to this Streight were we
 “ driven. Another Opinion was held that I carried
 “ with me sixteen thousand Pieces of Gold; and that
 “ all the Voyage I intended was but to gain my Liber-
 “ ty, and this Money into my Hands. But, as I shall
 “ answer it before God, I had no more, in all the
 “ World, either directly, or indirectly, than one hun-
 “ dred Pounds; whereof I gave about forty-five Pounds
 “ to my Wife. But, the Ground of this false Report
 “ was that twenty thousand Pounds being adventured,
 “ and but four thousand appearing in the Surveyor’s
 “ Books, the rest had my Hand to the Bills for divers
 “ Adventures; but as I hope to be saved, I had not a
 “ Penny more than one hundred Pounds. These are
 “ the material Points (*p*) I thought good to speak of.
 “ I am, at this Instant, to render my Account to God,
 “ and I protest, as I shall appear before HIM, that this
 “ which I have spoken is true.”

“ I will borrow but a little more Time of Mr. *Sheriff*,
 “ that I may not detain him too long; and, here-
 “ in, I shall speak of the Imputation laid upon me
 “ through the Jealousy of the People, that I had been
 “ a Persecutor of my Lord of *Effex*; that I rejoiced in
 “ his Death, and stood in a Window over-against him
 “ when

(*p*) It is remarkable that Sir Walter Raleigh did not, on the Scaffold, take the least Notice of the Nature of the Commission which impowered him to make Discoveries in the Southern Quarters of America. May we not, without the Shadow of Injustice, represent this Silence, (and, particularly, when no other *material Points* of Vindication, and Defence, are unnoticed,) as a Proof that he could not sincerely think of invalidating one Opinion of the Court-Partizans, who asserted that the Tenor of the Commission implied that Raleigh was not pardoned?

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(*r*) If we
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 Sentence, w
 “ *Effex* any
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" when he suffered ; and puffed out Tobacco, in Desi-
 " ance of him ; when, as God is my Witness, that I
 " shed Tears for him when he died ; and, as I hope to
 " look God in the Face, hereafter, my Lord of *Essex*
 " did not see my Face, at the Time of his Death ; for
 " I was far off in the *Armory*, where I saw him, but he
 " saw not me. It is true that I was of a contrary Fac-
 " tion ; but I take the same God to witness that I had
 " no Hand in his Death, nor bare him any ill Affec-
 " tion, but always believed that it would be better for
 " me, that his Life had been preserved (*q*) ; for, after
 " his Fall, I got the Hatred of those who wished me
 " well before ; and those who set me against him (*r*),
 " set themselves, afterwards, against me, and were my
 " greatest Enemies ; and my Soul hath many Times
 " been grieved that I was not nearer to him when he
 " died ; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked
 " for me, at his Death, and desired to have been recon-
 " ciled to me."

" And now I intreat that you all will join with me,
 " in Prayer to that great God of Heaven, whom I have
 " grievously offended, (being a Man full of all Vanity,
 " who hath lived a sinful Life, in such Callings as have
 " been most inducing to it ; for I have been a Soldier,
 " a Sailor, and a Courtier, which are Courses of Wick-
 " edness, and Vice,) that his almighty Goodness will

M 4

" for-

(*q*) Remarks on this Passage, and the Events which gave
 Rise to it, have been made in the 106th, 107th, 108th,
 109th, 110th, and 111th Pages of the fourth Volume of this
 Work.

(*r*) If we adhere to the literal Meaning of the Expression,
 it will, perhaps, be difficult to reconcile it with a preceding
 Sentence, wherein Raleigh observes that "*he never bare*
 "*Essex any ill Affection.*" It should seem that being *set against*
another, ill Affection must follow, as the natural Conse-
 quence.

"forgive me; that HE will cast away my Sins from me; and that HE will receive me into everlasting Life. So, I take my Leave of you all, making my Peace with GOD (s)."

When Sir *Walter Raleigh* had concluded this Speech, he delivered to the Sheriff the following written Summary of it, signed with his own Hand, and intitled "*My Answer to some Things, at my Death.*"

"I did never receive any Direction from my Lord *Carew*, to make my Escape; nor did I ever tell *Stucley* any such Thing. I did never name my Lord *Hay*, and my Lord *Carew*, to *Stucley*, in other Words, or Sense, than as my honourable Friends, amongst other Lords. I did never shew unto *Stucley*, any Letter wherein there were ten thousand Pounds named, or any one Pound; only I told him that I hoped to procure the Payment of his Debts, in his Absence. I never had a Commission from the *French* King. I never saw the *French* King's Hand, or Seal, in my Life. I never had any Plot, or Practice with the *French*, either directly, or indirectly, nor with any other Prince, or State, unknown to the King. My true Intent was to go to a Mine of Gold, in *Guiana*; it was not feigned; but it is true that such a Mine there is, within three Miles of *Saint Thome*. I never had it in my Thought to go from *Trinidado*, and leave my Companies, to come afterwards to the Savage Island, as *Hatby Fearn* hath falsely reported. I did not carry with me an hundred Pieces. I had

"with

(s) This Speech is copied partly from a Manuscript in the Harleian Library, partly from a Manuscript, lately in the Possession of Mr. Oldys, and partly from printed Matter. As each of these supplied what was wanting in the others, it is sufficient to inform the Reader that no considerable Variations are, here, inserted.

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(t) Raleigh

“with me about sixty; and brought back near the
 “same Number. I never spake to the *French Mansourie*
 “any one disloyal Word, or dishonourable Speech of
 “the King; nay, if I had not loved the King truly,
 “and *trusted* in his Goodness somewhat *too much*, I
 “know that I had not now suffered Death.”

“These things are most true; as there is a GOD;
 “and as I am now to appear before his Judgment-Seat;
 “where I renounce all Mercy, and Salvation, if this
 “be not Truth. *W. Raleigh (t).*

Sir *Walter* now prepared for Death, and having intreated the Lord *Arundel* to beseech the King that he would prevent the Publication of such Writings as might be calculated basely to asperse the Memory of one whom he had doomed to suffer, added “*I have a long Journey to go, and, therefore, must take my Leave.*” Having pulled off his Coat, and Doublet, he directed the Executioner to shew him the Axe, and, perceiving that he hesitated to comply with this Demand, exclaimed “*I pray thee let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?*” He then looked, with a serene Smile towards the Sheriff, and extending the fatal Instrument in his Hand, observed “*This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a sound Cure for all Diseases.*” He, next, intreated the Spectators to pray to GOD that HE would graciously vouchsafe to strengthen, and assist him in the Hour of Death. The Executioner now fell upon his Knees, and desired his Forgiveness, when *Raleigh*, laying his Hand, gently, upon his Shoulder, said “*It is granted.*” Being asked in what Manner he would extend himself on the Block, he answered “*So the Heart be right, it is no Matter how the Head lies.*” As he stooped to prepare himself for the last Sufferings, his own Cloak was spread under him. After a short Pause,
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(t) Raleigh's Remains.

he, by lifting up his Hands, gave the Signal for the Stroke; and, at two Blows, his Head was severed from the Body. When it had been shewn, on each Side of the Scaffold, it was conveyed away in a mourning Coach, which had been sent, for that Purpose, by the Lady *Raleigh*. The Body received Interment within the Chancel, and near the Altar of the Church of *Saint Margaret*, at *Westminster*; but the Head was preserved in a Case, during the Life-Time of his unhappy Widow, who survived the Execution of her Husband, twenty-nine Years. At her Decease, it was taken, and, afterwards, kept, with equal Veneration, by her Son *Carew*, with whom it is recorded to have been buried (u).

Thus perished, at the Age of sixty-six Years, Sir *Walter Raleigh* (x), a Victim to the Resentment of the
Spani-

(u) Mr. Oldys remarks that although it was imagined, by Anthony Wood, that Carew Raleigh was buried at Westminster, in the same Grave with his Father, yet it is asserted, at West Horsley, in Surrey, (which was his Seat,) that he was interred there. The Inhabitants have a Tradition that, at the Burial, the Head of Sir Walter Raleigh, which had been kept by Carew, was put into the Grave, with the Corpse of the latter.

Mr. Nicholas, a Gentleman who resided on the Estate, remarked, in a Letter addressed to a Friend, that "he verily believed that the Head which he saw digged up there, in the Year, one thousand, seven hundred, and three, from the Side of a Grave, wherein a Carew Raleigh had been buried, was that of Sir Walter Raleigh, there being no Bones of a Body to it, nor Room for any Bones, as the rest of that Side of the Grave was firm Chalk."

(x) Harleian MS.—The celebrated Mr. Walpole hath observed that Sir Walter Raleigh "imitated the Death of
" Essex more worthily than he beheld it *," and, with Con-

* Royal, and Noble Authors, V. 1. p. 147. Article Essex.

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Spaniards, and to the fordid Pusillanimity of his Sovereign, who, eager to accomplish the Marriage of the Prince

cern must it be added, more worthily than he encompassed it. Mr. Hume remarks ‡ that "with the utmost Indifference, he laid his Head upon the Block, and received the fatal Blow. And, in his Death, there appeared the same great, but ill-regulated Mind, which, during his Life, had displayed itself in all his Conduct, and Behaviour." We must confess that we want Penetration sufficient to discover the least Mark of this *utmost Indifference*. It appears not either in his Speech, or at the Moment of his Exit. The Idea which is suggested to us of a "great, but ill-regulated Mind," should be guarded against, when it proceeds from a Philosopher, to whose Sect it were a Misery to belong. He calls in Question the solemn Assertions of Raleigh that he had not contributed to the Death of Essex; yet mentions the "*Appearance of a great Mind*." It is far, to an Extreme, from being *great*, in any Sense whatsoever that can be put upon the *Word*. We make this Observation under the Conjecture that Raleigh was accessory to the Fate of Essex. In this Light, we can perceive only a base, and infernal Mind; an horrid Mixture of the most abominable Cowardice, and the most desperate Audacity. Fearing the Censure of his Fellow-Creatures more than he dreaded the Vengeance of his God, Raleigh rushes into his awful Presence, after the positive Denial of an established Fact. For the Sake of Argument, be it allowed that this unhappy Man was innocent of that particular Crime; the Procurement of the Death of Essex. Amidst the Assertions of that Innocence, do we perceive an *ill-regulated Mind*? Is it *ill-regulated* to expire like a Christian? Or, is it *great*, in the last Moment of Life, to bid the PURE FOUNTAIN OF ALL TRUTH, bear Witness to a Falshy? In whichever Form, we receive the Observation of Mr. Hume, we receive it reeking with the worst of Poisons. In Charity to a celebrated Individual, (for whose Memory we retain all proper Veneration,) let us suppose that he had overlooked the Tendency of this Remark. It is however necessary that we should endeavour to confute it. Amendment, and not Corruption, must be the leading View of History. Why will not the sceptical Philosopher proceed upon the same Ground?

‡ History of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 99.

Prince of *Wales* with the *Infanta*, appeared content to seal their Union with the Blood of one of the greatest, and most serviceable Subjects in the Kingdom. Although the late Commission did not imply a Pardon, yet the People, who beheld with Horror the Execution of a severe, and long suspended Sentence, and were unanimously disgusted at the Prospect of the approaching Nuptials, declared, in loud Murmurs, that even the common Feelings of Humanity might have dictated to *James* the Necessity of a Pardon, and that Fear, Indiscretion, Barbarity, and Injustice, had accelerated the Fate of *Raleigh*. The Character of this accomplished Hero may be gathered from those Incidents of his Life which are related in the Course of our Memoir. Adhering to the just, but painful Duty of an Historian, we have already expatiated on those Principles in his Conduct, which seem the most reproachable. Let us now retire from the Investigation of Crimes which strike the Mind with Horror, and Astonishment. In the more pleasing Part of the Picture, may be perceived cool Fortitude; a well directed military Skill; a profound Knowledge of the naval Arts; a zealous Predilection for the Sea-Service, united with a generous Attachment to the Sailors, and a firm Maintenance of proper Discipline; a Degree of Learning which few of the Men of Genius, who flourished during the last Century, have been capable of reaching; a wide Experience in the Mysteries of Government; a Love of Action perpetually stimulated by unremitting Ardour in the Chace of Fame; the Heroism of the Mind which no Affliction could suppress; an unabated Determination to encourage Hope, when every future Prospect appeared a Signal for Despair; a calm, but vigorous Exertion of diffusive Talents, amidst the Imbecility of Age, the Attacks of Sickness, and the Horrors of Imprisonment; the

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the mild, and justly-regulated Indulgence of a bounteous Master; the strict Fidelity, and tender Affiduities of an admiring Husband; the unremitted, yet affectionate Observance of parental Duties; an inviolable Adherence to all the Laws which are connected with the Necessity of filial Reverence; the rigid Preservation of those exalted Ties which have united Men in honourable Friendships; the agreeable Address of an accomplished Gentleman; and the innocent, but sportive Humour of the gay Companion. Such were the Virtues, and the Qualities of *Raleigh*. Amidst the Recollections of his Errors, may these be not forgotten (*y*)!

(*y*) The Fate of the Lord Cobham, and Sir Lewis Stucley, the perfidious Friends of Raleigh, is too singular to be omitted. Cobham, once in Possession of an Income amounting to seven thousand Pounds, died, starved to Death, naked, and covered with Vermin, in a Room ascended by a Ladder, at the House of a poor Woman, (who had formerly been his Landress,) in the Minories. This Relation comes from the Authority of William, Earl of Pembroke. The King, to whom the Estate of Cobham should have escheated, was fraudulently deprived of it; and therefore could give him no Maintenance, except from the Crown-Revenues; a Charity which was refused to him. Lady Cobham possessed an immense Fortune, yet would not grant to her Husband the Crumbs which fell from her Table.—Previous to the Expiration of a Year from the Time of his having been bribed to betray Raleigh, Sir Lewis Stucley was detected, in the Palace, at Whitehall, clipping the very Pieces of Gold which had been paid to him, as the Wages of his Guilt. He was tried, and sentenced to be hanged, but, having sold all his Effects, even to his Shirt, for the Purpose of buying a Pardon, he obtained the royal Mercy, through the Interest of two Knights. He, then, escaped from the View, and Contempt of his Fellow-Creatures to the Isle of Lundy, on the River Severn, where he died, a Victim to the complicated Evils of Beggary, and Madness.

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CONTINUATION OF

The F I F T H P E R I O D.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of CHARLES, the FIRST.

AT the Demise of *James, Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, succeeded to the Throne, amidst the general Approbation of his Subjects (*a*). He was in the Flower of his Age, and endued with considerable Abilities, of which he had made so prudent a Use, from the Period at which the *Spanish Match* was broken off, that he became the Favourite of the People (*b*). His Father left him in a Situation exceedingly perplex-

(*a*) Frankland's Annals, p. 107.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. Oxford, 1712. 8vo. V. 1. p. 22—24.—Rushworth, V. 1. p. 165.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(*b*) Wilson's History of King James, in Kennet, p. 779, 780.—Frankland's Annals, p. 93.—Rapin, V. 2. Folio. p. 228, 229.—Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs.—See the Parliamentary

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(*c*) Clarendon's
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(*d*) Rushworth
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mirals, V. 2. p.

perplexing. The Government was involved in Debt; a War with *Spain* had just commenced, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, yet in Possession of the Post of Prime-Minister, remained an Object of the general Hatred (c). At this alarming Crisis, all Points were subject to wrong Constructions. Eight thousand Men, raised for the Service of the *Palatinate*, were directed to repair to *Plymouth*, and, during their March thither, the Inhabitants of the Country received Orders to supply them with Coat, and Conduct-Money, of which they were promised a Repayment from the *Exchequer*. The Behaviour of the Troops was licentious to an Extreme, and the long Continuance of Peace made it appear a greater Evil. At length, the Clamour rose to such a violent Degree, that *Charles*, concluding that the Measure would be satisfactory to the Subjects who had been particularly aggrieved, issued a Commission for the Execution of martial Law, which, instead of being considered as a Remedy, proved the Cause of Murmur more violent than any of the former (d).

It must be confessed that whilst *Buckingham* retained any Influence at the Council-Board, every odious Proceeding was attributed to him; and such were the Prejudices which the Nation had conceived against him, that

mentary History of England, (V. 6.) where the Whole of the Business relating to the Spanish Match, the Share which the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Buckingham took therein, in Parliament, and the Effects which it produced, are ably, and accurately treated.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(c) Clarendon, V. 1. p. 25.—Bulstrode's Memoirs of the Reign of Charles the first, p. 25.—Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 16.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(d) Rushworth, V. 1. p. 168.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 1.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 4.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 105.

that all Acts in which he was suspected to have been concerned were regarded as Grievances. Of this Circumstance no Person within the Kingdom felt the Force more irresistibly than the Sovereign, and yet in Consequence of an Infatuation which it would be difficult to account for, he extended his Affection, and his Trust to that aspiring Favourite, with even less Reserve than he had hitherto enjoyed it.

The Treaty of Marriage between *Charles*, and the Princess *Henrietta-Maria*, Daughter to *Henry*, the fourth, of *France*, had been concluded, during the Life-Time of *James*, the First, and, after his Decease, the young King was espoused to her, by Proxy. In *June*, of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, *Buckingham* set Sail, in Order to attend her, with the royal Navy, and, soon afterwards, conducted her to *Dover*. From thence, she proceeded to *Canterbury*, where the Marriage was consummated. On the sixteenth of the same Month, the royal Pair entered *London*, privately, the Plague daily increasing within the Suburbs (*e*). It was not long before an unfortunate Transaction rendered this Marriage disgusting to the People, and, as the Subject falls particularly under our Cognizance, we shall explain it, with all its material Circumstances, to the Reader.

The Marquis *d'Effiat*, Ambassador from the Court of *France*, to that of *England*, had represented to *James*, the first, that the Power of the Catholic King, in *Italy*, was dangerous to all *Europe*, and that his Sovereign was desirous

(*e*) *Stowe's Annals*, continued by *Howes*, p. 1041.—*L'Estrange's History of Charles the first*, p. 6.—*Dupleix. Histoire de Louis, le juste*, p. 254.—*Relation of the Triumphs, and Ceremonies observed at the Marriage of Charles, and Henrietta Maria*; *London*, 1625. Quarto.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 105.

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VOL. IV.

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firous of curtailing it, but, being destitute of a sufficient naval Force, proposed to borrow a small Number of *English* Ships, in Order to enable him to execute the Design which he had formed against *Genoa* (f). To this Measure, *Charles*, soon after his Accession, gave his Assent; and it was agreed that the *Great Neptune*, a Man of War, commanded by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, and six Merchant Ships, each of the Burthen of either three, or four hundred Tons, should be sent to the Assistance of the *French*. The Equipment of this Fleet gave Rise to an Application from the Inhabitants of *Rochelle*, who signified that they had just Grounds to apprehend that the *English* Squadron would be employed for the Destruction of the *Protestant* Interest in *France*, instead of the Diminution of the *Spanish* Power; within the States of *Italy*.

As the Duke of *Buckingham* knew that these Operations would prove disgusting to *Pennington*, the Admiral of the Fleet, and to the Owners of the Ships, he gave them private Instructions, contrary to the public Agreement with *France*, whereby they were directed not to serve against *Rochelle*; but, on their Arrival, in the Month of *May*, at a *French* Port, they were informed by the Duke of *Montmorency*, that they were intended to serve, and absolutely should serve against *Rochelle*. In Consequence of this imperious Mandate, the *English* Sailors, on Board the Fleet; signed, (what they term a *round Robin*,) a Paper, expressive of their Resolution not to engage in that Service. Their Names were

VOL. IV.

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(f) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 21.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, Book 2. p. 108.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 6.—Rushworth's Collection, V. 1. p. 174.—L'Esfrange's History of Charles the first, p. 56, 57.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 106.

written in a Circle, that it might not be discerned who made the first Signature.

When this Measure had been carried into Execution, *Pennington* stood out to Sea, with the whole Squadron, and returned into the *Downs*, at the Commencement of *July*. Soon after his Arrival, he addressed a Letter to *Buckingham*, and desired to be excused from bearing a Part in so painful, and dishonourable a Service. The Duke, without either acquainting the King, or consulting the Council, directed the Lord *Conway*, who, during that Period, was Secretary of State, to send an Express to *Pennington*, and commanded him to resign all the Ships into the Hands of the *French*. As this Proceeding had no Effect, *Buckingham*, surreptitiously, and, yet concealing from the King the Plan of Operations against *Rochelle*, prevailed on him to send, in writing, a Repetition of those Orders which had been transmitted to the *English* Admiral. In Consequence of the royal Interposition, *Pennington* sailed, a second Time, to *Dieppe*, where, according to his Instructions, the Merchantmen were delivered to the *French*; but Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, who commanded the royal Ship, weighed Anchor, and put to Sea. All the Crews, except a Gunner (g), now deserted from the Service, and returned to *England*. The Vessels remained in the Hands of the *French*, and were actually employed against *Rochelle*, to the great Dishonour of the Nation, and contrary

(g) This Man was afterwards killed in charging a Cannon, before *Rochelle* *. Mr. Hume, who describes him as singly preferring Duty towards his King to the Cause of Religion, observes that the Care which Historians have taken to record this frivolous Event, proves with what Pleasure the News was received in *England*

* Frankland, p. 109.—Rushworth, V. 1. p. 175, 176, &c. 325, 326, &c.

rary to the Intention of the King. This Transaction increased the popular Discontent; and, at length, formed an Article of the Impeachment against the Duke of *Buckingham* (b).

We, now, enter on the Relation of a Sea Engagement; and shall present it to the Reader, chiefly in the Words of an Officer who was present.

On the thirtieth of *January*; in the Year, one thousand, six hundred; and twenty-five, the *English*, and *Dutch* Ships (i) being in the Road of *Gombroon*, there arrived a small Frigate; belonging to a Place called *Chowle*, which was then at War with the *Portuguese*. When she had anchored between the Main; and *Ormuz*, Captain *Weddel* sent Mr. *Andrew Evans*, in a small Boat, to inquire from what Harbour her Commander had sailed last, and whether he could give any Intelligence concerning the *Portuguese Armada*. He answered that he came from a Town distant about eight, or ten Leagues from *Chowle*, and situated to the Southward of it; that his Frigate was laden with Pepper, and other Merchandize; and that, on the twenty-fourth of *Ja-*

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(b) Frankland; p. 156.—Kenner's compleat History of England, V. 3. p. 6.—Captain John Pennington's Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, from on Board the Vanguard, in the Downs, July 27, 1625.—Cabala, p. 350.—The most distinct Account is to be gathered out of the seventh; and eighth Articles exhibited against the Duke of Buckingham, by the House of Commons, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-six; and the Speech of Mr. Glanvill on the Subject of the said Articles.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 106, 107, 108.

(i) These were, of English Vessels, the Royal-James, Admiral; the Jonas, Vice-Admiral; the Star, Rear-Admiral; and the Eagle. John Weddel was the Commander in Chief. The Dutch Squadron consisted of the South-Holland, Admiral; the Bantam, Vice-Admiral; the Maud, of Dort, Rear-Admiral; and the Weasope. The chief Commander was Albert Becker.

nuary, as he was off *Cape Cordell*, and between the Coast of *India*, and *Cape Jacques*, he discovered, to the *Lee-ward*, eight large Gallies, and several Frigates, the last of which gave Chace, but could not come up with him, as he had taken Shelter, in shallow Water, near the Shore.

At Day-Break, and, on the thirty-first of *January*, the *English*, and *Dutch* Fleets heard the Discharge of three Pieces of Ordnance, at *Kishme Castle*, the Governour of which had promised Captain *Weddel* that, if he discovered any Ships, he would, by firing thrice, give the Signal of their Approach.

A Mariner was now sent up to the Top-Mast-Head of the *Royal James*, from whence he discovered eight Sail of Ships, attended by several Frigates. *Weddel* then gave Orders that the bloody Colours should be hoisted, and a Gun discharged, as a Warning for all the Fleet to put themselves in Readiness. At the same Time, the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and getting under Sail, stood towards the Enemy, whose Intention was to bear down upon them unprepared. But their Hopes were frustrated.

Towards eight at Night, it became calm, and the *English* Squadron cast Anchor, when the Commander of the *Dutch* Ships sent the Master of the *South-Holland*, and several Merchants on Board the *Royal-James*, to ask the Opinion of Captain *Weddel*, concerning the Fleet he had just descried. He answered that it was the *Portuguese Armada*, which had been two Years preparing to intercept the *Dutch*, and *English*; that these formidable Adversaries were now arrived from *Goa*, flushed with the Hopes of Victory, and intended, should their previous Attempts become successful, to direct their Hostilities against *Ormus*, *Kishme*, and *Gombroon*, to destroy the settled Trade of the Inhabitants,

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and to extirpate them with Ruin, and Dishonour. He added that he was determined to engage the *Portuguese*; whilst he had an Individual alive, within his Ship, and he did not entertain a Doubt but that all others, under his Command, had formed the same laudable Resolution. The *Dutch* replied that they would support the *English*, by every brave, and vigorous Effort, within their Power.

On the first of *February*, the *South-Holland*, the *Bantam*, the *Maud*, and the *Weasope*, set Sail, almost an Hour before the Appearance of Day, and were soon followed by the *English* Squadron; but the *Dutch* Admiral being far a-head, fired the first Shot at the *Portuguese*, who returned it by a Discharge of three Guns.

The contending Fleets were now within a short Distance of each other, when it fell calm, in Consequence of which Event, our Ships could not be worked, but as the Tide set them, so that when the *Portuguese* were Board, and Board, they had a great Advantage over us, by the Assistance of their Frigates, which often towed them clear of each other; an Assistance that we greatly wanted. Thus we lay, during four, or five Hours, discharging our Ordnance at each other; whilst the Frigates plyed us incessantly with their small Shot. Towards the Evening a brisk Gale arose; yet the Enemy was to *Windward*, and the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral of the *Portuguese* endeavoured to board the *Royal-James*. Captain *Weddel*, perceiving their Intentions, commanded the Master of his Ship to bear a little lasking, in Order to separate them from each other, that he might have Room to pass between them. The Vice-Admiral of the Enemy, observing that the *Royal-James* bore up, advanced towards this ship, when, suddenly, Captain *Weddel*, observing a Possibility that he might fall to *Windward* of him, caused his Mizzen, and

Mizen-Top-Sail, to be set, and soon afterwards weathered him, edging close up with the Admiral, and being within Musket-Shot of both. The *Portuguese* Admiral put to Stay, by which Means the *Royal-James* got the Wind of him also, and came so near under his Stern, that his Boats were close at the Side of our Ship, as she sheered by. We, now, poured into him a whole Broad-Side, (every Shot raking him, fore, and aft,) and then tacked, and stood after him. During this Engagement, which lasted until five in the Evening, eight of the Mariners, belonging to the *Royal-James*, were killed, and others received slight Wounds. On this Day, also, fell the chief Commander of the *Dutch*, a valiant, and experienced Officer. The *Royal-James*, alone, expended nearly seven hundred large Shot; and the other Ships discharged their Artillery almost as frequently. At Sun-Set, the *Portuguese* retreated, and came to an Anchor at the East End of *Kishme*, the *English* being stationed North, North-West, and distant from them about two Leagues. Thus ended the first Engagement.

On the second of *February*, the Wind, which was not extremely brisk, blew from the Coast of *Kishme*; an Advantage which the Enemy, who betrayed great Negligence, might easily have embraced. The *English*, and the *Dutch*, were assiduously employed in the Repair of their damaged Rigging, and in closing those dangerous Shot-Holes which, during the Fight, they had received from the Enemy, betwixt Wind, and Water.

In the Afternoon of the same Day, a Consultation was holden on Board the *Royal-James*, when it was determined by the *Dutch*, and *English*, that they would give Battle to the Enemy, at the first Appearance of the next-Morning, and that the *South-Holland* should follow

follow the leading Ship, and at Bro and the Gage of the *Portuguese* charged a Crew not within Dan fired a whole Admiral of bear away. the *Eagle*, Ships, during her from the *Royal-James* *Portuguese*; Course of w fantly discharged. Whilst the *Weddel*, co Service of through her she was engaged.

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follow the *Royal-James*, which was intended to be the leading Ship. Accordingly, on the third of *February*, and at Break of Day, the two Fleets weighed Anchor; and the *Royal-James*, having obtained the Weather-Gage of the Enemy, stood right with the Admiral of the *Portuguese*, (headmost, except one Ship,) who discharged a Broad-Side, which *Weddel* commanded his Crew not to return, until they were brought nearer within Danger. On a closer Approach, the *Royal-James* fired a whole Broad-Side against the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral of the *Portuguese*, which occasioned them to bear away. Taking the Advantage of this Separation, the *Eagle*, and the *Weasope* chased one of the adverse Ships, during three Hours, with the View of preventing her from returning to the Fleet. All this Time, the *Royal-James* was surrounded, and attacked by the *Portuguese*; but, after a desperate Engagement, in the Course of which the Cannon of the *English* were incessantly discharged, the Enemy thought proper to retreat. Whilst the Admiral-Ship, commanded by Captain *Weddel*, continued along Side of a large Vessel in the Service of the *Portuguese*, five hundred Shot passed through her Hull, Masts, Sails, and Yards, before that she was enabled to get clear.

On the same Morning, *Weddel* had converted a *Portuguese* Frigate into a Fire-Ship, for the Destruction of the largest Vessel belonging to the Enemy; but (through the Negligence of *Darby*, the Master, who did not arrive at the appointed Place, in Time,) she was chased by the Frigates, when the Crew, consisting only of ten Men, who could not possibly have made a vigorous Resistance, set Fire to her, at a Distance from the Fleet, and returned in a Barge, which had been stationed near at Hand for the Purpose of facilitating their Escape. The *Portuguese* Frigate continued in Flames, during

the whole Day, and Night, and at five, the next Morning, (whether towed by the Boats of the Enemy, or driven by the Currents, is uncertain,) she approached, burning, towards the *Dutch*, and *English* Fleets, and forced them to slip their Cables, the Anchors of which were found, on the third Day, from this Event.

At Day-Break, on the fourth of *February*, the united Squadrons advanced towards the *Portuguese*, who crowded every Sail, in Order to take Shelter, under the Island of *Lowrack*, which is situated nearly nine Miles from *Ormuz*. To the former Place, their Frigates proceeded a-head, and conducted them in over a Bar. The *English*, and *Dutch* Ships gave Chase as far as was consistent with their own Safety, but, being destitute of Pilots, made no Attempt to explore a dangerous, and unfrequented Passage. Convinced that the *Portuguese* were impolitic, malicious, and implacable, they naturally suspected that Ordnance had been planted on the Shore, for the Purpose of destroying them at their Approach. Could they have supposed the contrary, they might have endangered the Vessels of the Enemy, by chaining together some Frigates, and turning them, upon the Ebb, athwart their Hawse. At this Juncture, it was regarded as most expedient to continue stationed about the Distance of a League from the Island of *Lowrack*. Having weighed their Anchor, the *English* fired a parting Shot at the Vessels of their Adversaries, who returned it by the Discharge of one Cannon. Towards the Close of the Evening, the united Fleets entered *Gombroon-Road*, and the Crews were immediately employed to repair the Damages which the Vessels had sustained, to fit out Masts, Yards, Sails, and Rigging, and to stop the Breaches.

During this last Engagement, the Main-Top-Mast of the *Jonas*, and the Main-Mast of the *Star* were shot

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shot by the Board. The Mizzen-Mast, Flag, and Flag-Staff of the Admiral-Ship, were also carried away by the Artillery of the Enemy, and her Hull was much damaged. The Head of the Main-Mast belonging to the *Eagle* was shot away, and another Ship lost all her Top-Masts. In short, the Fleets of the *Dutch*, and *English*, suffered so severely that they were become almost destitute of proper Masts, Yards, Sails, and Tackling.

At Day-Break of the thirteenth of *February*, they proceeded again from the Road of *Gombreon*, attended by four Junks, and other freighted Vessels, under the Conduct of the *Dutch*. The *Portuguese*, who had observed their Motions, now slipped their Cables, and stood out to Sea, endeavouring so to direct their Course, that their Enemies might be nearest to the Land. At Sun-Set, and when the Gale had freshened, every Ship belonging to the different Fleets was at a short Distance from the other, and, without offering to commit the least Hostility, kept Company, for a considerable Space of Time.

On the thirteenth, at Night, such was the Violence of the Wind, which blew at *West-South-West*, that one of the large *Portuguese* Galleons lost the Head of her Main-Mast, close under the Hounds. Unable to hoist her Main-Sail, she was obliged to continue her Course under her Fore-Sail, Fore Top-Sail, Sprit-Sail, and Mizzen. The Wind still remained in the same Quarter, and the Galleons steered away *South*, and by *East*.

On the fourteenth, and soon after the Appearance of Morning, the *Dutch* Fleet stayed, and bore up towards the Junks, which, during the preceding Night, had dropped so far astern that the *English* could scarcely descry them. The *Royal-James* also shortened Sail; but the *Portuguese* continued on their Course.

At Noon of the same Day, and when the *Dutch* had re-joined the *English*, it was agreed that the *Royal-James* should first attack the Admiral-Ship, in the Service of the *Portuguese*, and that immediately afterwards the rest of the Fleet should assist, during the Engagement. Accordingly, at two in the Afternoon, the *Dutch*, and the *English*, having received the first Broad-side from the Enemy, returned it by a Discharge of their Artillery. The Victory was obstinately contested, until the Close of the Day, when, although each Party had severely annoyed the other, all Hostilities were discontinued, and neither yielded. At Night, the *Portuguese* bore away for *Swat*, where they had constructed a large Fortrefs; and the *English*, and *Dutch*, steered their Course towards *Surat*.

The Reasons given by Captain *Weddel*, and his Associates, in Vindication of their having declined the Chace, were, first, because the Year was drawing to a Period beyond which it must have been difficult to deliver Goods at *Surat*, and then sail away from the Coast, before the *Westerly Monsoons* should set in. These Winds blow from *April*, to *October*, during which Time, an Attempt to put off to Sea might prove dangerous. Secondly, the *Royal-James* had only thirty-one Barrels, and five hundred Cartridges of Powder, together with six hundred Shot, all of which were insufficient to enable them to maintain an Engagement, for the Space of a whole Day; as, at the Close of a former Fight, after the Expiration of nearly twelve Hours, the *Royal-James* alone had discharged a thousand great Shot against the Enemy. In the last Contest, this Ship expended three hundred Shot, and lost but one Man.

The total Number of the slain amongst the *English*, including Officers, and Sailors, amounted to twenty-nine. Of the *Dutch* were slain nearly thirty; and,

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amongst these fell *Albert Becker*, the chief Commander of their Fleet.

The *Portuguese* Admiral-Ship (*k*) named the *Francisco*, and commanded by *Don Aluod Batellia*, mounted forty-eight Pieces of brass Ordnance. On board were three hundred, and fifty-Men, of which thirty-eight fell during the Engagements; and amongst these were three chief Captains, all killed by the same Shot. Their names were *Lorenzo Luis*, *Jeronimo Botelia*, and *Brassa Crze*. The Fore-Mast, Bowsprit, and Main-Mast of the *Francisco* were so damaged by Shot, that they became unserviceable. The Mizzen-Mast, Flag, and Flag-staff were carried away, and the Rigging was extremely torn.

The Vice-Admiral Ship, named also the *Francisco*, was commanded by *Don Francisco Burgo*, and mounted thirty-two Guns. The Crew consisted of two hundred, and fifty Men, of which thirty, and also their Commander, were slain. The Main-Top-Mast, Fore-Mast, and Bowsprit, together with the Head of the Main-Top-Mast, and all the Rigging were rent, and torn to so violent a Degree, that they could not afterwards be applied to any Uses whatever.

The *Sebastian*, their Rear-Admiral Ship, commanded by *Don Antonio Telas* was the largest in the Fleet, and carried forty Pieces of brass Ordnance. On Board were four hundred Men, twenty of whom fell, during

(*k*) This Sequel is delivered to us as having been taken from "a Relation (by Peter Hillion, a Frenchman,) of "the Force of the eight Portuguese Galleons, which fought "with the Dutch, and English Fleets, in the Gulph of Persia, including an Account of the Spoil taken, and the "Number of Men slain, on the thirteenth, and fourteenth "of February, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and "twenty-five." Hillion, who was on board the Portuguese Admiral-Ship, at Surat, escaped to the English.

ing the Engagements. The Main-Mast, Fore-Top-Mast, Fore-Yard, and Sprit-Sail Top-Mast were shot by the Board; and the Fore-Mast was shattered to such a Degree, that it could bear no Sail.

Of the *Salvador*, the fourth Ship, *Don Francisco de Suar* was Commander. The Number of Guns amounted to twenty-four; and, on Board were two hundred, and fifty Men, of which forty, together with their chief Officer, were slain. All the Masts of this Ship, were entirely shattered, and unfit for Service.

The fifth Ship, named the *Jago*, and commanded by *Simon de Kintall*, carried twenty-two Pieces of brass Ordnance. On Board were two hundred Men, and of these eighty-three were Killed. The Masts remained entire; but the Hull, which had received several Shot between Wind, and Water, was full of Leaks; a Situation in Consequence of which the Ship sunk, soon afterwards, near the Coast of *India*.

The *Trinidad*, the sixth Ship, was commanded by *Pedro Alva Botelia*. She mounted twenty-two Pieces of brass Ordnance, and her Crew consisted of two hundred, and fifty Men, of which all, excepting seven, were slain. Her Top-Masts were shot by the Board; and every other Mast was so shattered that she could bear no Sail, but was afterwards towed from *Muscat*, to *Goa*.

On Board the seventh Ship, the *Antonio*, which carried twenty-two Pieces of brass Ordnance, were two hundred Men, commanded by *Don de Buralia*. During the Engagements, twenty-two of the Crew were slain. The Mast continued standing; but several Shot had pierced the Sides of this Vessel, which foundered afterwards near the Coast of *India*.

The eighth Ship, named *Miserere Cordium*, was commanded by *Roderigo de Chava*, and mounted twenty-

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two Pieces of brass Ordnance. Out of two hundred Men, the Number of the Crew, but three were slain. The Fore-Top-Mast, Main-Yard, Fore Yard, and Main-Top-sail-Yard were shot by the Board; and the Fore-Mast was so extremely rent, that it became unservicable.

The Pieces of Ordnance belonging to this Fleet were, in Number, two hundred, and thirty-two; the Crews amounted to two thousand, and one hundred Men, of which four hundred, and eighty-one were slain, during the Engagements.

At this Period, a naval Armament had been equipped for the Purpose of assisting the Troops appointed to invade the *Spaniards*; but as *Buckingham*, in Quality of Lord-High-Admiral, had the supreme Direction of the Enterprize, the People regarded it with Disgust, and were so far rejoiced at its Miscarriage, as it furnished them with an Opportunity of railing at the Duke, and those who, in Consequence of his Interest, were intrusted with the Command of the Fleet, and Forces (*l*). The Whole of this Transaction hath been differently related, and less with an adherence to Truth, than from a View of gratifying the Inclinations of a Party. From the most authentic Memoirs which yet remain, it is here intended to introduce a concise, and impartial Detail of Facts, which will prove to what Danger Princes are exposed when they employ Persons disagreeable to the greatest Part of their Subjects; an Error by which they almost necessarily transfer the Resentments attending their Miscarriages upon themselves (*m*).

The War with *Spain* was occasioned chiefly by the Duke of *Buckingham*; and seems to have proceeded more

(*l*) Frankland's Annals, p. 114.—Rushworth —Sir William Monson's naval Tracts —Kennet —Rapin.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 108.

more from his personal Dislike to Count *Olivarez*, than from any solid, or honourable Motive. Whatsoever may have been the Cause, the War, once begun, ought, certainly, to have been prosecuted, since, although the Duke acted from private Pique, and at a Time when it visibly served his own particular Purposes, yet, without Question, the Nation had been injured, and insulted by the *Spaniards*. Sufficient Grounds were not wanting for taking all the Advantage which could be derived from our naval Power, and our Alliance with the *Dutch*; from the Weakness of the Enemy; and from their firm Persuasion that, in Spite of our Menaces, we should not actually proceed to the Commission of Hostilities. Yet, although it was a War particularly grafted on the Inclinations, and the Power of *Buckingham*; although he had engaged the King to prosecute it with every Appearance of Vigour, and Resentment; and to assemble a formidable Fleet, together with a considerable Body of Forces, appointed to embark on Board of it; when the Preparations were drawing to a Conclusion, and the naval Armaments were almost in Readiness for their Departure, the Duke resigned the chief Command, and determined to send another Officer in his Room; a Conduct which proved baneful to the whole Design (n)

Sir *Edward Cecil*, Grandson to the great Lord *Burleigh*, was the Person of whom the Duke made Choice for this Command. That he bore the Character of a brave, and experienced Soldier, is not to be disputed; but his naval Talents were, in all Respects, too limited to qualify him for the supreme Direction of such an

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(n) Frankland's Annals. p. 114.—Rushworth's Collections. V. 1. p. 196.—Kennet's compleat History of England. V. 3. p. 12, 13.—Warwick's Memoirs. p. 15.—Whitlocke p. 2.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 108, 109.

Enterprize (o) were appointed by Order that his Men of such Command, his ship, and, at the same time, and Viscount extraordinary though there Sir *Robert* yet none of the enjoyed the Force could have The Force consisted of eight with ten tried all improbable and wisely executed to the Benefit of the King, and having more than homeward Passage taken by the *Enterprise*, where, in fifty, or sixty at least a Century But the *Enterprise* October; and the Enterprize was left to the

(o) Clarendon. L'Estrange's History of the Lives of the Admirals (p) Dugdale's Frankland's Annals V. 2 p. 109.

Enterprize (o). The Earls of *Essex*, and of *Denbigh* were appointed his Vice, and Rear-Admirals; and in Order that he might enjoy Dignities likely to reconcile Men of such Quality to a full Submission under his Command, he was advanced to the Rank of Lord-Marshal, and, at the same Time, created Baron of *Putney*, and Viscount *Wimbleton* (p). It was deemed equally extraordinary, impolitic, and unreasonable that although there wanted not many able Seamen, such as Sir *Robert Mansel*, Sir *William Monson*, and others, yet none of them were trusted, but only those who enjoyed the Favour of the Duke, as if that Circumstance could have conferred Merit.

The Force employed was extremely formidable, and consisted of eighty *Dutch*, and *English* Ships, together with ten tried Regiments. It was not, therefore, at all improbable that if Matters had been well concerted, and wisely executed, this Expedition might have turned to the Benefit of the Nation, and to the Honour of the King, and Ministry. The *Spanish* Plate-Fleet, having more than a Million on Board, was then on the homeward Passage, and must unavoidably have been taken by the *English*, if the latter had proceeded to *Tercera*, where, in Consequence of the Destruction of fifty, or sixty Gallies, they might have disabled, for at least a Century, the maritime Power of the *Spaniards*. But the *English* Ships did not sail until the Month of October; and, even at that Period, no particular Enterprize was determined on, but every Measure was left to the Direction of Men, who, in Reality, were

(o) Clarendon. V. 1. p. 46.—Kennet. p. 12, 13.—L'Estrange's History of Charles, the first. p. 17.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 109.

(p) Dugdale's Baronage. V. 2. p. 407.—Kennet. p. 13. Frankland's Annals.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2 p. 109.

were ignorant of the Nature of their Duty, and, shortly afterwards, became divided in their Sentiments (q).

The Lord *Wimbleton*, and his Associates sailed from *Plymouth*, on the seventh of *October*; in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five; but when they had proceeded some Leagues to Sea, the Ships were separated by a Storm, and did not arrive until after the Expiration of several Days; at the appointed Rendezvous off *Cape Saint Vincent*. On the nineteenth of *October*, a Council was assembled, and, in Pursuance of their Determinations to attack *Cadiz*, the Earl of *Essex*, on the twenty-second, stood into the Bay, where he found seventeen large Ships, and eight Gallies riding near the Town. These, he bravely attacked, but, for Want of proper Orders, and due Assistance, the *Spanish* Ships were suffered to retreat to *Port-Real*; whether the Lord-Marshal did not think fit to follow them. A Multitude of Troops then disembarked, and took the Fort of *Puntal*, after which Success, an Attempt was made against the Town. The Soldiers, having discovered a Quantity of Wine, continued to drink of it, until they became intoxicated, and so unfit for Service, that if the Enemy had vigilantly availed themselves of this Advantage, all their Assailants might have perished by the Sword. Alarmed at this Incident, the Officers endeavoured to reembark their Men; and when all had been conveyed on Board, it was determined to cruize off *Cape Saint Vincent*, for the Purpose of intercepting the Plate-Fleet.

At this Juncture, the Majority of the Troops were seized with Sickness, and in Consequence of the most extraordinary, and pernicious Order that could possibly have been issued, two of the violently distempered Persons

(q) See Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. Book 2.—
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals p. 110.

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sons were, under the Pretence of being carefully attended, put on board of each Ship, where the Infection spread to so inveterate a Degree, that scarcely a sufficient Number of Hands survived to navigate the Fleet to *England*. In the Month of *December*, these unfortunate Adventurers returned, with that accumulated Disgrace which was foreseen, and foretold, previous to their Departure from their own Country (*r*). Not long after they had landed, a Charge was exhibited against the General, by the Earl of *Essex*, and nine other Officers of Distinction, when the Lord *Wimbleton* attempted to exculpate himself, in a long Answer. These Memorials are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate that a Want of Experience, and Unanimity had proved the Ruin of the Expedition (*s*). Such Proceedings increased the popular Discontents, exposed the Duke to greater Odium, and lessened the Reputation of the naval Force of *England*; an Event which quickly produced, as, under like Circumstances, will always be the Case, a Train of Inconveniences.

The next naval Transaction which demands our Notice hath been related by an Officer who was present; and it is from his Manuscript that we lay it, without any material Alteration, before the Reader.

VOL. IV.

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(*r*) See the several Accounts of this Voyage in the Works of the Authors already cited.

(*s*) This Charge, and the Answer are printed in the Works of Lord Lansdowne. V. 2 p. 197. Edit. 1736. 12mo. The Reader who shall compare these with the Reflections of Sir William Monson on the Conduct of *Wimbleton*, will discern that this Lord is severely, and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling Councils, when he should have been acting; the Officers accusing him for having neglected to call Councils, and also acting without applying for Advice. It appears that he had no Idea of naval Service, and that his Officers were unwilling to obey him. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 111, 112.

On the seventh of *October*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-five, and about four in the Morning, the *Palgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Lion* anchored three Leagues to the Southward of *Surat Bar*. At Day-break, the Mariners within the Top descried Vessels riding at the Mouth of *Surat River*. These were, by some, supposed to be either *English*, or *Hollanders*; but others affirmed that they were a Fleet of Frigates. In an Hour afterwards, they set Sail, steering full towards us, when we discovered, by their Colours, that they were in the Service of *Portugal*. They were in Number nineteen, being four Galleons, and fifteen Frigates, which, as the Wind was unfavourable, could not yet reach us, but cast Anchor at the Distance of a League. Our Captain, perceiving their Design, made the Signal for a Consultation, and the Master of each Ship immediately repaired on Board.

At this Meeting (as it was afterwards reported by our Commander, Mr. *Richard Swanley*) Captain *Blish* remarked that it was expedient to set Sail, and stand off again to Sea, and thus deprive the Frigates of an Advantage. He added that if it should appear that our Ships sailed faster than the *Portuguese*, we must, instantly, direct our Course towards *Ormuz*; a Proceeding for which he advanced the following Reasons.

First, because he doubted whether the Enemy had a large Number of Vessels, in *Swalley-Road*.

Secondly, because he feared that our Merchants were not yet on Terms of Amity with the Natives; a Conjecture which he had too much Reason to form, as he had received authentic Intelligence that the Preparations of the *Dolphin*, for her Return to *England* had given general Disgust.

Thirdly, he was not well assured that the *Portuguese* had either made Peace with the *Gazurats*, or planted

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Ordnance on the Shore adjoining to the *Swalley-Sands*. He remained also in Doubt concerning the Fate of the Squadron, commanded by Captain *Weddel*, since he was confident that if, at that Juncture, any *English*, or *Dutch* Vessels were at Anchor in the *Swalley-Road*, they would not suffer the *Portuguese* to ride there. These Adversaries had directed their Hostilities against them; during the Course of the preceding Year; and he now supposed that the *Dutch*, and *English* had either gained some decisive Advantage; or wanting Ammunition, had proceeded for Succour to the Castle of *Ormuz*, where they intended to remain, until the necessary Supplies arrived from *England*.

The Signal was now made for sailing, and, with the Wind at *North*, our Ships stood out to Sea. At four, in the Afternoon, the *Portuguese* Admiral, and the Vice-Admiral-Ship, being a faster Sailer than the rest, approached the *Lion*, which was the headmost Vessel of our Fleet. The Admiral discharged at her one Piece of Ordnance, which was returned by four Shot, that did not reach a sufficient Distance, but dropped, useless, into the Water. The two Ships belonging to the Enemy kept up, during the Space of half an Hour, an incessant Fire against the *Lion*, at the Expiration of which Time, she had received several Shot, both in her Hull, and Rigging. The Master, *Richard Swanley*, perceiving that the Ordnance of the *Portuguese* did more Execution than his own, bore down so closely upon his Adversaries that they were obliged to have Recourse to Musquets; and it was during this Mode of engaging, which continued until Sun-set, that neither the *Lion*, nor her Crew were the least injured.

It must be remarked that for this Space of Time, and even an Hour afterwards, the other two adverse

Ships were at least a League astern ; whilst the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*, being right ahead, kept on their Course, and sometimes, discharged Pieces from their Gun-room Ports. The Enemy observing that they still stood away, came close along Side of the *Lion*, when an hundred Men, having Fire-pots, and other Instruments of Destruction in their Hands, leaped on Board, and threw them on the Decks. At the same Time, we were surrounded by several of the Frigates, which stuck Fire-pikes in the Sides of our Ship, all of which we fortunately, extinguished. Our Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, on the *Palsgrave*, and *Dolphin*, were quickly out of sight ; the Cause of which proceeding is best known unto themselves.

The Engagement continued from Eight, at Night, until the Hour of Eleven, during which Space of Time, *Richard Swanley*, our Master, and four of the Crew were slain. Twenty-three Persons, amongst whom must be included two of the Master's Mates were exceedingly burnt, and all the rest, lamenting over the Desertion of the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*, appeared driven to Despair. At this alarming Crisis, the Word was given to blow up the Ship, when, fortunately, some of the Crew let fall the Anchor, and, in the same Moment, the Tide running extremely strong, the grappling Irons which had been fixed to our Ship, by the *Portuguese* gave Way ; and thus we, for the present, were delivered from Destruction. Fifty of the Enemy were still left upon our Poops ; and as these persisted, with great Fury, to attack us, we were obliged to blow them up. During the Explosion, the Stern of our Ship, from the middle Deck upwards, was torn in Pieces.

When the *Portuguese* were effectually repulsed, and the Flames extinguished, we used all Diligence in

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Order to clear our Ship, and fix the Main-topfail-Yard, which then lay upon the Deck. Having succeeded in this Attempt, and also hoisted new Sails to supply the Place of the former which had been consumed by Fire, we waited, in painful Expectation that, at the next Tide, our Adversaries would return to the Attack. Concluding that the *Lion* would either have burnt to the Water's-Edge, or have sunk in the Bottom of the Ocean, the *Portuguese*, after having left five Frigates at a considerable Distance from us, gave Chace, with four Ships, to the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*. In a short Space of Time, they intercepted, and engaged them, during the succeeding Night. At Day-break, the contending Ships were not in Sight of us.

On the Morning of the eighth Day, and when it was still impossible to descry the *Palsgrave*, and the *Dolphin*, the Officers of our Ship agreed that *Henry Crossbey*, the first Mate, under the late Master, should assume the chief Command, until she might have the good Fortune to meet with Captain *Blithe*. As the Crew were too feeble to assist in heaving up the Anchor, Orders were given to cut the Cables, and, shortly afterwards, although with Difficulty, as much Sail was set as the *Lion* could well bear, her Fore-Mast being considerably damaged by the Shot fired from the Artillery of the *Portuguese*. In this distressful Situation, we stood out to Sea.

Four of the Frigates now directed their Course towards the Fleet, and the fifth bore away nearer to the Land. All this Day, we heard the Report of Cannon, but could not discern any of the contending Ships. At Night, we perceived the Flashes which accompanied their frequent Firings, from our Top-Mast-Head; but as our Vessels were to Windward, we could not reach them. Perhaps, such an Endeavour, under

any Circumstances, must have proved ineffectual, as the *Lion* was greatly shattered, and all our chief Men had been either killed, or severely wounded.

On the Morning of the ninth, and when we could neither observe the Ships, nor hear the Discharge of their Artillery, our Master judged it expedient that, in Pursuance of the Consultation holden on board the *Palsgrave*, two Days before, we should stand for *Ormus*. Thither, the Weather being favourable, we steered immediately; and, during the Passage, our Carpenter refitted the Stern of the Vessel, and several of the Men recovered of their Wounds.

On the fourth of *November*, we arrived at *Gombroon*, and received Intelligence from our Merchants that the Admiral *Rufero* was stationed, with eighteen Frigates, near the Isle of *Ormus*. To prepare against the Dangers which might ensue, the Master directed the Mariners to ease the Ship of a considerable Part of her Burthen, in order that she might mount her lower Tier of Guns. The Bales of Cloth, the Boxes of Coral, and three Chests of Money were immediately sent ashore, and secured within the Warehouses. Several valuable Articles were detained within the Ship, in Consequence of Directions from the Master, who observed that if any unfortunate Event should oblige him to quit the Port, some Treasure would be left for the Purpose of buying Provisions, and other Necessaries for the Crew. On the fifth Day, the Merchants, and the Purser waited on the Sultan, from whom they obtained an Order that we should be supplied with Boats, and that our Casks should be replenished with Water, of which last Article we, on the seventh of *November*, procured an ample Quantity.

On the Day following, and at the first Appearance of the Morning, *Rufero*, with his Frigates, rowed towards

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wards the *Lion*. As the Weather was extremely calm, it was impossible to work her, and she was so stationed, that only her Stern-Chasers could play upon the Frigates. These, however, were discharged in so successful, and unerring a Direction, that two of their Frigates were sunk before their Crews could board the *Lion*, and two more shared the same Fate, soon after they had dropped along-side of her. The *Portuguese* who had leaped on board the Ship, began a furious Attack, with a general Discharge of small Arms, and, immediately, threw around such Quantities of Fire-works, that, in a Moment, the Masts, Sails, and Upper Deck of the *Lion* were in Flames, and in less than half an Hour fell down upon the Combatants. The Confusion of the *English*, who saw Death on every side, is not to be described. Some leaped overboard, and trusted to the Mercy of their Enemies; but the rest set Fire to the Powder-Room, and blew up the Ship. The Men who jumped into the Ocean were all taken by the Boats belonging to the Frigates, and carried to the Isle of *Ormus*. On the following Morning, *Rufaro* gave Orders that the Heads of all the Prisoners, excepting *Thomas Winterburne*, should be cut off. This Person received his Life, and Liberty, that he might convey a Letter from *Rufaro*, to the Merchants at *Gombroon*. The Number of the *English* who were instantly executed upon the Spot, amounted to twenty-six. Forty two, blown up in the Ship, which afterwards was driven ashore, were buried at *Gombroon*; and nine escaped, having been employed, at Land, in managing the Business of the *Persia* Company.

We now proceed to inform the Reader that even at the Period when the popular Murmurs excited by the Miscarriage of the Enterprize against *Cadiz* had not subsided, the Duke of *Buckingham* fell into a second

Error, whilst he enjoyed the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*. He was equally concerned, and incensed by reiterated Complaints that the Merchant-Ships had been delivered to the *French*, and employed against *Rochelle* (t). He, therefore, took Occasion, at the Close of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-six, to cause the Seizure of a *French* Ship, named the *Saint Peter*, and belonging to the Port of *Havre*. The Pretence was that her Cargo consisted of *Spanish* Effects; a Circumstance which the *French* positively denied, affirming, at the same Time, that all the Goods within the Ship were the Property of either their own Merchants, or those of *England*, and *Holland* (u). In Consequence of this Measure, Commissioners were appointed to investigate the Circumstances which related to it; and when they had resolved that the Capture was illegal, the Ship, pursuant to a proper Order, was, at length, released; but not before the King of *France* had made some Reprisals; an Event which irritated the Nation, and gave Rise to one Article in the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham (x). The Point was, notwithstanding, compromised between the two Sovereigns, and the good

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(t) Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this Distaste conceived by the Duke against the French. He observes that Cardinal Richlieu duped both the Dutch, and English, by pretending to execute a very feasible Scheme for the Purpose of preventing the Spaniards from sending any Supplies into Germany. It was under this Plea, that he procured the Ships of the former, and then employed them against the Rochellers.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 112.

(u) Kennet's Compleat History of England, V. 3. p. 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112.

(x) It is the fifth Article of the Impeachment. The Duke, in his Answer, drawn up by Sir Nicholas Hyde, justifies himself very plausibly.

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Correspondence of their Subjects restored for a considerable Space of Time; yet, at the Bottom, this Reconciliation was far from being cordial; and soon the Quarrel, like a Wound ill-cured, broke out with more alarming Symptoms (*y*).

The War in which the King had engaged, in Order that he might procure the Restitution of the Palatinate to his Brother-in-Law, had drawn him into a League with *Denmark*, which obliged him to send a Squadron of Ships to the Assistance of the Sovereign of that Country. As the first Succours had proved of little Service, *Charles* was called upon for additional Supplies. At this Period, the Parliaments were averse from a Compliance with his Demands, because he refused to banish from his Presence the Duke of *Buckingham*. Their Reluctance in facilitating his Views compelled him to recur to such Measures as, in the Opinion of his Lawyers, were strictly justifiable. Amongst various Expedients, he obliged all the Sea-Ports to furnish him with Ships. From the City of *London*, he demanded twenty, and required a proportionable Contribution from other Places.

This Proceeding was regarded by the Inhabitants as an intolerable Grievance, and Multitudes, who had no immediate Dependance on Commerce, deserted their Residence within the maritime Towns, and retired to the inland Districts of the Country. Their Conduct rendered the Burthen of those who stayed behind still more oppressive; and the Result of their Remonstrances was a Proclamation requiring those Individuals who had quitted the Sea-Coast, to return instantly to their former Dwellings. Such was the misguided Policy which

(*y*) Rushworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112, 113.

which led to the first Disturbances of this unhappy Reign (z). They were quickly increased by the rash Management of *Buckingham*, who, at the Time when he perceived his Sovereign embarrassed by Wars which had already been declared, involved him, not less absurdly, than precipitately, in a Rupture with the Court of *France*.

The foreign Servants of the Queen, attached, with a Degree of Bigotry, to the *Catholic* Religion, had not only proceeded to unwarrantable Lengths for the Propagation of their Faith, but prevailed on their royal Mistress to embrace Measures which were at once culpable, and ridiculous. On the first of *July*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-six, *Charles*, yielding to the Persuasions of *Buckingham*, dismissed the foreign Domestics of the Queen, and immediately sent the Lord *Carleton*, invested with the Rank of Ambassador, to *Paris*, that he might acquaint *Lewis* with the Reasons of so abrupt a Measure (a). That Monarch refused to grant him Audience, and eager to give Proofs of his Resentment, issued Orders for the immediate Seizure of one hundred, and twenty *English* Ships, which were then riding at Anchor within his Harbours. He also turned his Arms against *Rochelle*, notwithstanding that he had listened, not long before, to the Overtures of *Charles*, who had interposed as a Mediator between *Lewis*, and his *Protestant* Sub-

(z) Kennet, V. 3. p. 28.—Frankland's Annals, p. 206, 207.—Whitlocke, p. 78.—Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 415, 416.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 113.

(a) Hammond L'Estrange's History of Charles, the first, p. 58, 59.—Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 31.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, Book 4. p. 129, 130.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

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Subjects (b). These last now applied to the King of *England*, who directed that a Fleet, consisting of thirty Sail, should immediately be equipped, for their Relief. The Command of this naval Armament was given to the Earl of *Denbigh*, who, not departing until the Month of *October*, found it impracticable to execute his Commission; and, therefore, after having continued, during some Time, at Sea, exposed to tempestuous Weather, he returned, attended by all the Ships, into the Harbour. This Event not only frustrated the View of *Charles*, but cast a Blemish on his Honour. The Inhabitants of *Rochelle* suspected the Sincerity of his Intentions, and doubted whether he had seriously proposed, at any Time, to furnish them with Succours (c).

The Duke of *Buckingham*, determined to leave the Point beyond Dispute, assembled a formidable Fleet, and levied a Body of Troops, amounting to seven thousand Men, in the Summer of the succeeding Year. With these, as Admiral, and Commander in Chief, he sailed, from *Portsmouth*, on the twenty-seventh of *June*, and disembarked on the Isle of *Rhe*. He had, at first, resolved to make a Descent on *Oleron*, and even promised the Duke of *Soubize* that it should be a leading Object of his Enterprize. It was this Nobleman who proceeded early to *Rochelle*, and informed the Inhabitants that the *English* Fleet, and Army, were hastening

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(b) Dupleix Histoire de Louis le Juste, p. 202.—Le Gendre. Histoire de France, Tom. 5. p. 174.—Aubrey. Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richlieu, Paris, 1660. fol. 54. 2. Chap. 11.—Rushworth, V. 1. p. 424.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

(c) Kennet, V. 2. p. 29.—L'Estrange's History of Charles, the first, p. 63.—Frankland's Annals.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

to their Relief. They received this News with more Indifference, than Satisfaction. Multitudes had been corrupted by Bribes from the King of *France*; and others had conceived such terrifying Ideas of his Power that they were at a Loss whether they should resolve to join those approaching Succours which they had earnestly demanded (*d*).

The Duke landed his Troops, on the thirty-first of *July*, yet not without a violent Opposition from *De Teyras*, the *French* Governour, whom he forced to retire, although with some Loss. On this Occasion, the *English* fell into a Train of Errors, almost similar to those which they had committed during the Expedition against *Cádiz*. The Fort of *La Prè*, which covered the Landing-Place, they shamefully neglected, notwithstanding that the *French* themselves had left it, in the Alarm of Fear, exposed to Adversaries who might have taken it, without Resistance. Of such Consequence was the Place, that if it had fallen into the Hands of the *English*, they might have prevented the *French* from introducing Supplies. We learn that, at first, the Court of *Paris* became exceedingly alarmed, and even *Lewis* sickened with Concern; but their Terrors were much diminished, when they heard that *Buckingham*, a mean Proficient either in the naval, or the military Arts, was too proud to take the Counsels of those who understood them better.

Having speedily reduced the Town of *Saint Martin*, the Commander in Chief prepared to invest the Citadel;

(*d*) Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 426. — Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, Book 4. p. 132. — Sir Richard Grenville's Journal of the Expedition to the Isle of Rhee, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-seven. — Lord Lansdowne's Works, V. 3. p. 246. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114, 115.

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del; and soon afforded glaring Proofs that he was unequal to the Management of a Siege. At first, he quartered his Troops around the Place, without forming an Intrenchment, to which he afterwards was under the Necessity of recurring. He, next, entered into Conferences with the Governour, and refused to communicate the Substance of them to his Officers; thus discouraging the Troops, and enabling the *French* to deceive him by a fictitious Treaty; whilst, during the pretended Negotiations for its Accomplishment, the Fort received a considerable Supply. The *Rochellers* now declared for the *English*; a Confidence not less untimely with regard to themselves, than their former Suspicion of their Allies. Their Proceedings, added to the Expectation of Succours from *England*, which were to be sent to him, under the Command of the Earl of *Holland*, engaged *Buckingham* to remain so long within his Camp, that his Troops were much diminished.

At length, on the sixth of *November*, he made a general Assault, when it appeared that the Place was impregnable; at least, to Forces in the Situation of the *English*. Two Days afterwards, he resolved upon a Retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the Expedition. It was made, in the Sight of an Enemy as powerful with Regard to Infantry, and more numerous in Cavalry, than his own Army, over a narrow Causeway, surrounded on each Side, by Salt-Pits; yet no Precaution was taken either by erecting a Fort, or even by throwing up an Intrenchment to cover the Entrance of the Passage. So fatal were the Consequences of this Error, that Numbers, exposed to the Artillery, and small Arms of the Enemy, unfortunately perished. The most authentic Accounts inform us that amongst these were fifty Officers, of different Ranks,

Ranks, two thousand common Soldiers, and twenty-five Volunteers of distinguished Quality. With equal Shame, and Loss; therefore, the Duke concluded this inglorious Expedition, and, on the ninth of the same Month, embarked his Forces; after having solemnly assured the Inhabitants of *Rochelle*, that he would return to their Relief; a Promise which he did not live to execute. To compleat his Misfortune; as he entered *Plymouth* Harbour, he met the Earl of *Holland*; sailing out with the promised Succours. This Lord, and all his Forces, immediately returned. In whatever Light we view the Expedition to *Rochelle*, whether with Regard to its immediate Effects, or to its future Consequences, we must allow that of all others; at this particular Period, it was the most fatal, and disgraceful. To the King, it proved extensively prejudicial, whilst it accelerated the Ruin of the Duke of *Buckingham*. As their Ships had been impressed, the Merchants were discouraged from carrying on their Commerce; and so inadequate was the Money within the Treasury to the Discharge of Wages demanded by the Seamen, that they flocked in Multitudes to *Whitehall*, and disturbed the Sovereign with their Clamours (e).

To remedy these Evils, a Parliament was assembled, at the Commencement of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight; but, as the sole Business of the Sessions was confined to Disputes between the Monarch, and the Commons, it was, at length, prorogued; without a Grant of the Supplies. In Spite of these afflict-

(e) Kennet, V. 3. p. 38, 39, 40.—Whitlocke, p. 9 — L'Estrange's History of Charles the First, p. 68, 69, 70, 71. —Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. —Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 115, 116, 117.

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flitting Disappointments, *Charles* exerted his Power to the utmost, and prepared a naval Force, in Order to fulfil the Promises which the Duke of *Buckingham* had made to the Inhabitants of *Rochelle*. With this View, a Fleet of fifty Sail was assembled, in the Spring, when a large Body of Marines embarked. The Command of the whole Armament was given, through the Interest of *Buckingham*, to his Brother-in-Law, the Earl of *Denbigh*, who sailed from *England*, on the seventeenth of *April*, and anchored in the Road of *Rochelle*, on the first of *May*. At his Arrival, he discovered twenty Sail of *French* Ships, riding in the Harbour; and being much superiour in Number, and Strength, he sent Advice, into the Town, that he would sink those Vessels as soon as the Wind veered to the *West*, and made a higher Flood. On the eighth of *May*, the Wind, and Tide served accordingly, and the *Rocheliers* expected, and solicited that Deliverance. But the Earl, without remembering his Promise, or embracing the Opportunity, weighed Anchor, and sailed away, suffering four of the *French* Ships to chace his Fleet, which arrived at *Plymouth*, on the twenty-sixth of *May* (f).

This second disgraceful Expedition was felt by the deluded Inhabitants of *Rochelle*, whilst the *English* beheld with equal Fear, and Jealousy, the rapid, and successful Progress of a *Roman-Catholic* Faction in the Court. One *Le Brun*, a *Frenchman*, but a Captain in the Fleet serving under the Earl of *Denbigh*, gave in, on the sixteenth of *May*, before the Mayor of *Plymouth*, Depositions which argued Treachery, or apparent Cowardice, during the Management of the late Enterprise. This Account was certified by that Magistrate, and two Burgeßes of the Town, in Parliament, by whom

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 117, 118.

whom it was communicated to the Council, who addressed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord High-Admiral of *England*, a Letter, dated on the thirtieth of *May*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight, to signify his Majesty's Pleasure that the Earl of *Denbigh* should return to the Relief of *Rochelle*, with the Fleet under his Charge, and with other Ships, prepared at *Portsmouth*, and at *Plymouth*. Yet, notwithstanding the Order, no Fleet returned, neither were any Inquiries made concerning the Occasion of so singular a Disobedience (g).

In Spite of these repeated Miscarriages, such appeared the national Indignation, and Complaints, and so earnest were the Supplications of the *Rochellers*, that it was deemed absolutely necessary to equip a third Fleet, for the Relief of their City, which, in Consequence of a close Siege, was now reduced to the last Extremity. The Duke of *Buckingham* chose to command this Armament, in Person, and, therefore, repaired immediately to *Portsmouth*. On the twenty-third of *August*, having breakfasted with *Soubize*, and the general Officers, he rose, and drew nearer to the Door. Whilst he advanced, and conversed with Sir *Thomas Frier*, one *Felton*, (late a Lieutenant of a Regiment of Foot, under Sir *John Ramsay*,) placed himself in the Entry, and reaching his Arm over the Shoulder of Sir *Thomas*, thrust a Knife into the Heart of *Buckingham*, who, immediately extracted this Instrument of Death, with his own Hand, and having uttered the Words "*the Villain hath killed me*," fell down, and expired on the Spot. *Felton* slipped away, and might have escaped undiscovered,

(g) Kennet, V. 3. p. 48.—Memoirs of the Duke of Roban, p. 171.—Whitlocke, p. 10.—Frankland's Annals. Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 586, 587.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 118.

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vered, but that either his Conscience, or his Insolence betrayed him. Whilst the general Rumour prevailed that the Murderer must be a *Frenchman*, and several began to suspect that *Soubize* was a Party concerned in it, *Felton* stepped forward, and exclaimed, “*I am the Man who did the Deed; let no Person suffer that is innocent.*” He had no sooner made this Confession, than he was apprehended, and conveyed a Prisoner to *London* (b).

Whatsoever might have been the Feelings of *Charles*, when he was informed of the Death of *Buckingham*, it is certain that his Eagerness for the Renewal of the Enterprize, in Favour of the Inhabitants of *Rockelle*, appeared more augmented, than diminished. On the Day following, the King appointed the Earl of *Lindsay*, Admiral, and *Monson*, and *Mountjoy*, Vice, and Rear-Admirals. We learn, from an illustrious Writer (i), that the Care, and Presence of *Charles* had so happy an Effect in facilitating the Preparations for the Voyage that more Expedition was used in the Course of ten Days, than during several of the preceding Weeks. This Circumstance is an incontestable Proof of two Facts, concerning which several of our Historians have expressed their Doubts; and these are, first, that the King was sincere, and zealous in his Views; and, secondly, that the *Rochellers* were convinced of the Rectitude of his Intentions. The Enterprize was, notwithstanding, as unfortunate as the former. The Earl

VOL. IV.

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(b) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119.

(i) Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, p. 188.—At this Period, his Brother, the Duke of Soubize, was in England, and on the Spot; consequently, he must have been an Eye-Witness of the great Preparations made, as well as of the unusual Diligence exerted on this Occasion.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119.

of *Lindsay* departed, with the Armament, from *England*, on the eighth of *September*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight, and arriving before *Rochelle*, discovered that a Mole, which was full a Mile in Extent, had been thrown across the Harbour, and that the City was closely blockaded on every Side. He made several ineffectual Attempts to force a Passage into the Harbour; and, at last, on the eighteenth of *October*, the Inhabitants, who had long languished under the Severities of Famine, were glad to accept of Terms from their own Prince, and actually surrendered. At this Juncture, the *English* were at Hand, yet unable to assist them; and to render their Reduction still more afflicting, in the Night, after the City had been delivered up, the Sea made a Breach sufficiently wide to have given Entrance to the largest Vessel in the *British* Fleet (*k*). With this Expedition, ended the Operations of the War against *France*; yet a Peace was not concluded, until the succeeding Year (*l*).

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(*k*) Frankland's Annals, p. 338.—Kenner, V. 3. p. 49.—Rushworth, V. 1. p. 635.—L'Estrange's History of Charles the First, V. 1. p. 93.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, p. 190.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119, 120.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 19. p. 66—86.—In Rushworth's Collections, under the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-nine, and at the fourth Page, the Reader will find a long, and pathetic Letter, addressed, by the Duke of Rohan, to the King, and imploring his farther Aid on the Behalf of the reformed Churches in France, prior to the Treaty of Peace; but Charles (as he informed that Nobleman in his Answer,) having been constrained to dissolve the Parliament, from whom he expected Supplies, recommended that (since he was incapable of assisting them,) they should make the most advantageous Terms in their Power, with the Court of France.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 120.

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(*m*) Sir Pete

We now enter on the Relation of an Engagement between six *English* Frigates; under the Command of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and two *Venetian* Galeasses, two Gallions of the same Nation, and several *French* Ships. As the Writer (*m*) is rather singular in his Description, we shall present them to the Reader; from his own Words.

"Sir *Kenelm Digby*, being authorized by his Majesty's special Commission, under the Great Seal of *England*; for a Design against the *French*, then his Majesty's Enemies; (the Period of which Design pointed at those Parts;) with six Ships, of which his own went Admiral, after many Encounters by the Way, came, on the tenth of *June*; i. e. the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-eight, before *Cape Conjure*; where he lay at Hull, fair all that Night. The Cape is about ten Miles from *Scanderoon*; whence, on the Morrow; in the Afternoon; he sent his Boat, well armed; to descry the Road, and to bring him some Intelligence. This the Men did; the next Morning, having met with some *Venetian* Boats that were fishing, with which *Venetians*, they passed for *Maltese*; for; there were in Sir *Kenelm's* Boat; *Maltese*, and *Greeks*, They brought Word that there were at Anchor, in the Road; two *Venetian* Galeasses; two other Gallions, two *English* Ships, and four *French* Vessels, one of which came in the Day before, being very rich, and having as yet unladen nothing. Sir *Kenelm* spent all the following Night, in overseeing the Preparations for Fight, and Firing in his several Ships; for that he expected a fierce Onset, the next Day, from the *Venetians*, who had declared themselves the Guardians of that Road, and were reported to have given out that they would

P. 2

"sink

(*m*) Sir Peter Wyche's Dispatches.

“ sink all the *English* Men of War which they should
 “ meet, either in their own, or in the *Grand Signior’s*
 “ Seas. Which Peremptoriness, if true, including an
 “ Intent of Dishonour to the Nation, could not but
 “ exasperate any true *English* Spirit, especially of the
 “ nobler Sort. This moved not yet Sir *Kenelm* to any
 “ Violence of Passion, but that with a careful Tem-
 “ per, and discreet Judgment, he prepared himself, and
 “ fitted his Ships, at all Points, for all Occasions.”

“ And here, although it be a Digression, since it may
 “ be worth an Observation, (especially with the Cu-
 “ rious,) let me insert a Report of his own, with a Pre-
 “ face of his Protestation, that he was neither so sim-
 “ ple, or superstitious, as vainly to build a Faith upon
 “ any way of Divination, such as the *Sortis Virgilianæ*,
 “ which the Ancients much relied upon, and of which
 “ the *Roman* Histories have many strange Examples,
 “ that make them seem no less than Oracles. Yet,
 “ thus it happened to Sir *Kenelm*, that being wearied
 “ with Cares, and desirous to sleep upon the Poop, un-
 “ til the Wind might serve to bring them in, amongst
 “ other Cogitations, the Remembrance of these *Sortes*
 “ intermixed itself; and, by Accident, one that was
 “ near him was reading *Virgil*, which Sir *Kenelm* tak-
 “ ing, having first conceived the Chance of a Number,
 “ for the Verse which he should take, upon that Leaf
 “ where he opened the Book, these two following pre-
 “ sented themselves :

*Æneas, celsa in Puppi jam certus eundi,
 Carpebat Somnos, Rebus jam rite paratis.*

“ Which falling out to fit to the present Circum-
 “ stances, and the Relations which they had to the
 “ *Trojan’s* ensuing Fortunes, was received betwixt
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“ Jest, and Earnest, for a very good Omen, and became
 “ the Instrument of an Encouragement, by being made
 “ the Conclusion of a short Speech to his Men ; for it
 “ seemed to confirm their Resolutions, and prevent the
 “ Disturbance of them, by any Dispute that might
 “ arise concerning the Justness of Sir *Kenelm*’s Design,
 “ and Proceedings (n).”

“ But his Judgment took another Course for the
 “ strengthening of his Cause, and that the Justice of it
 “ might the better command the Attendance of Suc-
 “ cess, (respecting, notwithstanding, his Honour, be-
 “ fore any public Safety, which might tend to Disre-
 “ putation,) he sent a previous Message to the *Venetian*
 “ General, (the Galeasses having weighed Anchor, and
 “ being come within half a League of his Ships,) in-
 “ forming him that his Voyage of Warfare was by his
 “ Majesty’s Commission, and giving him Assurance of
 “ all Respect, and Friendship, and that the *French*
 “ were the only Objects of his Attempt, for which he
 “ had a sufficient Warrant. To the two *English* Ships
 “ he likewise sent Letters, to settle the Disquiet which
 “ he conceived their Fears had put them in, and to give

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“ them

(n) A similar Circumstance is related in Welwood’s Me-
 moirs concerning Charles, the first, and the Lord Falkland,
 who both tried the *Sortes Virgilianæ*. Being obliged to write
 this Note from Memory, I cannot insert the striking Passage
 which is mentioned to have presented itself to Falkland. The
 Lines on which the King dipped are these :

“ Hæc Finis Priami Fatorum, hic Exitus illum
 “ Sorte tulit, Trojam incensam, et prolapsa videntem
 “ Pergama tot quondam Populis, Terrisque superbum
 “ Regnatorem Asiæ ; jacet ingens Littæ Truncus,
 “ Avulsamque Humeris Caput, et sine Nomine Corpus.”

The little Faith which we can place on these Relations will
 not incline us to impose on the Credulity of the Reader.

" them Satisfaction that his Business was no Way to
 " disturb their Negotiations. But before Sir *Kenelm's*
 " Messengers could return on Board to deliver the An-
 " swer, the Admiral-Galleas of the *Venetians* discharged
 " seven, or eight Shot, the first of which, alighting
 " short, was received as a Salute, and accordingly re-
 " turned by the Discharge of a Piece of Ordnance;
 " but some of the rest hitting his Ship, and one Shot
 " his Flag, together with the Arrival, and Informa-
 " tion of the Messenger, rendered the Designs of the
 " *Venetians* more known. Sir *Kenelm*, to convince them
 " that his long Forbearance was no Apprehension of
 " the Fear which he had of their Strength, and Ad-
 " vantage, but a Strengthening of the Justice of his
 " Cause, gave them three, or four Broadfides, in a
 " very short Space of Time, which did so much Spoil,
 " both to the *French*, and the *Venetians*, (who found
 " Pretence, by this Time, that their Quarrel was the
 " Protection of the *French*, which they had underta-
 " ken,) that they were forced to retire, and fight at a
 " more wary Distance. In the mean Time, Sir
 " *Kenelm* played so well upon their Galleons, that the
 " Men stowed themselves under the Hold, and left the
 " Vessels to their Fortune, without any Guidance.
 " The Galeasses, then coming up to their Succour, re-
 " ceived such a rude Welcome that they rode away to
 " shelter themselves under the *English* Ships that lay in
 " the Road; which Policy was a sure Defence to them,
 " for, Sir *Kenelm* was so cautious that he would rather
 " lose an Opportunity of offending his Enemies, than
 " take hold of it, to the Offence of his Countrymen.
 " The Galeasses thus leaving the Action to be Witnesses
 " of it only at that safe Distance, the Galleons were
 " in great Danger, their Men being stowed under
 " Hatches; but that Sir *Kenelm*, directing all his En-
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"deavours against the *French*, from whom he had received the most Damage, gave way to their Quiet, without much Disturbance, more than what proceeded from their own Fears, and perceiving the *French* to come up close, their Ships being burly Vessels, some having six and twenty Pieces of Ordnance, he first directed his two lesser Ships to deal with them, but quickly taking Notice of the Advantage, sent the Rear-Admiral to their Succour, by which Means the three Ships boarded, and took each of them a several Prize, the fourth *French* Ship being run aground at the Beginning of the Fight, to which this Success gave an End, after three Hours."

"It is remarkable that, in this Fight, not one of Sir *Kenelm's* Men received a Hurt to Death; and of the *Venetians*, and *French*, there were slain ninety-nine Persons, of whom one was Commander of the *Venetian* Land-Forces, a brave, and generous Man, whose Loss was much lamented by them, and pitied by Sir *Kenelm*. The Admiral-Galleys of the *Venetians* was the only one of those four which the *Venetians* lent to the King of *Spain*, that returned from the Battle of the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, where he fought with Sir *Martin Frobisher*, in the *Triumph*, belonging to Queen *Elizabeth*, whilst the other three were sunk, or fired, since when she hath been preserved, by putting in of new Pieces where Need required, (as they say the *Athenians* did by the Galley of *Salamines*,) so that now nothing of her was remaining of those Times but the Mould."

"This Action, and Success of Sir *Kenelm's*, although perhaps clear in itself, became questionable by the Ministers of the *Grand Signior*, through the Complaints of the *French*, and *Venetians*, so that the Ba-

“ *shaw* of *Aleppo*, and the *Cadi* of *Scanderoon* took Hold
 “ of the Occasion to practice, and exact a Fine from
 “ the *English* Merchants, taking also from the *English*
 “ Consul, at *Aleppo*, a large Sum, which he, through
 “ Fear of the Retention of any Ship, delivered, with-
 “ out much Resistance, and so appeased, and calmed
 “ that Ruggedness which, notwithstanding, proved af-
 “ terwards an Aggravation in other Causes.”

“ For, shortly afterwards, one *William Bundock*,
 “ Captain of an *English* Ship, called the *Safe-Bonaven-*
 “ *ture*, having lain some Time at *Zant*, and within
 “ the Harbour, went out to Sea, for Purchase, and fell
 “ upon a Ship trading betwixt *Messina*, and *Malta*, that
 “ belonged to *Haggi Cassum*, *Cosmo Orlando*, and other
 “ Subjects of the *Grand Signior*, and had Letters of
 “ safe Conduct from the *Imperial Port*. Of this Ship,
 “ Captain *Bundock* made a Prize, and a Complaint ar-
 “ rived at the *Port*, to a sudden Disturbance of Sir
 “ *Peter Wyche*, the *English* Ambassador there residing.
 “ This Complaint made the more Noise, for that the
 “ *Chimacham*, *Captain Bashaw*, and other principal Mi-
 “ nisters, pretended themselves interested therein, hav-
 “ ing committed Monies to the Charge of the Captain
 “ of the Ship taken, for the Redemption of *Turkish*
 “ Captives, at *Messina*, *Malta*, and other Places. For
 “ this particular Pleading, with their Aptness to make
 “ any Thing a Cause for Practices upon Strangers, the
 “ *Vizir* sent his express Command for the Detention
 “ of two *English* Ships, then in the *Port*, called the
 “ *London*, and the *William*, so to compel a Restitution.
 “ On this Occasion, the Ambassador went to the Court
 “ of the *Grand Signior*, and, after much arguing, and
 “ a second Visit to the principal Ministers, when he
 “ made it appear what a Disrespect it would be to his
 “ Majesty of *England*, and how unjust it would seem
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“ to the World, a Release was obtained for the present,
 “ but without any final Determination.”

“ The Ambassador, in this Business, made Use of all
 “ fair Endeavours, and Policies, for the gaining of
 “ Time, until his Delays bringing him into some Sus-
 “ picion of Neglect, the *Janizaries* a-new incensed the
 “ *Vizir*, by reviving it with a Pretence of Loss, which
 “ they received by *Bundock*, and procured a peremptory
 “ Order that all should instantly be made good. When
 “ this Order was notified to the Ambassador, by a
 “ *Chiaus*, he sent his Reply by a *Druggerman*. This
 “ Proceeding, notwithstanding, gave no Satisfaction to
 “ the Passion of the *Vizir*, who, to insinuate himself
 “ with the *Janizaries*, gave Way to most of their Out-
 “ rages, so that the Ambassador to prevent his House
 “ from being assaulted, was forced to give five hundred
 “ Dollars amongst the *Janizaries*; and thus all was
 “ calmed again, until some following Accidents of this
 “ Nature revived the Memory of it.”

We now proceed to the Relation of those afflicting
 Circumstances in which eight Men (e) who had acci-
 dentally been left at *Greenland*, were involved during
 the Space of nearly nine Months. Towards the Mid-
 dle of *August*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred,
 and thirty, the Captain of these unfortunate Voyagers
 commanded them to disembark, and endeavour to pro-
 cure Venison for their Ship-Mates. Such was their
 Success that, during the Space of two Days, they killed
 more than twenty Deer. On the Morrow, they loaded
 their Shallop, and prepared for their Departure; but
 scarcely

(e) These were, William Fakely, a Gunner; Edward
 Pelham, his Mate; John Wise, and Robert Goodfellow,
 Seamen; Thomas Ayres, Whale-Cutter; Henry Bett,
 Cooper; John Dawes, and Richard Kellet, Landmen.

scarcely had they left the Shore, when they discovered that the Captain had stood out to Sea, in Order to extricate his Vessel from the stupendous Heap of Ice which had been already driven upon the Coast. They now threw their Venison overboard, and hastened towards *Bell-Sound*, the appointed Rendezvous of all the *English* Ships, which, at that Period, were engaged amidst the Fisheries of *Greenland*. To this Place, they unfortunately lost their Passage; an Event which must be ascribed to the Obstinacy of one of their Associates, who affirmed that it was situated considerably to the *Southward*. The rest discovered the Error when it was too late; and all the *Greenland* Fleet had sailed for *England*.

They were now left in a Country destitute of the Necessaries of Existence, without Food, or sufficient Raiment to defend themselves against the Severity of the Climate. At this alarming Juncture, they unanimously resolved to exert their utmost Endeavours for their own Preservation, and to oppose, with Hope, and Fortitude, the baneful Influence of Despair. It was agreed that they should avail themselves of that favourable Weather which yet lasted, and proceed to *Green Harbour*, for the Purpose of obtaining Venison to subsist on during the approaching Winter. Arriving there, on the twenty-fifth of *August*, they repaired, at an early Hour of the next Morning, to *Cole's Park*, which was distant from the Harbour nearly two Leagues, and, at Night, returned with seven Deer, and four Bears.

Emboldened by Success, they visited the Place again, and were so fortunate as to destroy a larger Number of these Animals, with all of which they came back, in Safety, to the Harbour. From hence, having loaded another Shallop, which had been left by the *English*, with the boiled Greaves of Whales, they departed for

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Bell-Sound, where the Convenience of a large Tent, or Shed of Boards, erected for the Lodging, and Accommodation of the Coopers, invited them to make Preparations for a Winter-Residence. On the Passage, they were benighted; and when they had run their Boats a-ground, and taken the few Precautions in their Power to secure them, they marched into the adjacent Country, for the Purpose of discovering some comfortable Shelter from the intense Cold. At the Appearance of the next Morning, they returned, and observed that not only their Boats were driven from the Fastenings, but that the Venison had been washed over-board, and was lying on the Shore.

The Weather of the Day following (the third of *September*,) was so clear that they perceived their Provisions, and, having collected them together, launched the Boats, and rowed towards *Bell-Sound*, where, on their Arrival, they engaged in the Construction of an habitable Building. The large Tent (already mentioned,) was eighty Feet, in Length, and fifty in Breadth. Within it, and out of the Materials of a smaller Shed, which they had levelled to the Ground, they built a warm Room, the exterior Part of which was fenced around with Boards, Bricks, and Lime. In Length, it was twenty Feet, in Breadth sixteen; and in Height, ten. They next divided it into small Cabins, the Beds of which were composed of dried Deer-Skins. For Fire-Wood, they made Use of empty Casks, and the Planks of old Shallops, several of which had been left ashore by the Crews belonging to the *English* Vessels.

During the Course of some Months, their Minds were tortured by the Fears of perishing for Want of Food. Their Provisions were insufficient to support them until the Arrival of the Fleet, nor did they entertain a Hope that, in so miserable a Region, any Sustainance

tenance could be procured. They now reduced themselves to three scanty Meals, each Week, on Bear, and Venison. Mouldy Fritters, and the corrupted Greaves of Whales were, at other Times, their only Aliment. They next felt a melancholy Addition to their Calamities, by the Absence of the Sun, which did not shine upon the Country from the fourteenth of *October*, until the third of *February*. During a Part of this distressful Period, a faint glimmering of Light might be observed daily, for an inconsiderable Space of Time; but, between the first, and the twentieth of *December*, they were involved in Darkness.

Towards the Close of *January*, these desponding Sufferers were revisited by returning Day-light, which gleamed dimly during the Space of nearly eight Hours. They hastened to examine their Provisions, and were alarmed to find that the whole Stock was too considerably diminished to last longer than the Term of six Weeks. At length the Weather became tolerably fair, and the Creatures which were fit for Food, now ventured from their Coverts. Rejoiced at their Appearance, the *English* issued from a wretched Habitation, in Search of Sustenance. They were so fortunate as to kill seven Bears, and two Sea-Horses. In Traps, they caught fifty Foxes, thirty Fowls, resembling Ducks, in Size, Form, and Plumage; and, likewise, sixty Birds, as large as Pigeons. On these, they fared luxuriously.

In the Morning of the twenty fifth of *May*, two Ships, belonging to the Port of *Hull*, cast Anchor in the Sound. One of the Commanders, who recollected that some *Englishmen* had been left ashore, ordered several of the Crew to disembark, and walk, over the Snow, to the great Shed, for the humane Purpose of relieving these Sufferers, if they continued yet alive. They

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 237

were on the Point of lifting up their daily Prayers to the ALMIGHTY, within their Chamber, when one of their Associates, who was endeavouring to repair a damaged Part of the exterior Building, exclaimed, with Transport, "*our Deliverers are come.*" Amidst the first Violence of their Joy, all Devotion was forgotten; but, at length, deeply penetrated with a Sense of their Felicity, they burst into Tears of Gratitude, and, falling on their Knees, returned Thanks to the GREAT FOUNTAIN OF MERCY for that which they had received.

Eager to quit the Land, they repaired immediately on board of one of the *Hull* Ships, where they waited for the Arrival of the *London* Fleet, with which they afterwards returned to *England*, and were rewarded by the *Muscovy* Company, in whose Service they had endured such complicated Misfortunes (p).

At this Period, the *French* became ambitious of introducing within their Harbours a formidable naval Armament, and beheld with equal Jealousy, and Concern, the Augmentation of the Fleets of *England*. The Proceedings of the Court of *Paris* took their Rise from the deep Politics of *Richlieu*, the Minister who had most effectually investigated the Nature of the Interests of each *European* Power, and who could lead them under a Subserviency to the Views of *France*. He it was also who induced the *Swedes* to destroy the Influence of the House of *Austria*, in *Germany*, and had the Address to engage the *English* to assist in that Design, upon the plausible Pretence of affording Succour

(p) MS. written by Edward Pelham, one of the Sufferers.
—Collection of Voyages, Folio. V. 4. p. 752.—Harris's
Coll Appendix. p. 33.—Lediard's naval History, Folio.
V. 2. p. 520, 521.

tour to the *Protestants* (q). Next, his Agents in *Holland* alarmed the Jealousy of the *States* concerning the Dominion of the *English* over the narrow Seas; their Claim to the sole Right either of fishing, and of permitting others to fish in them, and their Expectation of receiving the Honours of the Flag, at a considerable Distance from their own Shores. We must remind the Reader that the celebrated *Hugo Grotius* delivered to the World a Treatise under the Title of "*Mare Liberum*," wherein, with great Eloquence, he endeavoured to expose the Weakness of the *English* Title to the Sovereignty of the Ocean, which he represents as a Gift from God, and common to all Nations (r).

On this Occasion, the Antagonist of *Grotius* was the learned *Selden*, who, in his "*Mare Clausum* (s)," hath demonstrated from the Principles of the Law of Nature, and of Nations, that a Dominion over the Sea may be acquired; and proved, likewise, from the most authentic Passages in History, that such a Dominion hath been claimed, and enjoyed by several Nations; and submitted to by others for their common Benefit; that this Circumstance was, in Fact, the Case of the Inhabitants of the *British* Island, who at all Times, and under every Kind of Government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a Dominion; a Truth which had been frequently, and most solemnly confessed by all the neighbouring Powers.

To

(q) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, in which this Point is fully stated.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 121.

(r) *Mare Liberum*; seu de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indica Commercia. Lug. Bat. Elzevir. 1609. 8vo. At this Period, the Book was reprinted.

(s) *Seu de Dominio Maris*. Lib. 2. Londini. 1635. Folio.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 239

To the Learning, Industry, and Judgment superior to Praise, which may be discovered in the Works of this illustrious Disputant, must we ascribe the Establishment of that now incontrovertible Position, "that the *English* possess an hereditary, uninterrupted Right to "the Sovereignty of their Seas, conveyed to them, from "their earliest Ancestors, in Trust for their latest "Posterity (†)."

The vast, and enterprizing Genius of *Richlieu*, at once pervading the Departments of the State, gave new Life to that Branch of the Administration which was immediately connected with the Support of Commerce, and the Advancement of the Marine. Having already availed himself of the Power, and Industry of the *Dutch*, to interrupt the Trade, and debilitate the maritime Strength of *England*, he effected a Negotiation between his Sovereign, and the *States of Holland*, one leading Object of which was a mutual Division of the *Spanish Netherlands*. With equal Secrecy, and Security, did this sagacious Minister facilitate his darling Project of accomplishing the Establishment of an extensive naval Force in *France*, under the avowed Pretence of assisting the *Dutch* in the Maintenance of their Claim to a joint Dominion over the Seas, and of enabling them to turn their Commerce into a Channel

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(†) *Rushworth*. A. D. 1636 p. 320.—*Frankland's Annals*. p. 476.—*Whitlocke*.—*L'Étrange*.—*Mr. Campbell* *, after having remarked that the Book written by *Selden*, was published in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-four, under the royal Patronage, adds that it may reasonably be inferred that *Charles* had formed the most just, and generous Ideas concerning the naval Right vested in the Sovereign, and the People, notwithstanding that, for the Purpose of supporting them, he unfortunately adhered to Measures at once lawless, violent, and unsuccessful.

* *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 122.

as prejudicial to the *English*, as advantageous to themselves. All Artists whatsoever who had attained to any Celebrity in the maritime Profession were invited, by the most liberal Offer, to reside in *France*, and every politic, and seducing Measure was resorted to for the Purpose of fixing them, during the Remainder of their Lives, in the Service of the Crown.

The King of *England* had formed a just Idea of the Design conceived by *Richlieu*, and discerning its future Consequences, endeavoured to prevent them by asserting his Title to the Sovereignty of the Ocean, by regulating the Mode of bearing Flags, and by publishing Proclamations, in Order to restrain Shipwrights, and other Artificers from entering into a foreign Service (*u*). If, with these political Precautions, *Charles* had united even a moderate Condescension to the Temper of his Subjects, by dismissing from their Posts those Ministers who had incurred the popular Odium, either in Consequence of their arbitrary Principles, or their Misconduct, it is certain that he would have fixed the Nation, and its Parliamentary Representatives firmly in his Interest, and, by obtaining his Point, have carried the Reputation of the *English* to Heights which never were attained by any of his Predecessors. But his Disposition, unequal to those complying Arts which make the happiest Impressions on the People, prevented (in Conjunction with the narrow Prejudices of Individuals, who yet were deemed the Patriots of the Times,) the full Accomplishment of his laudable Intentions, and converted what he designed for Cordials, into corrosive Poisons.

Mr.

(*u*) Kennet's compleat History of England, V. 3. p. 74. — Whitlocke's Memorials. p. 24. — Frankland's Annals. p. 471. — Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. — L'Estrange's Life of Charles, the first. p. 130, 131. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 121.

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VOL. IV.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 241

Mr. *Campbell*. after having observed that he is far from affecting an allegorical Stile, adds that there are some Matters of so delicate a Nature, and the Tempers of Men, at particular Seasons, are so strangely turned, that it is not expedient either for them to hear, or for the Historian to write even Truth too bluntly. He subjoins that it is equally dangerous for one who undertakes such a Task as this, to be afraid of delivering his Sentiments freely, even supposing that his Fears flow from an Apprehension of injuring what he thinks it his Duty to recommend. Under a strong Sense, therefore, of what, in one Respect, it becomes him to say for the Service of his Country, and what, in regard to the Opinion of very celebrated Men, who have thought differently, he declares that he should be guilty of an Impropriety, by appearing positive in his Observations concerning the Case of Ship-Money, a Subject exceedingly tender in the last Age, and almost equally so, at present (x).

The early Apprehensions which the King had entertained of this new League between the *French*, and *Dutch*, were considerably heightened in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-five, by the Junction of the Fleets in the Service of those Powers, and the Intelligence which he had received that *France* intended shortly to declare War against *Spain*; and from that Circumstance, to derive the Occasion so long sought for, of dividing the *Neiherlands* with the *Dutch*, all whose Pretensions in Respect to the Right of Fishing, and using an unrestrained Navigation in the Seas, *Lewis* had undertaken to defend. *Charles*, therefore, resolved to remain no longer passive; and, in Order to defeat

VOL. IV.

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(x) *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*. V. 2. p. 123, 124. — The Reader is desired to compare the modern Histories, with those written at this Period.

this Measure, and support the Sovereignty annexed to the *English* Crown, and, likewise, the maritime Credit of the Nation, conceived the Design of equipping, and sending out to Sea a naval Armament, in Force superior to that which had been assembled by his Adversaries (y).

Success, on this Occasion, without the Assistance of the Commons, appeared difficult, to an Extreme; and, yet such Obstacles had arisen during the preceeding Applications for Supplies, that *Charles* despaired of enjoying the Power to gratify his Wishes, if he trusted solely to the Aids which might be granted by the Parliament. The Lawyers whom he consulted, having investigated the Nature of the Case, under due Allowances for the Dangers to which he was exposed, declared that he might have Recourse to his Prerogative. When the Judges had approved of the Opinion, the King directed Writs to be issued for the Levying of Ship-Money. These Writs were, for the present, directed only to Sea-Ports, and Places contiguous to the Coasts, requiring them either to furnish a certain Number of Ships, or to grant an equivalent pecuniary Supply. The City of *London* was directed to provide seven Ships, for twenty-six Days, and other Towns were called upon, in Proportion. In Expectation that the People might submit more chearfully to the Tax, the King ordered that the pecuniary Produce of it should be kept apart in the Exchequer, and that a distinct Account should be given of the Services to which it was applied. Yet, notwithstanding these Precautions, the national Clamours were at once violent,

(y) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. p. 289.—Frankland's Annals. p. 468.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 124.

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Lives of the Ad
(a) Mr. Cam

lent, and general, although insufficient to prevent the Project from being carried into Execution (2).

As it was probable that the neighbouring Powers would be as much alarmed at the Equipment of so formidable a Fleet, as the People were irritated by the Measures taken to defray the Expence of it, a Letter was, in Obedience to the royal Mandate, addressed from Secretary *Coke*, to Sir *William Boswell*, at that Period Ambassador from the Court of *London*, to the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*. As a naval Writer (a) hath deemed it worthy of Insertion, we, here, present it to the Reader.

SIR,

“By your Letters, and otherwise, I perceive many Jealousies, and Discourses are raised upon the Preparations of his Majesty's Fleet, which is now in such Forwardness, that we doubt not but within this Month it will appear at Sea. It is therefore expedient both for your Satisfaction, and Direction, to inform you particularly what was the Occasion, and what is his Majesty's Intention, in this Work.”

“First, we hold it as a Principle not to be denied, that the King of *Great Britain* is a Monarch at Land, and Sea, to the full Extent of his Dominions, and that it concerneth him as much to maintain his Sovereignty in all the *British* Seas, as within his three Kingdoms; because without that, these cannot be kept safe, nor he preserve his Honour, and due Respect, with other Nations. But, commanding the

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“Seas,

(2) Kenner's Complete History of England. V. 3. p. 81. — Whitlocke. p. 22. 24. — Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. p. 51. — Clarendon. V. 1. p. 68. — Rushworth. V. 2. p. 334, 335. — Bullstrode's Memoirs. p. 36, 37. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 125.

(a) Mr. Campbell.

“ Seas, he may cause his Neighbours, and all Coun-
 “ tries, to stand upon their Guard whensoever he
 “ thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted that who-
 “ soever will encroach upon him by Sea, will do it by
 “ Land also when they observe their Time. To such
 “ Presumption, “ *Mare Liberum*” gave the first warn-
 “ ing Piece, which must be answered with the Defence
 “ of “ *Mare Clausum*,” not so much by Discourses, as
 “ by the louder Language of a powerful Navy, to be
 “ better understood whensoever strained Patience seeth
 “ no Hope of preserving her Right by other Means.”

“ The Degrees by which his Majesty’s Dominion at
 “ Sea hath of later Years been first impeached, and then
 “ questioned, are as considerable, as notorious.”

“ First to cherish, and, as it were, to nurse up
 “ our unthankful Neighbours, we gave them Leave to
 “ gather Wealth, and Strength upon our Coasts, in
 “ our Ports, by our Trade, and by our People. Then
 “ they were glad to invite our Merchants to a Resi-
 “ dence, with whatsoever Privileges they could desire.
 “ Then they offered to us even the Sovereignty of their
 “ Estates, and then they sued for Licence to fish upon
 “ the Coasts, and obtained it under the great Seal of
 “ *Scotland*, which they now suppress. And when
 “ thus, by Leave, or by Connivance, they had pos-
 “ sessed themselves of our Fishing, not only in *Scot-*
 “ *land*, but in *Ireland*, and in *England*, and, by our
 “ Staple had raised a great Stock of Trade, by these
 “ Means, they so increased their Shipping, and Power,
 “ at Sea, that now they endure not to be kept at any
 “ Distance; nay, they are grown to that Confidence,
 “ to keep Guards upon our Seas, and then to project
 “ an Office, and Company of Assurance, for the Ad-
 “ vancement of Trade, and withal prohibit us free
 “ Commerce, even within our Seas, and take our
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"Ships, and Goods, if we conform not to their Plac-
 "arts. What Insolencies, and Cruelties they have
 "committed against us, heretofore, in *Iceland*, in
 "*Greenland*, and in the *Indies*, is too well known to
 "all the World. In all which, although our Suffer-
 "ings, and their Wrongs may seem forgotten, yet,
 "the great Interest of his Majesty's Honour is still
 "the same, and will refresh their Memories, as there
 "shall be Cause. For, although Charity must remit
 "Wrongs done to private Men, yet the Reflection
 "upon the Public may make it a greater Charity to
 "do Justice to crying Crimes. All this notwith-
 "standing, you are not to conceive that the Work
 "of the Fleet is either Revenge, or Execution of
 "Justice for these great Offences past, but chiefly, for
 "the future, to stop the violent Current of that Pre-
 "sumption, whereby the Men of War, and Free-
 "booters of all Nations, abusing the Favour of his
 "Majesty's peaceable, and gracious Government,
 "whereby he hath permitted all his Friends, and Al-
 "lies to make use of his Seas, and Ports, in a reason-
 "able Manner, and according to his Treaties, have
 "taken upon them the Boldness not only to come con-
 "fidently, at all Times, into all his Ports, and Rivers,
 "but to convey their Merchant-Ships as high as his
 "chief City, and then to cast Anchor close upon his
 "Magazines, and to condemn the Commands of his
 "Officers when they required a farther Distance;
 "but, which is more intolerable, have assaulted,
 "and taken one another, within his Majesty's Channels,
 "and within his Rivers, to the Scorn, and Contempt
 "of his Dominion, and Power; and this being, of late
 "Years, an ordinary Practice, which we have endea-
 "voured in vain to reform, by the Ways of Justice,
 "and of Treaties, the World, I think, will now

“ be satisfied that we have Reason to look about us.
 “ And no wise Man will doubt that it is high Time to
 “ put ourselves in this Equipage upon the Seas, and
 “ not to suffer that Stage of Action to be taken from us
 “ for Want of our Appearance.”

“ So, you see the general Ground upon which our
 “ Counsels stand. In particular, you may take Notice,
 “ and publish, as Cause requires, that his Majesty, by
 “ this Fleet, intendeth not a Rupture with any Prince,
 “ or State, nor to infringe any Point of his Treaties,
 “ but resolveth to continue, and maintain that happy
 “ Peace wherewith God hath blessed his Kingdom;
 “ and to which all his Actions, and Negotiations have
 “ hitherto tended, as, by your own Instructions, you
 “ may fully understand. But, withal considering that
 “ Peace must be maintained by the Arm of Power;
 “ which only keeps down War, by keeping up Domi-
 “ nion; his Majesty, thus provoked, finds it neces-
 “ sary, for his own Defence, and Safety, to re-assume,
 “ and keep his ancient, and undoubted Right, in the
 “ Dominion of these Seas, and to suffer no other
 “ Prince, or State to encroach upon him, thereby as-
 “ suming to themselves, or their Admirals, any sove-
 “ reign Command, but to force them to perform due
 “ Homage to his Admirals, and Ships, and to pay them
 “ Acknowledgments, as in former Times, they did.
 “ He will also set open, and protect the free Trade both
 “ of his Subjects, and Allies, and give them such safe
 “ Conduct, and Convoy as they shall reasonably re-
 “ quire. He will suffer no other Fleet or Men of
 “ War, to keep any Guard upon these Seas, or there,
 “ to offer any Violence, or take Prizes, or Booties, or
 “ to give Interruption to any lawful Intercourse. In a
 “ Word, his Majesty is resolved, as to do no Wrong,
 “ so to do Justice, both to his Subjects, and Friends,
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(b) Memorials,
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“within the Limits of his Seas. And this is the real,
 “and royal Design of this Fleet, whereof you may
 “give Part, as you find Occasion, to our good Neigh-
 “bours in those Parts, that no Umbrage may be taken
 “of any hostile Act, or Purpose to their Prejudice, in
 “any Kind. So, wishing you all Health, and Happi-
 “ness, I rest ———

Whitehall, on the sixteenth of *April*, in the Year,
 one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-five.

It is natural to imagine that less Care was taken to satisfy the Minds of the People in *England*, relative to the genuine Intent of the Tax, levied for the Equip-ment of a Fleet sufficiently formidable to accomplish these necessary Purposes, since, otherwise the public Welfare seemed to be so nearly concerned that public Acquiescence, at least, might have been expected. It is notwithstanding true, that *Charles*, anxious to suppress the Clamours of the Nation, directed the Lord Keeper, *Coventry*, to remind the Judges, previous to their Departure, on the Summer-Circuits (*b*), of the Expediency of endeavouring to allay the popular Fears concerning the Tax of Ship-Money. We learn from *Whitlocke*, that they followed these Injunctions, but without Effect; yet the same Author acknowledges that the Money was assessed, and levied with great Equality, and Caution.

With the Assistance of this Supply, *Charles*, in *May*, of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-five, equipped two Fleets, the one of forty, and the

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other

(*b*) Memorials, p. 24.—The Speech of the Lord Keeper to the Judges may be seen in Sanderson's History of Charles, the first, p. 204, 205, 206.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 129.

other of twenty Sail. The Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of the first Fleet were *Robert*, Earl of *Lindsay*, Sir *William Monson*, and Sir *John Pennington*. The second Fleet was commanded by the Earl of *Essex*. With the former, *Lindsay* proceeded from *Tilbury-Hope*, on the twenty sixth of *May*. His Instructions were to give no Occasion of Hostility, and properly to resist every Act of Violence which might tend to the Prejudice of the naval Rights invested in the Sovereign, and his People. On the last Day of the same Month, the *French*, and *Dutch* Squadrons, joined off *Portland*, having openly declared that it was their Determination to assert their own Independency, and to dispute that Prerogative which the *English* claimed within the narrow Seas; yet, no sooner were they informed that the *English* Fleet was endeavouring to desert them, than they departed from the Coast, and approached nearer to their own Harbours (c).

The Earl of *Lindsay* sent a Bark towards the Shores of *Britany*, for the Purpose of observing the Motions of the *French*, and *Dutch* Armaments. From the Period at which the Bark returned, until the first of *October*, the *English* Fleet protected the surrounding Seas, gave Laws to the neighbouring Nations, and effectually asserted that Sovereignty which the Monarchs of this Kingdom have always claimed. The fortunate Operations of this marine Equipment not only served to fill the Minds of Foreigners with just Ideas of the naval Consequence of *Britain*, but allayed the Jealousy of the People, who now perceived that it was not the Inten-

(c) Letters, and Dispatches of Thomas, Earl of Strafford, V. 1. p. 416, 417. 429. 446.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, Book 2. p. 290.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 130.

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tion of the Crown to turn the Appropriation of the Tax from its declared Object (*d*).

Charles, who beheld with Pleasure the Successes of his Fleet, during the Course of this Year, was yet sensible that if, at the Commencement of the next, he should neglect to keep, upon the Seas, a Navy not less considerable than the former, the Squadrons of the *French*, and *Dutch*, would openly insult his Subjects, and endeavour to dispute, by Force, their Title to the Dominion of the Ocean. In Order, therefore, to obtain Supplies equal to the Equipment of a formidable Marine, he again directed that Writs should be issued for the Levying of Ship-Money; and, to render the Aid more extensive, what had before been rated as a particular Provision, to be raised by the respective Ports for their own immediate Safety, was now converted into a national Tax, which became the more grievous, because not united with the Authority of Parliament. In itself, the Burthen was not enormous, and, at the most, raised only two hundred, and thirty six thousand Pounds, a Year, which did not amount intirely to twenty thousand Pounds, a Month, throughout the whole Kingdom; yet the making it an universal Aid, and the assessing, and collecting it, according to parliamentary Methods, without parliamentary Authority, gave it an Air of Oppression, and rendered it extremely odious, notwithstanding that the Necessity was generally allowed, and that the Benefits resulting from the Care taken of the narrow Seas, which had afforded Matter of Inquiry, and Expostulation, to every Parliament

(*d*) A clear, and full Account of this Expedition hath been written by Sir William Monson. See Naval Tracts, p. 289.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 131.

ment which the King called, could never be denied (e).

In Order effectually to remove the Doubts which might have been conceived by his own Subjects, and to prevent the Influence of any false Surmises amongst foreign Nations, relative to the Design of this powerful Armament, *Charles* deemed it necessary to signify his Intentions to the World, in a Manner, at once the most public, and authentic; that at one, and the same Time, it might appear what he himself demanded, and what had been paid in Acknowledgment of the Right of his Ancestors, relative to Points for the Support of which these Demands were issued. The Instrument ran thus:

A PROCLAMATION for RESTRAINT OF FISHING UPON HIS MAJESTY'S SEAS, and COASTS, WITHOUT LICENSE:

" WHEREAS our Father, of blessed Memory, King *James*, did, in the seventh Year of his Reign over *Great Britain*, set forth a Proclamation touching Fishing, whereby, for the many important Reasons therein expressed, all Persons, of what Nation, or Quality soever, (being not his natural-born Subjects,) were restrained from Fishing upon any of the Coasts, and Seas of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and the rest of the Isles adjacent; where most usually heretofore Fishing had been, until they had orderly demanded, and obtained Licenses from our said Father, or his Commissioners, in that

(e) Kenner's Complete History of England, V. 3. p. 81.
— Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 51. — Frankland's Annals, p. 477. — Whitlocke, p. 24. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 131.

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that Behalf, upon Pain of such Chastisement as should be fit to be inflicted on such wilful Offenders; since which Time albeit neither our said Father, nor ourself have made any considerable Execution of the said Proclamation, but have, with much Patience, expected a voluntary Conformity of our Neighbours, and Allies, to so just, and reasonable Propositions, and Directions, as are contained in the same.

And, now, finding by Experience, that all the Inconveniencies which occasioned that Proclamation, are rather increased, than abated; we, being very sensible of the Premises, and well knowing how far we are obliged, in Honour, to maintain the Rights of our Crown, especially of so great Consequence, have thought it necessary by the Advice of our Privy-Council, to renew the aforesaid Restraint of Fishing, upon our aforesaid Coasts, and Seas, without Licence first obtained from us, and by these Presents to make public Declaration that our Resolution is, at Times convenient, to keep such competent Strength of Shipping upon our Seas, as may (through the Blessing of God,) be sufficient both to hinder such farther Inroad upon our Regalities, and assist, and protect those our good Friends, and Allies, who shall, henceforth, by Virtue of our Licences, (to be first obtained,) endeavour to take the Benefit of Fishing upon our Coasts, and Seas, in the Places accustomed."

Given at our Palace of *Westminster*, on the tenth Day of *May*, and in the twelfth Year of our Reign of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-six, the King assembled a Fleet of sixty Sail, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral,

Sir

Sir *John Pennington*, Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Henry Marom*, Rear-Admiral. They sailed first to the *Downs*, and, from thence, to the *North*, where the *Dutch* Busses were fishing upon the Coast. The Earl required them to forbear, and not finding an immediate Compliance, discharged some Shot amongst their Vessels. Alarmed at the Violence of this Proceeding, the *Hollanders* desired *Northumberland* to be their Mediator with the King, and to permit them to continue fishing, during the Remainder of the Year, for which Liberty they declared themselves content to pay the Sum of thirty thousand Pounds, and expressed also an Inclination to obtain a Grant from *Charles*, permitting them to fish there, for the Time to come, in Consideration of the Payment of an annual Tribute (*f*).

Such is the most authentic Account which can be collected from the least partial Historians relative to the Causes, and Consequences of this important Expedition. In the Journal kept, and signed by the Earl of *Northumberland* (*g*), are several memorable Particulars. On the Appearance of this Fleet, the *Dutch* Fishing-Busses, in Number two hundred, took Licences, notwithstanding that the Year was far advanced. He exacted from them,

(*f*) Kennet's Complete History of England, V. 3. p. 84. — Whitelocke, p. 25. — Frankland, p. 477. — Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 117. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 134. — At this Period, the King equipped a Squadron to cruize against the *Sallee-Pirates*, who had not only disturbed the Commerce of the English, but daringly attacked their Vessels within Sight of their own Coasts. On this Occasion, the Men of War in the Service of *Charles* were assisted by a Fleet belonging to the Emperor of *Morocco*. The Pirates, too feeble to contend against so powerful a Force, were intirely extirminated.

(*g*) This was lately preserved, and is, perhaps, still, in the Paper-Office.

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them, as an Acknowledgment, twelve Pence, for each Ton, and he affirms that they departed well satisfied. It was pretended by the *Hollanders*, in the Reign of *Charles*, the second, that this was an Act of Violence, and that no Conclusions could be drawn from it, in Support of the Claims advanced by the Crown of *England*, since their Countrymen had not payed Money, because the Composition was just, but, because they were defenceless. The Journal of *Northumberland* sets this Pretence intirely aside, and proves not only that they were at first protected by a Squadron of ten Ships of War; but, also, that, on the twentieth of *August*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-six, *Dorp*, the *Dutch* Vice-Admiral, arrived with a Fleet of twenty Sail, and, instead of interrupting the Proceedings of the *English*, saluted them, by lowering his Top-Sails, striking his Flag, and firing his Guns, after which Ceremony, he went on Board the Flag-Ship, and was received, by *Northumberland*, with every Mark of Hospitality, and Respect. It is farther mentioned in the Journal, that when the Earl had departed from the *North*, and cast Anchor in the *Downs*, he received Notice that a *Spanish* Fleet of twenty-six Sail, were proceeding to the Port of *Dunkirk*. For the Purpose of reconnoitring these, he dispatched the *Happy Entrance*, to which single Ship the whole *Armada* paid the Testimonies of Respect which were claimed by the *English* Men of War whensoever they appeared.

It was the Intention of *Charles* annually to have renewed this Mode of levying Money, and of assembling Fleets, under the Admirals of which he thought of placing Numbers of the young Nobility, in Order that they might become more capable of conferring Services on their Country, in the Hour of impending Danger.

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These Views (*b*) were quickly frustrated by the Clamours of the People, who expressed the most violent Abhorrence of the Means recurred to for the Collection of the Tax. In the remarkable Case of Mr. *Hampden*; it was rendered evident that a constant, and regular Exaction of Ship-Money, unauthorized by Parliament, must prove dangerous to the Constitution, and to the Freedom of the Subject. At this important Juncture, the King felt the Necessity of relinquishing his Design, yet availed himself of every prudent Method to fix the popular Attention on the Justice of the *English* Title to the Dominion of the Sea (*i*). It was at this Period that *Charles* issued an Order that a Copy of *Mare Clausum*, the Book written by the learned *Selden*, should be kept in the Council-Chest (*k*), that another Copy should be deposited in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty, there to remain as a perpetual Evidence of our indisputable Claim to the Sovereignty of the surrounding Ocean.

Happy (observes a naval Writer (*l*)), would it have proved, if the King had, on this Occasion, convened a Parliament, and, after excusing the Manner in which the Money was levied, had shewn how well it was applied, how effectually our Navigation had been protected, and all the Designs of the *French*, and *Dutch* defeated. It may fairly be presumed that the salutary
Effect

(*b*) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 290.—Warwick's Memoirs, p. 53.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 135.

(*i*) Rushworth's Collections.—Frankland's Annals.—Clarendon's History.—Whitlocke's Memorials.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

(*k*) See the Order of Council, in Frankland's Annals, p. 476.

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 136.

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Effect of such an Address to Parliament would have appeared in a legal Provision for the Maintenance of these Fleets; a Circumstance which would have secured the Commerce, whilst it established the naval Reputation of the Realm; but Affairs took a different Direction, to the extreme Detriment of the State. Some Courtiers gave just, and violent Offence, to prudent Men, by representing, in Order to obtain a lucrative Employment, the royal Wisdom as infallible, and the regal Power as irresistible; whilst others, that they might become popular, heightened every little Error into a grievous Crime, and magnified such irregular Measures as were recurred to, through Necessity, into deliberate Acts of Tyranny. Thus, were those Nations plunged in Blood, whose Unanimity had rendered them rich, powerful, happy, and Arbiters of the Fate of *Europe*.

D'Estades hath observed, in his Negotiations, that he was sent into *England*, towards the Close of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven, with a private Commission from the Cardinal *de Richlieu* who was anxious to prevail on *Charles* to embrace a neutral Part, whilst the combined Fleets of *France*, and *Holland*, attacked the maritime Places of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and had the Effrontery to promise him the most lucrative Advantages, in Reward for his Inactivity. The King answered, with equal Firmness, and Prudence, that he could never suffer his Hands to be tied up by a Neutrality so prejudicial to his own Honour, and the Interest of his Kingdoms; that he would keep a Fleet in the *Downs*, with fifteen thousand Men, ready to be transported to the Relief of the first Town which should be invested by the Arms either of the *French King*, or of the *States*; and that as to the Assistance which his Eminence had offered him against any domestic Disturbance, he thanked him for it; but

thought it quite unnecessary, since he depended intirely on his own Authority, and the Laws of the Land, for the Suppression, and Punishment of such rebellious Enterprizes (*m*).

The vindictive Cardinal no sooner received the Account of this Conference, from his Agent, than he resolved to take an immediate Revenge, and dispatched, without Delay, to *Edinburgh*, *Abbè de Chamber*, his Almoner, whom he had instructed to encourage the Covenanters, in their Design, with the Hopes of Assistance from *France*, and to improve the Correspondence which *D'Estrades* had formed amongst them during his short Residence in *England*. This arduous Commission was executed, by *De Chamber*, with such Fidelity, and Address, that the Prince of *Orange* observed to *D'Estrades*, that *Richlieu* had employed too politic, and fortunate an Instrument in *Scotland*, by whose Practices the Interests of *Charles*, in that Kingdom, were intirely ruined (*n*).

Few

(*m*) Lettres, Memoires, et Negociations, de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades : a Bruxelles, 1709. 12mo. Tom. 1.—The Count's Letter to the Cardinal, in which the King of England's Answer is contained, bears Date, from London, on the twenty-fourth of November, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 137.

(*n*) Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1638. p. 840.—Frankland's Annals, p. 768.—Whitlocke, p. 33.—Memoires de Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, Tom 1.—The Reader will find these Facts fully proved, if he pleases to peruse the Letter addressed by the Cardinal to the Count, and dated Rouel, on the second of December, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven. It is an Answer to the Count's Letter already cited. In these Memorials also is a Letter from *D'Estrades*, to *Richlieu*, dated Hague, on the twenty-first of January, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-one.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p.

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Few naval Transactions of Importance arose from this Period, until the Commencement of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-nine, when the *Spaniards* equipped a formidable Fleet, consisting of sixty-seven Sail of large Ships, manned with twenty-five thousand Seamen, and having on board twelve thousand Land Forces, designed for the Relief of *Flanders*. This Armament, proceeding up the Channel, was interrupted, and attacked by a *Dutch Squadron*, amounting only to seventeen Men of War, commanded by *Martin* (the Son of *Herbert*) *Van Tromp* who continued the Engagement until the prevailing Force of such a Superiority of Numbers obliged him to sheer off towards *Dunkirk*, where being joined by more Ships, he gave Battle to the *Armada*, under the Command of *Don Antonio de Oquendo*, and, after a furious Contest, forced the *Spaniards* on the *English Coast*, at a short Distance from the Port of *Dover* (o).

Van Tromp, on being informed that the Provision of the Fleet were almost expended, and that the Stock of Powder, and Ball was considerably reduced, steered his Course towards *Calais*, where he was liberally supplied by the Governor, and from whence he returned,

VOL. IV.

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p. 129. 140.—Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 3. p. 93.—See likewise the Letters of Robert, Earl of Leicester, Ambassador at the Court of Paris, to Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, in the Sidney Papers, V. 2. p. 562. 599. 646.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 137.

(o) The Dutch Historians observe that Charles mistook his true Interests when he crossed the Views of France, and Holland, and discovered a more prevailing Attachment to the *Spaniards*; but Experience hath fully evinced that the King judged right, and, with great Reason, apprehended more Danger from the conjunction of the French, and Dutch, than from the declining Power of Spain.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 138.

in Order to attack the Enemy. At his Approach, the *Spaniards* entered within the *South Foreland*, and put themselves under the Protection of the Castles. On this Occasion, the *Spanish* Resident importuned *Charles* that he would oblige the *Dutch* to forbear Hostilities, for two Tides, that the *Spaniards* might have an Opportunity of escaping to their own Coasts; but the King being in Amity with both Powers, was resolved to remain neuter; and, whereas the *Spaniards* had hired some *English* Ships to transport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*; strict Orders were issued in Consequence of the Complaints made by the *Dutch* Ambassadors, that no Ships, or Vessels, belonging to the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, should receive any *Spaniards* on board, or pass below *Gravesend*, without a Licence.

With great Difficulty, the Admiral *Oquendo* found Means for the Escape of twelve large Ships, on board of which were four thousand Men. They proceeded silently, during the Night, through the *Downs*, round by the *North Sand-Head*, and the Back of the *Godwin*. The *Dutch*, who had left that Passage unguarded, remarked, in Vindication of their Neglect, that the *English* had assured them that no Ships of any considerable Burthen could venture to sail that Way, by Night. The two Armaments had now continued in their Station nearly three Weeks, when *Charles* sent the Earl of *Arundel* to the *Spanish* Admiral, who was desired to retreat, on the first fair Wind. At this Period, the naval Force of the *Dutch*, was augmented to an hundred Sail, by Ships which had arrived from *Zealand*, and from *Holland*. When *Van Tromp* discovered an Inclination to engage the Enemy, Sir *John Pennington*, the chief Commander of the *English* Fleet, which then lay in the *Downs*, and consisted of thirty-four Men of War, acquainted him that he had received Orders

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to act in Defence of either of the two Parties, which should be first attacked. This Transaction plainly discovers how much it imported *England* to have maintained a superior Fleet, at Sea; a Measure which was prevented by the general Dissatisfaction conceived against the Tax of Ship-Money, and the religious Disturbances in *Scotland*. It is probable that Sir *John Pennington*, who, during that *Æra*, was accused of Misconduct, availed himself of every Circumstance within his Power, to support the Dignity of the *British* Flag.

At the Expiration of two Days, the *Spaniards*, who presumed on that Protection which they had hitherto enjoyed, fired several Shot at a Barge wherein *Van Tromp* was then sitting. They next discharged a Cannon, the Ball from which killed one of the Mariners belonging to the *Dutch* Vessel. His dead Body was immediately sent to Sir *John Pennington*, as a Proof that the *Spaniards*, the first Aggressors, had violated the Neutrality which ought to have been observed within so short a Distance from the Harbours of the King of *England*. Soon afterwards, *Van Tromp*, having received fresh Orders from the *States*, resolved to attack the Enemy; but, previous to the Commencement of Hostilities, addressed to *Pennington* a Letter, in which, having remarked that the Conduct of the *Spaniards* compelled him to prepare instantly for engaging, he intreated that Admiral to keep his Promise, and act in Defence of the *Dutch*, on whom the *Armada* had first fired. He added that, although *Pennington* might not think proper to comply with his Request, he trusted that he would, at least, permit him to engage the Adversary; otherwise he should have just Cause of Complaint to all the World, concerning so manifest an Injury (p).

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(p) Commelyn Leeven Van Fred. Hen. Fol 55 — Lettres D'Estrades. Tom 1. p. 40. — Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces

When this Letter had been delivered to the *English* Admiral, *Van Tromp* weighed, and stood towards the *Spaniards*, in six Divisions, cannonading them furiously, and vigorously pressing them at the same Time, with his Fire-Ships, so that he immediately forced the whole *Armada* to cut their Cables. Of fifty-three Ships, which were the intire Number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the *Downs*; of these, three were burnt, two sunk; and two perished on the Shore. One was a great Galleon, (the Vice-Admiral of *Galicia*) commanded by *Don Antonio de Castro*, and mounted with fifty-two brass Guns. The *English* manned the Remainder of the twenty-three Ships, (which had been deserted by the *Spaniards*,) in Order to prevent them from being taken by the *Dutch*. The other thirty *Spanish* Ships commanded by *Don Antonio de Oquendo*, and *Lopez*, the Admiral of *Portugal*, stood out to Sea, and continued their Course, in good Order, until a Fog arose, of which the *Dutch* availed themselves, and interposing between the Admirals, and their Fleet, engaged furiously, until the Weather became clear, when the Man of War, commanded by *Lopez*, was blown up, by two Fire-Ships, which, in Pursuance of Orders from *Van Tromp*, had been prepared for that Purpose. When *Oquendo* perceived the Admiral Ship of *Portugal* in Flames, he instantly bore away for *Dunkirk*, with the Admiral of that Place, and a small Number of other Ships. Of the thirty *Spanish* Vessels, five were sunk during the Engagement; eleven were taken, and sent to *Holland*; three perished near the Coast of *France*, and one near *Dover*. The remaining ten escaped. As the first Hostility had been indisputably committed by the *Spaniards*, it became a Plea, advanced by the *Dutch*, in their Justification; and also

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vances Unies. Liv. 12. p. 193, 194.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 140.

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served as a sufficient Argument to defend the Conduct of the *English* Government which otherwise would have appeared repugnant to the Law of Nations, in suffering one Ally to destroy another, within its naval Jurisdiction (q).

An indefatigable Historian (r) hath deemed it necessary to remark that, in Fact, the People of *England* were not sorry for this Misfortune which befel the *Spaniards*, although the Court endeavoured, by every proper Measure, to prevent it. He adds that their Satisfaction was grounded on Surmises that this formidable Fleet was a second *Armada*, fitted out nominally against the *Dutch*; but, in Truth, prepared for the Destruction of the Heretics, in general. At the first Glance, this may appear a wild, and extravagant Suggestion; but, perhaps, the Reader will, in some Measure, be disposed to give it his Assent, should we inform him that, when the next Parliament was convened, a Proof appeared to strengthen the Suspicion, and a Popish Book was produced, in which, amongst other superstitious Passages, were Prayers for the holy Martyrs, who perished in the Fleet sent out against the Heretics of *England* (s). Be this as it may, the

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(q) See Sir John Pennington's Relation of this Engagement in Frankland's Annals. p. 793, 794.—Whitlocke. p. 31, 32.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs p. 119, 120.—Memoirs de Monsieur le Comte D'Estades. Tom. 1.—See his Letter to the Cardinal de Richlieu, informing him of the Victory gained over the Spanish Fleet. It is dated from Bergen-op-Zoom, on the twentieth of September, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-nine.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 140, 141.

(r) Mr. Campbell.

(s) Rushworth. A. D. 1639. p. 974.—Prynne's royal Favourite. p. 59.—Fiery Jesuits. 4to. 1667. p. 118.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. p. 142.

bare Report, undoubtedly, proved more than sufficient to alarm the Populace, and revive their Resentments against the *Spaniards*. Several of our own Writers have affected to represent the Conduct of the *Dutch* as derogatory, on this Occasion, from our Sovereignty on the surrounding Ocean; but Foreigners have intimated no Circumstance of this Nature (*t*), although it must be allowed that the Affairs of Government were then in such Confusion, as to render it extremely doubtful whether *Charles* could have properly resented an Indignity, in Case the *Dutch* had offered it.

Mr. *Campbell* remarks that he was on the Point of following the Example of several of our Annalists, and leaving unnoticed the Expedition, undertaken, during the Course of this Year, by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, against the *Scots*. In itself it is of little Consequence, yet serves to shew how difficult, on this Occasion, is the Discovery of Truth. A Prelate (*u*), whose Veracity as a Writer is not unquestionably established, hath composed a plausible Relation of the Enterprize. He observes that the Duke embarked at *Yarmouth*, towards the Middle of *April*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-nine; and that he was attended by nearly five thousand Men, amongst whom not more than two hundred knew how to fire a Gun. Concerning the Number of Ships; or their Burthen, he is intirely silent; and only acquaints us that the Troops were transported in the Colliery-Vessels, and that they arrived at the *Frith of Forth*, on the first of *May*. There, *Hamilton* remained for a considerable Space of Time, treating unsuccessfully with

(*t*) Nanis's History of Venice. Book. 11. p. 472, 473.—
Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 142.

(*u*) Bishop Burnet's Memoirs of James, and William, Dukes of Hamilton. p. 121. 139.

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with the *Scots*. When the *Seafon* was lost, he returned, without having executed his Commission (x).

A discerning contemporary Writer (y) hath entered into a widely different Detail, which may be here inserted, as it is short, and not unworthy of the Notice of the Reader. "*Hamilton* was to have been a distinct General both by Sea, and Land, and with a good Fleet was to block up the *Scots* Seas; nay, to my Knowledge he promised so to visit his Countrymen on their Coasts, as that they should find little Ease, or Security, in their Habitations. For, he had three good *English* Regiments on board of him, but the very Choice of his Ships shewed that he had more Mind to make War upon the King's Treasure, than upon his own Country, or Countrymen; for he had chosen some of the second, or third Rate, whereas the least Frigates would have done the greatest Service; thus, by the very Bulk of his Ships, obliging himself to an Inactivity. One might well have expected that he who had so prodigally, as a Commissioner, lavished his Majesty's Honour, and unhinged the Government, would have vigorously employed these Forces under his Command, to have restored both; and that a Man of his Importance would have found some Party ready to have countenanced, and assisted him; but, instead thereof, when he comes, and Anchors in the *Frith*, his Mother, (a violent spirited Lady, and a deep Presbyteress,) comes on board of him, and, surely she had no hard Task to charm him. Afterwards, the great

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(x) See Rushworth. A. D. 1639. p. 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935.—Kennet. V. 3. p. 99.—Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 1. p. 114, 120, 121.—Whitlocke's Memorials. p. 30.—Davis's History of the Civil Wars of England. p. 11.

(y) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. p. 131, 132.

"Ships (like the great formidable *Log*, let down to be a King,) lying still, he had several *Vifits* from many of the great Men, who were most active against the King, as if he had been rather returned from an *East India* Voyage, than come as a powerful Enemy."

From this Period, the Fleet ceased to be dependant on the King; and therefore, it may be proper to conclude, here, the naval History of King *Charles* the first.

We now enter on the necessary Observations concerning the Progress of Commerce, the Increase of the Marine, and the Establishment of Colonies, during the transient Sovereignty of this unhappy Prince.

Previous to the Commencement of the Civil Wars, *Charles* added, amongst others, one Ship to the royal Navy of *England*, which on Account of its Size, and several remarkable Particulars, must be mentioned, in this Work; and the rather, because few Historians have admitted the Description.

"This famous Vessel was constructed at *Woolwich*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven. She was, in Length, by the Keel, one hundred and twenty Feet; in Breadth, forty-eight Feet; in Length, from the fore End of the Beak, to the after End of the Stern, two hundred, and thirty two Feet; and in Height, from the Bottom of her Keel, to the Top of her Lanthorn, seventy-six Feet. She bore five Lanthorns, the biggest of which would hold ten Persons upright; had three Flush-Decks; a Fore-Castle; a Half-Deck; a Quarter-Deck; and a Round-House. Her lower Tier had thirty Ports; her middle Tier, thirty Ports; her third Tier, twenty-six Ports; Fore-Castle, twelve Ports; Half-Deck, fourteen Ports; thirteen Ports more within Board, exclusive of ten Pieces of Chace-Ordnance,

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Ordnance forward, and ten right aft, and many Loop-Holes in the Cabins, for Musket-Shot. She had eleven Anchors, one of which was of the Weight of four thousand, and four hundred Pounds. She was of the Burthen of one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven Tons. She was built by *Peter Pett*, Esquire, under the Direction of Captain *Phineas Pett*, one of the principal Officers of the Navy (z)."

It appears from Sir *William Monson*, and indeed from all the unprejudiced Writers of that Æra, who were competent Judges of these Matters, that the Trade of *Great Britain* had increased exceedingly, during the first fifteen Years of the Reign of *Charles*, inasmuch that the Port of *London*, only, could have supplied

(z) A true Description of his Majesty's royal Ship, built in this Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-seven, at Woolwich, in Kent; to the great Glory of the English Nation, and not paralleled in the whole Christian World. Published by Authority. London, 1637. 4to. This little Piece is addressed to Charles, the first, by its Author, Thomas Heywood, who appears to have been employed in contriving the emblematical Devices, or Designs, and in composing the Mottoes with which the Vessel was embellished.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 145.—The following is a List of the Ships added to the royal Navy, by Charles, the first.

SHIPS.	MEN IN HARBOUR.	MEN at SEA.
The <i>Ten Whelps</i>	3	60 some 70
<i>Henrietta</i> Pinnace	3	25
<i>Mary</i> Pinnace	3	25
<i>Charles</i>	9	250
<i>Henrietta Maria</i>	9	250
<i>James</i>	9	260
<i>Victory</i>	9	250
<i>Leopard</i>	7	170
<i>Swallow</i>	6	150
<i>Sovereign</i>		

plied an hundred Sail, capable of being easily converted into Men of War, and well furnished with Ordnance (a). The Trade to the *East-Indies*, which was only in its Infancy, previous to the Demise of *James*, the first, now became extremely lucrative; and the *English* Ships gave Law, in those Parts, to the Vessels of almost every foreign Nation. The Trade to *Guinea* grew likewise considerably advantageous to the *English* Subjects; and their commercial Intercourse with *Spain*, after the Conclusion of the War, was equally successful (b). It must be acknowledged that considerable Disputes arose between the Government, and the Merchants, relative to the Customs, which were considered by some of the Ministers, as dependent on the Crown, and liable to be taken solely by Virtue of the Prerogative; whereas others conceived, as most of the Merchants themselves did, that nothing of this Kind could be levied, but by the Consent of Parliament. Yet these very Disputes shewed that Trade was in a flourishing Condition; for, if the Customs had not risen to a considerable Heighth, and beyond what they did in former Times, no Ministry would have run the Hazard of such a Contest (c).

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(a) Naval Tracts, p. 293.

(b) Idem. Ibid.

(c) Mr. Campbell observes that many of our able Writers of English History, particularly such as lived in those Days, and have discoursed of them, speak with Rapture of the great Felicity of the Times, and of the Wealth, and Prosperity of the Nation, at the Period mentioned in the Text. He refers only to few Authorities, but adds that it would not be difficult to assemble a Cloud of Witnesses, in Support of what hath been asserted.—Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 1. p. 74, 75, 76.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 62, 63, 64.—Bullstrode's Memoirs, p. 5.—Bates's Elencus Mortuum, p. 19. 21.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 1.—Sir William Dugdale's short View of the late Trou-
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One of the principal Sources of our naval Strength, during that *Æra*, was our Colonies, to the Encouragement, and Augmentation of which, even those Accidents highly contributed, which might have proved otherwise fatal to Society; such as our civil, and ecclesiastical Divisions, which induced Numbers of sober, industrious, and discerning Individuals, to prefer Liberty, and whatsoever they could raise in distant, and hitherto uncultivated Lands, to the uneasy Situation in which they found themselves at Home (*d*).

The Colony of *Virginia* had struggled under great Difficulties, from the Time that it became subject to the Direction of a Company, until *Charles*, at his Accession, vested the Administration of it in a Governour, Council, and Assembly, who were bound to act in strict Correspondence with the legal Forms prescribed under the Constitution of *Great Britain*. During a short Space, the Prosperity of *Virginia* was unmolested. At length, Sir *John Harvey*, whom the King had appointed Governour, proceeded to such tyrannical Extremes, that the irritated Colonists had Recourse to equal Violence, and, in the Year, one thousand six hundred, and thirty-nine, caused him to be seized, and sent, a Prisoner, to *England*. *Charles*, enraged at these Proceedings, directed *Harvey* to return instantly to his Government, and peremptorily refused to hear the Complaints that were alleged against him (*e*).

Yet

bles, in *England*, p. 63.—Farther to satisfy the Reader, he is referred to that admirable Picture of the State of Europe, in general, and of *England*, in particular, left us, by the Earl of *Clarendon*, in his *Life*. Edit. 1759. V. 1. p. 70, 71.
(*d*) Neale, in his *History of the Puritans*, observed that the Severities exercised by Archbishop *Laud*, drove thousands of Families to New-*England*.

(*e*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 147.

Yet this Re-establishment was effected solely with a View to support the Dignity of the Crown; and, shortly afterwards, Sir *John Harvey* was succeeded by Sir *William Berkley*, whose Administration, guided by Justice, and Lenity, restored the Happiness of the Colony. That of *New England* received its Name from *Charles*, when he was Prince of *Wales*, and was better settled during the Reign of *James*, than any other of the Plantations. When his Successor had ascended the Throne, it flourished still more considerably, and was constantly supplied with large Draughts of People; so that, by Degrees, it became divided into four Governments, under which (it hath been supposed,) there existed twenty-five thousand Inhabitants; from whence we may infer that the Commerce carried on between this Colony, and the Mother-Country, must have been very considerable, even at this early Period (*f*).

The Papists, in *England*, perceiving themselves exposed to numerous Severities, and dreading still greater Evils, were anxious to enjoy with other Nonconformists, an Asylum in the new World. Hence, arose the Settlement of *Maryland*, a Country which had been hitherto accounted a Part of *Virginia*, between thirty-seven, and forty Degrees of North Latitude. It was granted by *Charles*, on the twentieth of *June*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-two, to the Ancestor of the late Lord *Baltimore*, and derived its Name of *Maryland* from the Queen of *England*,

Henri-

(*f*) British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 372.—History, and present State of Virginia, by Colonel R. Beverley, p. 48, 49.—History of the British Plantations in America, by Sir William Keith, Baronet, p. 144, 145.—History of the British Settlements in North America, by William Douglas, M. D. Vol. 1. Sect. 8.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 148.

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(*g*) British Emp
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(*b*) General Hi
Sommer-Isles, by
Folio. Book 5.—
p. 149.

(*i*) True, and e
by Richard Ligon
bell's Lives of the

Henrietta Maria. It was more easily, and more successfully planted than any former Colony had been. *Leonard Calvert*, the Brother to the Lord Proprietor, was the first Governour, and continued to exercise his Authority, until that of the Crown grew too feeble to protect him, and until the Parliament sent one of their Adherents to supplant him (g).

The *Sommer-Islands*, which were planted in the last Reign, and settled under a regular Government, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, flourished exceedingly, the Country being fertile, and pleasant, and the Air much more wholesome than in any other Part of *America* (h). The Island of *Barbadoes*, which had been regularly planted, at the Commencement of the Reign of *Charles*, was granted to the Earl of *Carlisle*; and such was the Encouragement which he gave to all Adventurers, that the Place speedily became populous, and rich (i). To this Period, also, may we fix the Settlement of *Saint Christopher*, and *Nevis*.

Relatively to the Coinage, it may be necessary to observe that in the second Year of the Reign of *Charles*, the first, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, of twenty-three Carats, three Grains, and a half fine, and half a Grain, Alloy, was coined into forty-four Pounds, and ten Shillings, by Tale; namely, into Rose Rials, at thirty Shillings, a Piece; Spur-Rials, at fifteen Shillings, a Piece; and Angels, at ten Shillings,

(g) *British Empire in America*, V. 1. p. 323.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 148.

(h) *General History of Virginia, New-England, and the Sommer-Isles*, by Captain John Smith. London, 1627. Folio. Book 5.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 149.

(i) *True, and exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, by Richard Ligon. London, 1657. Folio. p. 45.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 149.

lings, a Piece. A Pound-Weight of Crown-Gold, of twenty-two Carats, fine, and two Carats, Allay, was coined into forty-one Pounds, by Tale; namely, into Unites, at twenty Shillings; Double-Crowns, at ten Shillings, or *British* Crowns, at five Shillings, a Piece. A Pound of Silver of the old Standard of eleven Ounces, two Penny-Weights, fine, into sixty-two Shillings, by Tale; namely, into Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, Half-Shillings, Two-Pences, Pence, and Half-Pence.

The gold Coins of this King (as appears from the above Indenture,) are Rose-Rials, Spur-Rials, Angels, Unites, Double, and *British* Crowns. The silver Coins are Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, Six-Pences, Two-Pences, Pence, and Half-Pence; as, also, ten, and Twenty-Shilling-Pieces, peculiar to this Reign, which have the Figure of *Charles*, on Horseback (*†*).

(*†*) See Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 10. p. 544.

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(*a*) Dugdale
(*b*) Birch's
—Stowe, p. 7
189.—Campb

MEMOIRS

O F

Sir ROBERT MANSEL.

THIS celebrated Officer, descended from an ancient, and noble Family, was the third Son of Sir *Edward Mansel*, Knight, by his Wife, the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to *Henry*, Earl of *Worcester* (a). He entered early into the Sea-Service, under the Patronage of the illustrious Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, High-Admiral of *England*. During the Expedition to *Cadiz*, his Gallantry attracted the Notice of the Earl of *Effex*, who rewarded him with Knighthood; and, thence forward, considered him as a Favourite, appointing him, previous to his Departure, on the Island-Voyage, to the Command of the *Mary-Honora* (b). On his Return, he adhered to his former Patron, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and was, frequently employed, at Sea, during the Reign of *Elizabeth*, but, more particularly,

(a) Dugdale's *Baronage*, V. 2. p. 293.

(b) *Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, V. 2. p. 50.
—*Stowe*, p. 775.—*Sir William Monson's naval Tracts*, p. 189.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 150.

cularly, for the Defence of the Coast, a Service in which his Prudence, and Intrepidity, attracted the Admiration of his Fellow-Subjects, and the Censure of his Enemies (c). When, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and two, he attacked six of the *Spanish Gallies*, on their Passage to *Flanders*, sunk three, and dispersed the rest, the *Dutch*, and after them, the *French* Historians, misrepresented his Behaviour. Sir Robert, eager to vindicate his injured Honour, drew up a full Relation of his Conduct, and addressed it to the Lord High-Admiral. Following the Example of a naval Writer (d), we here present an Extract, from what he deems a curious, and authentic Paper, to the Reader.

“ On the twenty-third of *September*, being in the
 “ *Hope*, and having in my Company the *Advantage*
 “ only of the Queen’s Ships, which Captain *Jones*
 “ commanded, and two *Dutch* Men of War, I rode
 “ more than half Channel over, towards the Coast of
 “ *France*, upon a *North-West*, and *South-East* Line,
 “ myself being nearest that Coast, Captain *Jones* next
 “ me, and the *Dutch* Men of War a Sea-Board, and
 “ to the *Westward* of him. The small Force, at that
 “ Time present, and with me, remaining thus disposed
 “ for the intercepting of the Gallies, having dismissed
 “ the *Dutch* Men of War that served under me, upon
 “ their own Intreaty, to re-victual, and trim, and hav-
 “ ing employed the rest of the Queen’s Ships, upon
 “ especial Services, I descried, from my Top-Mast-
 “ Heads, six low Sails, which some made for Gallies,
 “ whilst others affirmed them to be small Barks that had
 “ struck their Top-Sails, and were bound from *Dieppe*,
 “ towards the *Downs*. To which Opinion, although I
 “ inclined most, yet I directed the Master to weigh,
 “ and

(c) Camden, p. 895.

(d) Mr. Campbell.

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A View of the Defeat of a French Squadron under the Command of M. de la Clue, by an English Squadron, commanded by Admiral Boscawen, on the 24th of June 1747.

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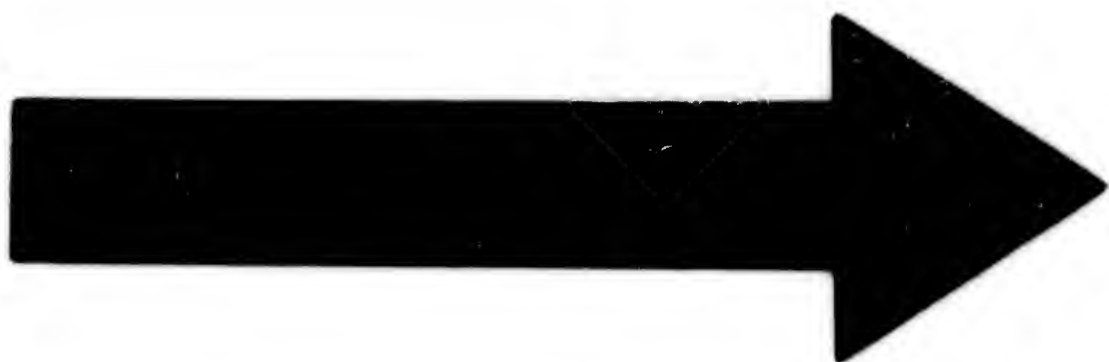
“and stand with them, that I might learn some News
 “of the Gallies, which, by your Lordship’s Advertise-
 “ment sent me, I knew had either passed me that
 “Night, or were near at Hand, unless the Sea had
 “swallowed them up in the Storms which had raged,
 “three Days before. Having set myself under Sail,
 “the Weather grew thick, which obliged me to lask
 “some two Points from the Wind, towards the *Eng-
 “lish* Coast, lest the Continuance of that dark Wea-
 “ther might give them Power to run out a-head of
 “me. About eleven o’Clock, the Weather cleared,
 “when I discovered them plainly to be the *Spanish*
 “Gallies so long Time expected, at which Time, with
 “the rest, I plied to receive them, by crossing their
 “Fore-Foot, as they stood along the Channel, which
 “they endeavoured, until they perceived that, by the
 “Continuance of that Course, they could not escape
 “the Power of my Ordnance.”

“All this Time, these two Fly-Boats were between
 “them, and me; and (as the Slaves report that swam
 “ashore at *Dover*,) they determined, with three Gal-
 “lies, to have boarded each of those Ships; and could
 “have executed that Resolution, but for the Fear of
 “her Majesty’s great Galleon, (as they termed the
 “*Hope*,) whose Force that they shunned in that Kind,
 “(considering the Disadvantage that twice six of the
 “best Gallies that ever I saw, have by fighting against
 “one Ship of her Force,) I do as much commend, as
 “otherwise, I do detest their shameful Working, in
 “that, full of Cowardliness, and Weakness, they
 “rowed back to the *Westward*, and spent the Day, by
 “running away, in Hopes that the Darkness of the
 “Night would give them Liberty sufficient to shun the
 “only Ship they feared; or that was indeed in the Sea,
 “all that Time, to give them the Cause of Fear, I

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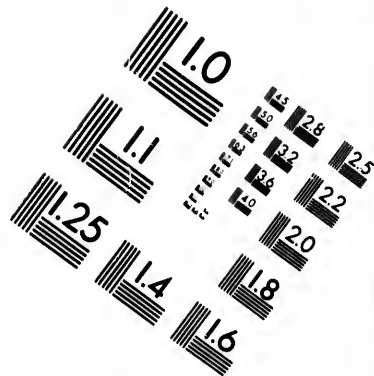
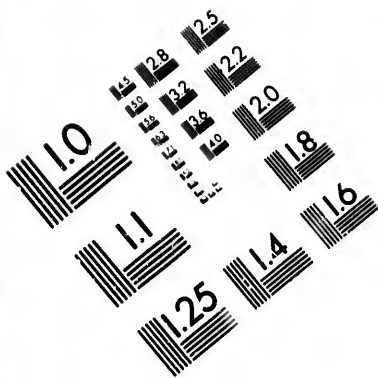
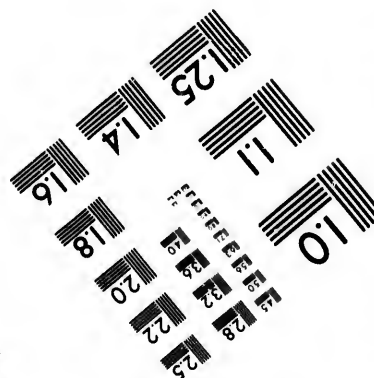
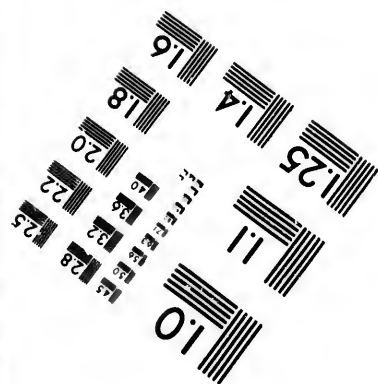
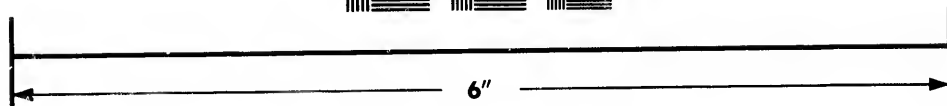
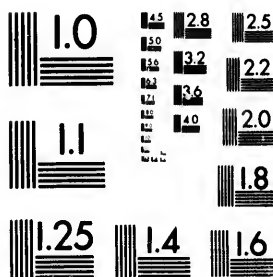


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“mean between them and *Dunkirk*, or *Nieuport*. This Error only of theirs bred their Confusion, as you may perceive by the Sequel.”

“For, they no sooner began that Course of rowing back again, but I instantly made Signs for Captain *Jones*, in the *Advantage*, belonging to the Queen, to come to me, whom I presently directed to repair to *Calais-Road*, and thence to send the *Alarm* unto the Army of the *States*, assembled before *Sluys*, and to advise such Men of War as kept on the Coast of *Flanders*, upon any other Occasion, to stand off to Sea, to meet with the Gallies, in the Night, which should be chased by me, with my Lights in my Top-Mast-Heads, and a continual Discharging of my Ordnance. Captain *Jones* having shaped his Course, according to my Directions, I gave Orders for hoisting, and trimming of my Sails, by the Wind, to keep Sight of the Gallies; and the two Fly-Boats, being still a Weather of me, did the like.”

“Which Chace we held, until Sun-setting, observing this Course following, all the Day. They, being a Weather of me, kept their continual Boards, that the Gallies were always between them, and myself being to Leeward made such short Turns, as I kept all the Afternoon in a Manner even in the very Eye of their Course, between them, and the Place of their Design, ever discharging my best Ordnance to warn the *Answer*, belonging to her Majesty, that rid, by my Directions, at the *Downs*, upon important Service, as your Lordship knoweth; and the *Pinnings* that were there, having left the Sea, upon unknown Grounds to me, (yet sent from *Portsmouth*, by the most provident Direction of her sacred Majesty, to await the coming of the Gallies, upon Advancements that her Highness received, of their be-

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ing put to Sea,) to set Sail, who else had received no
 Understanding of the Gallies, neither came they
 within Shot of them until after Night; howsoever
 the Reputation of the Service is wholly challenged by
 them "

" Having given your Lordship an Account how this
 Day was thus spent by me, from eight o'Clock, until
 the Evening, and with these only Helps, I beseech
 your Lordship to be pleased to understand that with
 the setting of the Sun, I could both discern the Ships
 last mentioned, under Sail, at the *Downs*, and the
 Gallies to have set their Sails, directing their Course
 close aboard of our Shore, each of them being out of
 Sight of the other; and my *Dutch* Consorts, by this
 Time, to have been left by the Gallies to a Stern-
 Chace: When I perceived them to hold that Course
 which would bring them within Shot of the *Answer*,
 and the rest that were in the *Downs*, I held a clean
 contrary Course from them, towards the Coast of
France, to confirm the secure Passage they thought
 to find on our Coast, which I continued, until the
 Report of their Battery gave me Assurance of the
 Gallies being engaged with them."

" How the Battery began, who began it, how it was
 continued, how ended, and to whom the Reputation
 of the Service is due, I leave to be considered by your
 Lordship, by the Perusal of the true Discourse fol-
 lowing. The *Answer*, belonging to the Queen, which
 Captain *Broadgate* commanded, as she rid more *South-*
erly, at the *Downs*, than the *Flemings*, so came she
 first to the Gallies, and bestowed twenty-eight Pieces
 of Ordnance, in them, before the *Flemings* came in,
 who, at length, seconded him with very many
 Shot."

“ During this Battery of ours upon the Gallies,
 “ which I so term, because they never exchanged one
 “ Shot, at the very first Report of the *Answer*’s Ord-
 “ nance, I directed the Master of my Ship to bear up
 “ with the *South End* of the *Godwin*, with which Di-
 “ rections, I delivered my Reasons publicly, as I stood
 “ on the Poop of my Ship, namely, that if I stood di-
 “ rectly in, the Gallies, before I could recover the
 “ Place, would either be driven ashore, or sunk, and so
 “ there would prove no Need of my Force; or else,
 “ by their nimble Sailing, they would escape their
 “ Ships, of whom (once getting a-head,) they could
 “ receive no Impediment; for, there was no one Ship,
 “ but the *Advantage*, in the Sea, that could hinder
 “ them from recovering any Port in *Flanders*, or the
 “ *East-Countries*, (*Sluys* only excepted,) unless I stayed
 “ them at that *Sand-Head*.”

“ Having recovered as near that Place as I desired,
 “ I stayed at least a Quarter of an Hour, before I could
 “ either see the Galley, hear, or see any of those Ships,
 “ their Lights, or the Report of their Ordnance, which
 “ made me, and all my Company, hold Opinion that
 “ they had outailed the *Answer*, and the rest of the
 “ *Flamings*, and shunned Sight of me, by going a Sea-
 “ Board of my Ship, which I so verily believed, as I
 “ once directly determined to sail for *Sluys*, with Hope
 “ only that the Preparation which I knew the *States*
 “ had there, would be able to prevent their Entrance
 “ into that Place. Whilst I remained, thus doubtful,
 “ or rather hopeless to hinder their Recovery of *Dun-*
 “ *kirk*, or *Nieuport*, in Case they had been a Sea-Board
 “ of me, some of my Company descried a single Gal-
 “ ley, plying from the Shore, to get a-head of my
 “ Ship. When she approached within Caliver-Shot, I

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"discharged about thirty Pieces of Ordnance, of my
 "lower, and upper Tier, at her alone; myself, with
 "many others in my Ship, saw when her Main-Yard
 "was shot asunder, heard the Report of many Shot
 "that hit her Hull, heard many of their most pitiful
 "Outcries, which when I perceived to continue, and,
 "instead of making Way from me, I forbore shoot-
 "ing, and commanded one that spoke the *Portuguese*
 "Language, to tell them that I was contented to re-
 "ceive them to Mercy; which I would accordingly
 "have performed, had not the other five Gallies offered
 "to stand a head of me, at that very instant, and there-
 "by would have left me, as they had both the first
 "two *Dutch Ships*, and, afterwards, the *Answer*, with
 "the rest of the *Flemings*, had I omitted any small
 "Time, of executing the Advantage I had, of their
 "being on my Broadside, which, as appears, was so
 "effectually employed, (howsoever the Night wherein
 "this Service was performed, might hinder the parti-
 "cular Mention of their Hurts,) as none can deny,
 "but that God pleased thereby only to work their
 "Confusion. For, since that Time, none hath
 "said, or can speak of any one Shot made towards
 "them; yet four of them are sunk, and wrecked, the
 "fifth past doing the Enemy Service, and the sixth
 "they are forced to new-build at *Dunkirk*, where, (if
 "I be not much deceived,) she will prove more
 "chargeable, than profitable, if the Default rest not in
 "ourselves."

"The Disagreement between the *Dutch Captains*
 "themselves, touching the stemming, and sinking of
 "the Gallies, (whereof one challenged before your
 "Lordship, and in many other public Places, to have
 "stemmed, and sunk two himself,) and the printed
 "Pamphlet, containing the stemming, and sinking of

“ three Gallies, gives the Reputation thereof to three
 “ feveral Captains, amongst whom no Mention is made
 “ of the first; and whereas there are but two in all
 “ funk, I leave to be reconciled amongst themselves,
 “ and to your Lordship, whether that the fame of Right
 “ appertaineth not to her Majesty's Ship, the *Hope*, in
 “ Respect of the Allegations before mentioned, every
 “ Particular whereof, being to be proved by the Oaths
 “ of my whole Company, and maintained with the Ha-
 “ zard of my Life, with that which followeth.

“ First, as the Shooting of the single Galley's Main-
 “ Yard; my bestowing above thirty Pieces of Ord-
 “ nance, upon that one Galley, within less than Cali-
 “ ver-Shot.”

“ Secondly, that they in the Galley made many la-
 “ mentable Outcries, for my receiving them to Mer-
 “ cy.”

“ Thirdly, that I would accordingly have received
 “ them, but for giving them over, to encounter with
 “ the other five Gallies, which else had left me to a
 “ Stern Chace.”

“ To these Reasons, I add the Assertion of the Vice-
 “ Admiral himself, who told me (whatsoever he spake
 “ in other Places,) that one of the Gallies, which he
 “ stemmed, had her Main-Yard shot asunder, before
 “ his coming on Board of her; by whomsoever she was
 “ then stemmed, your Lordship may judge who ruined
 “ her, considering she made no Resistance by his own
 “ Report, but by crying to him for Mercy.”

“ Touching the other Galley stemmed, and sunk, I
 “ have already proved how she (as all the rest) had got
 “ a-head of the *Answer*, of the Queen's, not named,
 “ and the rest of the *States* Men of War with her, who
 “ challenge the whole Credit of this Service. They
 “ (as all other Seamen,) cannot deny but that the
 “ Gal-

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" Gallies will outfail all Ships, in such a loome Gale
 " of Wind, and smooth Sea, as we had that Night."

" The Gallies then being quicker of Sail than they,
 " how could they, by any Means possible, fetch them
 " up, but by some Impediment? Impediment they re-
 " ceived none, but by my Ordnance, which amounted
 " to fifty great Shot at those five which came last from
 " the Shore, when all the Ships were above a Mile
 " asfern."

" Some, notwithstanding, out of their detracting
 " Dispositions, may, perchance, say that the two which
 " were wrecked at *Nieuport*, would have perished by
 " Storm, although they had not been battered:
 " whereto, although I have speedily answered, first, in
 " shewing that they might have recovered any of the
 " Places thereabouts; before eight o'Clock that Night,
 " but for me, and then the second Time, before the
 " Morning, had they not been encountered by me
 " alone, at the *South Sand-Head*; yet for further Proof
 " that they miscarried by our Battery only, I say, that
 " if one of the Gallies which received least Damage by
 " our Ordnance, did outlive *Friday's* Storm, continu-
 " ing until *Saturday* Noon, being driven amongst the
 " Islands of *Zealand*, to recover *Calais*, then surely those
 " two (unless they had been exceedingly torn,) would
 " have made shift to have recovered the Ports of *Nieu-*
 " *port*, *Graveling*, or *Dunkirk*; especially since from
 " the Place where I battered them, they might have
 " been at the remotest of those Places, about four
 " Hours before any Storm began. But such seemed
 " their Hastē to save their Lives, as their Thought ran
 " of a Shore, and not of a Harbour."

" Now, that I have delivered unto your Lordship
 " the whole, and true Discourse of this-Business, I shall
 " forbear to trouble your Patience with any farther

“ Relation of that Night, and next Day’s spending my
 “ Time, (although the same, in her Chace, had like to
 “ have cost her Majesty her Ship, and the Lives of as
 “ many as were in her,) and conclude with the Admi-
 “ ration of their not holding her Majesty’s Ship, nor I,
 “ (her unworthiest Servant,) and then, and yet, by her
 “ Highness’s Grace, and your Lordship’s Favour, Ad-
 “ miral of the Forces in that Place, am not once men-
 “ tioned, especially since the six Gallies might safely
 “ have arrived, before seven o’Clock, that Night, at
 “ any of the Ports of *Flanders*, to the *Westward* of
 “ *Ostend*. And that the *Dutch* Ships had not come from
 “ an Anchor in the *Downs*, but for the Signs (*Signals*),
 “ they received from me. Then, that the Force of
 “ her Majesty’s Ship, wherein I was, enforced them to
 “ keep close aboard the *English* Shore, whereby those
 “ Ships in the *Downs*, had Power given them to come
 “ to fight, which Fight was begun by the *Answer*, be-
 “ longing to the Queen.”

“ And, lastly, since the Gallies escaped their Battery,
 “ and had gotten a-head of those Ships above a Mile at
 “ least, and never received any impediment after, but
 “ only by me, who lingered them (as you have heard,)
 “ until the Coming up of those Ships that challenge to
 “ stem them; which being granted, I cannot see how
 “ any other Credit can be rightly given them (for that
 “ Stem, I mean,) than to a Lackey for pillaging of
 “ that dead Body which his Master had slain.”

Mr. *Campbell* advances three Motives for the Pro-
 priety of inserting this long Relation. First, because
 the Paper is very curious in itself, and well drawn (e).

Next,

(e) We cannot implicitly assent to one Part of this Asser-
 tion. The Language is obscure almost throughout the
 whole Quotation, and, in some Places, the Reader may be
 on the Point of thinking it unintelligible.

Next, because
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Next, because it reflects Honour on the Memory of Sir *Robert Mansel*; and, particularly deserves a Place within a naval Work. Lastly, as it shews the Correctness of those Times, when every important Circumstance was examined, and sifted to the Bottom; a Proceeding which rendered Officers so anxious to preserve their Characters, that they were always ready to publish a strict Relation of their Conduct, in that explicit Manner which silenced Calumny, and took away the Necessity of Inquiry.

When *James*, the first, succeeded to the Throne, Sir *Robert Mansel* retained his Post of Vice-Admiral, to which he had been advanced through the Interest of the Earl of *Nottingham*. To this illustrious Patron, he firmly, and gratefully adhered, when the Enemies of the former had prevailed on his Sovereign to issue a Commission, equally detrimental to his Reputation, and Authority, for the Purpose of discovering, and correcting Abuses in the Department of the Marine. From this invidious Mode of Inquiry, *Mansel* advised the Earl of *Nottingham* to dissent, and thus, incurring the Indignation of the Court, was committed Prisoner to the *Marshalsea*, where he remained during the Space of some Months (*f*). It must, however, be confessed that the Commission was followed by salutary Consequences, and that the Detection, and Amendment of numerous Abuses, proved the Means of saving, soon afterwards, to the Crown, the annual Sum of twenty-five thousand Pounds (*g*). It was, on this Occasion, that Sir

(*f*) A. D. 1613.—Winwood's Memorials, V. 3. p. 460.
—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 159.

(*g*) This Circumstance is affirmed (as a Fact,) by *James*, in his Speech, addressed to the Parliament, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty. (See *Frankland's Annals*,

Sir *Robert* advised the Lord High Admiral to resign his Office, perceiving, that, as his Abilities were enfeebled, a longer Continuance in it might become more, and more detrimental to the Public, and to himself.

In Order to prevent the Navy from receiving any Prejudice by the Resignation of the Earl of *Nottingham*, Sir *Robert Mansel* advised the Duke of *Buckingham* to obtain the Post; and when this aspiring Favourite pleaded his Youth, and Inexperience, replied that, in Times of Peace, the best Service which could be performed was an assiduous Attention to the Repairs of the Navy; that, at the first Entrance into Office it might be sufficient to rebuild the necessary Ships, and correct Abuses; and that Habit would, at length, render him so intimately conversant with the Business of his Department as to perform his Duty, whensoever he might be called, by future Wars, to Action. When the Duke succeeded *Nottingham*, he presented his Countess with three thousand Pounds; and her Husband obtained a Pension, amounting to one thousand Pounds. In Consequence of this Transaction (*b*), Sir *Robert Mansel*

p. 49.) The King rewarded the several Commissioners with the Honour of Knighthood, for the Services rendered, at this Juncture, to the Nation, and for the great Pains which they had taken. The Names of these Gentlemen were Forster, Osborn, Gaughton, Sutton, and Pitts. (See Camden's Annals of the Reign of James, the First, under the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen.) Sir William Monson, who devised the Measure, was severely, and unjustly censured by several of his Contemporaries. A similar Commission, which demonstrates the Zeal of the Sovereign for the Prosperity of the Marine, was directed, in the second Year of the Reign of Charles, the first, to James, Earl of Marlborough; George, Duke of Buckingham; Robert, Earl of Lindsay, and other Lords.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 18. p. 758. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 160.

(*b*) A. D. 1616.

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fel was appointed, through the Interest of *Buckingham*, Vice-Admiral, for Life.

Yielding to the sagacious Counsels of this experienced Officer, the Duke prevailed on *James* to invest Persons of approved Abilities in the maritime Department, with a Commission for the Management of the Navy. It is reasonable to infer that, during the subsequent Confusion in every Branch of Government, this Measure alone prevented the Ruin of the Fleet. Even during the Impeachment of *Buckingham*, it became the least exceptionable Article of his Defence (*i*).

In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, Sir *Robert Mansel* commanded the Fleet equipped, for the Reduction of the Pirates of *Algiers*. As this Enterprize hath been already mentioned (*k*), let it be deemed sufficient to remark that a naval Writer (*l*) imagines that the Admiral was more unfortunate, than criminal. It is admitted that he advised the Measure from a generous, and public spirited Motive; the Desire of exalting the naval Reputation of the *English*, and of delivering their Commerce from the Injuries to which it had been exposed by the Depredations of these lawless Rovers; yet we learn that he was sent abroad with so limited a Commission, and attended by such inexperienced Officers, (advanced, imprudently, through the Interest of Courtiers,) that his Designs, although sagaciously concerted, were marred by their Misconduct.

That

(*i*) Frankland's Annals, p. 188.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 161.

(*k*) See from the Commencement to the thirteenth Page of the fourth Volume of this Work.—And also an Account of this Expedition, printed by Authority. 1621. Quarto.—Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 34.—Frankland's Annals, p. 55.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 161.

(*l*) Mr. Campbell.

That he employed all Means, within his Power, to facilitate the Accomplishment of the Enterprize, hath been affirmed by a Multitude of Historians who were, at once, his Contemporaries, and his Admirers.

This unfortunate Event, added to the unmerited Indifference of *Buckingham*, gave Rise to that Neglect which he experienced during the Reign of *Charles*, to whom it hath been imputed, as a dangerous Error, that he did not once avail himself of the naval Services of Sir *Robert Mansel* (m). This accomplished Seaman continued, notwithstanding, in the Post of Vice-Admiral. He died, without Issue, soon after the Commencement of the Civil Wars (n), (o).

(m) Kennet, V. 3. p. 13. — L'Estrange's History of Charles, the First, p. 17. — Rushworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 195.

(n) English Baronetage, V. 1. p. 489. — Mr. Campbell Remarks, in a Note, that the Knowledge of Sir Robert Mansel must have been very extensive; and the Reputation of his Conduct, and Intrepidity firmly established, as we find him, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-two, recommended, by Sir John Pennington, to the King, as the properest Person to seize the Fleet for the royal Service; his Authority, as Vice-Admiral of England, added to the Respect paid him by the Seamen, being, as was suggested, likely to meet with little Resistance from the Power of the Earl of Warwick, who had found Means, in the preceding Year, to bring the Navy under the Dominion of the Parliament; but Charles was apprehensive lest the advanced Age, and Infirmities of Mansel, might, notwithstanding that his Courage, and Integrity were unquestionable, render the Attempt hazardous. At this Period, Sir Robert resided at Greenwich. — Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 675.

(o) As most of the naval Transactions in which Sir William Monson was engaged have been circumstantially related, we shall not introduce his Memoirs in a Work, where much important Matter *must* be confined to very narrow Limits.

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NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the CIVIL WARS.

WHEN the Disputes between the King, and Parliament, had been carried to such violent Extremes that they prepared for War, the Possession of the Fleet became the first Object of their Attention, from a Consciousness that the Party under which it served would be considered, by foreign Princes, as the sovereign Power (*a*). At this Period, the Earl of *Northumberland* was Lord High Admiral; and the Post had been conferred on him by *Charles*, to indulge the Wishes of the Commons, who had declared him

(*a*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 477.—Coke's Detection, p. 152.—May's History of the Parliament of England, Book 2. p. 49.—Sir William Dugdale's short View of the late Troubles of England, p. 91.

him worthy of their Confidence; a Circumstance which, probably, contributed not a little to the Grant of the Commission during Pleasure only, although the Reason given for this Limitation, by the Sovereign, was a Design to confer the Office on his Son, the Duke of *York*, so soon as he should become of Age (*b*). Sir *Robert Mansel*, an Officer of approved Loyalty, Valour, and Experience, but aged, and infirm, was Vice-Admiral of *England*. Sir *John Pennington* filled the Post of Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, then at Anchor in the *Downs*, and Sir *John Minnes* was Rear Admiral. These Officers were well affected to the royal Cause. The Parliament had formed a Project for dispossessing the Sovereign of his Navy, and even carried it into Execution, notwithstanding that *Charles* had won the Approbation of the Seamen, whose Wages he considerably raised, and for whom he expressed, on all Occasions, a particular Esteem (*c*). As this extraordinary Measure was attended by Consequences the most important, and serviceable to the Interests of the Parliament, we shall present the Reader with a brief, and impartial Account of the Steps which led to its Accomplishment.

In the Spring, of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-one, the Parliament desired, or, in Effect, directed the Earl of *Northumberland* to provide a formidable Fleet, for the Security of the Nation, by Sea, and appropriated an ample Fund for this Service. They, next, requested that he would appoint the Earl of *Warwick*, Admiral of this Armament, on Account of

(*b*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 430. V. 5. p. 136.—Lord Strafford's Letters, V. 1. p. 54. 67.

(*c*) May's History of the Parliament of England, Book 2. p. 49. 53. 91.—Coke's Detection, p. 152.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 125.—Clarendon, V. 2. p. 478. 674. 680.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 172.

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of his own Indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to command in Person (*d*). This Proceeding was resented by *Charles*, who insisted that Sir *John Pennington* should not relinquish his Command; but *Northumberland* paid such Respect to the Recommendation of the Parliament, that, availing himself of the Power derived to him from his Commission, he ordered the Fleet to be delivered up to the Earl of *Warwick*, and formally raised him to the Command of it. Successful in this important Point, the Parliament expressed an Inclination to displace Sir *John Pennington*, and give the Post of Vice-Admiral to Captain *Cartwright*, the Comptroller of the Navy. This Officer refused to undertake the Service, until he had obtained the Permission of the King, who, being applied to, commanded him to decline it. On this Occasion, the Parliament immediately conferred the Office of Vice-Admiral on *Batten*, a violent Opposer of the royal Cause. Thus, in the Spring of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-two, was the Navy transferred from the Sovereign to the Parliament; yet *Charles* concluded that he could recover it, at any Time; an Infatuation which may account for his suffering *Northumberland* to remain in Office, until, being more alarmed, he yielded to the Necessity of displacing him (*e*).

At this Period, the *Providence*, the sole Vessel in the Possession of *Charles*, was dispatched, by the Queen, from

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 57.—Sir William Dugdale's short View of the late Troubles of England, p. 91.—May's History of the Parliament, Book 2. p. 49.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 442. 478.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 171, 172.

(*e*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 218.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 31.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 480. 482.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 171, 172.

from *Holland*, with Supplies. Arriving in the *Downs*, she came in Sight of the Fleet, a Ship from which chased her into the *Humber*, and there forced the Captain to run her ashore. Inflamed with Indignation at this extraordinary Violence, the King resolved on an Attempt to seize the Navy, and Success would, probably, have been the Consequence, if the Execution of the Design had proved equal to the Contrivance; but, through the Misconduct of Sir *John Pennington*, it miscarried, and served only to defeat the Hopes which *Charles* had formed of embracing a more favourable Occasion for the Accomplishment of his Views. *Warwick* now availed himself of the Opportunity for which he long had wished, and dismissed from the naval Service all Persons who had discovered the least Attachment to the *Royalists* (f).

The Parliament, as they had manifested great Care, and Industry, in establishing the Security, so they shewed not less Wisdom in the Management of the Fleet, which was always preserved in good Order, whilst the Seamen were liberally, and regularly paid. In the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-three, Vice-Admiral *Batten*, having received Intelligence that the Queen intended to sail from *Holland*, to the North of *England*, in a Dutch Man of War, endeavoured, notwithstanding that the States were at Peace with *Great Britain*, to intercept her, on the Passage. In this Attempt he failed, but chased the Ship into *Burlington Bay*, and, having discovered that the Queen was landed, and lodged in a House, upon the Key, he discharged his Ordnance against it, in so unerring a Direction, that several of the Shot passed through her Chamber, and she

(f) May's History of the Parliament, Book 2. p. 94, 95. — Clarendon, V. 2. p. 673. — Whitlocke, p. 60. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 172.

she was obliged for Safety, was performed extremely gracefully with what she deavoured to

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(g) Clarendon, p. 4. Rushworth's Admirals.

he was obliged, although much indisposed, to retire, for Safety, into the open Fields (g). This Service, which was performed in the Month of *February*, proved extremely grateful to the Parliament, because it discovered with what Zeal the Officers of the Fleet, at least, endeavoured to promote their Interests.

It was recommended to the King, by those who were extremely anxious for the Prosperity of his Affairs, during the Time when the Treaty for Peace was in Agitation at *Oxford*, in *April*, of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-three; to seize the Opportunity which then presented itself, of attaching the Earl of *Northumberland* to his Service, from a Persuasion that the Measure might be attended with the happiest Consequences in Favour of the royal Cause. It is observed by *Clarendon*, that Mr. *Pierpoint*, who was endued with the most solid Understanding, rather desired than proposed the Measure; and that the Earl himself had protested, in Confidence to Secretary *Nicholas*, that he wished only to receive so great an Instance of the Favour of his Sovereign, that he might be the more enabled to re-deliver, into his Hands, the Fleet which the Parliament had found Means to take Possession of, and which he doubted would hardly be seized from them, at least so soon, by any other Expedient whatsoever. A Multitude of untoward Circumstances prevented *Charles* from acceding to the Proposition. He was exceedingly offended at the former Carriage of *Northumberland*; he could not entertain a favourable Opinion of his Power, even amidst his own Party, when he recollected that he had not sufficient

VOL. IV.

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(g) *Clarendon's History*. V. 3. p. 143. — *Heath's Chronicle*. p. 42 — *Davies's History of the Civil Wars*. p. 85. — *Rushworth A. D.* 1643. p. 156. — *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*. V. 2. p. 173.

Interest to procure an Enlargement of the Time stipulated for the Treaty; and he apprehended that he might suffer, in his Honour, by such a Concession to a Person who had so unworthily requited the many Graces which he had hitherto bestowed on him. Another, and still stronger Motive for his rejecting this Proposal, was the Promise which he had given to the Queen, at her Departure for *Holland*, to receive no Person, into Favour, or Trust, who had disoblighd him, without her Privity; and although that Princess landed in *England*, about the Time when the Treaty began, or rather on the twenty-second of *February*, which preceded it, yet she did not arrive at *Oxford*, until the thirteenth of the following Month of *July*, the Day on which the Parliament received that memorable Defeat, in the Action at *Round-way Down*; and for Want of her Presence, this Overture, that might have proved of the utmost Importance to the Cause of *Charles*, was unhappily rejected (*b*).

In *September*, of the same Year, the Parliament commanded the Earl of *Warwick* to attempt the Relief of *Exeter*, a Service which he performed with great Zeal, but with indifferent Success. Sailing up the River, which runs by the Walls of the Town, in hopes of conveying Succours into the Place, he found some Works thrown up near the Shore, which prevented him from annoying the Besiegers so much as he expected. Still desirous of engaging in some Action of Importance, he remained on this Station, until the Tide fell, when he was forced to depart, leaving behind

(*b*) Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon. V. 1. p. 152, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 3. p. 225, 226. 290, 291.—Rushworth's Collections. A. D. 1643. p. 275.—Heath's Chronicle. p. 46, 47.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 176.

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hind three of his Ships, one of which was burnt; but the remaining two were taken by the Royalists (i). On the Coast of *Devonshire*, his Services were more important. There, he not only secured *Plymouth*, and other Places, but had the Address, during the whole Time that he commanded, to keep the Fleet firm in the Interests of the Parliament (k).

Whilst the Presbyterians retained the Ascendant, the Concerns of the Navy were on a prosperous Establishment. To this Party, the Earl of *Warwick*, and all his Officers proved intirely devoted. Every Summer, a powerful Squadron was equipped to serve, as Occasion might require, and thus, the Commerce of the Nation became considerably protected (l). But, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-eight, and whilst the Power of the Independents was the most prevailing, the Direction of Affairs became turned into a different Channel, and it was resolved to remove the Earl of *Warwick* from his Command, notwithstanding the Services which he had performed, and to bestow the Post of Admiral on Colonel *Rainborough* (m).

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(i) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 3. p. 336.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars. p. 94.—May's History of the Parliament. Book 3. p. 58, 59.—Whitlocke. p. 72.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 176.

(k) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 3. p. 281. 336.—Rushworth's Collections.—Whitlocke.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 176.

(l) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 5. p. 132.—Rushworth's Collections.—Whitlocke.—Heath.—History of Independency. p. 1, 2.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 177.

(m) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 5. p. 122. 132.—Rushworth's Collections. A. D. 1648. p. 822.—Ludlow's Memoirs. V. 1. p. 236.—Heath's Chronicle. p. 175.—Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the two last Years of the Reign of Charles, the first. p. 53.—Manley's History of the Rebellion. p. 182.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 177.

This Officer, who had been bred a Seaman, and was the Son of a Commander of Distinction, quitted the Regiment of Foot in which he then served, with the Army of the Parliament. When the News of this Promotion in the Navy had reached the *Downs*, the Seamen were in great Confusion. The Earl of *Warwick*, and *Batten*, his Vice-Admiral. inflamed by a Sense of Insult, and the Prospect of their Dismission, fought rather to increase than soften the general Discontent. When *Rainborough*, and his Officers appeared, they assisted in the Seizure of their Persons, and, having driven them ashore, did not openly oppose the Conduct of the Seamen, who were resolved to depart immediately for *Holland*, in Order to take on Board the Duke of *York*, whom they styled their Admiral, because the Intention of the King to advance him to that Command was not unknown (*n*).

Although *Charles*, at this Period, was a Prisoner; and, notwithstanding that his Affairs appeared desperate, yet if the Revolt of the Fleet had been properly conducted, the Issue might have proved favourable to his Cause; yet such were the Proceedings of the Seamen, that it is scarcely possible to suppose how few Advantages were drawn from an Event so promising in its Nature. It must be confessed that the Parliament, upon the first Intimation of the growing Disaffection amongst the Sailors had directed that half of the usual Provisions should be put on Board the Fleet. Yet it will

(*n*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 5. p. 136, 137.—Whitlocke's Memorials. p. 308.—Dr. Bates's Elenchus Motuum. p. 100.—Rushworth. p. 1131.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs. p. 316.—Sir William Dugdale's History of the late Troubles of England. p. 283.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars in England. p. 231.—Bulstrode's Memoirs. p. 168.—Sir John Bowring's Memoirs. p. 146.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 177.

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(*o*) Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars in England. p. 138.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 178.
(*p*) Ludlow's View of the English Civil War. Collections. Life of Dr. Motuam. p. 178.

(*q*) Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars in England. p. 138.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars in England. p. 231.—Bulstrode's Memoirs. p. 168.—Sir John Bowring's Memoirs. p. 146.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 177.

will appear that this Want might easily have been remedied, when it is considered that the County of *Kent* was in Arms for *Charles*, and that many of the Inhabitants had repaired to the Ships, with a Determination to act in his Defence (*o*). Yet, as the Spirit of Resistance to the Authority of Parliament, originated solely from the Seamen, few Officers seemed desirous of adhering to their Party, when they declared for *Charles*. In Want of Chiefs, and not inclined to seek Advice from Men who were not used to naval Service, they lost the Time in fruitless Deliberations concerning the Measures to be pursued, and, thus, imprudently, gave the Parliament an Opportunity of recovering from the Fright into which this unexpected Event had thrown them. The first Resolution of the Commons was that the Earl of *Warwick* should be immediately restored to his Title, and Command, and he, accordingly, received Orders to draw together a Fleet, without the least Delay (*p*).

This revolted Armament (if, properly, it may be so called,) which, at length, failed for *Calais*, consisted of seventeen powerful Vessels, to oppose which the Parliament had not a sufficient Force (*q*). The Sea-

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(*o*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 5. p. 136.—Heath's Chronicle. p. 176.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars in England. p. 231.—Coke's Detection. p. 185.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 178.

(*p*) Ludlow's Memoirs. V. 1. p. 237.—Dugdale's short View of the Troubles of England. p. 284.—Rushworth's Collections. A. D. 1648. p. 1131.—Whitlocke p. 308.—Life of Doctor John Barwick. p. 102.—Bates's Elenicus Motuum. p. 102.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 178.

(*q*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. V. 5. p. 137, 138.—Heath's Chronicle.—Whitlocke's Memoirs.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 231.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 178.

men left a Ship riding before the Harbour of this Place, for the Purpose of receiving on board the Prince of *Wales*, and then departed for *Holland*. Soon afterwards, the Prince, and his Brother, the Duke of *York*, repaired to the Ship, attended by several Persons of Quality, their Companions in Exile. Instead of deliberating concerning the Service in which the Fleet might most prudently be employed, the Persons aspiring to their chief Command were busied in Intrigues, and the contending Parties so infatuated the Seamen, that the Spirit of Loyalty, by which they were at first induced to embrace this extraordinary Measure, became intirely extinguished (r).

In the Midst of these Disputes, Admiral *Batten* arrived, with the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best Ships in the Navy of the Parliament, and several Officers of Note. On this Occasion, the Prince of *Wales* conferred the Honour of Knighthood on *Batten*, and appointed him Rear-Admiral, his Brother, the Duke of *York*, having before advanced the Lord *Willoughby*, of *Parham*, who was also a new Convert from the Parliament, to the Post of Vice-Admiral (s). As the Fleet now amounted to 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*, and to rescue the King, which might, most probably, have been effected; the other, to enter the River *Thames*, in Order to awe the City of *London*, by interrupting their Commerce, and to enfeeble the Parliament

(r) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 138, 139. — Echard — Rapin. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 179.

(s) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 140. — Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 179.

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liament by obstructing their Supplies of Seamen from the outward-bound Ships. This Measure, whether deemed the most practicable, or the most profitable, was immediately carried into Execution (t).

At its Commencement, the Success of this Enterprize proved extremely favourable, and the Fleet under the Prince, took Numbers of rich Prizes, near the Mouth of the River, particularly a Ship, bound for *Rotterdam*, laden with Cloth, and valued at forty thousand Pounds. Soon afterwards, he entered into a Treaty with the City, which, at length, ended in a Composition for the Prizes (u). Meanwhile the Earl of *Warwick* had fitted out a formidable Fleet, at *Portsmouth*, with which he sailed into the *Downs*, and cast Anchor in Sight of the Prince of *Wales*. Great, but ineffectual Endeavours were used by both Parties to seduce the Seamen from their respective Fleets. At one Period, the Prince had resolved, and even attempted to give Battle to the Enemy; but when the Wind changed, and the Officers reported that the Provisions fell short, it was judged expedient to proceed towards *Holland*, where the Fleet arrived, in Safety; but so divided in Opinion were the Commanders, that no new Course could be resolved on (x). The Earl of *War-*

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(t) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 141. — Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315. — Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 237. — Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 182. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.

(u) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 156, 157. — Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 327. — Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.

(x) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 159. — Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 241. — Whitlocke, p. 327. — Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1251. 1254. — Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 171. — Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 183. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.

wick, who had foreseen their Proceedings, and was sensible that they could not obtain Supplies of Money, sufficient for the Payment of the Wages due to the Sailors, chased them to their Retreat, and sent a Message to the *States*, requiring them to compel certain Ships, which had revolted from the Parliament of *England*, to put to Sea.

At so critical a Juncture, the *States* at a Loss what Conduct to pursue. Unwilling to offend the Admiral in the Service of the Parliament, they were yet sensible that they could not, without incurring the severest Censures, permit the Prince of *Wales* to be insulted, not only near their Coasts, but even within their Harbours. In the mean Time, it became difficult to prevent those Hostilities which the two Parties, at once excited by Hatred, and by Necessity, were eager to commit, and the rather, because each, elated with the Hope of Victory, concluded that several of the adverse Ships would at length desert, and engage under the same Banner. The first Measure resolved on by the *States*, was to direct the Admiralty of *Rotterdam* to equip, with all possible Expedition, a formidable naval Armament, which, falling down the River, might prevent the two Fleets from coming to an Engagement. At the same Time, they ordered four Deputies to wait upon the Admirals, and, in their Name, desire that no Violence which would affect the Sovereignty of the Republic, might be committed either on the Shore, or within Sight of any of their Harbours.

On this Occasion, the Prince of *Wales* appeared the most submissive, because a Number of the Sailors, who had been badly payed, deserted, and even several of the Ships, and Officers, formerly in the Service of the Parliament, had now returned to it. His whole Force consisted

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consisted only of fourteen Vessels, all poorly equipped; and with these, he retired under the Cannon of *Helvoet*, determined rather to avoid, than offer Insults (y).

The Earl of *Warwick* who, at this Juncture, had haughtily insisted that all Persons serving on board the Fleet, commanded by the Prince of *Wales*, were Deserters, and ought immediately to be delivered up, on a sudden, relinquished his Pretensions, and perceiving that no effectual Service could be accomplished, stood out to Sea, and, shortly afterwards, returned to *England*, when the royal Fleet was put absolutely under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, who determined to render the War piratical; and thus, this extraordinary Event, which, properly managed, might have been the Means of preserving the Sovereign, and the King-

(y) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 197. — Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 241, 242. — Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1268. 1274. 1278. 1294. 1297. 1307. 1319. — Ealnage. Annales des Provinces Unies. V. 1. p. 139, 140. — At this Period, a Pamphlet made its Appearance, at London, and was, undoubtedly, written with a View to render the Earl of Warwick suspected by his Party. It was intitled "A Declaration of the Earl of Warwick, whilst that Nobleman was on the Coast of Holland, with his Fleet, intimating a Resolution to join the Prince, in Case the Treaty of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, did not take Effect." Warwick was so much offended by the Aspersions which it contained, that he opposed it with a Counter-Declaration, dated from on Board the Saint George, in Helvoet-Sluice, and on the eleventh of November, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-eight. Herein, 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. This Declaration, with Letters to the same Purport, he forthwith transmitted to England. — Rushworth, p. 1326. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 181.

Kingdom, brought no Advantage to the Former, and proved of infinite Detriment to the Latter, as it divided the maritime Force, and rendered precarious the Commerce of the Nation. These Transactions happened between the latter End of *July*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-eight, and the Close of the ensuing Month of December, about which Time, Prince *Rupert* quitted the *Dutch Coast*, in Order to repair to *Ireland*. On this Expedition, he fortunately succeeded, taking several Prizes, during the Passage, and, at length, arriving at the Port of *Kinsale* (z).

The Parliament had now recovered their Sovereignty at Sea, where they kept such powerful Squadrons continually cruising, that it was not deemed prudent for the Prince of *Wales* to venture his Person on that Element, in Order to proceed for *Ireland*, where his Presence was become necessary (a). The Earl of *Warwick*, who had served the Parliament, with Fidelity and Success, was removed from the Command of the Fleet, now given to Officers of the Army, amongst whom were *Blake*, *Dean*, and *Popham*, Men, who, by the Propriety of their Conduct, not only gained the Affections of the Sailors, but acquired more speedily than could have been imagined, an extensive Knowledge of the naval Arts (b).

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(z) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 201. 205, 206, 207. — Rushworth's Collections, A. D. 1648: p. 1361. 1366. 1389. 1428. — Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 349. 361. 374. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 182.

(a) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 323, 324. — Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 389, 397. — Heath's Chronicle, p. 240. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 183.

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 383. — Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2 p. 290. — In the two hundred, and seventh Number of

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Prince *Rupert* was engaged in cruizing, and taking Prizes during the greater Part of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-nine (c), a Period whilst the Wars were carried on, with unremitted Violence, in *Ireland*. As a Majority of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom had espoused the Interests of the Parliament, the latter directed their Admirals, *Blake*, and *Popham*, to block up the royal Vessels, in the Port of *Kinjale*; a Commission which they executed so effectually, that Prince *Rupert*, deserted by Numbers of his Men, was reduced to the most complicated Distress. Perceiving that his Cause had become desperate, that the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* was, in a Manner, subdued, that all Hopes of Succour were lost, and that no advantageous Terms could be expected from the Conquerors, he embraced the desperate Resolution of forcing a Passage through the Fleet belonging to the Enemy, and effected it, on the twenty-fourth of *October*, but with the Loss of three Ships. He now sailed towards the Coast of *France* (d), where he continued to obstruct the Commerce, and seize the Vessels of the *English*, acting intirely from the Dictates of his own Will,

of the "Moderate Intelligencer," (a Paper published at this Period,) 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. Consult their Instructions in *Thurloe's State Papers*, V. 1. p. 134.

(c) *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 254. 256.—*Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 391.—*Davies's History of the Civil Wars*, p. 298.—*Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 207. In this Paper, violent Complaints are made concerning the many Prizes daily taken by the Prince, as well on the Coasts of *Cornwall*, as in the *Irish Seas*.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 183.

(d) *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, V. 5. p. 338, 339.—*Bates's Elencus Motuum*, Part 2. p. 32.—*Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 429.—*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 254.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 184.

Will, and neither demanding, nor receiving the least Instruction from the King.

It was the Intention of Prince *Rupert*, (and, probably, with a View of privateering,) to proceed into the *Mediterranean* (e). When he had reached the Coast of *Spain*, his Fleet suffered exceedingly by a Storm, which drove five of his Ships into the Port of *Carthagena*, where they were surrounded by the *Spaniards*, who, after having committed many Acts of Plunder, obliged several of the *English* Seamen to enter into their Service (f). A Squadron belonging to the Parliament, and under the joint Command of *Blake*, and *Popham*, arrived soon afterwards at *Saint Andero*, when

(e) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.—Whitlocke's Memorials.—A brief Relation of some Affairs, and Transactions, civil, and military, both foreign, and domestic, No. 10. p. 101. 103.—No. 14. p. 152.

(f) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 339.—Whitlocke.—Heath.—Campbell.—Mercurius Politicus, No. 3. p. 579.—From this last Publication, we learn, amongst other Particulars relating to Prince Rupert, that whilst he lay, in the Road of Toulon, in February, of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one, 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 Ships, by Blake, the five Captains of the Vessels mentioned in the Text, arrived there, against whom 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, notwithstanding that the Officers were in Possession of large Sums of Money.

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when the former of these Admirals addressed a Letter, in violent Language, to the King of *Spain*, demanding an immediate Surrender of such Ships, and Men, serving under Prince *Rupert*, as might be within his Power, and threatening, in Case of a Refusal, immediately to, commence Hostilities. To this Letter, a courteous Answer was returned; and *Blake* received, at the same Time, as a Testimony of the Respect paid to him by the King of *Spain*, a Ring valued at fifteen hundred Pounds (*g*). *Blake* now followed Prince *Rupert* into the River of *Lisbon*, where, in *September*, and *October* of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty, he ruined the *Brazil* Fleet, and compelled the *Portuguese* to force the Prince out of their Port, from whence he sailed to *Carthage*. Thither was he pursued by *Blake*, but, being obliged, for Want of Provisions, to put to Sea, escaped to *Malaga*, where he made Prizes of several *English* Vessels. On his Arrival, the Admiral drove one of these ashore, burned two others, and obliged the Prince to save himself by Flight (*b*).

Having

(*g*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion V. 5. p. 339, 340.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 185.

(*b*) 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 Elenus Motuum, Part 2. p. 73.—Thurloc's State Papers, V. 1.—Mercurius Politicus, No. 14. p. 221.—See two original Letters of Sir Henry Vane; one to Cromwell, then at the Headquarters, in Scotland; and the other to Thomas Scott, the Regicide, each dated on the twenty-eighth of December, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty, with the News of *Blake's* having ruined Prince *Rupert's* Fleet, and the great Terror which 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 Spanish Minister, at his

Having once more stood out to Sea, the latter cruiz-
ed against the *Spaniards*, *Genoese*, and *English* (*i*),
from whom he took several rich Prizes, and then pro-
ceeded to the *West-Indies*; whither his Brother, Prince
Maurice, with a small Squadron, had sailed before.
In those Seas they also committed many daring Hosti-
lities, until Prince *Maurice*, in the *Constant Reformation*,
cast away (*k*), and *Rupert*, discovering that the few
Ships which he had left were so leaky, and rotten, that
it was scarcely possible that they could keep the Sea,
prepared for his Return to *France*, and, in the Year,
one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, arrived at
the Port of *Nantes*, with a Man of War, and three
other Ships; which he was obliged to sell, in Order
that he might become enabled to pay the Wages of the
Seamen (*l*). Such was the Fate of about twenty-five
large Ships, the numerous Crews of which had deserted
with them from the Service of the Parliament. The
Reader will easily judge how great a Loss the Nation
(engaged soon afterwards in a *Dutch War*) must have
sustained on the Occasion.

Admiral *Blake*, on his Return to *England*, received
the Thanks of the House, and in Conjunction with
Dean

Audience, presented the House with a complete Narrative
of the Loss which the Prince had sustained at Carthagea.—
See Nicholls's Collection of State Papers, p. 40, 41, 42.

(*i*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 5.—Heath's
Chronicle, p. 293.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 494.—
Life of Prince Rupert.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals,
V. 2. p. 186.

(*k*) Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 299.—Man-
ley's History of the Rebellion, p. 223.—Bates's Elencus
Motuum, Part 2. p. 74.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 430.

(*l*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 513.
515.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Whitlocke's Memorials,
p. 552.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1.—Campbell's Lives
of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 186.

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Dean, and *Popham*, was invested with the supreme Power at Sea, during the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one (*m*). The first Exploit suggested by the Parliament was the Reduction of the Islands of *Scilly*, which were still holden for the King, by Sir *John Grenville*. The Privateers fitted out from thence had proved extremely detrimental to the Commerce of the Nation, and therefore were the proper Objects of the Vengeance of the Parliament, but there was another Incident which gave them much Concern, at this Juncture, and this was the Arrival of a *Dutch Squadron* there, consisting of twelve Men of War, commanded by *Van Tromp* (*n*). The Pretence of sending him was to demand Satisfaction of the Governour for about twenty Prizes which, in a short Space of Time, had been carried into his Ports, by his Privateers; but the true Design was to treat with him for the Islands; a Measure which, if successful, might have been attended by fatal Consequences. *Blake*, in the *Phœnix* Frigate, and in Conjunction with a small Fleet, commanded by Sir *George Ayscue*, sailed thither, in the Month of *May*, and soon executed his Commission, the Governour being glad to deliver up his Charge on honourable Terms, and the Admiral as willing to grant all which he could reasonably expect (*o*).

From

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 488, 489.—The Thanks of the Parliament, with a full Approbation of their Services, although not successful, on the Coast of Portugal, had likewise been transmitted to *Blake*, and *Popham*, whilst at Sea, in a Letter from the Speaker, dated from Whitehall, on the twelfth of July, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty.—Thurloe's State Powers, V. 1. p. 155.—Campbell.

(*n*) 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 2. p. 77.

(*o*) The original Articles, within a MS. Folio of two Sheets, are still preserved in the Library of the Society for

From the Islands of *Scilly*, *Blake* proceeded, with the Fleet, to *Jersey*, and arriving there in the Month of *October*, attacked, and intirely reduced it, previous to the Conclusion of the Year. He also took *Cornet-Castle*, the only Place which held out for *Charles*, in *Guernsey*. Thus, in this Quarter, was the Sovereignty of the Ocean secured by the Squadrons of the Parliament (p).

Sir *George Ayscue*, having reinforced his Fleet with several Ships, now sailed towards the *West-Indies*, in Order to reduce such of the Plantations as had declared for the King. He was accompanied by Colonel *Allen*, a Native of *Barbadoes*, who had been sent to demand Relief from the Parliament for Persons in that Colony, and in the *Leeward Islands*, who had opposed the Royalists. On the sixteenth of *October*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one, the Fleet arrived in *Carlisle Bay*, in *Barbadoes*, and immediately seized fourteen *Dutch Merchant-Ships*.

Francis, Lord *Willoughby*, of *Parham*, whom we have already mentioned, was Governour of the Island, for the King, and manifested so firm a Resolution to defend it, that *Ayscue* did not, until the seventeenth of *December*, attempt to disembark the Forces. On this Occasion, nearly forty of his Men were slain; and with them, fell Colonel *Allen*. When the Troops had landed, the Governour thought proper to capitulate, and obtained such fair Concessions that *Ayscue*, on this Account, became afterwards suspected by the Parliament (q). Whilst he remained at *Barbadoes*, he sent

some propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 187.

(p) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 465.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 518, 519.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 343.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 326.

(q) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 527. 531.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 385.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.—Bates's

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(r) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 467.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 326.—State-Papers,

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 385.—

Sir Philip's Motus in Rebellione, p. 326.—

(t) See Walter's History of the States of May, in the

—Thurloe

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 305

some Ships, under the Command of Captain *Dennis*, to reduce *Virginia*; an Enterprize which, after slight Difficulties, was attended with Success. Sir *George* likewise subdued the *Leeward Islands*, and, having fully executed his Commission, returned to *Europe*; soon after the Commencement of the *Dutch War* (r).

The Causes of this Rupture have been differently related, in Conformity to the Passions, Prejudices, and Opinions of different Historians (s). It appears that the old Commonwealth became quickly jealous of that which had arisen, and felt Apprehensions that whatsoever Advantages might accrue to other States, *Holland* was not likely to gain the least Benefit by the Change of Government in *England*. On the other Side, the Parliament were equally anxious for the Maintenance of their newly-acquired Sovereignty, and expected the most extraordinary Marks of Regard from all the Powers with which they corresponded (t). The Murder of

VOL. IV.

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Doctor

Bates's *Elenus Motuum*, Part 2. p. 78.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 254.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 188.

(r) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 466, 467.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 327.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 532. 534. 536. 542.—Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 197.

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 285, 286. 308. 314.—Dugdale's short View of the late Troubles of England, p. 402, 403.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, Chap. 98.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 344, 345, 346. 388, 389.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 363, 364.—Bates's *Elenus Motuum*, Part 2. p. 75, 76.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 256. 262.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 19.

(t) See the Proposals made by Oliver Saint John, and Walter Strickland, Ambassadors from the Commonwealth to the States-General, at the Hague, dated on the tenth of May, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-one.—Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 182.—Nicholls's State-

Papers,

Doctor *Doriflaus*, whom they sent, in a public Character to the *States*, had irritated them to a severe Degree; nor were they less incensed at the Reception given to *Saint John*, and the rest of their Ambassadors. In this Temper, they scarcely paid the least Regard to the Remonstrances of the *Dutch*, concerning their Act of Navigation, which was, undoubtedly, a well-concerted Measure both for preserving, and for extending the *English* Commerce. The *States* were also exceedingly alarmed, when they observed that the Parliament insisted on the Sovereignty of the Sea, on the Right of Fishing, and of Licensing to fish, manifesting, at the same Time, a Disposition for carrying to its utmost Height the Point of saluting by the Flag, and pursuing, on every Occasion, so declared a Conduct, that the *States* were convinced of their Intention to act, on the Plan of *Charles*, with this great Advantage of raising Money in much larger Sums, and with less Trouble than was experienced by that Prince (*u*).

In the Spring of the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, Matters had proceeded to the last
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Papers, p. 39, 40, 41, 42.—Letters of State, and other Papers, in Milton's Prose Works, V. 2. Edit. 1753. Quarto.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 189.

(*u*) If the Reader be inclined to enter deeply into the Reasons on which the Dutch War was grounded, he may consult Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 457, 458, 459, 460.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 487, 491, 492, 495, 496.—Thurloe's State Papers. V. 1. p. 187, 195.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, and other Writers, on one Side.—For the Dutch Party are Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 215, 216, 220, 221, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. 2. Liv. 13. p. 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315.—Neville. Histoire d'Hollande, Tom. 3. p. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61.—Lives of the Dutch Admirals.

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Extremity; yet it was then warmly disputed (and it hath not yet been absolutely determined) who were the Aggressors. From the best Comparison of Facts stated in all the authentic Accounts transmitted to us, by both Parties, it appears probable that the first Offence proceeded from the *Dutch*. In Support of this Conjecture, several Reasons might be adduced; but we shall particularly insist on their great, and secret Preparations for a War. It is certain that the *States* had one hundred, and fifty Ships of Force, at Sea; whereas the *English* Parliament equipped only the usual Squadron (consisting of twenty-five Ships, under the Command of Admiral *Blake*,) for the Purpose of guarding, and protecting the narrow Seas (*).

The first Effusion of Blood in this Quarrel was occasioned by Commodore *Young*, who had fired on a *Dutch* Man of War, because the Captain of it withheld the Payment of the customary Honours to the *English* Flag. This Event took place on the fourteenth of *May*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, and proved extremely honourable to the Nation. *Young* had acted with the utmost Caution, and given the *Dutch* Commander every Opportunity which he could have desired of avoiding the Commission of Hostilities. He sent an Officer to persuade him to strike, when the Captain replied that the *States* had threatened to take of his Head, if he submitted. An Engagement now began, at the Close of which the *Dutch* Ship, severely damaged, was obliged to strike. Two *Dutch* Men of War, and twelve Merchantmen were at Hand, yet did not interfere. When these had taken in their Flags, Commodore *Young* departed,

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(*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, 315.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 191.

without attempting to seize a single Vessel. This Transaction would have proved more the Object of public Notice, if an Engagement of greater Consequence had not happened soon afterwards (y).

The Admiral *Van Tromp* was at Sea with a Fleet amounting to more than forty Sail, assembled (according to Report,) for the Protection of the *Dutch* Commerce. When this Officer arrived, on the eighteenth of *May*, within the *Downs*, he observed a small Squadron, under the Command of Major *Bourne*, to whom he sent Word that he was forced thither, by Stress of Weather, and received for Answer that the Truth of this Assertion would best appear by the Shortness of his Stay. On the nineteenth, *Van Tromp*, with his Fleet, bore down upon *Blake*, in *Dover-Road*, and when he approached, the *English* Admiral, who had received Intelligence of his Arrival, from *Bourne*, fired thrice at his Flag. *Van Tromp* immediately returned a Broadside, when Hostilities commenced, and *Blake* almost singly maintained an Engagement during four Hours. At length, his Fleet, taking the Advantage of a favourable Change of Weather, came up, and supported the Contest with great Vigour, and Resolution. When it had lasted from four, in the Afternoon, until nine, at Night, *Bourne* arrived with his eight Ships, and the *Dutch* immediately bore away.

In this Battle, the Victory was clearly on the Side of the *English*, as the *Dutch* Writers themselves confess, there

(y) Young's Letter to the Parliament, dated from on Board the President, in Plymouth-Sound, and, on the fourteenth of May, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two. — Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 533. — The perfect Politician, or a full View of the Life, and Actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 167. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 191.

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there being two Ships, in the Service of the *States*, taken, and one disabled; whereas the *English* lost none; yet the Inequality of Force was great, the *Dutch* Fleet consisting, at first, of forty-two Ships, and the Armament under *Blake* only of fifteen, and, even at the Close of the Action, this last Officer was not assisted by more than twenty-three Sail. Each of the Admirals wrote to their respective Masters an Account of this Transaction; and it must be confessed that no Fact mentioned in the Letter drawn up by *Blake* can be disproved, whilst *Van Tromp* either falls into Mistakes, or deviates purposely from the Truth, and particularly where he observes that the Squadron commanded by *Bourne* amounted to twelve large Ships. Let it also be remarked that, although he considers *Blake* as the Aggressor, he confesses that the *Dutch* Flag was flying, during the whole of the Engagement (z). The *States* themselves were so sensible of their Error, and at the same Time so mortified that their Fleet, notwithstanding its Superiority, had been successfully resisted, that they apologized for the Transaction, and sent over another Ambassador, the *Heer Adrian Paauw*, to proceed on the Treaty. But, as the Demands of the Parliament were carried, in the Opinion of the *Dutch*, to the most extravagant Lengths, all Thoughts of Peace were relinquished by both Parties; and, on the eighth of July, the War was proclaimed in *Holland* (a).

Mean while, the *English*, in Virtue of the Act of Navigation, and by Way of Reprisal for the late Damages,

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(z) This Account is copied from that printed by Order of the Parliament, with the Letters, and other Papers of both Admirals annexed. Quarto. 1652.—Campbell.

(a) Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 407. — Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 535. — Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 193.

images, Affronts, and Hostilities received from the *States-general*, and their Subjects, took several *Dutch* Ships. On the eleventh of *June*, *Blake* brought in eleven Merchantmen, with their Convoy, all of which were on their Passage, from *Nantes*. On the Day following, the Captains, *Taylor*, and *Peacock*, in two *English* Frigates, engaged two *Dutch* Ships of War, near the Coast of *Flanders*, for refusing to strike. Of these, one was taken, and the other stranded (*b*). On the thirteenth of the same Month, *Blake* took twenty-six Vessels, in the Service of the *Dutch* Merchants, with their Convoys, homeward-bound, from *France*. On the fourth of *July*, 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 *Saint Ubes* Fleet, amounting to about forty Sail, of which nearly thirty were either taken, or burnt, or stranded, and plundered, on the *French* Coast.

Whilst the *States*, with the utmost Diligence, were preparing a Fleet of seventy Men of War, under the Command of their Admiral *Van Tromp*, *Blake*, attended by sixty Ships, proceeded, pursuant to his Orders, towards the *North*, for the Purpose of distressing the *Dutch* Fisheries. Sir *George Ayscue* (who subsequent to the Destruction of the *Saint Ubes* Fleet, had taken five *Dutch* Vessels, in the Service of the Merchants,) was left with the Remainder of the *English* Armament, consisting only of seven Men of War, and stationed in the *Downs*. Whilst *Blake* triumphed in the *North*, *Van Tromp*, with his whole naval Force, entered the Mouth of the *Thames*, in Hopes either of surprizing *Ayscue*, or of

(*b*) 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, on the Occasion.

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of insulting the Coast. Prevented from the Execution of this Design, he directed his Course *Northwards*, in Order to intercept *Blake*; but his Ships were dispersed by a Storm, and five of his Frigates were seized by *Blake*, on his Return towards the *South* (c).

The People in *Holland* were extremely dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Admiral *Van Tromp*, which is the Case, in all free Countries, where a Commander in Chief proves unsuccessful. On this Occasion, he acted wisely, and agreeably to the Dictates of a nice Sense of Honour, first, by justifying himself to the *States*, and next, by laying down his Commission, to gratify the People. The chief Objection against him was his confined Knowledge of the naval Arts; and this engaged the *States* to cast their Eyes upon *De Ruyter*, the ablest Officer of his Profession. He accepted of the Command, but accepted it unwillingly, because he perceived that, as Affairs were then situated, the Superiority rested with the *English* (d). In the mean Time, the Parliament took Care to strengthen the Fleet under the Command of Sir *George Ayscue*, so that it increased to thirty-eight Sail, of which only two were large Men of War, and the rest Frigates, or Fire-Ships. With these, he put to Sea, in Search of the *Dutch*, took several rich Prizes, and, at length, whilst he was cruising off *Plymouth* met with *De Ruyter*, who, attended by a Fleet equal to his own, was convoying home nearly sixty Vessels, in the Service of the Merchants. The *Dutch*

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(c) Basnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, V. 1. p. 258, 259.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2 p. 194.

(d) Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, V. 6. p. 461.—Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 538.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, V. 1. p. 419, 420.—Davies's *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 329.—Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 264.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 194.

Commander took twenty of these last, into his Line of Battle, and was then in Readiness for Action. At four, in the Afternoon, of the sixteenth of *August*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, the Fight began, when *Ayscue*, with ten Ships, charged through the *Dutch* Fleet, and; having thus obtained the Weather-Gage, renewed the Attack, until Night. On this Occasion, the Remainder of the *English* Armament was generally inactive; but most of the Officers who engaged were wounded, and particularly, the Vice-Admiral, *Peck*, who lost his Leg, and expired soon afterwards. The *Dutch* suffered extremely; and several of their best Vessels were scarcely able to keep the Sea. Sir *George Ayscue*, who had lost only one Fire-Ship, chased his Adversaries, during a great Part of the ensuing Day, and, afterwards, returned to *Plymouth-Sound*, for the Purpose of refreshing his Men, and repairing his Ships (e).

The *Dutch* drew up a particular Account of this Transaction, in which the *English*, undoubtedly, reaped some Advantages, and might have availed themselves of greater, if all their Captains had fulfilled their Duty. Of this, the Parliament were convinced; but, by a refined Stroke of Policy, chose rather to ascribe the Fault to a single Man, than indanger the Obedience of the Fleet, by punishing a Number. On this Principle, they dismissed that gallant Seaman, Sir *George Ayscue*, yet

(e) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 541, 542. — Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365. — Bates's Blencus Motuum, Part 2. p. 175. — Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 15. — Le Clerc. Tom. 2. p. 322. — Neuville. Tom. 3. Liv. 10. Chap. 10. — La Vie, et les Actions memorables du Sieur Michel de Ruyter, Duc, Chevalier, et l'Amiral General des Provinces Unies. Amsterdam, 1677. Partie 1. p. 9, 10, 11, 12.

yet gently, and with a Reward of three hundred Pounds in Money, and a Pension of three hundred Pounds a Year. These were paid with the most rigid Punctuality; notwithstanding that the Disgust conceived against *Ayscue* for having granted to the Lord *Willoughby* such favourable Terms, was one chief Cause of his Removal (f).

The War was no longer confined to the Coasts of *Britain*, but spread itself almost into every Sea; and each Wind brought the News of fresh Destruction, and Slaughter. Towards the Conclusion of the same Month, the *Dutch* Admiral, *Van Galen*, with eleven Ships of War, intercepted, and attacked the *English* Commodore, *Richard Bodley*, attended by three Men of War, a Fire-Ship, and three Merchantmen, homeward-bound, from *Scanderoon*, and *Smyrna*. The first Engagement began in the Afternoon, off the Island of *Elba*, on the Coast of *Tuscany*, and lasted until Night, when no considerable Advantage had been gained by either Party. The *Dutch* Historians assert 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* departed from their Merchantmen, which being heavy, and richly laden, were ordered to proceed, with all possible Expedition, to the nearest Harbour.

The next Morning, the four remaining *English* Ships were vigorously attacked by the eight *Hollanders*, and returned the Assault with great Fury. *Van Galen*, at first, closely engaged *Bodley*, 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 sheer off. Another

(f) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 196.

of the largest *Dutch* Ships renewing the Attack, was so violently assailed, that she lost her Main-Mast. Immediately the *English* Frigate, the *Phoenix*, boarded the disabled *Hollander*, but, being too weak, was taken, after a sharp Fight, during a full Hour, wherein most of her Men were either killed, or wounded. Mean while, *Bodley*, being again boarded by two of the *Dutch* Ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that they were beaten off with a dreadful Slaughter of their Men, and the Loss of both their Captains (g). When the Enemy retreated, *Bodley*, with the three remaining Ships, (on Board of which an hundred Men had been either killed, or wounded,) followed the Merchantmen to *Porto Longone*, where the *Dutch* soon afterwards arrived, and buried three of their Captains, who had been slain during the Engagement. In this neutral Harbour, the adverse Fleets rode peaceably together, for a considerable Space of Time (h).

Admiral *Blake*, who was now in the Channel, severely annoyed the Enemy; and, as some Hostilities had been committed on the Coast of *Newfoundland*, by the *French*, attacked a formidable Squadron of their Ships, which were proceeding to the Relief of *Dunkirk*, and either took, or destroyed them all; in Consequence of which Victory that important Place fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* (i). The *Dutch* perceiving that their

(g) This Fact is affirmed by their own Historians.

(h) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 15, 16.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, Part 2. Book 2. p. 266.—Bafnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 263.—Neuville. Histoire d'Hollande, Tom. 3. p. 65, 66.—Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 219.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 197.

(i) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 463.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 325.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars.

their Commerce was thus almost irrecoverably destroyed, and alarmed at the Approach of greater Evils, equipped another Fleet, the Command of which was given to *De Wit*, who received Orders to join *De Ruyter*, the Officer appointed to convoy, homewards, a large Number of Vessels in the Service of the Merchants. When the two Fleets had united, and attended the trading Ships to their respective Ports, the Admirals expressed a Determination to attack the *English* Navy, and *Blake* afforded them a proper Opportunity of carrying it into Execution. Yet when the former expected, and had prepared for the Commencement of Hostilities, the *Dutch* covered themselves behind a Sand-Bank; a Circumstance which did not prevent *Blake* from engaging them, on the twenty-eighth of *September*.

He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, of which the first was commanded by himself, the second by Vice-Admiral *Penn*, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourne*. At three, in the Afternoon, the Fight began, when the

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Wars, p. 329, 330 — Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 2. p. 264. — Memoires de Montglat, Tom. 3. p. 321, 322. — Martiniere. Histoire de Louis XIV. Tom. 2. p. 215. — The Count D'Estrades, (Memoires, Tom. 1.) in a Letter addressed to Cardinal Mazarine, and dated from Dunkirk, on the fifth of February, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, informs his Eminence that Cromwel had made him an Offer, by one Fitz-James, a Colonel of his Guards, to furnish fifty 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 from Poitiers, on the second of the succeeding Month of March,) and which (as he observes,) would have been accepted, if Monsieur de Chateaufneuf had not opposed it so violently that the Queen could not be induced to give her Consent.

English were rendered sensible of their Temerity, in engaging under such insuperable Disadvantages. The *Sovereign*, a new Ship, and several others struck instantly on the Sands, but being extricated, stood farther out to Sea, when *De Wit*, disdaining the Security of his Station, bore down in Readiness for a fairer Contest, which was begun by *Bourne*, and seconded as gallantly by the Remainder of the Fleet. A *Dutch* Man of War attempting to board the *Sovereign* was sunk, at the first Broadside; and, soon afterwards, two other Ships shared the same Fate, whilst a third (the Rear-Admiral,) was taken by Captain *Mildmay*. When *De Wit* perceived that a fourth Vessel had been blown up, he prepared to sheer off, and was pursued by the *English* Fleet, until the Close of Evening. At Day-Break, they continued the Chace, and until they had sailed within twelve Leagues of the *Dutch* Shore, when, perceiving that the adverse Fleet had entered *Goree*, *Blake*, and his brave Associates, returned in Triumph to the *Downs*, and from thence into the Harbour, having lost nearly three hundred Men (*k*). Such also appeared the Number of the wounded, and for the Reception of these, the Parliament (who had already sent Letters of Thanks to the Admiral, and his Officers,) took care to provide Hospitals, near *Deal*, and *Dover* (*l*).

On this Occasion, the *Dutch* Historians observe that none of the Ships belonging to the *States* were lost. They, notwithstanding, admit that one was taken; but

(*k*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars of Great Britain, and Ireland, p. 330.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 426, 427.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 199.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

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but add that this Vessel, being afterwards deserted, was brought safely into the Harbour. *De Wit* fairly confessed the Loss, and charged it, first, on the criminal Behaviour of no less than twenty of his Captains, who withdrew out of the Line of Battle; and, next, on the false Intelligence received by the *States*; the *English* Fleet being more numerous, and composed of Ships of greater Bulk than he expected. These Excuses were certainly just, and yet the popular Clamours were exerted so severely against the Admirals, that *De Ruyter* became desirous of resigning his Commission, and *De Wit*, a Prey to Grief, fell into a dangerous, and lingering Illness. In the Space of six Weeks, the *States*, with equal Prudence, and Resolution, repaired, and augmented their Fleet to eighty Sail, the Command of which was given to *Van Tromp*, who (if we can rely on the Assertions of some Historians,) was reinstated by the Interest of the King of *Denmark*, from which Potentate the *Hollanders* received, on this Condition, a Promise of being supplied with a formidable Squadron of his own Ships (*m*).

This Prince had very unadvisedly engaged himself in a Quarrel with the Parliament, by detaining (at the Request of the *Dutch*,) a Fleet of twenty *English* Ships in the Harbour of *Copenhagen*. At first he pretended that he had embraced this Measure from a Regard for their own Safety, and, therefore, Commodore *Ball* was sent, with a Squadron of eighteen Sail, to convoy them Home, when the King of *Denmark* declared his Resolution to keep them, and the Fear which he was under, for the Consequences of this strange, and inconsiderate Step,

(*m*) Bafnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, Tom. 1. p. 260, 261. — Le Clerc. *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, Tom. 2. p. 323, 324. — *La Vie de Ruyter*, Partie 1. p. 15. — *Coke's Detection*, V. 2. p. 16.

Step, induced him to offer his Assistance to the *Dutch*. This Circumstance proved favourable to the latter, as the *English* had filled their Ports with Prizes taken from the *States*, who, thus severely suffering, were eager to avail themselves of the Assistance of a foreign Power, and, in Haste, directed *Tromp* to sail with the Men of War, for the Purpose of convoying a Fleet of about three hundred Merchantmen through the Channel (n).

It being now the Beginning of *November*, *Blake*, who imagined that the Season of Action was passed, had detached twenty of his Ships for the Security of the *Newcastle* Colliers. Twelve more were sent to *Plymouth*, and fifteen retired into the River, in Order to repair the Damage which they had sustained, during a Storm. *Van Tromp*, having received Intelligence of these Proceedings, and that *Blake* was attended only by thirty-seven Ships, most of which were thinly manned, resolved to attack him in the *Downs*, not far from the Place where he had engaged before (o). On the twenty-ninth of *November*, he presented himself before the *English* Fleet, and *Blake*, after having assembled a Council of War, resolved to commence Hostilities, notwithstanding the superior Numbers of the Enemy; but, the Wind rising, he was obliged to defer fighting, until the next Day, previous to which his Ship rode not far above *Dover-Road*. In the Morning, both Fleets plied *Westward*, and *Blake* preserved the Weather-Gage.

(n) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 330.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2. p. 174.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 129.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 266.—Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 289, 290.—Neuville. Histoire d'Hollande, Tom. 13. p. 68.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 200.

(o) Heath's Chronicle, p. 229, 230.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 437, 438.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 201.

ther-Gage. At eleven, the Fight began with great Fury, but, unfortunately, only half of the small Fleet belonging to the *English* could proceed to Action. The *Triumph*, on Board of which the Admiral commanded, the *Victory*, and the *Vanguard*, sustained almost the whole Fire of the Enemy, being attacked by twenty Men of War at once; yet they fought until the Close of Evening. Towards the Conclusion of the Battle, the *Bona-venture*, commanded by Captain *Hookston*; and the *Garland*, commanded by Captain *Batten*, 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, in Consequence of which, after the Death of the Captains, both the *English* Vessels were obliged to strike. *Blake*, who beheld this Circumstance with Indignation, pushed so far to their Relief that he would probably have shared the same Fate, if the *Vanguard*, and *Sapphire* had not effectually assisted, and, at length, brought the *Triumph* clear off (p). The *Hercules* was run ashore during the Retreat; and, unless the Night had sheltered them, most of the Ships that came to Action must have been lost; but taking the Advantage of the Darkness, they sailed first to *Dover*, and from thence into the River.

Admiral *Van Tromp*, having remained during the Space of at least a Day within the *Downs*, proceeded towards *Calais*, took Part of the *Barbadoes* Fleet, together with several Prizes, and then sailed to the Isle of *Rhee*, bearing a Broom at the Top-Mast-Head, to intimate that he would sweep the *English* Vessels from the Surface of the narrow Seas (q). There appears not, how-

(p) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16, 17.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 330, 331.

(q) Baigne. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 261.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. 2. p.

however, such Reason for boasting as the *Dutch Writers* would suggest. Their Fleet indeed enjoyed several Advantages, yet they bought their Success extremely dear, one of their best Vessels being blowed up, and two of their Admiral-Ships almost intirely disabled (r).

The Parliament evinced their Steadiness by caressing *Blake*, after his Defeat, and appointing him, in Conjunction with *Deane*, and *Monk*, their Generals at Sea, for the ensuing Year. In Order that the Navy might the more speedily be manned, they issued a Proclamation, offering considerable Rewards to such as entered themselves within the Space of forty Days; and they also increased the Wages of the Sailors, from nineteen, to twenty-four Shillings, a Month. This Measure was attended by the most salutary Effects, and previous to the Expiration of six Weeks, a large Armament was in Readiness to put to Sea, forty Ships having been stationed, with *Blake*, in the River, and twenty more at *Portsmouth*. On the eleventh of *February*, both Fleets joined near *Beachy-Head*, and thence, Admiral *Blake* sailed overagainst *Portland*, where he lay across the Channel, in Order to receive *Van Tromp*, at his Return. This Transaction astonished the *Dutch* Admiral, who did not conclude it possible that the Parliament could, after the late Defeat, have equipped a naval Force, sufficiently numerous, and powerful, to oppose his Armament, with which, attended by two hundred, and fifty Merchant-Men, under Convoy, he sailed up the Channel, and found *Blake* so stationed as to deprive him of the Power of avoiding an Engagement. The *English*, and *Dutch* Historians have differed widely in their Ac-

counts

324, 325.—Neuville. *Histoire d'Hollande*, Tom. 3. p. 69, 70.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 202.

(r) Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 330.—Coke's *Detection*, V. 2. p. 17.—Echard's *History of England*, Book 3. Chap. 1. p. 701.

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p. 551

counts concerning the Strength of their respective Fleets; but from the Letters of the Admirals, it may be inferred that they were nearly equal, each amounting to about twenty Sail (s).

The Generals *Blake*, and *Deane*, were both on Board of the *Triumph*, and, with twelve stout Ships, led their Fleet; and fell in first with the *Dutch*, on the eighteenth of *February*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, at about eight in the Morning. They were most violently assailed before the rest of the Ships came up, although gallantly seconded by *Latison*, in the *Fairfax*, and *Milamay*, in the *Vanguard*. On Board of the *Triumph*, *Blake* was wounded in the Thigh, by a Piece of Iron which had been discharged from a Cannon, and which, afterwards, tore the Coat, and Breeches of General *Deane*. Captain *Bail*, who commanded the Ship, was shot dead, and fell at the Feet of *Blake*. His Secretary, *Mr. Sparrow*, was, likewise, killed, whilst he was receiving Orders. Exclusive of these, an hundred Seamen were slain, and most of the rest severely wounded. The *Triumph* was so extremely shattered as to have been rendered unable to bear any considerable Part in the Action of the two succeeding Days (t).

On Board of the *Fairfax*, which was much damaged, an hundred Men were killed. The *Vanguard* also lost her Captain, and Numbers of the Crew. The *Profligate*, mounting forty Guns, was boarded, and taken

VOL. IV.

X

by

- (s) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 464.
 —Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 331.—Ludlow's
 Memoirs, V. 2. p. 439.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 17.
 —Bastnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 298.
 —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 203.

(t) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—Whitlocke's Memorials,
 p. 551.—Echard.—Rapin.—Campbell.

by *De Ruyter*; but, as his own Vessel was, in that Moment, boarded by an *English* Man of War, Captain *Vesey*, in the *Merlin* Frigate, entered the *Prosperous*, and retook her. The *Assistance*, Vice-Admiral of the blue Squadron, was disabled at the Commencement of the Action, and brought off to *Portsmouth*, whither the *Advice* quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the Sea. *Van Tromp* who, during a considerable Space of Time, engaged *Blake*, lost most of his Officers, and his Ship was so shattered as to become unfit for Service. *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 fell into the Hands of the *English*; and the Rigging of these was so clotted with Blood, and Brains, that it was impossible to behold them, without Horror (*).

The Night of *Friday* was spent in repairing the Damages, and making the necessary Dispositions for a second Engagement. On *Saturday* Morning, the Enemy was again observed, seven Leagues off *Weymouth*, whither the *English* plyed, and came up with them in the Afternoon, about three Leagues to the *North-West* of the *Isle of Wight*. *Van Tromp* had drawn his Fleet together, and ranged it in the Form of a Half-Moon, inclosing the Merchant-Ships within a Semi-Circle, and, in that Position, he maintained a retreating Fight. The *English* made several desperate Attacks, striving to break through, and seize the Merchantmen. At length, these last, perceiving that *De Ruyter's* Ship, severely damaged, had been towed out of the Fleet, and that they could no longer be protected, made ready for their Departure,

(*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 300.—Le Clerc. Tom. 2. Liv. 13.—Neuville. Tom. 2. Liv. 10. Chap. 10.

parture, and, in Order that they might sail with greater Expedition, cast a considerable Part of their Cargo into the Sea. From the Letter written by *Blake*; we learn that the Engagement lasted during the whole Night; and that eight Men of War, and fourteen Merchant-Ships were taken from the Enemy (x).

On Sunday Morning, the *Dutch* were near *Boulogne*; and the Battle was renewed; although no material Advantages were gained by either Party. *Van Tromp* had sheered off, in the Dark; with his Merchantmen, to *Calais Sands*, where he anchored, that Day, with forty Sail. Availing himself of favourable Winds, and of the Tides, he proceeded homewards, the *English* Fleet pursuing, but slowly; for *Blake*, although he did not fear his Adversaries, yet judged it prudent to avoid their shallow Coasts. The Captains *Lawson*, *Marten*, and *Graver*, notwithstanding took, each, a *Dutch* Ship of War, and *Penn* seized several of their Merchantmen. On the whole, *Van Tromp*, and his Associates triumphed at the Close of the first Engagement, were deprived, during the second Day, of those Advantages which they had gained; and, in the third Action, were exposed to an absolute Defeat. Although their own Accounts make Mention but of nine, yet it is certain that they lost eleven Men of War; and thirty Merchantmen, and that fifteen hundred Men were killed, and an equal Number wounded. The *English* preserved their whole Fleet, except the *Sampson*, which, being disabled, was deserted by Captain *Button*; and the Crew, and, soon afterwards, sunk. The Number of Men lost was nearly equal to that of the *Dutch* (y).

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It

(x) Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 331.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 17.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 205.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 301.—La Vie de Ruyter, V. 1. p. 22.

It is remarkable that, in this Fight, *Blake*, who had been long a land Officer, made Use of a large Body of Soldiers, whose Bravery, and good Conduct, answered his most sanguine Expectations; yet it is observed that this Precedent will only serve for Wars similar to that in which he was engaged, when the Troops, not suffered to languish in Inactivity, were called to Battle almost from the Moment that they arrived on Board. The Nation contributed with equal Chearfulness, and Liberality, to the Relief of the wounded Seamen; and the *Dutch*, on their Side, rewarded *Van Tromp*, yet not beyond his Merit, for the Gallantry which he had displayed (z).

Meanwhile, the naval Force in the Service of the Parliament, proved less fortunate in the *Streights*, where an *English*, and a *Dutch* Squadron lay together in the Road of *Leghorn*. An Action happened there which deserves to be related, as it will discover as much true Bravery, and maritime Skill in the *English* Officers as ever rendered a Victory conspicuous. It is the Province of an Historian to celebrate Merit rather than Success (a).

Commo-

p. 22. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.—Holland's *Mercurius Van Het Jaar*. 1653. p. 44.

(z) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—The States presented *Van Tromp* with a gold Chain, valued at two thousand Guilders. *Evertson*, and *De Ruyter* were gratified with fifteen hundred Guilders each, and less Gratuities were bestowed on other Officers.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 553.

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 206. The *English* Squadron under Commodore *Appleton* consisted of six Ships, the Names, and Force of which, were as follow:

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.
The <i>Leopard</i>	52	180
<i>Bona-venture</i>	44	150
<i>Sampson</i>	36	90
		The

Commodore *Appleton*, being at Anchor near the *Dutch*, availed himself of the Advantages of his Situation, and sent three Boats, manned with resolute Seamen, and commanded by Captain *Cox*, for the Purpose of recovering the Ship *Phœnix*, which had been taken from the *English*, in the Action near *Elba*, and which, at this Time, made a Part of the Squadron belonging to the Enemy. On the twenty-sixth of *November*, the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, the *Phœnix* was boarded by the *English*, when 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. This Action was performed with such Expedition that, before the *Dutch*, who lay next to her, were well apprized of what had happened, she was conveyed off. The great Duke of *Tuscany*, when informed of the Particulars, declared that the Enterprize was a Violation of the Neutrality of that Port, and ordered the *English* either to restore the *Phœnix*, or to depart immediately. To depart was dangerous; 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 Merchantmen, (the Crews of which were offered a Share of the Booty, if they would engage,) lay ready, before the Harbour, to intercept them (*b*).

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The

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.
The <i>Levant-Merchant</i>	28	60
<i>Pilgrim</i>	30	70
<i>Mary</i>	30	70

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 532.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. 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, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-two, and more at large.

The *English* rather chose to run all Hazards than to deliver up the Ship. With this Resolution, they immediately sent Advice to Commodore *Badley*, who lay at the Island of *Elba*, with two Men of War, a Fire-Ship, and four Merchantmen which were in the former Engagement with *Van Galen*. It was soon afterwards agreed between the two Commanders that *Badley*, with his small Squadron (although unfit for Action, partly from the Loss of Men in the late Fight, and 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 upon, within Sight of *Leghorn*, in Order to amuse the *Dutch*, and thereby, if possible, to draw them from before the Harbour, and thus open a Passage for *Appleton* to escape. Pursuant

large, by Signor Almeric Salvetti, his Minister in England, complained loudly of the Violation of his Port, and the Behaviour of *Appleton* on the Occasion, and insisted on a proper Satisfaction. The Parliament were so highly offended at the Misconduct of the Commodore, that they referred the whole Matter to the Council of State, who sent immediate Orders to him to return home by Land, without the least Delay. They also wrote a most obliging Answer to the Grand Duke which bears Date on the fourteenth of the same Month, and which they dispatched on Purpose, by an Express, testifying their great Concern at the Event, and assuring him that such a Course should be taken with the Commodore, as would sufficiently manifest to all the World that 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, relatively to the Ship *Phoenix*, they promise that after an Audience granted to *Appleton*, and a farther Conference with the Tuscan Resident, they will pronounce such a Sentence as shall be agreeable to Justice, and Equity.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2, p. 268;

suant to this Agreement, *Bodley*, on the second of *March*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, arrived within Sight of the Place. On the third, he caused three, or four of his best Sailers to approach the Enemy, who were stationed before the Port; whereupon the whole Squadron (as was expected,) stood out to Sea, and gave them Chace. In the Moment that *Appleton* observed this Proceeding, he weighed Anchor, and got under Sail; but his Operations were too rapid, and the *Dutch*, suspecting his Design, immediately gave over the Chace, and, tacking about, fell upon the Squadron, with nine of their Men of War, whilst the rest observed the Motions of *Bodley*.

At the first Encounter, an unfortunate Shot, from the Ship commanded by *Van Galen*, set Fire to the *Bonaventure*, which, blew up, although not unrevenged; for, at the same Time, the Ball of a Piece discharged by one of the *English*, on Board of the last Vessel, shattered the Leg of *Van Galen* so severely, that he expired, soon afterwards. Meanwhile, *Appleton* was attacked by two of the *Hollanders* at once, against whom he maintained a close Fight, during five Hours, with such Resolution, that both the *Dutch* Ships were, at length, so disabled, that they scarcely fired a Shot. *Van Galen* employed the last Remains of Life in Attempts to assist his Squadron, and was in great Danger from a Fire-Ship belonging to the Division under the Command of *Bodley*.

At this Juncture, the *Hollanders* who were engaged with *Appleton*, being reinforced by another Ship, renewed the Attack with greater Vigour. Several *Dutch* Historians have remarked that *Appleton*, perceiving himself oppressed by such unequal Numbers, after having made all possible Resistance, ran down, and would have blown up his Ship, but that, being hin-

dered by his Seamen, he was obliged to yield. The young *Van Tromp*, attacking the *Sampson*, was beaten off, after a desperate Engagement, but the *Sampson* was soon afterwards burnt by a Fire-Ship. The *Levant Merchant* being encountered by one of the Vessels in the Service of the Enemy, beat her off, and stranded her. But, being at length taken, together with the *Pilgrim*, (which had lost her Main, and Mizzen-Masts in the Fight,) the *Mary*, left alone, escaped, and joined the nearest Ships in the Squadron, under the Command of *Bodley*. Thus ended the Engagement (c).

Adhering to the Opinion of Mr. *Campbell*, we must remind the Reader that 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 the civil Government, by *Cromwell*, who, on the twentieth of *April*, in the Year one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, entered the House of Commons, and dissolved the Parliament, by Force (d). The Historian (e) remarks that the Action, stupendous in itself, appears to have stricken too many of our own, and of foreign Writers with a Want of Discernment.

He

(c) Heath's Chronicle p. 337.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551, 552, 553.—Bainage. Annales des Provinces Unies. This Writer informs us that the Body of Admiral Van Galen was transported into Holland, and buried at Amsterdam, where a magnificent Monument was erected to his Memory, at the Expence of the States.

(d) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 478.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2, p. 456.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 554.—Bates's Elenchus Motuum, Part 2. p. 161.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 367.—Dugdale's short View of the Troubles of England, p. 405.—Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 194.—

(e) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 210.

He adds, that they attribute to *Cromwell* whatsoever was done after the Murder of the King; and the *Dutch* Historians particularly impute this War to him, and, amongst other Reasons for his dissolving the Parliament, make this to have been one; that he suspected that they were inclined to Peace (*f*), whereas, in Truth, two Governments were never 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 War of the Parliament, begun upon the old Quarrel, which *Charles* would have prosecuted. had he enjoyed the Power. It must be confessed that *Cromwell* carried on the War, but it was only until he could make such a Peace as served his Purposes; and the noble Historian hath justly remarked that it was the Proceeding of the Parliament, who persisted in carrying on the War, which compelled *Cromwell* to act sooner than he would have done, from a Foresight that if they once conquered their foreign Enemies, they would not so easily be overturned at home, by their own Creatures (*g*).

It is granted that the *Dutch* did not instantly receive any great Benefit from the sudden Revolution, but let us remark that the chief Officers of the Fleet concurred in the Measure. The Government of the Parliament (howsoever their Authority might have been acquired,) was a Government of Order, and of Laws; the Government of the General, who became afterwards Protector,

(*f*) Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 303. This same Error runs through all the Dutch Historians.

(*g*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, (V. 6. p. 464) where he proves that *Cromwell* was never heartily inclined to the Dutch War, and (p. 476) where he investigates the Causes which hastened him in the Execution of his Project.

Protector, was intirely military. It is not, therefore, a Matter of Surprize that both the Navy, and the Army were satisfied with his Conduct (*b*). From this Change of Administration, the Enemy derived some Advantages. *Van Tromp* conveyed a large Fleet of Merchantmen to the *North* (for they were now forced to follow that Passage, rather than sail along the Channel,) and, although the *English* Fleet chased him to the Heighth of *Aberdeen*, yet it answered no Purpose; and he not only eluded their Pursuit, but returned in Safety to the *Downs*, taking several Prizes, and next, discharging his Ordnance against *Dover Castle* (*i*). This Scene of Triumph lasted but a single Week. *Van Tromp* arrived before the last Place, on the twenty-sixth of *May*, and, at the Conclusion of the Month, received Intelligence of the Approach of *Monk*, and *Deane*, with the Squadrons under their Command, consisting altogether of ninety-five Sail of Men of War, and five Fire-Ships (*k*). The *Dutch* Armament amounted to ninety-eight Men of War, and six Fire-Ships; and, at the Head of both Fleets, were Officers the most celebrated for Conduct, and Resolution, in either Navy, so that it was generally conceived that an Engagement must prove decisive.

In

(*b*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 339, 340.—Warwick's Memoirs compared with Whitlocke.—Cromwell received the most flattering Addresses from almost every Part of the united Kingdom, when he dissolved the Parliament; but no Persons appeared more cordial in their Congratulations, or professed greater Submission than the Officers of the Army, and Navy.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 333.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 211.

(*i*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 336.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 556, 557.

(*k*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 334.

In the Morning of the second of *June*, the *English* approached, and, immediately, with great Fury, attacked the Enemy. The Action began about eleven o'Clock, and the first Broadside from the *Dutch* carried off the gallant Admiral *Deane*, whose Body was almost cut in two by a Chain-Shot. *Monk*, with great Presence of Mind, cast his Cloak over the Body; and, on this Occasion, appeared the Wisdom of having both Admirals on board of the same Ship (*l*); for, as no Flag was taken in, the Fleet did not receive the least Notice of the Accident, but the Fight continued with the same Warmth as if it had not happened. The blue Squadron charged through the Enemy, and, once, Rear-Admiral *Lawson* was on the Point of taking the Ship commanded by the *Dutch* Officer, *De Ruyter*. Even after he was obliged to quit his own Ship, he sunk another, (carrying forty-two Guns,) the Captain of which was named *Builer*. The Action continued very hot, until three o'Clock, when the *Dutch* fell into great Confusion, and *Van Tromp* was reduced to the Necessity of maintaining a kind of running Fight, until nine in the Evening, at which Time a powerful Vessel, commanded by *Cornelius Van Velsen*, blew up. This Calamity increased the Consternation of the *Hollanders*; and, although *Van Tromp* used every Method in his Power to oblige the Officers to do their Duty, and even fired on such Ships as drew out of the Line, his Proceedings served rather to augment, than lessen their Defection. In the Night-Time, *Blake* joined the *English* Fleet, with a Squadron of eighteen Ships, and thus bore a Part in the Action of the second Day (*m*).

On

(*l*) Gumble's Life of General Monk. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 212.

(*m*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487. — Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 557. — Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2.

On the Morrow, *Van Tromp* embraced every Measure, consistent with his Honour, to avoid engaging, but, at eight in the Forenoon, the *English* Fleet approached, and attacked the *Hollanders* with great Fury. During the Space of four Hours, the Battle lasted without Intermission; and Vice-Admiral *Penn* boarded *Van Tromp* twice, and had taken him, if he had not been seasonably relieved by *De Wit*, and *O. Ruyter*. At length, the *Dutch* fell again into Confusion, and an absolute Flight ensued, when they sought a Shelter on the flat Coast of *Newport*, from whence, with great Difficulty, they escaped to *Zealand*. From the Accounts of our own Historians, we learn that six of the best Ships in the Service of the States were sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; and that six also of their principal Captains, and upwards of fifteen hundred Men were made Prisoners. Amongst the Ships, was a Vice, and two Rear-Admirals (*n*). The *Dutch* Writers, indeed, confess only to the Loss of eight Men of War. On the Side of the *English*, the sole Officers of

V. 2. p. 466.—Coke's Detection, V. 2 p. 34.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 337.—Monk's Letter, printed in the Proceedings of the Parliament, called by the Authority of General Cromwell, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, p. 27.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 269.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 345.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 267.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part. 2.—Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 60, 61.—See Van Tromp's Letter to the States, in Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 270.—Consult also Letters sent by the States, to their Ministers, at foreign Courts, and dated from the Hague, on the sixteenth of June, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three. Thurloe's State Papers, p. 273.—Mercurius Politicus, No. 158. p. 2516, 2517.—Echard, p. 705.—Kennett, V. 3. p. 208.—Rapin.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 214.

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of Distinction slain were Admiral *Deane*, and one Captain. Of the private Men, but few fell, and not a Ship was missing; so that a more compleat Victory could scarcely be obtained, or, perhaps, desired. Be it, also, observed that the Ships belonging to the Enemy were now blocked up in their Ports, and that the Approach of a formidable, and adverse Fleet had this farther bad Consequence, that it excited domestic Tumults. It cannot, therefore, appear extraordinary that the *Dutch*, whilst under such Circumstances, sent Ambassadors into *England*, to negotiate a Peace, on any Terms (o). These *Cromwell* received with great Haughtiness, addressed them in high Terms, and assumed to himself the Reputation of former Victories, in which he bore but an inconsiderable Part, but which, at this Juncture, he, with deep Policy, converted to his own Advantage (p).

The *States* were, notwithstanding, far from trusting intirely to Negotiations, but, at the Period when they treated, laboured, with the utmost Diligence, to repair their past Losses, and to equip a new Fleet. This Task was extremely difficult; and, in Order to effect it, they were

(o) Bafnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, V. 1. p. 308, 309.—Le Clerc. *Annales Historiques des Provinces Unies*, Tom. 2. Liv. 13.—Neuville. *Histoire d' Hollande* Tom 3. Liv. 10. Chap. 11, 12.—*La Vie de Ruyter*, Part 1. p. 30.—Innumerable Letters, in the first Volume of the *State Papers*, collected by Thurloe, describe the great Uneasiness which the *Dutch* were under, when they perceived their Ports blocked up; and they likewise contain Accounts of popular Tumults, the Consequences of this Event, and of the great Pains taken by the Minister from the *States* in *England*, for the Purpose of accomplishing the Conclusion of a Peace. See p. 293, 294, 295. 307. 315, 316, 317, 318. 324 340, 341.

(p) Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, V. 6. p. 487, 488. Bafnage. *Annales des Provinces Unies*, V. 1. p. 311. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 215.

were forced to raise the Wages of the Seamen, although their Commerce was at a full Stop. They came down in Person to their Ports, saw their Men embark, payed them previous to their Entrance into the Service, and promised that if they would engage once more, they never should be desired to assist again (q).

Yet even these Measures would scarcely have proved successful, if the indefatigable Attention of *De Witt*, in the Equipment of the newly-constructed Vessels, and the Skill, Vigilance, and Liberality of *Van Tromp* (who, whilst he repaired the old Ships, by Order of the *States*, gave every bounteous Encouragement to the Seamen,) had not contributed more than any Circumstance whatsoever to the setting out of a fresh Fleet, in the latter End of *July*, consisting of more than ninety Ships; a warlike Preparation, which then excited Wonder, and now is scarcely credible. These were victualled for five Months, and intended by the *States* to block up the *English* Ports, and, thus, oblige the Squadrons of a powerful Enemy to retire from the Harbours of the *Dutch*. Yet it was resolved that *Van Tromp* should sail to the Mouth of the *Texel*, where *De Ruyter*, with twenty-five Sail of powerful Ships, was shut in by the *English* Fleet, in Order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their Station, and give the *Dutch* Squadron an Opportunity of coming out (r).

On the twenty-ninth of *July*, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three, the *Dutch* Fleet appeared

(q) Heath's Chronicle, p. 346.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 301. 307. 325. 367.

(r) Basnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 368. 312.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. 2. Liv. 13. p. 334.—Neuville. Histoire d'Hollande, Tom. 3. Chap. 12.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488.—Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 359. 364. 392.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 216.

peared in Sight of the *English*, who exhorted every Endeavour for the Purpose of engaging them, but, *Van Tromp*, having in View the Release of *De Wit*, rather than a Battle, remained at so considerable a Distance that it was seven at Night before General *Monk*, in the *Resolution*, and, attended by about thirty Ships of different Rates, came up with him, and charged through his whole Fleet. As it grew dark soon afterwards, all Hostilities ceased for the Remainder of the Night, *Monk* sailing to the *South*, and *Van Tromp* to the *Northward*, which last Motion not being suspected by the *English*, he not only joined the Squadron commanded by *De Wit*, but obtained the Weather-Gage (s). The Day following proved hazy, and tempestuous, nor was it possible, whilst the Waves were violently agitated by the Wind, that the Fleets could come to Action. The *English*, in particular, found it difficult to avoid running on the Coasts belonging to the Enemy (t).

On *Sunday*, the thirty-first of *July*, the Weather became favourable, and the *English*, and *Dutch* engaged with great Fury. The Battle lasted during, at least, eight Hours, and was more violently fought than any throughout the whole War. The *Dutch* Fire-Ships were managed with great Dexterity, and, by them, many of the large Vessels in the *English* Fleet were in the utmost Danger of perishing. The *Triumph* was so effectually fired that most of her Company cast themselves into the Sea; and yet those few who remained on Board

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 346, 347.—Proceedings of the Parliament, A. D. 1653. p. 28.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562.

(t) Heath's Chronicle, p. 347.—Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 347.—Gumble's Life of Monk.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 216.

Board were so fortunate as to extinguish the Flames (u). *Lawson* violently attacked *De Ruyter*, killed, and wounded more than half of his Men, and so disabled his Ship that it was towed out of the Fleet; yet the Admiral did not quit the Scene of Action; but returned in a Galliot, and went on Board of another Ship. About Noon, *Van Tromp* was shot through the Body, by a Musket-Ball, as he was giving Orders (x). This Event miserably discouraged his Countrymen; and, at two o'Clock, they retreated, in great Confusion, having but one Flag hoisted in the whole Fleet. The lightest of the *English* Frigates pursued them closely, until the *Dutch* Admiral, perceiving that they were small, and of no great Force, turned his Helm, and resolved to engage them, when some larger Ships bore down to their Assistance, and he was taken (y). When the scattered Fleet, in the Service of the *States*, had recovered the *Tenel*, the Night was considerably advanced. The *English* fearing the Flats, rode warily at the Distance of six Leagues.

F I N I S.

(u) Clarendon.—Whitlocke.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.

(x) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488, 489.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 468.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 35.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2. p. 176.—Manley's History of the Rebellion, p. 268.—Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 48.—Journal of the Proceedings of the Dutch Fleet, written by Vice-Admiral De Wit, and addressed to the States, on the eleventh of August, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifty-three; N. S. in Thurloe's Collection, V. 1. p. 392.—Leven Van Tromp, Part 3 — La Vie de Ruyter, Part 1. p. 32, 33.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 217.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

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