

J. Chauncey
HISTORY *U.S. Navy*
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
Saint-Pierre
NAVAL POWER
OF
ENGLAND,
INTERSPERSED WITH VARIOUS
IMPORTANT NOTICES,
RELATIVE TO THE
FRENCH MARINE;
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
OBSERVATIONS
On the PRINCIPAL ARTICLES of the
NAVIGATION ACT.
Illustrated by a variety of
INTERESTING NOTES.

TRANSLATED FROM AN ORIGINAL WORK IN FRENCH,
By **THOMAS EVANSON WHITE.**

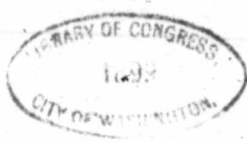
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INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE Naval power of England being a consideration of such vital importance, any thing connected with the subject must naturally prove interesting to the majority of British readers, and more especially to those who incline to political speculation.

On perusing the original work, the Translator was fully impressed with this consideration; and at the same time forcibly aware that with the *philosophical* reader, the doctrine, that *it is often serviceable to know what our adversaries say of us*, always has its due weight. This operated as an additional inducement with him to offer the work to the public, in the form of a translation, and in that view he has closely adhered to the original, both in the text and in the notes. They are given *purely as a Translation*; and not only as such, but feeling, (as the inimitable STERNE
a , observes)

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observes) that "Tones and manners have a meaning," the work is, under those impressions, presented to the reader, as nearly as comparative idiom would allow, in its original style.

The work itself, which commences with the earliest dawn of authentic record, and comes down to the interesting era of the American war, is in some parts a condensed memoir, and in others a very general outline of its subject. With respect to the important consideration of Authenticity, the marks of it appear in almost every page, references being given for every statement, which perhaps might otherwise appear questionable in that respect, to English and French writers, chiefly historians of, established reputation. The author who seems to be, at least in *principle*, a Frenchman, but attached to the ancient *régime*, manifests no small share of ability throughout his performance, and in his political reflections, displays not only some original thought; but, occasionally, strong marks of a refined and cultivated genius, with a heart alive to the most laudable feelings of humanity. Notwithstanding however these respectable attributes, the *national genius* of the Writer will in many instances be found to predominate. The reader will observe that the natural, or geographical advantages possessed by France for the establishment, and maintenance of a Marine, are hyperbolically spoken of when

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when comparative allusions are made to those enjoyed by England. That national propensity to egotism, is frequently apparent, and indeed much of that language which the generality of French political writers held with regard to Great Britain, in those respects, will be found in the following pages. At the same time, the Translator feels it just to observe, that a degree of candour is manifested by the writer, in some parts of the work, by his rendering due praise to the perseverance and assiduity of the English in every thing which respects their favourite element, and to these, he seems chiefly to attribute their Maritime preponderance. While adverting to these considerations, it perhaps may not be improper to remark, that the Author, though he speaks like a genuine Frenchman of the Old School, (which includes the idea of a *pure* Royalist,) and so much so, that the Translator felt it proper to omit some of his animadversions, upon one of the most important events in the History of Great Britain, the Constitutional Revolution* of 1668, yet he appears nevertheless to feel for freedom, and in some points of view, to be the advocate for National independence.

To expatiate upon the importance of a Navy to these

* A Revolution, proceeding entirely upon *Constitutional* principles, and effected by *Constitutional* means.

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these Islands, now happily united under the same *legislative*, as well as *executive* government, would, especially at such a period as the present, be obviously superfluous; the Translator therefore proceeds to remark, that the *manner* in which the writer *treats* of the Naval power of England, abstracted from the narrative part, is one of the most interesting points of view in which the following work can be considered. However he feels it incumbent on him to observe, that the reflections alluded to, supposing them to be perfectly just, and even admitting the assertions with respect to the alleged superior advantages enjoyed by France for the creation and support of a marine, to be true in their fullest extent; yet such considerations should, instead of tending in the least to damp the national spirit of Britons, or to create despondency in regard to any thing that concerns their *peculiar element*, stimulate them to still greater exertions, and to a perseverance in that line of conduct, which has not only insured their indisputable maritime preponderance; but advanced them to that plenitude of commercial aggrandizement, and National prosperity, which they have for several years, beyond all competition enjoyed, and which, even the unavoidable calamities of a protracted war, of a war! beyond all precedent sanguinary and expensive, have not sensibly diminished.

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He trusts that no consideration will ever induce his countrymen to relax their efforts in whatever regards their marine, or in the preservation of that PALLADIUM OF THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDANCE, without whose tutelary aid they must soon sink into a state, which, whatever specious appellation may be bestowed upon it, they would soon fatally experience to be that of provincial subjugation!

With respect to the narrative part of the following work, the Translator has to observe that, in a number of instances, he found it necessary to subjoin various notes, either compiled, original, or extracted. First, on the discovery of some casual errors and inaccuracies, which, though perhaps not wholly inexcusable in a *French* narrator of *British* events, required correction, and in these instances the error was generally rectified through the medium of a note. Secondly, though the work contains a fund of useful information relative to its main subject, the Naval Power of Great Britain; yet in consequence of the very limited scale on which it is given, details sufficiently circumstantial for such Readers as may be unacquainted with the Naval history of their country, could not be expected; the Translator supplied the deficiencies by adequate notes. Thirdly, when any great event, or remarkable circumstance in the Naval records of Great Britain, was adverted to by the French writer, and which, on account of its signal brilliancy,
or

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or, in other points of view, the genuine lustre it reflected on the national character, merited; in the estimation of the Translator, publicity on every possible occasion; the latter, without reference to the *extent*, but merely with a view to the *manner* in which the former described it came forward, and through the medium of a note, either carefully compiled from the most respectable authorities, or extracted, chiefly from the condensed, but luminous recitals of those popular Historians *Hume* and *Smollett*, presented the Reader with what he flatters himself will prove an unexceptionable, and satisfactory account of the affairs alluded to. Fourthly, on occasions, when the complexion of the Author's remarks relative to this country, clearly evinced *L'esprit de sa Nation*; the Translator felt himself called upon to point the attention of the Reader to what he considered as fallacious, or unjustifiable in the observation. Influenced by the like motives, when any thing, rather in the way of narrative, though not in a professed statement of facts, was advanced by the writer, which appeared to be ill founded, and particularly when militating against Great Britain, he also came forward, and, as far as the nature of the case would admit, asserted the cause of genuine truth. On these various occasions, the Translator felt it necessary, or deemed it proper, to subjoin notes,

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BY THE TRANSLATOR.

notes; together with occasional observations; and with respect to the *Narrative* part, he expresses his hope it will be found, that by the introduction of a chain of such notes as he has adverted to, the following work is rendered interesting, purely as a *British* memoir relative to the very important subject in question.

In addition to the narrative respecting the Naval Power of England, the body of the work contains a variety of interesting notices relative to the *French* Marine: the information conveyed in those, is in general important, and in several instances will be found original. The observations on the principal articles of the *Navigation Act* not only display a considerable share of ability, and information, on the part of the Author, but the degree of candour, which seems to pervade that part of the work, is highly to his credit. On the other hand, whether his remarks on the respective situation and circumstances of Great Britain, and her then American Colonies, entitle him to the like praise, the Reader will himself determine. The *Appendix* contains a number of Illustrations, which in the original work are given under the head of "Notes and Justification pieces," and placed at the end of the regular narrative, not because such an arrangement was necessary, as the pieces in question, are in fact, notes upon a larger scale; but merely for the sake
of

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of convenience, as the compiler probably deemed them of too great length for insertion in the same page with the text. Some of these will be found highly interesting, they are in general, official documents, and many of them, contain anecdotes perfectly new to the British public. Upon the whole, these papers not only contain much original information, but are fraught with a considerable degree of interest, particularly the pieces, relative to the Dutch fisheries.—the war which terminated in 1763,—and the American Revolution. In compliance with the original, the work is intitled “History,” tho certainly, *Memoir* would be more appropriate.—The edition from which the following translation is made, was printed at Yverdon, a town of considerable note in Switzerland.

November, 1801.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

PREVIOUS to our Readers referring to the tables, of the Naval forces of Great Britain, (which we have given at the end of the volume,) to enable them to perceive their progress at one view: it is necessary they should attend to the following observations. We have adverted, in the course of this work, to six rates of vessels, *viz.* the first and second rates, with three decks, and from 90 to 100 pieces of cannon. The third rate, with two decks, and of 80, 70, and 68 guns. The fourth, of 60 and 64. The fifth, of 50 and 54 guns; and lastly, the sixth rate, of 46, 44 guns, &c. The manner of classing all these vessels is in some measure different with the English; they comprehend in the third rate, all ships of 84, 74, and 64 guns. In the fourth rate, those of 60 and 50; and in the fifth, those two deckers of 46 and 44 guns, as well as frigates of 32, with a single deck, which we, for that reason, have thought proper to separate from the former.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the same table, we have pointed out by two *asterisks* in the column, those periods, in which we have found it impracticable to gain accurate information of the *numbers* of ships, *on the stocks*, or *under repair*. In general, these cannot be much relied upon. The ***** being too guarded to render true accounts. In their lists, they usually *suppose* the greater part of those vessels are capable of standing the sea, when, in fact, they are so ruinous and rotten, that numbers of them are totally unfit for service. Thus, we no longer see, on any of those lists, that multitude of names, formidable only in the eyes of the coffee-house politicians in London.

But, whatever the accuracy of those statements may be, the interest of a comparison between them, and the English marine at the death of Queen ELIZABETH, is not diminished. In that view, we have placed the list of the ships of that princess, (as stated by Sir *William Monson*) before the table of the British Naval force from 1688 to 1777. In the former, the ordnance is not specified; but, the number of *artillerists* will suffice to give an idea of its amount.

PREFACE.

P R E F A C E.

ILLUMINED by the torch of History, we read of the past,—we behold the present,—and we judge of the future. Thus, the limits of our being are extended, and we profit by the experience of ages; but when we find brought together, those circumstances which bear a sensible relation to each other, Historical lessons become more easy, our views are more collected, and, with facility, we take the whole into our consideration. The interest increases as we can the better contemplate all the parties who contributed to produce it. In the present circumstances, then, how important must it be, to trace, and to consider, the Progress of the Naval Power of England!

Should this desirable end be attained;—did we content ourselves with giving the state of the Maritime forces of that kingdom, at different periods. How could the reader judge of the exertions they have cost, be informed of the vicissitudes to which they have been exposed; observe the defects in their government; or, we provide ourselves against their designs, without entering into Historical detail? The more numerous these are, the less difficult will it be, by the knowledge of effects, to develop the causes which suppressed or retarded, expedited or changed the ordinary course of things.

We have divided this History into Four Books: the first concludes with the recapture of *Calais*, by the French, under HENRY II. In that long interval,

PREFACE.

terval, England, at first, had only slight barks to protect herself against the invasions of the Northern nations. If, afterwards, she collected vessels to transport her troops, it was seldom without very great exertions, and never without having recourse to neighbouring nations. A few weak vessels, ill armed, certainly do not prove that her Marine was then considerable; nor some unproductive or transitory advantages, that the empire of the seas vested in her. On the contrary, she appeared to yield it to France, under the reign of CHARLES V. and in the early part of that of CHARLES the Sixth.

The Second Book shews, that the *true origin* of the Naval Power of the English, was in the fortunate times of ELIZABETH. The ambitious vengeance of PHILIPP I. produced that germ, which the weakness of JAMES I. and the misfortunes of his son, would have destroyed, had not CROMWELL profited by that energy, which domestic broils generally give to a nation, to display all the vigour of the forces of his own, against the Dutch.

After three successive wars, in which the English did not always triumph without difficulty, nor their adversaries combat without glory; the sceptre of the main passed into the hands of the former: France wrested it from them for a moment, and did not suffer it to be re-established, until she again signalled herself upon an element, which, at present, owes its liberty to her.* The recital of all those memorable actions, forms the matter of the Third Book, which concludes with the peace of Rhyf-wick.

From that period, to the treaty of Paris, if Great
Britain

* It is hardly necessary to suggest to the reader, that those Observations were written before the present War. *Translator.*

PREFACE.

Britain made, even ruinous, efforts to preserve her Maritime ascendancy, she, at least, had, in most instances, the success which her ambition expected. Her adversaries, the French and the Spaniards, having always had to cope with an unequal force, her triumphs were the more certain, without being, at the same time, glorious. The account of these fill the Fourth Book of this History, and doubtless are those of the *utmost progress* of the Naval Power of England, the limits of it being fixed by the American Revolution,* on which we finish, by throwing an interesting regard.

Placed between the present age and posterity, can we put into the scale of considerations, the weight of truth? certainly not; but, in order to keep fair with our cotemporaries, we are not under the necessity of flattering them; it is not so much, facts in themselves, as the attendant circumstances that offend. We must, therefore, content ourselves with declaring the one, and reserving the other; especially as we approach the present day. This prudent course we shall adopt, committing to time the privilege of disclosing every thing, and the full liberty of informing us.

The libeller, however, imagines he possesses both, when, in fact, he only seeks to nourish malignity by his satire, or his falsehood; and fears not to offend the *Majesty*, (so we shall call it) of History, by the rashness, or the indecency of his reflexions. In those, with which we have allowed ourselves to fill up the unavoidable intervals, we have been inspired by an enlightened love for our country, and not influenced by the gloomy pleasure of an indiscriminate censure; the latter has,
by

† See the foregoing note. *Translator.*

PREFACE.

by no means, guided us in our Observations on the famous Navigation Act, which would have terminated this work; did we not think it proper to subjoin some justificatory documents, together with a few additional Notes.

The number of these would have been considerable, had we destined them to historical discussion. How many of them are obscure, and present only the contradiction,—the errors,—the prejudices,—and the partialities of the writers who have described Maritime actions? The greater part of those appear to imagine, that, in order to be *dispensers* of glory, they have only sometimes to misrepresent the principal facts; and, sometimes, to alter the essential circumstances, according to their caprice, or particular inclinations; they frequently differ from each other, and in such a way, that it is with difficulty we can believe they relate to us the same event. To ruin, in idea, the affairs of the adverse nation, and to combat it by false narratives, their efforts ordinarily tend; the policy of courts not only has applauded, but even takes pleasure in supporting them. The greater the interest in *managing* public opinion, the more they endeavour to seduce it. Should they not, however, be aware, that the practice of deceiving men always becomes injurious, because those unhappy means of governing them, namely, by acting upon their weaknesses, or their fears, cannot be durable? In the end, the illusion vanishes,—the truth bursts forth,—the imposition is discovered,—and disgrace alone remains.

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Weak

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HISTORY
OF THE
NAVAL POWER
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

THE precarious state, and weakness of the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain, obliged them to neglect those advantages, which the happy situation of their isle afforded. Content, to receive from the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Grecians, and Gauls, those commodities which their growing occasions called for; they regarded with indifference those strangers, come to profit by their ignorance, and to enrich themselves at their expence. When the restless spirit of the Belgians impelled them to establish themselves on the coasts of these islanders; the latter, to avoid them, and escape the dangers of piracy, retired to the inland parts.* In process of time, being inured to warfare by domestic broils, they dared to oppose the fortune of CÆSAR, but they were yet destitute
of

* *Jul. Cæs. de bell. gall. I. V. c. 22.*

of maritime strength. At that period,* and long after, they possessed no vessels but canoes, formed of osiers, and covered with hides,† which nearly resembled those still in use among the Greenlanders.

During the time the Ancient Britons were threatened by the Romans with total subjugation, the former, never suggested means, in the event of a defeat, to avoid that misfortune, by arming their vessels. They always took refuge in the caverns which abound in the interior of their isle.‡ Into those gloomy retreats, the Saxons, the Jutlanders, and the Angles, frequently pursued them, after having devastated the coasts with impunity. The last mentioned people, gave their name to one part of Great Britain, which they divided into seven kingdoms.

OFFA, king of Mercia, the most powerful prince of the Heptarchy, appeared to be the first who had any pretensions to the empire of the seas. It is said, he ventured to dispute it with CHARLEMAGNE. That great monarch, however, did not disdain to court his alliance, in the view, perhaps, that the Naval assistance of OFFA, would one day be serviceable to him in securing his dominions from the enterprizes of the Normans.

ALFRED, whose wisdom equalled the affection he had for his people, omitted nothing to repair the ravages of the Danes, and other Northern nations; he not only augmented the number of his vessels, but improved the construction of them. One fleet of 120 sail, was uniformly allotted to guard the coasts. Foreign able seamen, among whom

* *Eumen. Constant. panegyri. II. p. 213.*

† *Plin. hist. nat. I. IV. c. xxx. Avien. or Marit. V. 104. 105. 106.*

‡ *Dion. Cass. hist. I. LXII. No. 5.*

whom the Friesslanders, were most worthy of notice, entered into his service, and instructed his subjects in the nautical art. When the East-Angles, and Northumbrians, constructed vessels stronger and lighter than his own, he compensated for this new advantage, by fitting out expeditiously for sea, vessels with 120 oars, in every respect superior to the former.* By these means, this great prince rendered abortive the efforts of his enemies, defeated their fleets, and chased them from his kingdom, which he had the glory to retrieve from the abyfs of domestic and foreign calamities. When dying, he desired, that the English may be as *free as their own thoughts!* Certainly a vain wish,—but it shewed the magnanimous feelings of his heart.

Less virtuous, but as able, and more powerful, than the illustrious ALFRED, one of his successors, EDGAR, collected a prodigious number of vessels, which some have said to amount to 3600, and others, to 4000. A certain ancient writer presumed to assert that this prince had the greatest fleet England ever possessed.† A just idea may, however, be formed of it, when it is known, that the largest of those vessels hardly contained fifty men. Throughout the year, four squadrons, each consisting of 100 sail, were armed, to protect and cruise along the coasts. Elated with this array of force, EDGAR imagined himself master of the seas, and assumed the vain-glorious title of “Emperor and Lord of all the Kings of the Ocean, and of all the Nations which it surrounds!”‡ One day being at Chester, he embarked on the *Dee*,
and

* *Brompton. Chron. p. 813. Affer. de vil. Alfr. p. 9. Chron. Sax. p. 99.*

† *Chron. Sax. p. 137.*

‡ *Ex. chart. eccles. Wigorn.*

and compelled eight tributary kings to row a barge, which he steered himself. The triumphs of pride are always outrages!

The successors of EDGAR, had neither the same pretensions, nor an equal maritime force. The Danes took the advantage of their weakness, to make fresh inroads, and carry devastation into all parts of the country. The English, nevertheless, in the reign of ETHELRED, made a vigorous effort, they collected a fleet of 800 vessels, equipped at the expence of wealthy individuals; this armament being dispersed by storms, was rendered unserviceable, and the whole kingdom fell under the power of the Danish princes. A disgraceful treaty was concluded with the victors, who engaged to maintain 45 armed vessels for the defence of the coasts, on condition of being paid an annual tribute, which was called *Danegeld*.* They received it at Greenwich, and it was assessed in England, at the rate of 12 *deniers per hyde* of land. The clergy alone were exempt from this impost, because, says an historian, the inhabitants had more confidence in their prayers, than in their own defenders.† One of the most illustrious of the Danish princes was CANUTE, king of Denmark and Norway, as well as of England. This triple crown was by no means too weighty for his abilities, neither did its possession swell his passions beyond their due limits. Being told by his courtiers, that his power was unbounded, he one day invited them to a fishing party, when he caused a feast to be provided on the sea shore; they sat down to table at the flow of the tide; the guests shortly perceiving the waters to gain upon them, would have risen from table, but

* A compound word signifying "*Danish money*."

† Rog. de Houeden, *annal.* p. 603.

but the king prevented them, and affected to order the waves to retire; as they continued to advance, and being wet by them, he exclaimed, "Is this then the respect with which the ocean treats its master?" Then, immediately turning to the courtiers, he observed, that HE, who held in his hands the extremities of the earth, had alone the right to command the elements, and prescribe limits to the tide!

After having extended those of his own dominions, the politic CANUTE maintained a number of vessels to protect communication, and shelter them from invasion. This salutary precaution did not enter into the policy of his successors; who entirely neglected their marine. HAROLD, nevertheless, got together a considerable fleet, which the fortune of WILLIAM seemed to sport with; that conqueror, at the head of his brave Normans, effected his landing without any obstacle; the decisive battle of Hastings, placed him at the summit of his wishes, and destroyed the sceptre, which the Saxon princes swayed during 600 years.—This memorable event, gave England so violent a shock, and caused such a sudden revolution with respect to property, that the nation could little attend either to commerce, or navigation.

The kingdom was so destitute of shipping, when RICHARD undertook the expedition to the Holy-Land, that he was obliged to have recourse to foreigners. These furnished the greater part of his fleet, which was composed of 150 vessels, and bid defiance to that of SALADIN. The naval forces of the Earl of FLANDERS were necessary to JOHN, the brother of RICHARD, to oppose those which PHILIPPE AUGUSTE had collected in the Seine, and which amounted to 1700 vessels. However, when their
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weakness and defects are considered, this *number* will cease to astonish; the greater part of them were *coasting barges*, that is, large *chaloupes*, or barques, with three masts, the remainder consisted only of some galleys, or rather galliots, a species of war-like vessel with oars and sails; nevertheless, some of them might be of considerable bulk, as, in an expedition to the Holy-Land, they had a ship of such large dimensions, as to cause it to be named "the World." Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, we are also informed of a vessel capable of containing 800 men. These, however, were rare at that time, they were only to be found in* the Mediterranean, where the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Pisans, had expedited the progress of sea affairs. In proportion to the improvement in which distinct fleets have diminished in number.

That of PHILIPPE AUGUSTE having returned to Flanders, under the command of SAVARI, a famous Poitevin Corsair, was found too numerous to be contained in the port of *Dam*,† notwithstanding its capacious size. One part of the fleet anchored along the coast, near the town, when all those who were on board, except the sailors, quitted the vessels and went on shore for purposes of depredation.‡ The Earls of BOULOGNE, and SALISBURY, who commanded the naval armament of JOHN, gaining intelligence that the French vessels were destitute

* Joinville, vic de St. Louis, p. 130.

† *Dam* or *Damme*, in the Netherlands, in those days a considerable sea port town, though now no longer such, its harbours, &c. being long since destroyed by the accumulation of the sands, on that part of the coast. It is still a place of some note, and lies 5 miles S. W. of the port of *Sluys*, and nearly the same distance N. E. of *Bruges*.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 166.

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of foldiers, proceeded to attack them, boarded without refiftance, cut the cables, and brought off 300 laden with provifions, and burned 100 others. Thofe which were in the port would have met with the fame fate, if PHILIPPE had not abandoned the fiege of Ghent, in which he was then engaged, and haftened to their defence; he compelled the Englifh to reimbark with the lofs of 2000 men, either killed or drowned; and after having withdrawn all the provifion and ftores from the remaining fhips, he left them, as well as the city of Dam, a prey to the flames.*

Though this Species of Naval victory was entirely owing to the affiftance and advice of the Earl of FLANDERS, JOHN was elated to fuch a degree, he imagined, that henceforth his *Maritime Ordonances* would be refpected by all nations. He had, in the fecond year of his reign, made one for exa&ting the *Salute* from all foreign veffels, ordaining that, if obedience was not yielded to his officers, they fhould be compelled to it, and even to chaftife the Captains, either by confinement, or by corporal punifhments.† Abfurd and unjuft pretentions are often imputable to weaknefs.— Who could imagine, that a Prince, tottering on his

* Rigord ap. *Duchefne*, tome V. p. 54.

† On the contrary, any Ships or Veffels laden, or failing on the Seas, that will not lower or take down their flags, at the command of the King's Lieutenant, or of the Admiral of the King, or his Lieutenant, but flight againft any of the fleet; fuch, if they can be taken, fhall be reputed as Enemies, and their Ships, Veffels and Goods feized and confiscated, as the goods of enemies. Although the Mafter, or Owners, fhould afterwards come and alledge the faid Ships, Veffels, and Goods, to belong to the friends of our Lord, the King; and, that the hands on board, be chaftifed by imprifonment, at difcretion, of their rebellious conduct.

his throne, would have dared to arrogate to himself the empire of the Seas?

Indolent, cruel, and perfidious, the subjects of JOHN, generally rose against him, and he was constrained to appease them, by granting the famous *MAGNA CHARTA*:—the name alone, recalls the idea of British Liberty, of which it is the base, or rather the firm rampart, cemented by blood, shed in various revolutions, strengthened by time, and preserved by felicitous prejudices! The faith of tyrants is but momentary, they regard it only through the medium of fear. JOHN, freed from the first danger, failed in his, and revoked that celebrated Act, to which he had but recently assented; the English, in consequence were so incensed, that they chose for their Sovereign LOUIS, son of PHILIPPE AUGUSTE; this young prince defeated the troops of his adversary, who died soon after, in the course of an ignominious retreat. The general hatred against the latter, was, at his death, succeeded by commiseration for his youthful son, HENRY III. a numerous party declared in his favour, and placed him on the throne of his father, LOUIS, having taken the advantage of a cessation of arms, to pass into France; those maritime towns, known by the appellation of the *Cinque* ports, armed against him a squadron of 40 vessels, of which they entrusted the command to PHILIPPE D'ALBENEY; this officer encountered the French fleet, composed of 80 vessels; and, having the advantage of the wind, he attacked it vigorously; however he was indebted for victory to a singular stratagem, he suggested the expedient of throwing a great quantity of *lime powder* in the faces of the French, who fought on a level with their opponents; driven by the wind,

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it blinded them, and prevented their manœuvring, notwithstanding the abilities of EUSTACHE, their commander. This man, a *Flemish* adventurer, being disgusted with the discipline of a cloister, became a pirate; he commenced in the service of England, he afterwards received a subsidy from PHILIPPE, to whom he furnished shipping. The vessel in which he commanded in this action, having fallen into the hands of ALBENEY, he endeavoured to secrete himself in the hold, where he was with difficulty discovered. In vain did he expatiate on his former services, and offer considerable sums of money for his life. Pusillanimity is seldom persuasive. The English listened not to one whom they regarded as a traitor, and an unprincipled plunderer;* he fell under the blow given by RICHARD, natural son of the late king, in a transport of just indignation.

This action completed the ruin of the affairs of LOUIS, who was obliged to give up England. His competitor, HENRY, on the other hand, had no sooner mounted the throne, than he perceived its instability; the troubles which agitated his reign, were not favourable, either to the re-establishment of commerce, or the progress of Naval affairs. The inhabitants of the *Cinque* ports,† thinking it expedient to profit by these unfortunate circumstances, addicted themselves to the most shameful piracy; they seized, indiscriminately, the vessels of all nations, and often threw their crews into the sea. Foreign merchants were deterred from approaching

* Math. Paris, p. 206.

† The Sea-port towns of *Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover,* and *Sandwich*, which enjoy several peculiar privileges, and were obliged by their charters to equip 57 vessels for the king's service.

proaching the coasts of England, where extreme scarcity was, in consequence, severely felt. These pirates carried their audacity so far, as to equip a squadron to assist the revolted Barons, and, under the directions of SIMON DE MONTFORT, they proceeded to burn the town of Portsmouth; if such outrages remained unpunished,—at least, they subsided on the re-establishment of order.

The restoration thereof, was owing to the good policy of EDWARD I. though engaged in war with the French and the Scots, he did not neglect to extend his authority over the adjoining seas. He forbid the Flemings to fish in them, without his express permission, and the terms of this Edict shewed how far he carried his pretensions.* The English held themselves justified and countenanced in this conduct by an alledged decision, made by the Genoese, Catalans, Germans, Zealanders, Frieslanders, Danes, and Norwegian arbiters; they had been chosen to terminate a difference which arose between EDWARD and PHILIPPE LE BEL, in consequence of the latter having appointed an *Admiral* to execute that function in the “Sea of England.” The English monarch considered it as an insult, and demanded justice; the arbiters decided in his favour, and declared that his predecessors had at all times been Sovereigns of the sea in question; on which the kings of France could not rightfully have any Admiral, but simply a *master*, or *chef du flotte*. The original of such an act ought to be highly prized by national vanity, and,

* In this edict, or ordonance, he charges his officers, “Especially to retain and maintain the sovereignty which the kings of England, his ancestors, exclusively possessed in the said sea of England, with regard to the declaration, amendment and interpretation of the laws by them made, for the government of all manner of persons passing through the said sea.”

and, next to the great charter, should be preserved with care and veneration. Nevertheless it is not to be found among the archives in the tower of London;* whence some learned men,† in the last century, affirmed, it was taken, in order to be translated, published, and commented upon; an honour which so rare a piece divides with many others, neither more authentic, nor less useful! It is rather a matter of astonishment, that EDWARD could flatter himself with the idea of making his maritime authority acknowledged, at a period when his subjects had forced him into a war, of which national hatred was the *real* cause, and a quarrel between individuals, the occasion or pretext. Commercial rivalry, about that time, had rendered the Normans and the Gascons inimical to each other, and the continual altercations between them, made it justly apprehended that open hostilities would speedily ensue. To avoid these, recourse was had to treaty, and they came to an agreement with regard to the means of preventing, or punishing, their respective delinquencies.‡ We are uninformed in what manner this convention was observed by the licentious among the parties, until the moment, when a slight incident led to a general commotion.—Two mariners, the one a Norman, the other English, having accidentally met near

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* *M. de Briquigny* was unable to discover this piece in the strict search he made at the Tower, by order of the French government. Long before him, the laborious *Rymer* appears not to have more success, or to have rejected it, as a fictitious document.

† *Burroughs* lex merc. p. 8. *Coxe* inst. p. 142. *Selden* mare. claus. &c.

‡ This treaty was made in the year 1276, and is among the archives in the tower of London.

a fountain at Bayonne, and each being inclined to drink first, a contest ensued, and they proceeded to blows; the Norman drew a poignard on his adversary, but in endeavouring to use it, he made a false step, and pierced himself;* his countrymen, believing he had been assassinated, complained of the supposed outrage to their king, PHILIPPE; requiring that justice might be done, who, not only permitted, but, according to the testimony of his enemies, *commanded* them to revenge themselves upon the occasion.†

Vengeance, however, stands not in need of spurring, a signal suffices, and unhappily PHILIPPE LE BEL held it out. The Normans immediately scoured the seas, and captured, or sunk, all the English vessels they fell in with; after having plundered them, they put many of the crews to death. They cruised near the entrance of the river *Garonne*, and pursued the vessels that came out, in all directions. The constable of Guyenne, wishing to put an end to such proceedings, effected a compromise between them; but scarcely had they sailed from Bordeaux, than they renewed hostilities with increased activity.

In the mean time, the two monarchs agreed to prohibit their subjects from all further acts of violence, or reprisals; orders to this effect were proclaimed by the heralds, but were very little attended to, because no effectual steps were taken to enforce them. Perhaps an accommodation was not sincerely wished by either party. In this conjuncture, the Normans having fallen in with 20 English trading vessels, off St. Malo, they captured two of them, and of 80 men, which composed their crews,

* *Thomas Walsingham*, p. 58. *Hen. Knyghton*, c. VI.

† *Walsing.* p. 58.

crews, they *flayed* a part, and afterwards hung the whole, together with a number of dogs, to the yards of their vessels. After this barbarous proceeding, no terms were kept by either side; the cries of vengeance resounded from all parts, their poignards were whetted by national hatred, and the discord appeared likely to have infected all Europe. To the Gascons and the English, the Irish and the Hollanders attached themselves. To the Normans and Picards, the Flemish and the Genoese. The sea was covered with warlike vessels, before the respective Sovereigns had yet engaged in hostilities, which appeared to be carried on with the more inveteracy, because the war was made neither *by*, nor *for* them.

The inhabitants of the *Cinque* ports, disdaining to complain to EDWARD, were determined to revenge themselves without his assistance; they fitted out their vessels for cruising; took, plundered, or sunk, all the French vessels they could find, and massacred the greater part of their crews. On every occasion, the subjects of PHILIPPE were maltreated; they were imprisoned, and even consigned to the gallows, by the English tribunals, without the least regard either to their complaints, or their appeals. At Bordeaux, they carried their barbarity so far, as even in the midst of the square, to cut a Norman into four pieces, which they afterwards threw into the river.* The coasts of France were exposed to the most cruel irruptions; a fleet of 200 trading vessels could not find shelter therein, from the attacks of the English;† and after a long resistance, which took place at the point of St. Matthieu, nearly

* Rymer, T. p. 617.

† According to these, their vessels were at anchor, and the French were the aggressors.

nearly the whole fell into the power of a squadron of 60 vessels, part of those fitted out by EDWARD for the relief of Acre, then invested by the Saracens. Emboldened by this success, the privateers of Bayonne, joined the victors; they made, together, a descent near Rochelle, laid waste the country, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword. Finally, ROBERT TIPTOT, Admiral of that Prince, sunk a number of barks and trading vessels at the mouth of the Seine. Were further outrages necessary to provoke the just indignation of PHILIPPE?

This Prince demanded of EDWARD, the restitution of the vessels that had been taken, and indemnification for the ravages committed at Rochelle, threatening, in case satisfaction was not made, to cite him before the *Court of Peers!* The English monarch replied in a lofty strain, and PHILIPPE obtained nothing by the application. Probably, such a result was expected, and the object of the latter was only to gain time to make preparations. Being destitute of shipping, he had recourse to ERIC VIII. king of Norway, who engaged to furnish him with 200 galleys, and 100 other armed vessels, for the yearly sum of 30,000*l.* sterling, but payable in the course of the four months, which those vessels were to keep the sea. This agreement, however, not being carried into effect, PHILIPPE commissioned GEOFROI DE CORMICI, a canon of Senlis,* orders were given to collect all the vessels which could be found in the ports of the kingdom. The command of this armament† was given to
MATTHIEU

* *Vide* the registers of the *Chambre des comptes* at Paris.

† The freight, and the pay of the crews amounted to 60,000 *livres Tournois*, a very considerable sum in those days. *lett. pat. de l'an 1295*, addressed to Jean d'Harcourt, and Matthieu de Montmorenci.

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MATTHIEU DE MONTMORENCI, and JEAN D'HARCOURT; their first operation was an attack upon Dover, which they burned. This expedition, spread such an alarm in England, that, at the moment, a successful invasion might be made, had they ventured to attempt it.* The plundering of the Abbey at Cherbourg, was the only retaliation made by the English for the enterprise at Dover. The Scots, having declared against them, sunk four of their vessels, which attempted to enter the port of Berwick, and compelled those which accompanied them quickly to put to sea.

Though EDWARD had already carried the war into France for the recovery of Guyenne; he, nevertheless, was apprehensive of descents upon his own kingdom.† In this view, he equipped three squadrons to guard the coasts, and passed over himself into Flanders, in order to effect a diversion. He had scarcely embarked, when there arose a violent contention among the seamen of his fleet. Those of Yarmouth and the *Cinque* ports, on the one side, and the rest of the English mariners on the other. In vain did EDWARD issue his orders; in vain did he interpose his authority; the parties were too much incensed; they fought with fury, and 25 vessels of Yarmouth were burned or destroyed.‡ The naval armament was threatened in the same way at Dam, by the French, but avoided the impending fate by quickly placing itself on the defensive, and manœuvring with skill and dexterity.

The finances of England, were then in a very declining state, which rendered the king desirous to put an end to a ruinous war. He obtained a
cessation

* *Guill de Nangis*, chron. ad ann. 1295.

† *Thom. Walsingham*, p. 62.

‡ *Thom. Walsingham*, ad ann. 1298. p. 72.

cessation of arms, and the restitution of Guyenne. In order to solace the pride of PHILIPPE, it was agreed that this province should be considered as the portion of his daughter ISABELLE, a woman who merits the execration of all ages! She was married to EDWARD II. whose weakness and partiality to favourites, was the cause of the troubles which long agitated his unhappy kingdom; they continued from his accession, until he ceased to reign; soon after which, he was put to death, under circumstances of more horrible outrage, than any recorded in the page of history.

This Prince soon found himself exposed to the attacks of France; the seas adjoining his dominions were covered with armed vessels by the French; from the port of *Calais* alone, 15 sailed, which threatened all the Northern provinces; on this occasion, JEAN DE STURMYN, to whose direction a number of vessels were confided, was generally charged with the protection of the English commerce; while EDWARD himself assembled, at the mouth of the Thames, a fleet sufficiently numerous to stop the incursions of the Normans, whose vengeance he had provoked, by the capture of 120 trading vessels, without any preliminary declaration of war.* These armaments permitted him to dispatch but a very small convoy to Guyenne, whither he had sent a few troops, some money, and stores.

The celebrated EDWARD the Third, on mounting the throne, after the deposition of his father, concluded a peace with CHARLES LE BEL, who displayed, says a judicious writer, during those differences, that firmness, moderation, justice, and

* Thom. Walsingham, p. 122.

and wisdom, which always characterised him; he neither took advantage of the weakness of EDWARD II. the youth of EDWARD III. nor of the distracted state of England, to carry his pretensions beyond their due bounds.*

The new monarch of England, however, did not follow this example. It is well known, that after being determined to render homage for Guyenne, to PHILIPPE DE VALOIS, he was subsequently, not only unwilling to acknowledge himself a vassal of that Prince, but even took the title of *King of France*.† At length, yielding to the instigations of a fugitive prince, an impostor, the infamous ROBERT D'ARTOIS, he commenced that long and terrible war, which caused to germinate in the hearts of two nations, equally estimable, the seeds of implacable hatred, and sanguinary dissention; which neither lapse of time, nor the suggestions of reason could destroy! Alas! Nature has endowed the heart with the feelings of humanity, but these national rivalship depresses. Since, however, it is impossible to *eradicate* them, we consign to an enlightened policy, the task of turning them to advantage, and of warding off the attacks of corruption; or at least, to preserve us long from its most fatal effects, baseness and servility!

The war was scarcely declared, when two commanders, BEHUCHET and BARBEVAIRE, who, according to FROISSARD, cruized about the seas, between England and France, with a considerable fleet; appeared with their force off the coasts of the former kingdom, and attacked Portsmouth, which they

* Mem. de *M. de Brequigny*, on the points in dispute between France and England, under the reign of *Charles le Bel*,

† Acad. des inscr. T. XLI. p. 670.

they reduced to ashes. They afterwards landed near Southampton, and, taking advantage of the moment when the inhabitants were at mass, entered the town, plundered it, and put many persons to death. They also, as the historian above mentioned expresses it, *violated* several virgins, and *forced* a number of women! After these outrages, being favoured by the wind and tide, they set sail, and, without interruption, arrived at Dieppe, where they divided their booty.*

This success greatly emboldened those on board the French fleet, who were chiefly composed of Genoese, Normans, and Picards. Notwithstanding the orders issued by EDWARD to BARTHELEMY DE BURGLIERSH, Admiral of the Western, and to GAUTHIER DE MAUNY, commander of the Northern fleet, to collect a force capable of protecting his dominions from the like ravages;† the French continued to make descents on different parts of the kingdom, particularly at Hastings; in Cornwall; in Devonshire; in the vicinity of Bristol; and, also at Guernsey, where they committed the greatest depredations, setting fire to almost every

* *Froissard*, t. I. CXXXVI. the taking of Portsmouth, was in the year 1336, and the affair of Southampton in 1337. *Thomas Walsingham*, p. 136 and 146, says, that in 1337 Edward took the title of king of France, but did not declare war till 1339.

† Letters of Edward III. addressed to these two Admirals, MSC. in the Tower of London. From the reign of Edward I. there were established in England, two Admirals, one of the North, and the other of the West; until the reign of Henry IV. when the Duke of Clarence was Admiral of the two departments. "*Admirallus utriusque partis*:" Afterwards, the celebrated Earl of Somerset took the title of "Admiral of England," "*Admirallus Angliæ*," and for a long period the office was vested in a single person. Of late years, however, the situation has been little more than nominal, it is now called "Admiral of the fleet."

every town and village in the Island. They also, about the same time, captured a great many vessels, among which were *L'Edouard* and *Le Christophe*, the two largest and stoutest ships of war then in the possession of the English.*

These descents, and occasional incursions, clearly demonstrated that the marine of EDWARD was far from being formidable: It was not without great exertions that he could collect a fleet of 300, or according to some historians, 240 vessels. He took the command of it himself, in order the more effectually to resist the attempts of that of his adversary, PHILIPPE, which was composed of 400 vessels, of which 120 were remarkable for their large size. It was at first pretended, that this armament was destined for a crusade, and that 40,000 men had been put on board, which, however, was not at all probable.† The English monarch collected his force off Orwell, in Suffolk, and on the 24th of June, 1340, he appeared before the fortress of *L'Écluse*, (*Shyys*), near which was assembled the great armament of the French. Upon seeing them, “The prince,” says *Froissard*, “asked the captain of his ship, what people those might be? and he answered, that he believed it was the army of Normans, which the king of France kept ready for sea; that several times had greatly injured him, and had burned the good town of *Hantonne*,‡ and conquered his great vessel *Christophe*. Then, replied the king, I have for
“ a long

* *Lediard*, Hist. Nav. d'Angl. LL. c. 1, 2.

† The account given by *Froissard*, supposes the vessels to be more numerous; which indicated, says he, “the great difficulties the English laboured under, as their adversaries were four to one!”

‡ The ancient name of Southampton.

“ a long time desired, that I might have an opportunity of fighting with them; so we will fight them, if it please God and St. George, for truly, they have vexed me so often, that I wish to take vengeance if possible.” The English fleet advanced the same day* in good order, in two lines; the first was composed of the strongest ships, and had at each end, several vessels in which archers were placed; the soldiers were on board those in the centre; and a certain number of the others formed the squadron of reserve. The whole came up with the advantage of the wind, which the French did not dispute with them, because, being confined to a small space, they could neither disengage themselves, nor even manœuvre with facility; the tide was also unfavourable, and the sea so high, that the vessels with oars were unserviceable. The action commenced with fury, and the fighting was of the closest kind; a ship, on board which were the flower of the English nobility, fell into the hands of the French, who soon after lost *Le Christophe*, already spoken of; victory appeared yet doubtful, when the Flemings, hastily issuing from their ports, joined the English, who defeated their enemies in a combat, then as unequal, as it had been obstinate.

Perhaps EDWARD was less indebted for this success to his own ability, than to the misunderstanding which existed between the French Admirals.

Of

* *M. Dacier*, who laboured at an edition of *Froissard*, apprises us of a general error, respecting the day on which the battle was fought. By the accounts of the greater part of our historians, *Edward* departed from England the 22d. of June, and not on the eve of St. John the Baptist's day, as stated in all the editions of *Froissard*; the battle was fought on St. John's day, and not on the eve of that festival, as again stated by *Froissard*; nor on the day following, as asserted by the author of the *Chroniques de France*. Vide *Rymer*, t. II. part IV. p. 79.

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Of these, there were three: BARBEVAIRE, who commanded the Genoese, and HUGUES QUIERET, and NICOLAS BEHUCHET, who had under their orders, the Normans and Picards. The first, was a consummate seaman,* and had acquired great reputation by his services in the Mediterranean, and the Ocean; his advice was, that the French fleet should stand out to sea, but his colleagues refusing to follow it, he retired from the action with four galleys; he had little reliance on those crews, which BEHUCHET had composed of paltry fishermen, and inexperienced mariners. This selection was the result of his own avarice,† of which he shortly fell the victim; he was taken and hung at the mast of his own ship, as a punishment, according to some, for the outrages committed by him on the coasts of England; while others alledge, that EDWARD commanded this act of cruelty, merely to insult his adversary PHILIPPE.‡ The first motive, does not justify the act, the latter aggravates its criminality! but, how many sovereigns, imagining they exercise the rights of war, allow themselves to act in the like manner!

The loss of the victors, in this famous action, did not exceed 4000 men; while that of the French, according to an ancient English historian;§ amounted to 30,000, together with 200 vessels. This authority

* *Villani* (an Italian writer,) styles him, "Da porto venere grand Corsale."

† He never willingly admitted any respectable person, or "good sergeant," because it appeared to him they required too high wages,—and, in order to have a good bargain, he took poor fishermen, and paltry mariners; and of such persons composed his army. *Chron. de Fland.* p. 152.

‡ *In despectum regis Franciæ ad malum navis suspendentur. Nangis contin. ad ann. 1340.*

§ *Thom. Walsingham, p. 148.*

authority, the greater part of the modern writers have implicitly followed.

The vague manner in which FROISSARD has expressed himself, throws no light upon the subject;* the testimony of VILLANI, a foreign contemporary writer, deserves more attention;† he rates the loss of the vanquished, as not exceeding 10,000 men; but even this, in our opinion, appears to be an exaggeration. It was asserted some troops were put on board this fleet, their numbers, however, should be calculated, with a reference to the size of the vessels, which may easily be conceived, by the proportion of their sailors, of whom 25, we learn, were sufficient to work one ship.

Successful events appear to form a chain, of which fortune, at her pleasure, multiplies, separates, unites, or breaks the links. The commencement of the reign of EDWARD announced a long series of them. Two years after the naval victory at L'Ecluse, (Sluys,) EDWARD, having espoused the interests of the Counts of MONTFORT, dispatched MAUNI into Bretagne, to defend them against CHARLES LE BLOIS, who was supported by PHILIPPE. The latter, furnished his ally with some troops under the command of LOUIS D'ESPAGNE,‡ by whom Dinant and Guérande were shortly taken; having
found

* And the Normans, and all the other French, were discomfited, killed, and drowned, and never one foot of them escaped, but all were put to death. C. LI.

† *Gian. Villani. Hist. L. XI. c. 109.*

‡ LOUIS DE LA CERDA, Prince of the *Isles Fortunées*, Comte de Talmond, and Admiral of France, was the elder brother of the Constable CHARLES DE LA CERDA, who was assassinated by the king of Navarre. They derived their descent from the kings of Castile, through the infant FERDINAND, son of ALPHONSO X. and were grand-children of ST. LOUIS, by their mother, BLANCHE, of France.

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found in the port of the last mentioned town a considerable number of vessels, he used them in making a descent at Quimperlé, where MAUNI, supported by some persons of condition in the interests of the Countess, had surpris'd the French fleet, then destitute of soldiers, and took possession of it. LOUIS was afterwards defeated by him, and, not being able to recover his vessels, was glad to escape in a single boat.

This disgraceful flight, instead of depressing, stimulated the spirit of this general; the first reverses are always the most salutary, their impressions being the most durable. LOUIS, while recollecting his own, thought it incumbent on him, by his future conduct, to obliterate them from the memory of others. With 32 vessels, of which nine were remarkable for their size, and having under him OTHON ADORNE* and CHARLES GEMEAUX; the former commanding the Genoese, and the latter the French, he cruized off Guernsey. Near this island, he encountered an English fleet of 46 vessels, conducted by ROBERT D'ARTOIS; the enemy disposed themselves in order of battle with the more alacrity as they had the advantage of the wind;† they immediately came to close fighting, and proceeded to board each other, when the action was bloody in the extreme. The Countess of MONTFORT, who was on board one of the English ships,

“ was,”

* And not *Othon de Horn*, as some writers have supposed. *D'Argentré* says, that LOUIS D'ESPAGNE embarked with *M. Othon Adorne*, Captain of the Genoese. L. V. C. II.

† According to *Froissard*, the crews exclaimed, “ Gentlemen, arm and prepare yourselves, for see here, the Genoese and the Spaniards coming!” “ Then,” continues this historian, “ the English sounded their trumpets, and displayed their pennons to the wind; and getting ready their arms with the banner, they ordered it well and wisely.”

“ was,” says FROISSARD, “ as serviceable as a man, “ for she had the heart of a lion, and, with an old “ but sharp sword, fought most fiercely.”* The fight continued until the fleets were separated by the night, during which, a violent storm, which greatly endangered the English, and drove their adversaries towards the coast of Biscay.†

The day after this affair, LOUIS D'ESPANGE captured four vessels laden with warlike stores. His activity was equal to his bravery. Soon after, he cruized diligently at the entrance of the channel, with a squadron of eight galleys, 13 barks, and 30 other vessels, commanded by Spanish and Genoese.‡ This operation highly prejudiced the English fleets, and totally intercepted the communication with their island.§ Occupied entirely with the siege of Vannes, they suffered their fleet to be, in a great measure, surpris'd at Morbihan; the ship which EDWARD had been on board, with great difficulty escaped the enterprising LOUIS, who, however, sunk three, and captured four vessels.

EDWARD was amply indemnified for these checks, by the signal and unexpected victory at Crecy. The reduction of Calais was the most important consequence. He blocked up this town by sea, with a fleet of 738 vessels,|| of which only twenty-five, and

* Froiss. cap. XCII.

† Of the rest, the Genoese weighed anchor and stood out to sea, for they had very large vessels, which the English had not, so that they could better encounter the weather, and the fortune of the sea. *Id. Froiss.*

‡ *D'Argentré* states the number to have been 100 galleys, three row barges, and 30 other vessels. *Hist. de Bretagne*, L. V. C. XVI.

§ So that the English could have neither intelligence, nor assistance from their country, which might not have been intercepted by the Spaniards. *D'Argent. id.*

|| According to a statement preserved in the Tower of London, and published by Hakluyt, Lediard, &c.

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and manned by 486 failors, belonged to the king. The city of London furnished him with the like number of Ships. Dartmouth supplied 31; and Yarmouth 43; the remainder of the fleet was furnished by the other commercial towns of the kingdom, in proportion to their respective abilities. In the account of the expences of this armament, no mention is made of a charge for freight, probably none was demanded: however, considerable it had been, it would never have indemnified the merchants for the interruption of their commerce.

These naval forces were not collected without painful exertions, and, a few years after the surrender of Calais, EDWARD found himself entirely destitute. JEAN, though more unsuccessful than his father, threatened, however, on succeeding him, to take vengeance upon the English for all their ill conduct. His adversary did not behold, without inquietude, his maritime preparations, and, in order to guard against their destructive consequences,* he had then no other resource, than to order nearly all the vessels, in the different ports to be drawn ashore, and to suffer no ships to put to sea, but those who were fully capable of defending themselves. This measure clearly proves the weakness of his marine at that period, and shews the superiority of the French, which, nevertheless, could not resist the *good fortune* of EDWARD, and the ability of his son, the conqueror at Poitiers.

But, inexhaustible in its resources, France had
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* In a letter of the 8th of July, 1355, addressed to the principal sea-port towns; he expresses himself in the following terms: "*Pro certo didiscimus inimici nostri Franciæ cum galeis et navibus proficiscuntur ad navigium nostrum comburendum, destruendum et regnum, si poterunt, invadendum, &c.*" MSC. in the Tower of London.

only to change her ruler, to see the late reverses, succeeded by a prosperity, which neighbouring states have never ceased to envy. The French, governed by CHARLES V. were no longer those who fought under the banners of PHILIPPE DE VA-LOIS, and of JEAN. Of this EDWARD was soon convinced; a fruitless attempt which he made to burn the town of Harfleur, first announced to him a change of fortune: however, about the same time, he obliged the Flemings to sue for peace, in consequence of a compleat victory, gained by the Earl of HERTFORD, over the united fleets of Bruges, Y-pres, and Ghent, under the command of PITRESONN.

The consideration of this success, and the confidence which this Prince had in his Naval force, induced him to make an attempt to relieve Rochelle; and accordingly, he dispatched to that quarter, a fleet under the command of the Earl of PEMBROKE. This town was blocked up by sea by 40 large ships, and 13 light vessels, with which HENRY, king of Castile, had furnished CHARLES V. For these, the latter paid to AMBROISE DE BOCCANEGRE, (to whose directions they were confided,) the sum of 600 *florins d'or*, per month, for each vessel from 50 to 200 tons, and carrying 100 soldiers, pursuant to a former stipulation.* At the sight of the English armament, the Spaniards, who were then the ablest seamen in Europe, took advantage of the wind, and the tide being favourable, they fell upon the enemy, who yielded after a spirited resistance. The victory was complete; a number of vessels were captured, and several others sunk; among

* Made between PHILIPPE DE VALOIS and GIBLES DE BOCCANEGRE, Admiral of Castile, 25th of January, 1346.

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among the latter, was one, on board which was the pay of the troops in Poitou and Xaintogne.*

The conquest of these two provinces, was the result of this victory, of which the Spaniards had all the honour; they hastened to carry the intelligence to their own country, and, at the same time, they took with them, as prisoners, the English officers, and their commander, the Earl of PEMBROKE.

In a few days after their departure, YVAIN DE GALLES appeared. He had come from an expedition against Guernsey. This island, Hersei and Aurigni, were the sole possessions which remained to the English in Normandy. With respect to these, the weakness of the French marine, as well as the interest of their commerce, assured them, that they should amply indemnify themselves, in time of peace, for any losses sustained on their account during war. These considerations appear to have always prevented the adoption of effectual measures for destroying those receptacles of sinners and pirates, and too frequently even of persons escaped from the sword of justice! Perhaps YVAIN entertained the project of rendering himself sovereign of these isles, as an indemnification for the principality of Wales, which EDWARD had usurped from AYMÓN, the father of this commander, who had entered into the service of France, where he was highly distinguished. CHARLES V. supported the enterprize, and towards carrying it into effect, furnished 4000 men, and a number of ships fitted out at Harfleur. The descent was successful; those islanders who endeavoured

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* *Froiss.* chap. CCCII. CCCIV. This battle was fought 23d. June, 1372.

to resist it, were completely routed, and more than half of them killed on the spot. The whole island then submitted, except the castle of Cornet, which, being surrounded by the sea, and situated on a rock, resisted all attacks, and was in vain attempted by assault.

CHARLES had dispatched orders to YVAIN DE GALLES, to raise the siege, and repair immediately to Spain, in order to procure the Naval force necessary to act against Rochelle. This consisted of 40 large vessels, 13 barges, and eight galleys.* RODRIGUE LE ROUX, Admiral of Castile, commanded them. He easily yielded to the wishes of France, and commenced the blockade of this town. YVAIN, who accompanied him, being apprised that great preparations were made by DE BUCH, near Soubise, he entered the Charente with a number of barges, put his men on shore, surprised this famous general, and compelled him to surrender. Sensibly affected with this disaster, EDWARD resolved, in the hope of repairing it, to take the field at the head of his troops; he embarked with an army of 13000 men, and projected the retaking of Rochelle, which had, about that time, surrendered, and also of relieving Thouars. But, after struggling nine weeks against contrary winds, his fleet was under the necessity of returning into port. It was at this juncture, that this prince, being convinced of the superior wisdom and policy of CHARLES V. who, without exposing his person, either by Sea or land, triumphed in the recesses of his cabinet; exclaimed, "There never was a king less formidable in arms,—but, never did any king give me so much trouble!" The
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* *Froissard*, chap. CCCVI. In the sequel of this chapter, this historian mentions only 14 large ships, and eight galleys.

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tomb was the only asylum which fortune now allowed to EDWARD. He had scarcely expired, than the Castilian fleet, under the command of FERRAND DE SAUSSE, reinforced by 120 vessels, led by JEAN DE VIENNE, Admiral of France, appeared on the coasts of England, and landing a force at Rye, they plundered the town. The French, in conjunction with their allies, afterwards made a descent upon the Isle of Wight, many parts of which, they also pillaged. In proceeding along the neighbouring coasts, they approached the towns of Lyme, Plymouth, Penfance, and Dartmouth, which, notwithstanding the efforts made by the Earl of SALISBURY and GUILLAUME DE MONTAGU to repell them, they set on fire: a part of the town of Pool* met a similar fate, and Dover narrowly escaped it. After appearing before the last mentioned town, and having thrown the inhabitants into the greatest alarm, the combined fleets of France and Spain retired, leaving terrible impressions of an expedition, which shewed how far, the union of these two powers could be destructive to Great Britain.

In the commencement of his reign, EDWARD had so greatly abused his authority, in seizing those vessels which were necessary for his frequent expeditions,† that his successor, RICHARD II. found
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* The names of these towns are altered in the text of *Froissard*, c. CCCXXVII. These faults will doubtless be corrected in the fine edition, now in press at *Louvre*; the management of which is entrusted to *M. Dacier*, of the *Academie des Belles Lettres*, an enlightened scholar, and judicious critic.

† In 1330, EDWARD had given orders to collect from all the ports, and in all places situated on the coast, all persons capable of manning the vessels designed to transport troops to *Guyenne*; to detain all the ships which they judged proper and necessary, and in case they were laden with merchandises, to unload them, and send the vessels to *Portsmouth*. MS. letter of this Prince, among the records in the *Tower of London*.

it impracticable to collect a fleet capable of avenging the insults of the French. In vain did the Parliament complain of this decay of the marine; the means of restoring it, did not then exist, and it was estimated, that formerly, a single port could furnish a greater number of vessels than were at that period in the whole kingdom. The country was also desolated by the plague, and the incursions of the Scots, filled up the measure of its evils; commerce was entirely interrupted, and manufactures laid aside. In order to compensate for these deficiencies, RICHARD conceived the project of laying on duties; or rather, to impose a tribute on all vessels, whether touching on the coasts, or passing through the adjoining streights, or latitudes.* This tyrannical imposition, necessarily incensed all the commercial people in Europe, against this Prince, in consequence of which, as will shortly appear, they eagerly concurred in the views of France.

In order to second them, the Scots armed for cruising. One of their Corsaires, named MERCER, rendered himself formidable, by capturing a great number of vessels in the English seas. The government were unable to stop his career, when a private merchant of London, JOHN PHILPOT, singly, ventured to undertake it at his own expence, and succeeded. At his return, this generous citizen was rewarded only by imprisonment, and a subsequent prosecution, for acting without being regularly commissioned; however, his defence so affected his judges, that they not only acquitted him, but highly praised his conduct. Our services to our country are always repaid, when it makes reparation for its injustice, or even acknowledges to have wronged us.

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It was more difficult to repel the Spaniards, who infested every part of the coast of England. Being joined by the French and Scots, their successes multiplied in proportion to their numbers. Their vessels, in a manner, *surrounded* England, and scarcely any thing issuing from her ports could escape. A fleet was sent out to oppose them, whose operations were confined to destroying a few of their ships upon the Irish coasts. This was a poor retaliation for all the English had suffered, particularly, a considerable check which the Earl of ARUNDEL had received, while going to victual Cherbourg. When they had completely scoured the sea, they landed in several parts of the kingdom: Winchelsea fell a prey to them; they first plundered, and afterwards abandoned it to the flames.

A new disaster, about this time, had nearly finished the ruin of the English marine. The squadron of the Earl of ARUNDEL, while conveying assistance to the Duc DE BRETAGNE, was assailed by a violent tempest, which drove him on the coast of Ireland, where he perished with 25 vessels. Deprived of this assistance, the Earl of BUCKINGHAM, and HENRY PERCY Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND, were constrained to embark privately with the force under their command, at Sandwich, instead of the usual place, Dover, with the view of avoiding the enemy, who blocked up nearly all the ports, and whose vigilance was such, as to render entirely useless the small number of vessels which they could oppose to them.* The French, about this period, renewed their treaty with JEAN, king of

* *Walsingham* says, that the Earl of BUCKINGHAM sailed from Sandwich, "*propter gallos observantes maris semitas et propter paucitatem navum quæ non plures excis transvehere poterant* p. 269.

of Castile, an ally, as faithful, as serviceable. He engaged to furnish 20 vessels, well armed, to CHARLES V. who stipulated to pay him for each, 1200 livres per month. It was agreed that the Admiral should be Spanish, but under the orders of the latter prince; it was further agreed, that the flags and naval ensigns of this fleet, should, the one half bear the arms of Castile, and the other those of France. The taking of the Isles of Wight, Jersey, and Guernsey, was the first object of the armament; this was not attempted, perhaps on account of the Earl of BUCKINGHAM'S arrival. To the enterprizes of this general, CHARLES V. opposed his usual prudence, which was always ultimately successful. After having expelled the English from almost every part of his kingdom, and crushed their naval power, this truly politic prince expired,* after having attained the acmè of real glory, that, in which fortune could claim no share.

The regency of CHARLES VI. in order to give the youthful RICHARD employment in his own island, resolved to send thither, the Admiral JEAN DE VIENNE, with a body of troops, destined for the assistance of the Scots. Although the want of vessels was then great in England, they, nevertheless, found means to put to sea, a squadron of considerable strength; and had prepared a vessel full of pitch,† and carrying linen bags impregnated with sulphur, for the purpose of setting fire to the French fleet, which, in consequence of a tempest, escaped that calamity; it would have been the more unavoidable, as it was the first time such fire ships were used.‡ Compelled to lie at anchor in
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* The 16th of September, 1380. † *Juvenal des Ursins*, p. 47.

‡ The firework-boats which were used before that period, for throwing *Wild-fire*, &c. had most probably given the idea to the English.

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their ports, they could not put to sea again, or effect a landing in Scotland, until the storms had subsided.

During the time the French were in this kingdom, the Duke of LANCASTER made great efforts to obtain possession of *Castile*. Whether to take advantage of his absence, or to oblige him to abandon that enterprize, CHARLES VI. revived the project, which his father formerly entertained, but from which he was dissuaded by the advice of OLIVER DE CLISSON, namely, an invasion of England. Naval preparations, equally great and expensive, forthwith astonished Europe. Of these, however, France became the first victim. Loaded beyond sufferance, with taxes, the people contributed to it, in a proportion equal to the fourth, or even the third part of the produce of the land. The nobility, and persons of consideration, exhausted their fortunes on this occasion, by vying with each other in magnificent expenditure. Painted vessels, with gilt masts, and silken sails, were numerous. The soldiers, the arms, and the provisions, abounded to superfluity. It was calculated, that about 1500 vessels were furnished by the various commercial countries, from the extremity of the Baltic to the Streights of Gibraltar. Never did France possess so numerous a fleet, or display preparations so formidable.* The Hollanders, and the Zealanders were enriched by the freight alone, which they prudently insisted should

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* Ever since God created the world, there were never seen so many ships, or large vessels together, ***** from the port of Seville, to the coast of Prussia, there was not left on the sea, one large vessel that was not at the service of France. *Froiff. t. III. c. XXXVI.*

be paid in advance.* The walling, or enclosure of a town was constructed in Bretagne, of timber; it was framed in distinct pieces, and intended to be put together, as soon as they had effected their landing; its length was 3000 paces, the height 20; at intervals of 12 feet, were small turrets 10 feet higher, capable of containing ten men each, and designed for the defence of this portable fortress. If, in the present age, we have not contrived the like, at least, we have had the idea of *prames* of *Scaphander*, &c. Always enthusiastic in projects, and approaching almost to delirium, with respect to the means of carrying them into execution: reason,—experience,—every consideration was borne down by the effect of national character!

The most lively alarm, at first prevailed in England. The people flocked to the churches, and their eagerness for processions, and other religious ceremonies, indicated more of consternation than of piety. Those, alone, whose circumstances were embarrassed, anticipated the event with pleasure; when pressed by their creditors, they replied, "Hold your tongues! you shall be paid with *French florins!*" They indulged themselves to extravagance, and were eager to contract new debts. When censured for their dissipation, they argued thus: "It is surely better that *we* should enjoy the good things of this country, than that the *French* should possess them." "On these grounds," adds *Froissard*, "many persons in England were profuse in the extreme."

In

* But the Hollanders, and Zealanders, when they had been levied and retained, said, If you want us to be yours, and to have our services, pay us in hard cash, otherwise we shall not stir. They were accordingly so paid, before they set out; being unwilling, else, to leave their harbours, or their houses, and in which they were wise. *Froiss. id.*

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In the meantime, the kingdom, though divided by factions, was placed in a respectable state of defence, in consequence of the prudent measures taken by the council of RICHARD. Individual animosities were laid aside, and the common safety alone attended to. Although the nobility distinguished themselves, by their zeal on this occasion; the great body of the people were not affected in the like manner. They justly complained of the immense load of taxes, amounting to two millions of *florins d'or*, which almost crushed them. "It is necessary," said they, "that those *great folks* should defend our inheritance, and property, as well as their own; we are their servants; we till their lands, and labour to produce those good things on which they live; we maintain them, and are as beasts, which they strip to the skin. In short, if England should be ruined, they would be much greater losers than we."* Notwithstanding those complaints, which their distresses, in the first instance, excited, but which a genuine love for their country, soon stifled in the breasts of a brave and generous people, the English made powerful efforts, as well as with respect to raising money, as in fitting out vessels, and levying troops.

During this interval, the Constable DE CLISSON, sailed from Treguir, with a squadron of 72 vessels, which were overtaken by a tempest, in which many perished; and others were captured by the enemy. This officer arrived at the port of L'Ecluse, after encountering many dangers. The king received him with kindness, and declared, he had the expedition warmly at heart. The Southerly winds

* *Froiss. id. chap. XLI.*

winds detained it, nearly until the arrival of the Duc de BERRY. This prince, used every argument to dissuade CHARLES VI. from the undertaking; but in fact, the season was too far advanced; and the storms, which began to be sensibly felt, were much to be dreaded. However, if the Duke had not so protracted his arrival, the armament could have found a favourable opportunity for sailing; added to this, the passage was so very short, that, on quitting the port, the coasts of England were discernable. Although *Froissard* endeavours to exculpate this prince, it is certain his excuses were very ill received by the army.* He was even charged with having, through jealousy, caused the failure of an enterprise, the preparations for which, cost the State, nearly, the immense sum of three millions,† which was, in consequence, expended without the least advantage. All the provisions were either rendered useless, or necessarily sold at a very low price; a part of the famous portable fortrefs, fell into the hands of the English; and CHARLES made a present of the remainder, to his uncle the Duc de BOURGOGNE.

A universal joy prevailed in England, when it was known the French had postponed their expedition to the following year, 1387. In effect, it was wholly abandoned, and RICHARD, having nothing farther to dread, gave, on the Christmas-day, a sumptuous *fête*, at which he created three Dukes. The nobility, &c. who had been stationed to guard the

* And the excuses were apparently vain and frivolous.—The manners of the Duc de BERRY, were as mockeries and insults, which rendered the people very ill satisfied; and they spoke loudly against them. *Juven des Ursins*, p. 58.

† Thus they abandoned the voyage for that season; which cost the kingdom of France 30 times 100,000 francs.

Froiss. p. III. chap. XLIV.

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the ports, or employed in the defence of the coasts, were invited, and every where received with the greatest applause. The Earl of ARUNDEL seemed willing solely to engross them, by his attacking, near the entrance of the Thames, a great number of French vessels: they had passed the *race* of St. Matthieu in Brétagne, and afterwards coasted that province, and Normandy, before they doubled the streights of Calais, which shews the very slight improvements Navigation had then received. Those vessels which were laden with wine, and conducted by JEAN DE BUGG, did not, in general, surrender to the English ships of war until after a long resistance. This was one of the first occasions on which artillery was used. *Froissard* informs us, that the French Admiral had three cannons, which threw stones of such a size and weight, that where they fell, they did great damage.* The Rochellois, who had sustained the greatest loss in this affair, wished to retaliate, but the Earl of ARUNDEL, being apprised of the departure of their galleys, furnished with artillery, by the orders of LOUIS DE SANCERRE, weighed anchor, and put to sea. “*They followed him with cannons,*” adds the historian already cited, and pursued him for the space of two leagues.† These circumstances fix the epoch of the general usage of artillery, at the commencement of the reign of CHARLES VI.

It appears also, that cannon were used in another action, where the French had a decided advantage. The gentlemen of Normandie, regretting the inutility of the preparations at L’Ecluse, sought an opportunity to retrieve the national glory, and fitted out a squadron at their own expence. The English being informed of their project, put to sea

* *Froiss.* p. III, chap. LII. + *Id.* chap. CXXXV.

sea with a considerable number of vessels, and, without delay, encountered the enemy. Equally jealous, and eager to signalize themselves, they proceeded to engage; the French immediately boarded, got possession of the English vessels, and gained a complete victory.* Satisfied with the cargoes of their prizes, the victors displayed their generosity, in sending back on his parole, and without ransom, HUGH SPENCER, who commanded the English fleet.

In the mean time, CHARLES VI. had not abandoned his project of a descent upon England, of which the success seemed to be assured by the violent commotions which then agitated that kingdom. This prince fitted out two new fleets; one at Treguir, the other at Harfleur, and appointed the Constable DE CLISSON, and the Admiral DE VIENNE to command them. The first, joined to a long experience, and great reputation in the profession of arms, a lively and inveterate hatred against the English.† The second had exerted himself with success, under the preceding reign, towards the restoration of the French marine; he knew England by personal experience, having made therein several successful descents, and when sent to the assistance of the Scots, he carried the war almost into the heart of the country. This last mentioned officer, uniformly insisted, that the English were most vulnerable in their own island. CHARLES, therefore, could not have selected better commanders for his naval armament; but unfortunately,

* The English were discomfited, and almost all killed, and thrown into the sea, &c. *Juven. des Ursins*, p. 60.

† In fact, M. OLIVER DE CLISSON did nothing, night or day, but contrive how he could get out to vex and annoy the English. *Froiss.* c. LXIV.

unfortunately, the Duc de BRETAGNE, taking umbrage at the Constable, had him arrested, which caused the expedition to be laid aside. Perhaps, notwithstanding this unforeseen event, it would not have succeeded, as neither the winds nor the weather were favourable. These essential circumstances are never sufficiently considered in enterprises of this description, because, after having consumed the most favourable season of the year, in extensive preparations, we are unwilling to forego all the fruits of them.

The reign of HENRY IV. less unfortunate than that of his predecessor, RICHARD, who was slain by the hands of ruffians, could not, however, be exempt from troubles. The English allowed not this prince to apply himself seriously to the re-establishment of his marine. One expedition to the coasts of Bretagne, alone recalled to mind, that some ships still remained in England. Commerce was entirely neglected, and their maritime operations were confined to cruising; a squadron of these cruizers* was encountered at the point of St. Matheu, by 15 vessels, which some persons of condition, in Bretagne, had fitted out at Morlaix; after a day's pursuit, the English were brought to action, in which they lost six light vessels, one carrack, and 2000 men. About the same time, GILBERT DE FRETUN, a gentleman of Gascogne, who refused to take the oath of allegiance to HENRY, put to sea with two vessels, which he had equipped, and severely galled the English; this broke the truce which that prince had concluded with France.

CHARLES, however, had much to complain of his

* The English, who were at sea in great numbers, on the look out for Merchant's ships, like pirates and scowerers of the sea. *En Guirand de Monstrelet. Chron. chap. VII.*

his enemy; distracted by numerous factions, and still more by his infirmities, he authorised all those hostile operations, rather to indicate his wish for, than in the hope of, obtaining vengeance. With this view, he furnished assistance, in troops and shipping, to the Comte de St. POL, who had married a maternal sister of RICHARD II. and was anxious to obtain satisfaction for the death of that unhappy prince. The Comte sailed from Harfleur, and landed on the Isle of Wight, several parts of which were plundered; but suffering himself to be amused by the inhabitants, until the arrival of assistance; he was obliged to withdraw from the island.*

The Duc d'ORLEANS marched an army into Aquitaine, and laid siege to Blaye and Bourg *sur mer*; while PIERRE DE BRABRANT, surnamed CLUGNET, cruized at the entrance of the Gironde, with a squadron of 27 sail. The latter commanded as Admiral of France, an office, generally obtained by merit, but for which *he* was indebted less to his talents and experience, than to the favour of the Duke, and the money which he had paid to REGNAULT DE TRIE to resign it. CLUGNET, however, conducted himself with a considerable degree of resolution in an engagement, which would have remained indecisive, had not a French vessel, on board which were many persons of rank, fallen in the hands of the enemy. The Admiral was shortly obliged by the English, to take refuge near the town, and afterwards, the French army were compelled to raise the siege of the above mentioned places.†

This advantage is not sufficient to prove that the English

* *Monstrelet*, c. XX.

† *Monstrelet*, c. XXVII. XXVIII.

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English were then superior to the French in the naval line. They could not prevent the latter from affording assistance to OWEN GLENDOWER, who, being chosen leader of the rebellious Welch, was afterwards declared their Sovereign. He treated with CHARLES VI. in that capacity, and made an alliance with him.* JACQUES DE BOURBON, Comte de LA MARCHE, intended to pass into Wales, with a body of auxiliary troops, but was prevented, by contrary winds, from doubling the Lizard point; he, however, destroyed Plymouth, after seizing a number of trading vessels which he found in that port. The MARECHAL DE MONTMORENCI was more fortunate; at the head of 12000 men, he landed near Harefort, which town he destroyed. The French afterwards, being joined by their new allies, penetrated into the interior of England, and ravaged the whole country, as far as Winchester,† where the English army, commanded by HENRY in person, stopped their progress, and compelled them to return to their own country.

This prince was still more successful in repelling the Bretons, who, at the instigation of OLIVER DE CLISSON, guardian of the young Duke, PIERRE DE MONTFORT, incessantly harrassed with their cruisers, the commerce of England, and ravaged its coasts. In the year 1403, they effected a descent

* The revolt of the Welch having taken place in 1400, the French made preparations the following year to support them; but the treaty was not signed until the 14th of July, 1404, nor ratified by OWEN, until the 12th of January, 1405. *Rymer*, p. 365, 389. tom. VIII. In the last mentioned year, the Marechal de MONTMORENCI, passed into Wales.

† *Monstrelet*, chap. XIX.

fcient, and committed the greateſt exceſſes, in the Western parts of that Iſland. The year following, after having, with a ſquadron of 30 veſſels, captured 41 of the Engliſh, they plundered Jerſey,* and made an attempt upon Portland, where they were defeated, and a number of them fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were detained. † About the ſame time, London being afflicted with the plague, the king wiſhed to go by ſea to Norfolk, from his retirement at Leeds caſtle; ‡ when four veſſels, on board which his ſuite were embarked, were captured by the Bretons, and the fifth, in which was HENRY himſelf, with much difficulty eſcaped. Inflamed by the ſpirit of vengeance, this prince directed his whole force againſt the inhabitants of the little iſland of Brehat, the ordinary retreat of theſe cruizers. He reſuſed to include it in the truce which he made with Brétagne; § and fitted out againſt them a ſquadron, of which he gave the command to the Earl of KENT. This officer chaſed the Breton privateers into their retreat, attacked the town of Brehat, and carried it by an aſſault, which, however, was fatal to himſelf.

This conqueſt, and the capture of ſome trading veſſels, were not ſufficient to gratify the ambition of HENRY IV. He was preparing to paſs into France, when death obliged him to leave the execution of his extenſive projects to his ſon, HENRY V. This fortunate prince found himſelf at the head of a great and powerful army, but he had not a ſufficient

* *D'Argentre*. l. X. c. V. It appears that this action was one of thoſe, of which we have already ſpoken. The hiſtorian of *Brétagne*, nevertheless, differs from the others in ſome particulars, which leads us to ſuſpect the contrary.

† *Rymer*, t. VIII. p. 357.

‡ Near Maidſtone, in Kent. *Tranſlator*.

§ The 11th of July, 1407. *Rymer*, t. VIII. p. 890.

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cient number of vessels to transport them. On this occasion, recourse was had to the Hollanders and Zealanders, from whom he hired the shipping necessary for the purpose.*

The celebrated victory at Agincourt, was the first exploit of the English conqueror; happy, had he not tarnished his glory by an act of unexampled cruelty.† To ensanguine the melancholy triumphs of victory, is to outrage fortune; she did not, however, cause HENRY to expiate his barbarity. The French laid siege to Harfleur, while their fleet, commanded by the Vicomte de NARBONNE, blocked up that important place by sea. The Spaniards and the Genoese, always the faithful allies of France, even in the time of its greatest reverses, supplied her with their best ships. Scarcely had the English fleet, composed of 300 sail, and under the command of the Duke of BEDFORD, brother of the king, appeared, than the French Admiral gave the signal for battle. The largest vessels having advanced with too much impetuosity, and, not preserving their line, were immediately cut off and taken. Notwithstanding this loss, the rest made a spirited resistance, and yielded only to the *good fortune* of HENRY; his victory was complete, the French lost many ships and a great number of men.‡
The

* In order to procure shipping to transport his troops, he sent agents into Holland and Zealand, who, on account of their assuring those, to whom the said ships belonged, of their being well paid, were promised, that, whatever they stood in need of, should be delivered to them. *Monstrelet*, chap. CVI.

† In justice to the character of the heroic Prince in question, we cannot avoid observing, that the French compiler adduces no authority in support of this assertion, and even omits to state what the action was. *Translator*.

‡ *Monstrelet*, c. CLV. *Polydore Virg.* l. XXII. p. 449.

The following year, 1417, the English again defeated, at the entrance of the Seine, the French fleet, under the command of JEAN DE GRIMALDIE, who had brought from Genoa, a reinforcement of eight galleys, and the same number of carracks. These last, for a long time sustained the efforts of the enemy. LAURENT FOGLIETTA, who commanded one of them, defended himself against seven vessels. He would, at length, have been compelled to yield, had not one of his sailors had the address to cut the grappling irons which were thrown on his ship; but the greater part of the carracks surrendered, and served the English as models, to construct vessels of a force and size, till then unknown.* However, those were not brought into action, because the deplorable state to which France was reduced, did not permit her to dispute the empire of the seas with an enemy, at that time as victorious in her interior parts, and incessantly following up its advantages. She would soon have changed her rulers, had Fortune given to HENRY, a successor capable of finishing the work. The unfortunate prince alluded to, after having made some fruitless attempts to wrest the crown of France from CHARLES VII. was himself dethroned.

Too fortunate in ascending a throne, which his predecessors had found instable, and expelling the English from his kingdom, CHARLES made but one effort to disturb them in their own country. In the year 1457, he authorized the equipment of two squadrons, one of which proceeded to ravage the coasts of Cornwall; the other, more considerable, was under the orders of PIERRE DE

BRESE,

* *Et propter coram navis fecit Rex, fieri navis guales non erant in mundo.* Hackluyt. Pars. I. p. 185.

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BRESE, grand Seneschal of Normandie; it was collected at Harfleur and at Eurre; a number of the Noblesse, and people of condition, of that province embarked therein. Having arrived at Sandwich-bay, the Seneschal made a favourable landing, and after a spirited resistance on the part of the inhabitants, carried the town; it was abandoned to pillage, but the places of worship were respected, and no act of violence, or cruelty, disgraced the conqueror. He found in the port three ships of war, one carrack, and a number of trading vessels, which, together with his booty, he brought away.* These expeditions might be regarded merely as slight reprisals, in which CHARLES himself took but little interest, he preferred tranquillity, while the Noblesse breathed nothing but vengeance. This inclination, frequently renders Sovereigns just.—RICHARD, Duke of YORK, having revolted against HENRY VI. entreated assistance from the French monarch; but the latter rejected his advantageous offers,† which it was so easy for ambition, and so gratifying to hatred to avail itself of.

It would not have been difficult for CHARLES VII. to have carried the war into England, as she was then destitute of her natural defence, a respectable marine; but retaliation ceases to be justifiable, where it is no longer necessary. It would have been sufficient to punish the English corsairs, who, perhaps, without authority, preyed upon the commerce of Europe. The disgrace of their piracies, unfortunately, attached to the nation in general,

* *Allain Chartier*, p. 242, &c. In the work of this historian of CHARLES VII. we find a detailed journal of this expedition.

† See the letter of the Comte de FOIX, in the justificatory documents of the history of LOUIS XI. by *Duclos*. p. 248.

neral, who were accused of being engaged only "in making war upon defenseless merchants, to rob and plunder them of their goods." A cotemporary writer so expresses himself upon the subject, and even styles the English, "Maritime thieves and plunderers!"* They were not, however, the only people who committed such depredations. Among others, a Fleming, named HANNEQUIN, exiled, most probably, on account of some crime, from Ghent, the place of his nativity, was notorious. He infested the coasts of Holland, Flanders, Scotland, and England, with impunity. He had about eight or ten vessels, well equipped,† and vain of this force, he assumed the absurdly inconsistent titles of "Friend of God, and Enemy of Mankind!" At his death, he was not entirely abandoned by fortune; as he perished by the effects of a storm, instead of expiating his offences upon a scaffold.

When the impulse is given, the miseries of war are succeeded by the vices of peace, the licentiousness of camps obliterates the habits of tranquillity. The propensity to outrage is not easily removed. Accustomed to perils, those of the infamous profession of piracy, which, after long disturbances, numbers embrace, rather than owe their livelihood to labour or industry, are little regarded. From such citizens, their country has nothing to expect; far from expediting, they impede the progress of sea affairs: it is only to commerce, and the fisheries that the nation owes the former. The repeated

* In the king's library, entitled, *Passe-temps*, of which notice is taken in the Agricultural Journal.

† He became a *scowrer* of the sea by his ingenuity and diligence, and increased so in power, that he had, at one time, eight or ten ships well armed, and victualled at his command. *Monstrelet*, p. II. chap. CIV.

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and obstinate efforts which the English made to subdue France, did not allow them to attend to their marine. "When, by ill success, and disappointments," says Dr. *Robertson*, "a period was at last put to this fatal frenzy, and the nation, beginning to enjoy some repose, had leisure to breathe, and to gather new strength, the destructive wars between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, broke out, and involved the kingdom in the worst of all calamities,"***** "Thus such a succession of events, adverse to the commercial spirit, was sufficient to have checked its growth, although every other circumstance had favoured it. The English were one of the last nations in Europe, who had availed themselves of those commercial advantages, which were natural, or peculiar to their country."* Should we be surprised then, that in the turbulent times of *EDWARD IV.* the English marine was in so deplorable a state, that the corsairs of the *Hanse Towns* cruized with impunity in the channel, and even at the entrance of the *Thames*. They captured all the vessels that ventured out, and this prince himself narrowly escaped falling into their hands, when he was retiring to the Court of the *Duc de Bourgogne*, who afterwards prevailed on him to declare war against *LOUIS XI.* and furnished him with 500 vessels to pass from *Dover* to *Calais*. Notwithstanding the shortness of this passage, the armament of *EDWARD* were nearly three weeks in performing it, on account of the very adverse winds, the greater part of his fleet being dispersed by the weather, would inevitably have been captured or destroyed, were it not, that *LOUIS*, at the time,

was

† History of *CHARLES V.*

was as destitute of shipping as his adversary. One ship, which the Comte de Eu fitted out at his private expence captured many vessels; and the privateers of Normandic intercepted 24 other vessels, as they were returning to their respective ports.

The son of EDWARD, had scarcely succeeded to the throne, than he perished by means of the agents of his uncle, RICHARD III. This monster, whose atrocious character, the pencil of SHAKESPEARE has depicted with so much strength, and whose premeditated crimes, he has transmitted to us in such gloomy colours, having lost his life at the battle of Bosworth, his adversary, HENRY VII. succeeded him. Constantly avaricious, and frequently unjust, it might be asked, Why this prince merited the appellation of the English SOLOMON? It was he, however, who laid the foundation of the Naval Power of his country, by turning the attention of his subjects to their *native* riches. We allude to the *wool*, which, at that time, was exclusively manufacured by the Flemings, who purchased it at a very low price. He annihilated this source of their wealth, by prohibiting an exportation which was highly prejudicial to his own subjects. EDWARD III. had projected a similar regulation, but being pressed by the calls of ambition, he violated his own edicts,* by which it was rendered useless; this was not the first instance of a prince infringing his own laws. To a temporary interest have sovereigns, on more than one occasion, sacrificed

* Having received, as a free gift, from the Laity, the moiety of their wool, and the whole of that of the Clergy; he sold to foreigners, through the agency of the Earls of NORTHAMPTON and SUFFOLK, 10,000 packs, for the sum of 400,000 livres sterling.

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crificed that of ages. They never sufficiently attend to the fact, that the best political or commercial regulations, frequently become injurious, when events are unfavourable to their application, or when they are improperly executed.

HENRY made his people sensible of their true interests on this occasion; he forthwith brought over Flemish artificers, who instructed them to prepare the wool. He afterwards established manufactures; but did not prohibit the exportation of this precious commodity, until after he had taken those preliminary steps, and secured, by treaty, to his subjects, the exclusive privileges of their island. The Levant trade was first opened to them under his reign, but it was not carried on with success, until the period of the revolt in the low countries; whence, the Flemish manufacturers, apprehensive of the impending calamities, emigrated in great numbers, into different parts of England, and, in effect, re-peopled the towns of Norwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Sandwich, and Southampton, which were then almost deserted.*

These laudable pursuits, to which the English monarch directed the attention of his people, were very little cultivated by his successor, HENRY VIII. This prince, solely moved by his passions, ever actuated by the fury of despotism; a cruel master, a distrustful ally, a faithless friend, a brutal lover, a barbarous husband, an unnatural father, a sanguinary pedant, and an odious persecutor, was more likely to debase, than to render a nation flourishing. He dissipated the treasures of the late king, with the greatest profusion; overburdened

* *Thuan.* Hist. l. XLIX. p. 618.

dened his subjects with taxes, and at length reduced himself to that last resource, and most destructive of all expedients, that of debasing the coin. These measures were obviously ill calculated for reviving the spirit of industry. The advancement of commerce was, nevertheless, perceptible; which was attributed to the reducing the power of the nobility, and alienating the overgrown property which the clergy possessed. However, it is certain, the marine was very little improved during this reign; HENRY was flattered with the idea of possessing a navy, but the greater part of the vessels which he built, were calculated only for parade. Remarkable for their extraordinary size; some were incapable of being launched; others, perfectly useless, lay rotting in the ports: * and he found himself under the necessity of hiring vessels at Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzic, and Genoa, in order to form a fleet, when he declared war against France.

Sir EDWARD HOWARD, who was appointed to the command of it, first proceeded to attack, near the Godwin Sands, BARTON, a famous Scottish pirate, who for a long time, infested the seas, with equal impunity and success; his death alone put an end to the action, when his ships surrendered. The English Admiral afterwards proceeded to cruize on the coasts of Brétagne, where he received a reinforcement of 80 vessels, under the orders of KNEVET; this officer having encountered a famous Breton commander, named PRIMAUGET, chased him as far as the road of Brest. The latter immediately collected his vessels, to the amount of 20, and impatient to come out again, notwithstanding the inequality of his force, he attacked the enemy, and sunk many of them;

* *Buchan, Hist. Scot. l. XIII. p. 134.*

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them; two remarkably large were among the English ships; one called *La Régente*, and the other, *Le Souverain*, of 1000 tons. KNEVET advanced on board the former, against the French Admiral's ship, *La Cordelière*, of 1200 tons, built by the orders of ANN, consort of LOUIS XII.* He surrounded her with 10 or 12 vessels, ran up his own along side, and threw lighted combustibles into her from his round tops; the brave PRIMAUGET, who fought to leeward, seeing the flames make a rapid progress, and the loss of his ship inevitable, by a vigorous effort, disengaged himself from his adversary, gained the windward, and closed again: by this manœuvre, the conflagration communicated with so much rapidity to *La Régente*, that in an instant, that vessel, together with *La Cordelière*, appeared as an immense globe of fire; two thousand men were the victims of this desperation.† The French commander, however, attempted to save himself, but falling completely armed into the sea, he sunk, borne down by his own weight, before any of his vessels could venture to come to his assistance. Shocked at such a dreadful spectacle, the adverse fleets remained some time immoveable, and afterwards separated with equal precipitation and affright. The English did not attempt the conquest of Guyenne, which they had meditated, but contented themselves with arrogating the victory in this battle, and making an attack on Pennemark, where they were repulsed.‡

Though the above-mentioned sea fight, was glorious,

* *Du Bellay. Mem. p. 6.*

† The English account makes the number less, viz. 700 men on board *La Régente*, and 900 in *La Cordelière*.

‡ *D'Argentré, l. XII. chap. LXVI.*

rious, on the part of the French, yet they were too weak to cope with their adversaries, who kept the sea, until the arrival of PREGENT* with a reinforcement of four gallies.† This French officer ran through the English fleet, consisting of 42 sail, of which he sunk one, and coming to the passage *Du Four*, took a position in a creek near *Conquet*,‡ between rocks, and under the shelter of a work mounted with cannon;§ HOWARD resolved to attack him in that situation;|| This officer was in the habit of saying, that "an Admiral was good for nothing, who was not brave even to madness!" Faithful to this maxim, he persisted in the enterprise, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his officers. He selected two gallies for the occasion, of one of these, he took the command himself, the other he entrusted to Lord FERRARS; an officer of the name of SIDNEY, had orders to support him with two large boats, and several light barks, as, on account of the shoals, the larger vessels could not be brought up.

These dispositions being made, the English commander penetrated to the ship of PREGENT, with a view to carry it off by boarding; but scarcely had he got upon the fore-castle with 17 of his men, than his galley separated from the ship: it is uncertain

* *Pregent de Ridoux*, a gentleman of Provence, Chevalier of Malta, and commander in chief of the gallies, in 1496.

† *Du Bellay*, p. 6, and 596.

‡ At present a town of some note, in the department of Finisterre, with a good harbour and road; it lies 12 miles W. of Brest. *Translator*.

§ *Lediard* asserts, that the French had, in their rear line, 34 hoys, but without foundation, as is demonstrated by an authentic document, in the British Museum, preserved from the *Cottonian* library.

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tain whether the grapplings were cut off by the French, loosened by accident, or detached by the crew, in order to avoid the fire of the enemy; at the moment of this separation, the intrepid HOWARD, and his little band, assailed on all sides by pikes, were overpowered and precipitated into the sea; two men alone escaped. The light vessels then approached, and attacked PRESENT, who obliged them to retire with some loss; FERRERS was not more successful, having expended all his ammunition, he rejoined the rest of the fleet, of which he took the command. The crews were reduced to a single *ration* of provisions *per* day, and were so discouraged by the loss of their Admiral, that it was found expedient to return speedily to England.

The Chevalier de PRESENT delayed not to seize the advantage offered by this retreat, and sailed for the coast of England. Being separated by a gale of wind from his squadron, he was not dismayed, but landed a party from his own vessel, in Suffex; having plundered to a considerable extent, he retired unmolested to Brest, though chased by the fleet of THOMAS HOWARD, who had succeeded his brother in the office of High Admiral. The French commander lost an eye in this enterprize, but which did not abate his ardour for new undertakings. The following year, seconded by CHARLES L'ARTIGUES, his countryman, and a great sea officer,* he appeared off England, landed on the coast of Suffex, and burnt the town of Brightelmstone. This, however, was his last exploit, having perished in an action with the inhabitants, who made some resistance. His death encouraging the English, they had the boldness to insult Normandic; and JEAN WALLOP landed therein a body of troops,
who

* *D'Argentre*, 1, XXII, chap. LXVI,

who plundered some villages, of which the national vanity failed not to magnify the number.*

They had more ground for exultation when the naval force of HENRY VIII. united with that of CHARLES V. spread alarm on the coasts of France. The impresson which they made, would not, however, deserve to be recorded, had not Morlaix, at that time, a rich and commercial town, fallen into their hands: destitute of troops, and otherwise defenceless, it was incapable of resistance. These fleets separated after the failure of their attempt upon Boulogne; the English immediately returned to port, where they fortified themselves, under the apprehension of being attacked by the French.†

Towards the conclusion of his reign, HENRY having taken Boulogne, FRANCOIS I. resolved to besiege it, and in order to second the operations of his land forces, he sent out a considerable fleet, under the command of the Admiral D'ANNEBAULT, consisting of 50 large, and 50 light vessels, together with 25 galleys, from the Mediterranean, commanded by the Baron DE LA GARDE. It sailed from Havre towards the Isle of Wight, near which they discovered the enemy; their force consisted of 60 large vessels, and lay at anchor in the channel of that island. Notwithstanding their advantageous position, and the loss of two ships, the finest in his fleet,‡ the Admiral resolved upon attacking

* *Lediard. Hist. Nav. l. I. chap. XXI.*

† See the *Dispatch from the Earl of SURRY*, wherein he gives orders to his fleet to pass the winter in the port of Dartmouth, of which he gives a description, and points out the means of rendering the approach to it impracticable, even to *Wild fire*.—*Deposited among the records in the Tower of London.*

‡ *Le Caracon* of 800 tons, the finest ship, and the best sailer, according to *Bellay*, of the sea of *Pouan*, which was blown up in the road of Havre; and *La Maitresse*, which, having bilged in coming out of Honfleur, was sent back to France.

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tacking the English. He previously divided his force into three squadrons, one, immediately under his own direction, in the centre; a second to the right, commanded by LE SIEUR DE BOURTIERES, and the third, by the Baron de CURTON, to the left.

Taking advantage of a calm, the French gallees fired upon the English vessels, which remained at anchor, and with so much effect, that the Admiral's ship, the *Great Harry*, was on the point of sinking; *La Marierose* did not escape that fate, and of 500 men, which composed her crew, 35 only were saved. Reduced to the cruel extremity of running aground, to avoid being sunk or captured; the English were about to resolve upon it, when, fortunately for them, the wind sprung up; they weighed anchor, and their vessels called *ramberges*,* built so as not to be affected by the currents which set into the land, manœuvred with dexterity, and, in their turn, attacked the French gallees. The latter, being taken fore and aft, were in a perilous situation, but they were extricated by the valour and ability of LEON STROZZI, prior of Capua; he instantly tacked about, and vigorously attacking the enemy, gave time to the gallees to form their line, and to the Admiral to bear up to their relief.

The sand banks which lined that part of the coast, and in which the English had hoped to involve their adversaries, served as a protection to themselves; they left the French masters of the scene of action, and unopposed to make a descent upon the Isle of Wight: D'ANNEBAULT resolved upon this

* Literally "row-barges;" a kind of vessel, then in use, nearly of a similar description with the modern *Advice boats*.
Translator.

this operation, not so much with the view of possessing himself of the island, as in the hope of drawing the enemy again into action. He had little success at the outset, but his men being afterwards rallied, they put the English troops to flight, and got possession of an advantageous post, from which they would have been able to overrun, and completely subdue the island. However, they relinquished the enterprize, on the representations of the pilots, who dreaded to undertake a general debarkation, in a narrow channel, where scarcely four ships could sail abreast, apprehensive of being overpowered by the currents, disadvantageously exposed to attacks, or run aground upon the neighbouring banks.

Although, at that time, it was very important to have got possession of the Isle of Wight; D'ANNEBAULT, little skilled in naval tactics, was influenced by the advice of the pilots, ordered the troops to reembark, and set sail. The enemy immediately fell upon some French, who were searching for fresh water upon the coast for the use of the gallies, but they were quickly repulsed by the prior of Capua: and, on another occasion, where they attempted to surprise some troops, that were landed without order or regularity, fortune was not more favourable to them.

The French vessels proceeded towards Dover, in order to make, from that offing, the road of Boulogne, but the wind dying away, they were constrained to anchor near the English coast. The enemy, whose fleet, by reinforcements, had been increased to 100 sail, imagined the moment favourable to attack the French; they exerted themselves for that purpose, and most probably would have had the greatest success, if the wind had not suddenly

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suddenly lulled. The Baron de la GARDE,* for the purpose of giving D'ANNEBAULT time to come up, and form in order of battle, advanced with his galleys, and got the weather gage; they then maintained a fight, of more than two hours, with the enemies' ships, which, being considerably damaged, availed themselves of the night, to take shelter in their ports. The French armament returned to Havre, where it was laid up, and whence it had sailed the sixth of July, 1545.†

The details which we have entered into, give some idea of the progress of the marine in this age. It is true, they did not know the different modes of forming, of changing, and resuming, the order of sailing, of battle, and of retreat, in which the art of evolutions consists; but they began to know how to regulate the movements of a fleet, to a certain extent, and to form it in a line by divisions. The French and English fleets executed, tolerably well, some manœuvres, which, till then, were either unknown, or much neglected. The skill of a commander, for a long time, consisted merely in gaining the wind, and profiting by the tides; as to the rest, he disposed his fleet at hazard, or very imperfectly, whether for the purpose of opposing the enemy with effect, or to break their line, to cut off their retreat, to double them, to avoid, or to force them to action; or, finally, to pursue them. Even these objects, could not have been attained without much difficulty and confusion, for want of signals, clear, distinct, and multiplied,

* *Antoine Scalin*, originally known by the name of Captain *Poulain*, the only sea officer, then in the service of France. See the additions of *Le Laboureur*, to the *Mem. de Castelnau*.

† *Mem. de du Bellay*. l. X. p. 596, &c.

tiplied, as occasion required. Except in certain cases of delicacy, where light vessels were employed to carry the orders of the commander, it appears, that to describe them, they displayed particular flags, exhibited lights, or discharged a certain number of cannon, which were then more sparingly used than in our days. It was only since the reign of LOUIS XII. that the sides of vessels were pierced, in order to place the batteries therein; we believe, the first ships that had port holes were *La Charente* and *Le Cordeliere*; before that period, some pieces of different calibres, placed without order, on the decks, or prow, or stern, constituted all the artillery of a vessel. The management of those, appear to have been neither easy nor expeditious, as the English fleet, and the Squadron of French galleys, commanded by the Baron de la GARDE, the former having their vessels pierced as at present, did not discharge, between them, more than 300 shots, in an action, according to *Bellay*, "very warm, and so close that, it was with difficulty they could discharge their artillery."

The above-mentioned sea fight was the last during the reign of HENRY VIII. who, soon after, made peace with FRANCIS I. He agreed to restore Boulogne in the course of eight years to the French monarch, who, on his part, contracted to pay the arrears of a subsidy in a certain kind of salt; this was payable in consequence of the treaty of DE MOORE, concluded the 30th of July, 1525, in which the annual value thereof, was estimated at 18000 *ecus*.* This stipulation evinces, how little the English were then in the habits of exerting themselves to procure articles of the first necessity, by

* *Rymer*, t. XV, p. 93.

by advantageous exchanges, and that the productions of France had been at all times needful to them; especially those of their salt pits, which were found preferable to all the mines of the New World. The French asserted, that this subsidy was no more than an annuity, which ceased on the death of HENRY VIII. Their adversaries, however, gave a different interpretation to the sense of the treaties and conventions made† with FRANCOIS I. on this subject, and arbiters were chosen to decide a question, which took its rise alone from national jealousy.

The short reign of the son of HENRY, was full of commotion, of which France thought it fair to take the advantage, in order to regain possession of Boulogne. With a view of preventing succours from being thrown into the place, LEON STROZZI endeavoured, with a squadron of 12 gallies and four ships, to harass the English; he appeared off their coasts, and afterwards proceeded towards Guernsey, where he was encountered by a squadron under Captain WINTER; an action took place, which, according to the *impartial* HUME, “seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in the account of the event.”†

DE THOU, apparently without due consideration, attributes the victory to the French, who, according to another cotemporary historian, took, burnt,

† There are *two*, in particular, of the year 1530, in *Rymor's* collection, t. XV. p. 266 and 360.

† *Hume's* England, reign of EDWARD VI.

burnt, and sunk the vessels of their enemies.* The latter, however, affirm on the contrary, that STROZZI lost in the battle 1000 men, abandoned many of his galleys, and was compelled to relinquish his project of gaining possession of the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey; the number of troops on board his squadron, amounting to more than 2000 men, rendered the design easily suspected. That he did not accomplish it, some might be inclined to attribute to the ill fortune which attended his family:—his father, the victim of an enthusiasm for liberty, hoped to arrive at it, by the criminal means of suicide; Le Marechal PIERRE, his brother, was remarkable for the defeats he had sustained; PHILIPPE, his nephew, after having been vanquished and taken prisoner by the Spaniards, was thrown into the sea, and drowned; LEON, prior of Capua, scarcely met with a better fate, being killed as he was reconnoitring the petty fortrefs of Scarlino, in Tuscany.—What fatality! Can adversity, then, sometimes be attached to a particular family, or be the inseparable attribute of its name?

That of the young king, EDWARD VI. was not a more favourable presage for the English, than were his good qualities; but they had scarcely an opportunity of contemplating these, than he paid the debt of nature. During his reign, commerce flourished, and the marine was considerably improved; the fisheries were encouraged, and the obstacles removed, which prevented the English from reaping the great advantages which those of Newfoundland presented. A trade to the coasts of
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* History of France, under the reigns of HENRI II. FRANCOIS II. CHARLES IX. and HENRI III, attributed to Paul-Emile Piguerre, p. 44.

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Africa was opened; JEAN CABOT, who pretended to have discovered North America, was remunerated in the person of his son, SEBASTIAN; who flattered himself with discovering, by the North of Europe, that passage to the East Indies, since, so often, and so fruitlessly fought after.

The marriage of QUEEN MARY, who succeeded EDWARD, with PHILLIPPE II. king of Spain, was still more favourable to the commerce of the English, in consequence of the intercourse, which this union authorized, with the wealthy possessors of Mexico and Peru. The information acquired thereby, gave them new ideas of commercial aggrandizement, of which time and avarice have since so much extended the limits. This Queen, who wished to gain the affections of an insensible and ambitious husband, endeavoured to promote his designs against France, in fitting out, at her own expence, a fleet of 140 sail; Lord CLINTON had the command, and was joined off the Isle of Wight, by 30 Dutch ships, of a size far superior to his own, which were light vessels.* With this reinforcement, he proceeded to the coast of Bretagne, and landed thereon 11000 men, who took Conquet: the whole province was threatened with an invasion, and the alarm became general, when the brave KAERSIMON, flew to the relief of his country; in the course of one day, he collected 12000 militia, attacked the enemy, who were occupied in plundering, and cut their rear guard to pieces. VACHEM, an able and experienced sea officer, who commanded the Flemings and Dutch, was among the killed; he had been abandoned by the

* They seemed like *castles*, in comparison of those of the English, but were, at the same time, more unwieldy and unmanageable.

D'Argentre, 1. XII. chap. LXIII.

the English, and cut off in his retreat. CLINTON, hoping to retaliate upon the French for this check, endeavoured to effect a descent upon different parts of the coast, but every where was apparent the vigilance of a generous nobleſſe, who had always united that reſpectful fidelity due to the Sovereign, with the love of their country; reconciling an attachment to their duty, with a zeal for their rights, and whoſe ſteadineſs and courage, were commensurate to their glorious exploits, and long ſervices.—It were as difficult to ſurpriſe, as to vanquiſh ſuch defenders, which the allies were not ſlow in perceiving, and, in conſequence, retired. Before they reached their ports, they ſuſtained a gale of wind, which injured them conſiderably. “ Thus their enterpriſe,” ſays the hiſtorian of Bretagne, “ which had coſt ſums “ to an incredible amount, and had filled all “ France with dread, evaporated in ſmoke.”*

It appeared that the object of this expedition, was to obtain poſſeſſion of the port of Breſt, which would have compensated the Engliſh for the loſs of Calais, which ſhortly after took place. The Duc de GUISE was directed to lay ſiege to it; he iſſued orders for all the privateers of Xaintogne, Brétagne, Normandie, and Picardie, to put to ſea, chaſe away the enemies’ veſſels, and afterwards to unite in the Streights of Dover, early in January, 1558. Theſe orders were executed with great activity and ſucceſs, and the French cruizers formed together a conſiderable fleet, which preſented itſelf before the port of Calais. They proceeded to batter its principal defence, the fort du Riſbank, the gariſon of which ſurrendered
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* *D'Argent, id.*

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themselves prisoners of war. This loss destroyed all the hopes of the besieged, and they soon submitted to the terms of the victor. However, had the Queen of England collected, in due time, a single fleet, all those vessels and privateers would inevitably have been taken or dispersed, and HENRY II. not have been chiefly indebted to *them* for the possession of Calais; undoubtedly a signal service, and which redounds to the glory of French patriotism!

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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HISTORY
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BOOK II.

MARY, oppressed with grief, did not long survive the loss of Calais.* She died, hated by her subjects, contemned by all Europe, and, what she felt more keenly, neglected by her husband; the throne not being a preservative against connubial disgust. A Princess more worthy of filling it, succeeded; who immediately turned her attention to repair the evils caused by the prodigality of her father, HENRY VIII. This she effected by economy alone, and without oppressing her subjects by a destructive system of finance; her favourite maxim, in these affairs, was, that money was better, placed in the pockets of her people, than in her own Exchequer.

When

* It is said, that during her last illness, she frequently exclaimed, "When they open my heart, they will find Calais in it!"

When Sovereigns are economical, their subjects are generous; then it is, that patriotism, the most powerful and active of all motives, gratuitously exerts itself. Never, under any reign, were seen such sacrifices of private interest; or exertions, either to defend, or to make the state respected; in attempting new discoveries, or extending the commerce of the nation. CAVENDISH, sold a part of his property, and employed the proceeds in arming several vessels, with which he made two extensive voyages, one to the South Seas, the other to the East Indies. RALEIGH undertook, at his own expence, those remote expeditions, which were eventually so fatal to himself. The voyages of FORBISHER were but of slight expence to the Queen, who furnished no more than 60,000*l.* for the campaign at Lisbon. In the affair of Cadiz, the Earl of ESSEX, Lord EFFINGHAM, high Admiral, and the principal officers, contributed large sums. DRAKE carried to the extremities of the world, the glory of the English name, with very slight assistance from the public treasury; and gained by his enterprises, sufficient to fit out three ships of war against the Irish rebels. With what alacrity were numerous vessels equipped by almost every town in the kingdom, when it was menaced with invasion by the Spaniards?

The subjects of ELIZABETH, in fine, applied themselves, during her long reign, to the principal object, for which they seemed intended by Nature. The *Sea* became their element, and shortly appeared among them, several renowned Admirals;* excellent seamen were formed, and the ports were filled with shipping. Nothing farther remained

* Vide *Campden's* "Lives of the British Admirals,"

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remained than the creation of a Royal Navy, to accomplish which, arsenals were constructed, magazines provided, and naval stores collected. A revolution so advantageous, appropriated to ELIZABETH, the titles of Restorer of the Maritime glory of the Nation, and Queen of the Northern Seas.

Influenced uniformly by the same principles, her efforts were not overstrained; the creation of a marine was the fruit of economy, and the work of time. CASTELNAU, ambassador of France, writing to his court, on this subject, thus expresses himself: "She has built a great number of vessels, which are the fortresses, bastions, and ramparts of her dominions; constructing every two years, a large ship of war, and they are such vessels, that nothing can be found on the sea able to resist them. These are the buildings and palaces which the Queen of England has commenced, since her succeeding to the crown, and which she still continues."*

However, we should not judge of the English marine at that period, by what we see it at present; the comparison would be neither rational, nor just. The number, the size, and force of shipping are always proportionate to the extension of commerce, the progress of nautical science, and the powers, or exertions of the state. At the death of ELIZABETH, her marine consisted of 42 vessels, none of which, properly speaking, were of the line; two of these were of 1000 tons, and three of 900, each mounting 40 guns; three others, of 800 tons, mounted 30 guns each, and the remainder, from 700 to 20 tons, would not have been able

* Mem. de Michel de Castelnau, l. III. Chap. I.

able to resist some of our frigates, or even a corvette.* In the treaty of alliance, which this princess concluded at Brussels, on the 7th of January, 1578, with the Dutch, the latter engaged to furnish her with 40 vessels, of which the least should be of 40 tons, which sufficiently proves that the maritime strength of the European nations, was then but very inconsiderable.

The alliance of the English was dearly purchased by the Dutch, who ceded to them the ports of Flushing, Brille, and Ramekens.† The assistance afforded by ELIZABETH to the French protestants, was not more disinterested, as she exacted the possession of Havre and Dieppe. It is well known, that her troops were driven from the first of these important places. She secretly engaged the unfortunate MONTGOMERY to fit out a fleet to support the Rochellois,‡ and afterwards publicly disavowed any concern in the enterprize, declared that commander and his people pirates, and ordered that they be treated as such. This shameful artifice,

* A sort of light built sloop or cutter. *Translator.*

† The first, and second, of those places, are too well known to need our description: The last, is a fortress of some strength, in the isle of *Walcheren*, about five miles N. E. of Flushing, and formerly a place of much more consideration than at present: they were called the "*Cautionary Towns*," and were delivered up to ELIZABETH by the Dutch, as a security for the money advanced them by England, for the support of their infant Republic. *Translator.*

‡ Previous to that period, She contented herself with sending them, *six cannons, with powder, stores, and money; and the Prince of CONDE, for her reimbursement, delivered to her a great quantity of metal bells, and wool.* Mem. de Castelnau, l. VI. chap II. This trait, among many others of a similar kind, sufficiently shews the selfish character, and parsimony of ELIZABETH.

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artifice, however, was without effect; the expedition failed through the imprudence of the officers, and their injudicious operations.*

In disavowing this armament, ELIZABETH was unable to conceal the object she had in view; but CHARLES IX. not being in a condition to manifest his resentment, was constrained to dissemble. PHILIPPE II. was not under the necessity of adopting a similar line of conduct: two secret treaties, in which the English engaged to furnish assistance in men and money to his rebellious subjects in the Low-countries, irritated this prince still more than the devastation committed by DRAKE in America, previous to the declaration of war. The forces of Spain were then superior to those of all Europe; Portugal, and its rich possessions, were just united to his kingdom; their trade was in consequence protected from the Turks, and Barbary corsairs. The relief of Malta, and the celebrated victory at Lepanto, confined the former to their own seas: the latter, since the repeated losses they sustained in Barbaroussa, Dragut, and Caramustapha, ceased to annoy the Spanish monarch, who was then enabled to direct all his efforts against England; but he protracted his vengeance, in the view of rendering it more signal and efficacious.

This prince speculated upon no less, than the dethroning

* *Fragment of a letter of Richard Lane, dated London. 4th of May, 1573, taken from a M.S. in Cottonian Library, and among the records of the Tower.*—Although MONTGOMERY had no more than 10 vessels, freighted in England, (the remainder of his force, from 45 to 50 vessels, being from Rochelle, or Holland,) he, nevertheless, ordered the English flag to be hoisted, on its approaching the coasts of Aunis. *Duplex, Hist. de France, t. IV. p. 655.*

dethroning of ELIZABETH, and the possession of her dominions. Before he proceeded to act, he desired the opinion of his ministers; IDIAQUEZ, one of the most able, did not conceal from him any of the obstacles, which were opposed to his project: "The marine of England alone," said he, "is equal to that of all other nations united, and "it will be farther reinforced by the vessels of the "revolted provinces. The fleet of Spain, how- "ever considerable we can make it, will be effec- "tively inferior to that it will have to encounter." By the most astonishing efforts, however, PHILIPPE soon assured himself of a superiority, which rendered him more keen in the pursuit of his object. Knowing that England was an open country, and, reduced to its native means of defence, he imagined, that one battle at sea, and another at land, would completely decide her fate.*

This consideration was then well founded, as it is at *this day*.† However, it is first necessary, that the winds and weather should be favourable; and, we should also consider, the advantages which the English, inured to those elements, enjoy in those respects. PHILIPPE, relying on the superiority of his naval force, imagined himself secure of the first of these victories, and hoped to facilitate the second, by means of an insurrection of the English Catholics. SIXTUS V. who, at that time,

filled

* Hist. of Philippe, II. l. XXI. ann. 1587.

† This *might* be the opinion of the French commentator; but, we must observe, that the circumstances of this country, have very materially changed, since the period in question; and, we believe, there are very few of those, who are capable of judging, who *now* think, that the fate of Britain, in such a case, would depend on the event of a single action, either by sea or land. *Translator.*

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filled the Papal chair, forwarded his views, by issuing a bull against ELIZABETH, in which he absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. This pontiff, nevertheless, deemed this princess worthy of consideration; but he justly reproached her with the persecution and murder of MARY STUART,—an unparalleled outrage,—a most horrible deed!—the indelible stain upon a prosperous reign, and a counterpoise to all her glory! The Spanish monarch declared himself the avenger of this innocent victim* of an infernal jealousy, and the most barbarous animosity: in consequence, he hoped to engage JAMES, the only son, and heir of the unfortunate Queen of Scots, to assist him; but that prince did not suffer himself to be deceived by specious offers; to which he answered, “He should expect no other treatment from the king of Spain, than that promised by *Polyphemus* to *Ulysses*, to be devoured the last of his companions!”†

Despising to influence JAMES, PHILIPPE insinuated that MARY, the lineal heiress of the throne of England, had made, before her execution, a will in his favour. He well knew such a title could confer no right, but it would serve as a pretext for attacking ELIZABETH, which was amply sufficient for a prince of his ambition. The preparations which he made took up an interval proportionate

* This we think an appropriate epithet. The innocence of MARY can no longer be doubted, since the publication of Mr. Goodall's work, and the proofs which M. Galliard has collected with great judgment, and so clearly exhibited in the seventh volume of his *Hist. de la rival de la France*, &c.

To these authorities may be added the more recent performance of Dr. WHITAKER. *Translator*.

† Camden, *Hist.* ad ann. 1588.

tionate to their extent; they occupied, according to one account, three years; according to others, seven. Biscay, Castile, Portugal, and Andalusia, vied with each other for the honour of furnishing their sovereign with galleons, of a size and force, which surpassed all those seen before that period; among them were several of 1200 tons; the decks were so constructed, as to shelter the crews from musketry: the dead works of these vessels would appear to be proof against cannon shot, in consequence of the maffy beams of timber with which they were lined; the masts, girt round with cables, strengthened by ropes, pitched over, appeared also to bid defiance to the artillery of the enemy. Chapels, chambers, towers, &c. were formed, in which scarcely 300 rowers could act;* eight were mounted with 50 guns, the greater part of which, however, were *bronze*; five vessels of another construction, had the same number of cannon; 20 caravels, constituted the light squadron of this armament, which formed an aggregate of 150 sail; and on which, was rather *prematurely* bestowed, the appellation of "Invincible!" This sort of rodomontade, which, at the first view, appears a matter of indifference, is, nevertheless, of an injurious tendency: it frequently inspires the commanders, as well as the men, with a blind confidence, and a false security, instead of true courage, and prudent caution; even *words* make an impression on the minds of the generality of mankind, and sometimes beyond the powers of reason or experience to obliterate.

The national character, was also apparent in the names given to those ships; twelve were consecrated to

* *Thuan.* Hist. ad Ann. 1588.

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to the apostles; twenty-one were distinguished by the different appellations of the virgin, the names of her festivals, or of the churches, where she was particularly worshipped. In order to avert the wrath of heaven, the Spaniards prohibited the admission of *females* on board their fleet; however, they permitted several vessels, in which were numbers of loose women, to follow it. These vessels were freighted by persons of that description, who speculated upon very profitable returns from the crews, and army. The former, were composed of 8766 seamen, and 2088 galley slaves; the troops employed to act on board the ships, and those intended for debarkation, amounted together to 21,855 men, exclusive of officers, and 385 persons of condition, who served as volunteers. Perhaps less was expected from the valour of the latter, than from the zeal of 100 monks, under the direction of a formidable chief, Don MARTIN D'ALARÇON, invested with the exalted dignity of Vicar General of the holy office. This personage, with the aid of his *glorious* militia, undertook to disengage the English from their oaths of allegiance, and to declare their sovereign illegitimate, and a Usurper.

This fleet, the most powerful ever seen in those times, was amply provisioned, and, in fact, abundantly supplied with every thing, except good seamen, and able officers. Don ALVAREZ DE BEÇAM, Marquis de SANTA CRUZ, who signalized himself at the famous battle of Lepanto, was the first chosen to command this armament, but he died during the preparations. PHILIPPE, appearing no longer to recollect what he had suffered in the commencement of his reign, by the incapacity

city of one of his Admirals,* appointed to succeed SANTA CRUZ, the Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA, a rich and established courtier; one of those, who adopt luxury for dignity, and pride for honour. This new commander, was much more distinguished by the splendor of his birth, than by his talents, or services;† intrigue can dispense with the former, and create the latter at pleasure, as occasion may require.—The palaces of kings are too often the theatre of illusion and imposture!

The command of the land forces was reserved for the celebrated ALEXANDRE FARNESE, Duke of PARMA, one, who was certainly less victorious, and made fewer conquests, than ALEXANDER of Macedon; but who, on account of his ability, and knowledge of the science of war, perhaps, was superior to the heroic Grecian. The general of PHILIPPE II. made great preparations to receive the fleet destined to convey his forces; every thing was in motion, in the Low-countries, where he commanded; immense stores were collected; nothing appeared to escape the foresight of FARNESE; even the very timber, necessary for the construction of bridges; to block up the entrances of ports; to erect forts, redouts, &c. had been transported to Nieuport, the place of intended embarkation. For the sake of expedition, several canals were constructed, and, among them, that of Y-pres, on which such a
number

* The Duke de MEDINA CÆLI, who, with a fleet of 100 vessels, on board which were 1400 troops, suffered a shameful defeat, off the isle of Zerbi, from 74 Turkish gallies, commanded by PIALY, who captured 30 of his vessels, and compelled the greater part of the rest, to run aground.

† *Ludovicus Peres Gufmanus Medina Sidonia, dux splendore natalium et amplitudine opum quam usu rerum aut scientia militari major.* Thuan. *Hist.* tom. III. Ed. Genev. p. 248.

number of workmen were employed, that, in a short time, it was rendered navigable. The design of the Duke of PARMA, was to conduct thereby, the transport vessels from Ghent and Antwerp, to Bruges, where he proposed to wait the arrival of MEDINA SIDONIA, in order to join him, with his own troops.*

In the sight of so great a display of force, in the midst of so many preparations, and notwithstanding the repeated advices of the court of France, ELIZABETH did not think the storm so near bursting on her dominions; but, depended on the result of a negociation, which the Spaniards had proposed, with a view to lull her suspicions. To this circumstance the delay of this Queen, in exerting herself in her defence, is to be attributed; but the measures afterwards adopted, were efficacious, because they were the result of patriotism, and conducted with equal prudence and ability. The City of London furnished, at its own expence, 38 ships, among which was remarkable *L'Hercule*, of 300 tons; the Queen fitted out 34, of which the largest was *Le Triomphe*, of 1100 tons, and 40 pieces of cannon; the rest of the fleet amounted only to 42 ships, of which the whole burden did not exceed 5870 tons. From these circumstances, the state of the English marine, at that period, may be inferred: but some vessels solely employed to guard the coasts, or for the purpose of reconnoitring, are not included, these not being larger than the sloops in present use.

This naval armament, the sole resource of England, and so inferior to that of Spain, had; nevertheless,

* *Thuan. Hist. ad ann. 1588.*

theless, one great advantage, that of being commanded by *able officers*. DRAKE, HAWKINS, FORBISHER, names illustrious in the records of the English marine, commanded different squadrons or divisions; they were all placed under the controul of CHARLES HOWARD, grandson of THOMAS, Duke of NORFOLK, celebrated for his victory over the Scots, and who was descended from the august house of PLANTAGENET. If HOWARD had not as much experience as the above mentioned officers, he had, at least, the good sense to supply that defect, by recurring, on all important occasions, to the advice of the celebrated DRAKE, his Vice-Admiral; the greatest, most intrepid, and most successful seaman of his age.*

The

* We deem it proper, in this place, to present to the reader, the description given by (the most popular and respected of our historians, and one frequently quoted by the French compiler,) *Hume*, of the state of England, in point of naval defence, at this very interesting crisis. " Her force (the Queen's) indeed " seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the " sailors in England amounted, at that time, to about 14000 " men. The size of the English ships was in general so small, " that except a few of the Queen's ships of war, there were not " four vessels belonging to the Merchants which exceeded 400 " tons. The royal navy consisted only of 28 sail, many of " which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of " our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the " name of pinnaces, than of ships. The only advantage of " the English fleet, consisted in the dexterity, and courage, of " the seamen, who, being accustomed to sail in tempestuous " seas, and expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded " in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were " inferior in size to those of that nation. All the commercial " towns of England, were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; and they discovered, on the present " occasion, great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion, " against those imminent perils with which they were menaced.

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The Hollanders did not fail to adopt every precaution, which this alarming conjuncture required; in fact, they had very little to dread from the approach of the galleons, or large vessels, on account of the shallows which environ their coasts; but they feared that the Duke of PARMA would undertake some enterprize with his smaller vessels, of which the number was considerable. These new republicans, without delay, fitted out a fleet of 90 sail, which were dispatched to cruize from the entrance of the Scheldt, to the Streights of Calais; and which operation, joined to the want of seamen, prevented the Spanish general from putting to sea;* they afterwards detached Admiral LONCK, with 25 vessels, to join the English squadron under SEYMOUR, who was stationed between Dover and Calais: JUSTIN DE NASSAU, Admiral of Zealand, who blocked up the entrance of the Scheldt, also joined them with a reinforcement of 35 ships of war.

The

“ The citizens of London, in order to shew their zeal in the
 “ common cause, instead of 15 vessels, which they were com-
 “ manded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number.
 “ The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned,
 “ 43 ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money
 “ which the Queen demanded, were frankly granted by the
 “ persons applied to. Lord HOWARD, of Effingham, a man
 “ of courage and capacity, was Admiral, and took on him the
 “ command of the navy: DRAKE, HAWKINS, and FORBI-
 “ SHER, the most renowned seamen in Europe served under him.
 “ The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth; a smaller
 “ squadron, consisting of 40 vessels, English and Flemish, was
 “ commanded by Lord SEYMOUR, second son of the protector
 “ SOMERSET; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the
 “ Duke of PARMA.” *Hume's England, reign of ELIZABETH.*

* *Cambden, annal. regn. ELIZABETH, ad ann. 1588.—
 Thuan. Hist. id.*

The Duke of PARMA flattered himself, that on the approach of the naval armament of Spain, all these squadrons would disperse, as the light clouds of the morning vanish at the first breath of wind! Great then, must have been his disappointment, when he learned the misfortunes suffered by the former. The delays, common to all great preparations, especially those occasioned by the court of Madrid, had prevented the Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA sailing from Lisbon before the 1st of June, 1588. Scarcely had he doubled Cape Finistere, than a tempest dispersed his fleet; an unlucky presage of what followed. Many of his ships were on the point of being lost, through the ignorance of their pilots, or the inability of the seamen; notwithstanding these disasters, the fleet, with the exception of three vessels, came to anchor in the port of Corunna; those vessels, it appeared, were lost in the following manner: an English galley-slave, named GWYNN, having found means to break his irons, and liberate his companions, they got possession of the vessel, with which they successfully attacked two others, and carried them into France;* this vigorous effort shews the prevalence of Liberty, even in the midst of tempests, in which she has sometimes every thing to hope, and nothing to apprehend!

After having completely refitted his vessels, MEDINA SIDONIA put to sea, and arrived in the channel, 19th of July.† On his descrying the
coasts

* Camden, annal. regn. ELIZABETH, ad ann. 1588.—
Thuan. Hist. id.

† The account, given by the eminent historian just quoted, of this celebrated armament, is as follows: "The fleet consisted of 130 vessels, of which near 100 were galleons, and were
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coasts of England, he mistook the Lizard, for Ramhead, near Plymouth; he afterwards observed the English fleet sailing in some disorder, towards that port, and attempted to bring them to action, but without effect; the next day, however, the hostile fleets had an engagement of some length, in which RECALDE, Vice-Admiral of the Spaniards, supported the efforts of their chief, with more glory than success. The English fleet was then divided into several squadrons, which occasionally harrassed the Spaniards in their progress; their vessels were lighter, and more active than the Spanish, which were unwieldy masses, and, so far from being able to take advantage of the wind, could scarcely go before it; their immense height rendered them a favourable mark to the cannon of the English, which, being placed low, seldom failed of effect; when, on the contrary, the Spaniards mostly fired into the air. HOWARD, through nearly a fatal error, having steered during the night, by the lights of the Spanish Admiral, found himself,

“ of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It
 “ carried on board 19,295 soldiers, 8,456 mariners, 2,088
 “ galley-slaves, and 2,638 great pieces of brass ordnance. It
 “ was victualled for six months, and was attended by 20 lesser
 “ ships, called caravels, and ten salves, with six oars a-piece.”

“ The truth, however, is, that the largest of
 “ the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third rates in the
 “ present navy of England; yet they were so ill framed, or so
 “ ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not
 “ sail upon a wind, nor tack on occasion, nor be managed in
 “ stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of
 “ ship building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained
 “ so great perfection as could serve for the security and govern-
 “ ment of such bulky vessels; and the English, who shortly
 “ experienced how unserviceable they commonly were, beheld
 “ without dismay their tremendous appearance.” *Hume's*
England, reign of ELIZABETH.

himself, the next morning, in the midst of the enemy's fleet; MONCADE, one of their best officers, proposed to attack the English vessel, but MEDINA SIDONIA gave contrary orders, in consequence of which, the English Admiral escaped. A galleon, which carried the money of the armament, was not so fortunate, she fell, a few days after, into the hands of DRAKE, whose vigilance was equal to his courage; another, of less value, had not a better fate. In fine, in the course of three several actions, or rencontres, the GOD of battles did not appear to favour the arms of PHILIPPE.

When the Spanish Admiral arrived at the Straights of Calais, he intended to anchor near the French coasts; but the English, during the night, sent some fire-ships among his fleet, which threw the whole into the greatest consternation and dismay; the vessels, without order or regularity, were left exposed to the wind; some were driven on shore, many run foul of each other, and several, from the injuries they had sustained, went to the bottom; those that got clear, separated into small squadrons, and gained the open sea, under full sail. In this dreadful confusion, the ship of MONCADE lost its rudder, and ran aground; in this situation, she was attacked by several English pinnaces, but did not surrender, until her intrepid commander was mortally wounded: The remainder of the fleet found means to unite, and cast anchor before Gravelines; HOWARD, SEYMOUR, and LONCK, then joined their squadrons, and fell upon this ill-fated armament, which, besides being severely galled by the fire of its adversaries, sustained the farther loss of three galleons, and two other large vessels. Then it was, that

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that MEDINA SIDONIA totally despaired of the success of the expedition, he no longer endeavoured to join the Duke of PARMA, but thought solely of his own retreat; in effecting which, he experienced a variety of disasters.

He was soon assailed by a dreadful tempest, which continued three days; the apprehension of being attacked in their retreat, induced the Spaniards to close their line; the greater part of the vessels, therefore, were driven against each other, and with such violence, that many of them went to the bottom; those which could better resist these terrible encounters, were dispersed, but as their masts were too high, several vessels had them carried by the board, and were dashed to pieces against the rocks of Norway, or wrecked on the coasts of Scotland.

When the storm abated, MEDINA SIDONIA reviewed his force, and found he had not more than 120 sail. By the advice of a council of war, he proceeded on his return to Spain, by the circuitous route of the Orkneys, and the Irish coast. At the expiration of six days, he was surprised, in the night, by another tempest, which lasted until noon the next day; a storm from the West, drove 27 of his vessels on the Irish coasts, where many of them were dashed to pieces: those who escaped from the wrecks, had not long to felicitate themselves, they were shortly put to death, by the orders of the Viceroy. In order to defend this act of barbarity, it was asserted, it would have been dangerous to suffer such a number of the enemy to live in a country, in which were so many Roman Catholics, and ripe for a revolt

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revolt.* But, we would ask, how could those unhappy persons, recently preserved from shipwreck, and confined in prisons, be of any assistance to them?

The Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA, after struggling through many dangers, arrived in Spain; whither he was followed by the shattered remains of his fleet. Fortune appeared to have beheld their escape with regret, and to be still willing to make them feel, that she respected no asylum; two large galleons took fire in port, and were burned to the water's edge; these, probably, were not included in the 32 vessels, which, according to the statement of the Spaniards, they had lost by the expedition.† Their account differs widely from the English, which reduces the number of vessels preserved to 46.‡ Neither do they agree respecting the loss of men, which the vanquished state not to have exceeded 10,000; while their adversaries make the amount much greater. We offer no opinion respecting the calculation of the latter, but with regard to the former, we deem it unworthy of credit, being explicitly contradicted by the details which the Spaniards themselves have transmitted to us. Previous to its quitting the port of Lisbon, the armament appeared to have exhausted the treasures of the Spanish monarchy. The expences were calculated at 120 millions of ducats,§ that

* Camden, ad ann. 1588.—We would willingly forget, that Grotius has approved this reason, *Annal. Belg.* p. 123. How great is the influence of national prejudice? it has induced this able writer to speak against his genuine principles. See his treatise *de jure belli*. l. III. chap. IV.

† Jean de Ferrers, *Hist. d'Espagne*, p. XV, ann. 1588.

‡ Lediard, *Hist. Nav.* l. II. c. XXXV.

§ Constituting nearly the sum of 11,700,000l.

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that is, nearly 280 millions *livres tournois*; an immense sum, for a period, when the circulating medium bore a very small proportion to that of the present day; the accuracy of this statement is doubted, notwithstanding DE THOU relates it, on the authority of BERNARDIN DE MENDOZA, Spanish ambassador, at the court of France.

The whole loss of the English, according to their accounts, did not exceed a single vessel, and 100 men, which composed its crew. This, however, is highly improbable; they had sustained several actions, and were exposed to the same tempests, by which so many of the Spanish vessels were destroyed on the coasts of Scotland, and Ireland. ELIZABETH endeavoured to conceal the extent of her losses, in successfully resisting this formidable armament; while, on the other hand, she loudly proclaimed her joy, without much regard to decency, and with all the ostentation of her sex. She appeared, sometimes, to forget what she owed to fortune, or, strictly speaking, to DIVINE PROVIDENCE; of this, the Dean of St. Paul's had the resolution to remind her, in a sermon delivered in her presence; his text was these words of the *Psalmist*: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."—The Queen perceived the allusion, and had the wisdom to avail herself of the hint; she caused a medal to be struck, on which appeared, ships driven by a storm, and running foul of each other, with this pious and appropriate inscription: "AFLAVIT DEUS ET DIS-SIPANTUR!"*

PHILIPPE

* This well known motto, has been neatly rendered, by a late elegant writer, "He blew with his wind, and they were scattered!"

PHILIPPE shewed more equanimity, a virtue, perhaps less difficult to be preserved in adverse periods, than at the summit of prosperity. When first informed of the misfortunes of his armament, he was engaged in dictating a letter, which he discontinued only to observe, "I sent it to fight with the English, not "with the winds and waves!" The president DE THOU relates, that the Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA was disgraced, and ordered not to appear at court;* STRADA, and FERRERAS, affirm the contrary; the latter asserts, that the king wrote the Duke a letter of thanks, and acknowledging, that what depended upon the elements, could not be imputed to men.† DIEGO DE VALDEZ, who had induced the Spanish Admiral to depart from the instructions of his master, was, on his return, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in the castle of St. André. PHILIPPE contented himself with this punishment, and seemed no farther to think of the miscarriage, than to order the Prelates, &c. to return public thanks to Heaven. Regret and dissatisfaction were, nevertheless, general,—almost every individual had to lament a parent,—husband,—son,—or, at least, some near relation: and a general mourning took place. The king, who ought always to have worn it, shortened its duration, intending, without doubt, to imitate the conduct of the Roman Senate, after the battle of Canne, but that which was heroic in the one instance,

* *Sidonius in Hispanum reversus, quam quam nulla ipsius, culpa esset, tamen imputato et fati, seu mortalitatis damno, à Philippi conspectu abstineri iussus, domum secessit.* p. 248. In this passage, DE THOU appears willing to exculpate the Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA, whom he afterwards (p. 251,) censures for not conforming to the instructions of his court; and to which neglect, he attributes all the misfortunes of that commander.

† Ferreras, Hist. d'Espag. *supr.* cit.

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stance, ceased to be so in the other. The Spanish monarch only wished to save his feelings, which were hurt by so many gloomy marks of his disgrace.

The discomfiture of the great fleet, which PHILIPPE, destined for the invasion of England, forms an epoch in the naval history of that kingdom, too memorable to be passed over in silence. Sir WILLIAM MONSON, has made such judicious reflections on this event, that we deem it proper to advert to them. When the Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA, says the English Admiral, just mentioned, was informed of the state of our fleet, we should not wonder, at his being confident of taking us by surprise, and still less that he attempted it. If that part of the enterprize had succeeded, it would have been incalculably in his favour; our naval force destroyed, the landing would have been completely in his power; a most essential object in all invasions. Although he might have met with the desired success, still he was censurable in not adhering to his orders. In war, a successful result, does not justify a proceeding, in itself, culpable; but which, ill success never fails to aggravate.

If the instructions of PHILIPPE were followed, the Spanish fleet, coasting the French side of the Channel, would have arrived at the Streights of Calais, without our knowledge, and before our vessels, then anchored in the road of Plymouth, could have opposed them. Although the Duke of PARMA was not then ready, he would, have had time to compleat his preparations; thirty Dutch vessels could not have prevented his junction with MEDINA SIDONIA: once effected, they might land with facility, and then,—let the consequences
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be judged! But PROVIDENCE so ordained,—that the fleets met,—that the enemy was worsted,—that they should lose their anchors in the road of Calais,—that the Duke of PARMA should be unable to join them,—and, finally, that they were wrecked upon the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.

In fact, continues the Admiral, we conquered; but we might have drawn greater advantages from our victory. By their defeat, all the designs of the enemy were rendered abortive; the Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA, being determined, by his confessor, to surrender, had he been attacked in the road of Calais; the rest of the fleet, most probably, would have followed his example: unfortunately, we suffered him to escape; a fault, not imputable to the Admiral, but owing to the failure of ammunition, which obliged him to relinquish the pursuit. Another favourable occasion was lost, by not dispatching a part of the fleet to the coast of Ireland; the Spaniards being constrained to take that course, the object of such an operation, would, after all their disasters, have been easily accomplished.*

ELIZABETH, soon endeavoured to improve her advantages; she readily obtained, from her Parliament, two subsidies, which she expended in projects of retaliation. She augmented her sea forces, and assigned for their maintenance, the sum
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* *Mem. of Sir WILLIAM MONSON*, p. 157. This Admiral served with distinction, under ELIZABETH, and JAMES I. he died in the reign of CHARLES I. His tracts, or memoirs; interesting as a collection of historical facts, are still more so, on account of the judicious reflections with which they abound. *Campbell* has given a sketch of the life of this able sea officer, among those of the celebrated British Admirals.

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of 8970l. sterling.* Several squadrons were sent out, commanded by able officers. DRAKE, and Sir JOHN NORRIS, taking advantage of the retreat of MEDINA SIDONIA, appeared off the coasts of Spain, and spread terror in that quarter. They were joined by the Dutch, and the united fleets amounted to 84 sail. Although this powerful armament had not all the success that was expected, it was not without considerable effect. The burning of Vigo, the taking of the lower town of Corruna, the destruction of the suburbs of Lisbon, and the capture of a great number of trading vessels, shewed Spain what she had to dread from the junction of such enemies. These exploits were succeeded by successful and lucrative expeditions to the New World, and the Indies. PHILIPPE II. had reason to remember the prediction of IDIAQUEZ, who told him, that if his project against England failed, ELIZABETH, no longer apprehensive of the safety of her dominions, would unite her vessels with those of the revolted provinces of the Low countries, and considerably injure the Spanish possessions, not only in Europe, but in America.

It was in this latter part of the world, that the English obtained riches, which were due to their valour alone. The details of those expeditions would be too prolix to enter into; they less shew the progress of the English naval power, than their determination to reduce Spain to a state of necessity and weakness. The greater part of those engaged, were little better than *Buccaneers*; like the latter, they had no other view, than to plunder and destroy; their courage, or their temerity, compensated for their paucity, or want of strength. Brilliant actions, and

* Camden. ad ann. 1590.

and incomparable valour, rendered both, at different periods, equally famous. We recollect, with astonishment, the fight sustained by Vice-Admiral GRENVILLE, on the coasts of Florida, with a single ship, against 44* Spanish vessels, during five hours; at length, though nearly destitute of men, wearied out with exertions, and grievously wounded, he still blushed to surrender, and was ultimately found, but under glorious circumstances, in the usual retreat of timidity, the hold of his vessel; from this situation, they drew him, only to grant an honourable capitulation, but, he shortly after died with grief, at being compelled to lower his flag.† The privateers, under the reign of ELIZABETH, not only resembled the Buccaneers in boldness, they also sometimes partook

* This action of Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE, in 1591, is so singular, as to merit a particular relation. He was engaged alone, with the whole Spanish fleet of 53 sail, which had 10,000 men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulsed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. About eleven at night, being severely wounded, he was carried down to be dressed, during which operation, he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English now began to want powder; all their small arms were broken, or become useless; of their number, which were but 143 at first, 40 were killed, and almost all the rest wounded; their masts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this situation, Sir RICHARD proposed to the ship's company, to trust to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The master gunner, and many of the seamen, agreed to this desperate resolution; but others opposed it, and obliged GRENVILLE to surrender himself prisoner. He died a few days afterwards. *Hume's England, reign of ELIZABETH. (Notes.)*

† *Thuan-Hist. ad ann. 1591.*

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of their ferocity; however, we should not judge them with the same rigour, because the former were authorized by their sovereign, although their operations were not warranted by any formal declaration of war,* and, the latter, were always disclaimed and outlawed.

The most important expedition, undertaken by ELIZABETH, against the dominions of Spain, was that of Cadiz. Lord HOWARD, High Admiral, commanded the fleet, which was composed of 150 sail, and afterwards joined by 24 Dutch ships. The land forces, consisting of 8000 men, were under the command of the celebrated Earl of ESSEX, who, tearing himself from the arms of ELIZABETH, warmly engaged in this enterprise. "I am determined," said he, "to execute it in the face of every thing, or I am willing, at an hour's warning, from a general, to become a monk!"† At the sight of this great force, the alarm was general; the Spaniards, nevertheless, prepared to make a vigorous resistance. The fort *de Punta*, which defended the interior harbour, was carried at the first onset, the vessels in the harbour could not resist the enemy, who advanced to attack the town; a sortie of the inhabitants, being unsuccessful, the English speedily got possession of it. After the town was plundered, the Admiral obliged ESSEX to withdraw his troops, and return to England. All Europe was gratified with this success; the ambition,

* PHILIPPE had only issued orders (in 1586,) to detain, in his ports, all English vessels, and merchandize. This was in the way of reprisal; as Spanish property had been seized in England, in the year 1572. See *Rymer*, t. XV. p. 715.

† In a letter to his secretary, dated, 10th February, 1596.

ambition, cruelty, and injustice of PHILIPPE, rendered him considered as the common enemy.*

The loss of this prince, on this occasion, was immense; when the English appeared before Cadiz, there were in the port 36 vessels, richly laden for America; 30 ships of war, and a considerable convoy, intended to victual a large fleet, then equipping at Lisbon, with which, he meditated a new enterprise against England. A part of these ships were burned, by order of the Duke de MEDINA SIDONIA, who was always doomed to be instrumental in the misfortunes of his country; others were run aground or sunk, and some of them fell into the hands of the English.—The loss in this affair, was estimated at 20 millions of ducats.

The arrival of a rich fleet from America, enabled PHILIPPE to fit out 28 additional vessels, in the same year, 1596, and, notwithstanding the approach of the winter, he ordered the whole fleet to put to sea, under the command of MARTIN DE PADILLA, grand Seneschal of Castile. This officer, nearly as unfortunate as MEDINA SIDONIA, was, on quitting Ferrol, the 27th of October, assailed by a violent tempest, in which 40 of the vessels were lost, with their crews and lading; he was, in consequence, obliged to relinquish the expedition; the object of which was, to support the Irish rebels. This fleet had on board, a considerable quantity of Stores, of provisions, and even of materials to construct works, &c. together with a body of 14000 auxillary troops.

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* The Venetians, on being informed of it, used to say of the Queen, "*O Che donna, se fossa christiana!*"—These words were generally repeated throughout Europe: "*Omne malum ab Hispania, omne bonum ab Aquilone.*" Mem. de Birch, &c.

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This new disaster seemed to crown the misfortunes of Spain. PHILIPPE, thinking he could still repair his losses, gave a destructive example to sovereigns, by proceeding to that most terrible extremity, to which an unjustifiable line of policy can reduce a state, namely, an act of bankruptcy: he suppressed all the payments, and, by an edict, prohibited the discharge of all bills of exchange, which caused the failure of the principal bankers of Italy, Germany, and the Low countries.* Freed from debts in this manner, his revenue was equivalent, in the following year, to the expences of a third armament, which was also commanded by PADILLA, and was as unfortunate as the preceding one; at the distance of about 30 leagues from the coasts of England, the winds burst upon the fleet with so much fury, that it was entirely dispersed, and many of the vessels were overwhelmed by the waves.†

By an unaccountable fatality, the court of Madrid continued in the same errors. They always thought of fitting out fleets, at a season, when they should have lain them up; or sending squadrons to sea, when they should be securely in port. If PHILIPPE possessed even ordinary prudence, or had profited by experience, the presumption is, that his extensive projects would not always have been rendered abortive. ELIZABETH was totally ignorant of these great preparations against

* Dated November 20th, 1596. *Il Re d'Espagna é fallito!* was the general cry throughout Italy. The Genoese having solicited this prince to pay them, at least, 55 per cent; he refused a greater proportion than 45.

† Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espag. ann. 1597.*

against her; she even entertained no suspicion of them. "This princess, and her subjects," says an English writer, "over-rating the success of the enterprise against Cadiz, thought themselves as secure, as though they had given a *death blow* to the marine, and the power, of the Spanish monarch."*

The elements, in uniformly declaring against this prince, seemed willing to assure the empire of the seas to the English, whose conduct, about this period, with respect to other states, shewed their despotic inclinations, and early abuse of their good fortune. They had no regard, even for their ancient allies, the citizens of the *Hanse-towns*. It is well known, these had formed a trading company in England, under the name of the *Stil-yard*, which, in time, engrossed the whole commerce of the island; in the year 1552, they exported 50,000 pieces of drapery; when, during the same period, all the other merchants collectively, disposed of scarcely 1100. Jealousy and discontent naturally prevailed among the latter; in order to appease them, the government revoked the injurious privileges which those cities enjoyed. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, they still preserved connexions detrimental to the interests of the commerce, and to the progress of the marine of England. ELIZABETH, therefore, sought for an occasion to crush them by a vigorous effort. It was probably, in this view, that DRAKE seized 60 of their trading vessels, in the harbour of Lisbon. They were unable to obtain restitution, and in consequence, complained to the diet of the empire. The king of Poland, having in vain sol-

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* *Watson's Hist. of PHILLIP II.*

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cited for Dantzick, retaliated, by causing the factors of the English company of "Merchant Adventurers," to be expelled from Germany, and shutting its ports against their vessels. The Emperor RODOLPHUS espoused, with equal warmth, the interests of his subjects, especially the Fuggers:* the ancestors of those illustrious traders, had so generously assisted CHARLES V.† that they well deserved this mark of gratitude;—a *species* of debt, of which sovereigns rarely acquit their predecessors.

This contest, between right and power, broke out in several places, particularly, upon the ocean, where the fury of ambition disputes with a rage, often beyond that of the waves. The maritime ascendancy of England, was soon felt by the nations of Europe. Denmark, Holland, and France, were little better treated, than the Hanse-towns, and unremittingly complained of the depredations, which

* The name of a very ancient, numerous, and wealthy family, in Germany; several branches of which, were most extensively engaged in various commercial pursuits. They resided, principally, in the city of Ausburgh, of which, CHARLES V. (when he changed the government of that town, in 1548,) nominated the family of the *Fuggers*, among those, who, from that period, were to be raised to the dignity of senators. This illustrious family, as all the genealogical writers of Germany relate, sprung, originally, from a *weaver*, who, in 1370, was made free of the city of Ausburgh. The celebrated *Huldric Fugger*, so remarkable for his attachment to literature, and learned men, was a member of this family, he possessed an extensive collection of ancient MSS. in forming which, he expended a great part of his fortune: he bequeathed them to the Elector Palatine, at his death, which was in 1584. *Translator.*

† It is well known, that one of them, threw into the fire, in the presence of this Prince, the bonds that he had given him, of which, the value was very considerable.

which they suffered.* ELIZABETH attempted, by a proclamation, to restrain those piracies, and appointed commissioners to decide upon the legality of certain captures; this latter proceeding was of little effect. National interest having no counterpoise in the scales of justice, decides, at will, through the medium of partial judges; such cases should always be submitted to a neutral and permanent tribunal, and established; not in a commercial town, but in some independent city. Deputies should be selected from all nations of Europe, to compose this council, with the exception of those interested. An establishment of this kind, would be particularly serviceable at the present day, as the security and freedom of navigation, are become the principal objects of our policy. How many pretexts for war, now continually arising, would it not remove? Though, perhaps, it may not annihilate the source of these, it would certainly render them less frequent.

The maritime depredations of the English, nevertheless, continued until the death of ELIZABETH; the French were always exposed thereto, notwithstanding the apparent efforts of that princess, when in alliance with HENRY IV. to protect them. This induced her to charge Lord HOWARD, and his colleagues, to regulate, with the French commissioners, the mode of judging the pirates.† The Admirals of the Queen sometimes conformed to her equitable and pacific views. Sir WILLIAM MONSON, having fallen in with some French trading vessels, on their way to Lisbon, then an enemy's port, thought it sufficient to insist on their returning

* Rymer, t. XXI. p. 105. 169. 355, &c. &c.

† Rymer, t. XVI. p. 425.

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returning directly home, without touching at any of the Spanish ports. All civilized nations, when, unfortunately, they find themselves under the necessity of restraining the general freedom of commerce, should adopt similar procedures; which would not only be the most justifiable, but the least dangerous mode, as an injurious treatment naturally creates a spirit of revenge.

The war with the Spaniards, who were uniformly unsuccessful, still continued; the loss of many of their richly laden vessels; the entire defeat of their squadron of galleys, on the coast of Flanders; and the surrender of the troops, which they had put in garrison, at Kinsale, in Ireland, were the last exploits, under the reign of ELIZABETH. This princess laid the real foundation of the naval power of her country, but had not time to confirm it, by a solid and advantageous peace. Her successor, JAMES I. did not negotiate, but caused a cessation of hostilities, by divesting the privateers of their commissions, and ordering that all vessels captured, subsequent to the 24th of April, 1603, should be restored to Spain.

This declaration, in effect, restored peace, as the war continued, during a period of 20 years, without having been declared by any manifesto, or other public act. If, by this conduct, JAMES did not acquire glory, he, at least, in that instance, secured his honour, which, however, he soon after sacrificed, by a treaty, wherein he shamefully abandoned the cause of the United Provinces.* Had he not afterwards become their mediator, they might,

* This treaty was concluded at London, 18th August, 1604. Some acts of hostility were, nevertheless, committed by individuals, which the king thought it his duty to prohibit, by a new proclamation of the 8th July, 1605.

might, with some appearance of truth, have accused him of fearing that their growing power, and rapidly increasing commerce, might counteract his pretensions to the empire of the seas. These, were manifested in a remarkable way, on the occasion of the embassy of SULLY, who came, on the part of HENRY IV. to congratulate JAMES, on his advancement to the throne of England, and to renew the ancient treaties with him.

Two English ships had been dispatched to Calais, to meet SULLY, who, to testify his confidence in their officers, embarked therein; his suite took their passage in some Dutch vessels, and on board those, which DE VIC, Vice-Admiral of Brétagne, provided for the occasion. Having arrived the first at Dover, and landed all their passengers, DE VIC was returning, when he fell in with the English Admiral, whom, upon hoisting his flag, he saluted, by firing his guns; the English officer immediately ordered his guns to be levelled, threatening to sink the French ship, if its flag was not lowered; he made use of much offensive language, and insisted on that mode of salute, as an honour due, he said, to the king, his master, as *Sovereign of the Seas*. DE VIC yielded to this violence, by the advice of SULLY, who complained of the insult at court, which, DE THOU affirms, JAMES apologized for; this we should naturally expect, on the conclusion of a treaty, in which the two kings reciprocally gave assurances of fraternal friendship.

The embassy of the Hanse-towns was not so successful; JAMES refused the ratification of their privileges, as injurious to his own dominions. He had less to fear from the Dutch; however, less alarmed at the progress of their commerce, than

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than offended at their pretensions to maritime equality, he fitted out, in the spring of the year 1604, a squadron, under the command of MONSON, in order to render his flag respected; this force was sent out every year at the same season. The instructions of the commander, were, to exact the salute of the flag, and to maintain the assumed rights of the English monarch.* The most important of these, were his claims respecting the herring fisheries, the origin of which, was as follows:

Under the reign of ALFRED, about the year 836, the Hollanders began to send vessels to Scotland, in order to purchase herrings; this practice continued until the 14th century, when, being at enmity with the Scots, they proceeded to take the fish themselves. Since that period, the fisheries increased so rapidly, and their profits became so great, that they were considered as the chief source of the riches of Holland. It became, to speak metaphorically, the *cradle* of her marine, and the *nursery* of her seamen. The above, and indeed all the other fisheries, in which the subjects of the United Provinces were engaged, flourished considerably at the accession of JAMES I.† which circumstance, naturally revived the former jealousy of that prince.

When king of Scotland, he exerted himself to secure to his subjects, so productive a branch of industry and commerce, on their own coasts. He restrained the Dutch from fishing within the distance of eight miles from the coast. On succeeding

* Vide *Campbell's Lives of the British Admirals*.

† See the *Justificatory document*, in the Appendix, No. I.

ing to the throne of England, he interdicted the fisheries on the coasts of his three kingdoms to foreigners, declaring, that he would oppose all who should attempt to usurp, or to partake of this right; regarding it as the most essential, as well as the most obvious right of his crown, on account of the sovereignty, which he claimed over all the British seas. He appointed commissioners at London and Edinburgh for the regulation of these matters, and charged them, not to grant the liberty of fishing, but for certain pecuniary considerations.

The Dutch dissimulated their regret at those regulations; they, at first, affected to submit to them, lest an important negotiation, then recently commenced, should be broken off, and of which the result was two treaties; in the first of these, JAMES contracted to assist them, with 20 ships of war, and 6000 troops: in the second, the States General acknowledged themselves indebted to that prince, the sum of 818,408*l.* which they engaged to pay, by annual instalments of 60,000*l.* after the conclusion of peace; these two points being settled to their satisfaction, they immediately refused to pay the impost upon the herring fishery, and detached strong convoys with their fishing vessels, in order to protect them from insult; these measures succeeded so well, that their number doubled in 1609,* viz. the year following that, in which the above treaties were concluded.

JAMES appeared not to perceive this conduct, or at least, not to give it any attention, in order that he might apply himself solely to theological investigations, in which, he took a strong interest. A book of VORSTIUS, on the obscure points of
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* See *le Commerce de la Holland*, tom. I. p. 287.

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grace, stimulated the zeal of this controversial prince; not satisfied with having the book burned, he required the States General to prosecute the author as an heretic. To this singular demand, and to the *hauteur* with which it was made, they only opposed prudence and moderation. Without outraging humanity, they appeased JAMES, and with so much address did they manage his temper, and act upon his disposition; that, a few years after, he fully restored to them the towns of Flushing and Brille, and the fortresses of Ramekens; places which they held, by sufferance from the English.*

The success of this negotiation, was owing to the ability of BARNEVELD, and it became the cause of his death. JAMES soon perceived the error he had committed, and, in consequence, conceived so strong a resentment against this great man, that he secretly exerted himself to destroy him; and Holland passively beheld, the most illustrious of her founders, perish in a venerable old age, by the hands of the executioner! It has been justly remarked, that gratitude is not the virtue of republics; we shall go farther, and observe, that *ingratitude* is as inherent in democratic constitutions, as *jealousy* is in aristocratical states. These unjust passions so often influence those respective governments, that they appear to be almost their sole movers; myriads of innocent victims have they immolated;

* These were the Cautionary Towns; (see the note in page 76.) Speaking of this transaction, Mr. *Hume* says, "This measure has been severely blamed by almost all historians, but I may venture to affirm, that it has been censured much beyond its real weight and importance." *Hume's England, reign of JAMES I.*

immolated; often have they erected scaffolds, instead of monuments, and caused executions to succeed triumphs. An effort of the purest patriotism, is required to efface, from the recollection, so much cruelty and injustice!

The regret which JAMES felt, at having delivered the Cautionary Towns to the Dutch, not only incensed him against BARNEVELD, but rendered him inimical to those republicans in general. He again endeavoured to disturb their fisheries, and, on their repeated complaints, he ordered the home minister to write* to his ambassador at the Hague, in these terms: "His Britannic Majesty is pleased to make
 " known to the States General, that the king of
 " Spain has requested of him, permission to fish
 " in the British seas; and that the king of France
 " desires the same favour, to some vessels, for
 " the supply of his household.—His Majesty again
 " declares to them, that he understands the laws
 " and rights of his kingdom; and, it is neither
 " from them, nor *their* GROTIUS, that he shall
 " receive the maxims of the law of nations.—
 " Finally, he warns them, that, if they persist in
 " denying the legality of his claims, (which are
 " acknowledged by all the princes of Christendom,)
 " it might probably happen, in consequence of
 " their inflexibility, and their '*mare liberum*,' they
 " may be so reduced, as to possess neither territory,
 " nor republic."—Under this reign, however, all
 affairs terminated in a pacific manner, or were
 relinquished for scholastic disputes. JAMES was
 satisfied with a *verbal* acknowledgement, and
 caused SELDEN to *labour* at an answer to the work
 of GROTIUS, which affected him more than all the
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* December 28, 1618.

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depreations of the Dutch, even the affair of Amboyna.*

These republicans, dreading the participation of the English, in the lucrative spice trade, beheld with regret, their settlement at Amboyna.† The pusilanimous character of JAMES, was well known to them, and, they feared not, the consequence of his just resentment; they accordingly made interest the rule of their conduct on this occasion, and mercantile jealousy, the arbiter of their proceedings,‡ and got rid of such enterprising neighbours, without attending either to their claims, or their complaints.

In order to prevent such contentions, they had established, some years before,§ a commission, charged, not only with the regulation of their commerce, but also of their whale fishery, on the coasts of Greenland. A Muscovite company, who then had the exclusive privilege of this fishery, resolved, that the Dutch should not participate in it; in consequence, they dispatched to Greenland, 13 armed vessels, of a considerable size, and

two

* This transaction is glanced at by *Hume*, in the following words, "Impatient to have the sole possession of the Spice trade, which the English then shared with them, they (the Dutch) assumed a jurisdiction over a factory of the latter, in the island of Amboyna; and, on very improbable, and even absurd pretences, seized all the factors, with their families, and put them to death, with the most inhuman tortures." *Hume's England*, reign of JAMES I.

† The principal of the *Moluccus*, or Spice islands, a cluster of small isles in the Eastern Ocean, situated between *Gilolo*, to E. and *Celebes*, to W. Lon. 127° E. Lat. 4° S. *Translator*.

‡ Vide *Lediard*, *Hist. Nav.* l. III. chap. XIX. *Basnage*, *Annales des Provinces Unies*, t. I. p. 129, &c.

§ *To wit.* the 29th December, 1614.—The affair of Amboyna took place in 1623.

two pinaces; but they, unexpectedly, found there 18 Dutch vessels, some of which, mounted 30 guns; by this precaution, and other acts of vigour, they remained undisturbed in the fishery. The parliament of England could not secure it to their country, notwithstanding the encouragement they gave to private adventurers, by high bounties, and several privileges, as exemptions from the press, &c. as well as naturalizing foreign seamen. Their marine economy, and the weakness of JAMES, was such, as to assure the fishery in question, to the subjects of the United Provinces.

They persisted in counteracting the projects of this prince, with respect to the Indian trade; their company exerted themselves, but without effect, to destroy the establishments of the English in that country, and to drive them from their settlements. About this period, the colonies of New England, and New Plymouth, in North America, and of St. Christopher, and Barbadoes, in the West Indies, were also established. The impulse given by ELIZABETH, directed the public mind towards these speculations, and induced them, frequently to engage in new undertakings, which essentially benefited Navigation. The marine of England, would have been considerably aggrandized, had JAMES known how to profit of those fortunate circumstances; but his ships lay rotting in port; and, during his whole reign, he built but nine vessels, the crews of which, were from 150 to 300 men each; the strongest squadron, which he sent out, was against the Algerines, and commanded by Admiral MANSSELL, it was composed as follows: six vessels, of from 600 to 660 tons, each mounting 50 guns; two, from 400 to 500 tons,

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tons, with 34 or 36 guns, together with 12 arm'd merchant ships, from 12 to 24 guns each.

The unfortunate CHARLES I. in order to compensate for the neglect of his father, gave orders for the building of 18 ships, of which, four were remarkable for their large size, though the crews allotted to each, did not exceed 250 men. His subjects were also desirous to found new colonies, and those of Massachusetts, Maryland, Connecticut, New-haven, &c. originated in this inauspicious reign. This prince, by his unsuccessful enterprise against Cadiz, lost upwards of 3000 men, and several ships; the fleet was composed of 80 sail, and with which, he flattered himself with the hope of intercepting the rich galleons, about that time expected from Brasil. This expedition, according to MONSON, would, in all probability, have met with success, had it been ably conducted; but circumstances also, turned out unfavourably, and fortune seem'd willing, by continual reverses to prepare CHARLES for the dreadful catastrophe, which terminated his life. The misconduct of his favourite,* at the isle of Rhé, and being Rochelle, was productive of consequences which he was far from imagining.

Either in an *amorous frenzy*, or from motives of ambition, BUCKINGHAM, although war had not been declared, resolv'd to assist the Rochellois.†

SOUBISE,

* The celebrated GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of BUCKINGHAM. *Translator.*

† "When the Duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris; a message was sent him from LOUIS, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion, he swore, *That he would see the Queen, in spite of all the power of France!* and from that moment, he determin'd to engage England in a war with that kingdom." *Hume's England, reign of CHARLES I.*

SOUBISE, having armed some vessels, unremittingly harrassed the commerce of France, captured a number of vessels, and sold them in England. LOUIS XIII. frequently complained of those outrages, but without effect; and, it was even proposed, to detain all the French vessels. Influenced, more by hatred to the favourite, than the love of justice, the parliament censured those proceedings, and called him to a personal account. BUCKINGHAM appeared inclined to liberate the French vessels immediately, but his real intention was to gain time, and the orders for releasing them, were issued only with a view of getting others into his power. The very ship that carried the intelligence of this apparent resolution of the English government, to Calais, had the audacity to seize three vessels in the road of that place: * this flagrant act of hostile perfidy, was, however, highly condemned by the whole nation. If, on this occasion, instead of some slight reprisals, the court of France, according to the advice of its Ambassador at London, had recourse to vigorous measures, the success of which, in the critical state of England at that time, was certain; the trouble and expence, created afterwards by the attempts of the British minister, would have been avoided. †

The fleet, which BUCKINGHAM commanded, in person, sailed from Portsmouth, on the 7th of June, 1627, and consisted of 90 vessels; of these, not more than 60 arrived with him at the isle of Rhé; the rest, scattered by a tempest, did not appear for several days, which gave the French time to prepare. The brave THOIRAS, opposed the

* See the *Justificatory Document*, in the Appendix, No. II.

† See the Appendix, No. III.

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the enemy at their landing, and repulsed them in the first instance, but being exposed to the fire of the ships, he was compelled to retire within the fortress of St. Martin. BUCKINGHAM closely blockaded the place, and would shortly have compelled a surrender, had not French bravery and generosity relieved it. The *Basques*,* armed, at their own expence, 30 flutes, or pinaces, for the service of their king; sixteen of these, under the direction of an officer, named VALLIN, penetrated through the English fleet, conveyed stores of all kinds to the besieged, and returned, laden with their sick and wounded. The garrison being still in want, one of their compatriots, ANDOUIN, supplied it with a flotilla of 30 vessels, notwithstanding a strong staccado, which the enemy placed at the entrance of the harbour; one vessel, commanded by the brave RAZILLY, fell into their power; as they boarded it, they heard orders given to blow up the vessel; to avert which circumstance, they promised quarter to all the crew; but, the moment their alarm subsided, they deliberately murdered, by throwing the French seamen and soldiers overboard; none but the officers were spared. Such atrocity, called loudly for vengeance, and THOIRAS exerted himself to obtain it, by repulsing the assailants, in a general attack; their loss in this affair, and in a subsequent defeat

by

* The inhabitants of *La Basque*, a small territory of France, near the Pyrenees, in the late province of Gasconne; it included Lower Navarre, La Bourd, and Sòule, and now forms with Bearn, the department of the Lower Pyrenees. The suppleness of the limbs, and the agility of the natives, are proverbial. *Translator.*

by SCHOMBERG, reduced them to seek their safety in an expeditious retreat.

Lord DENBIGH, the brother-in-law of BUCKINGHAM, was dispatched, the following year, to make a new attempt, with a fleet of 50 sail. He fell in with a squadron of 20 ships, under the command of DE VALENCAI, who, on being attacked, beat him off; the English commander, apparently, not discouraged at this check, boasted to the Rochellois, that he would destroy this squadron when the weather should permit; however, it soon became favourable, but he dared not risk an action, and, shortly after, returned to port. A third armament, which BUCKINGHAM himself, would have commanded, but for his untimely fate,* put to sea, under the command of the Earl of LINDSEY, who, arriving at Rochelle, ineffectually attempted to destroy the famous pier, constructed by POMPEE TARGON.† The English Admiral had the mortification to witness the reduction of Rochelle, and soon after, the misfortune to experience the effects of a dreadful tempest, by which 14 of his vessels went to the bottom, and several others were driven on shore, at

* His assassination, by FELTON, in the year 1628. The circumstances of this outrage are too well known to need our recital. *Translator.*

† To prevent the English from throwing in succours by sea, Cardinal RICHELIEU, in imitation of *Alexander*, at the siege of Tyre, constructed a prodigious mole, 4482 feet in extent. "It is astonishing," says a French writer, since the revolution, "how much the Clergy contributed to this work, and with what pleasure they made the first payments!" Rochelle was taken by LOUIS XIII. from the Huguenots, in 1628, after a siege of thirteen months, during which, the inhabitants suffered all the horrors of famine; only 4000, out of 15000, surviving the siege. *Translator.*

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at the isle of Aix; the defects in their rigging and cordage, with which they were very ill supplied at their departure from England, exposed them to this calamity, and, indeed, rendered it almost inevitable.

“The commerce of the English,” says Mr. HUME, “which had met with a severe check from the Spanish, was totally annihilated by the French war; those military honours, transmitted to them from their ancestors, had received a grievous stain, by two unsuccessful and ill-conducted expeditions; (those against Cadiz and Rochelle,) scarce an illustrious family, but mourned, from the last of them, the loss of a son or brother.* The expences, necessarily incurred by those armaments, obliged CHARLES to exact the duties of *tonnage* and *poundage*; these imposts, since the reign of HENRY VI. had been granted for the maintenance of the marine, to the kings, his successors, but during their respective lives.† The parliament wished to limit the continuance of this exaction. This was the source, or rather, the first pretext of those *regicide* commotions that, not long after, took place, and of which, we are happily exempted from speaking.
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* *Hume's England, reign of CHARLES I.*

† “The duty of *tonnage* and *poundage*, in more ancient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of Parliament; but it had been conferred on HENRY V. and all the succeeding princes, during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the defence of the kingdom. The necessity of levying this duty, had been so apparent, that each king had ever claimed it, from the moment of his accession; and the first Parliament of each reign had usually, by vote, conferred on the prince, what they already found him in possession of.” *Hume's England, reign of CHARLES I.*

We have already observed, that CHARLES did not foresee the consequences of the expeditions to Rochelle. A dastardly and corrupt people, only, can be insulted with impunity; with others, such a line of conduct arouses indignation, and creates a desire of vengeance. The naval force sent by England, to the assistance of the revolted Calvinists, made the French feel the necessity of establishing a marine. At that period, they were particularly destitute of naval strength. HENRY IV. wishing to fit out a vessel of 300 tons, and a tender of 25, was under the necessity of applying to JEAN LOPEZ, a trading captain, of Bordeaux, for assistance. When the English had resolved to support the Rochellois, and to shut their ports against French vessels, LOUIS XIII. considering this as tantamount to a declaration of war, and being totally unable to protect the commerce of his subjects, was under the necessity of laying an embargo on their vessels.* He had not a single ship capable of resisting the cruizers, with which the coasts of the kingdom were infested; however, RICHELIEU, being, soon after, appointed chief, and superintendant of the sea affairs, soon perceived the full extent of the resources of his country, and the rank which she was entitled to hold among the maritime powers of Europe, by her natural advantages, her geographical situation, and the favourable situation of her ports. This great minister, ordered timber to be collected from all parts of the kingdom, magazines to be formed, and vessels purchased; he had several ships built, among which was *La Couronne*, 120 feet in the keel, and pierced for 72 guns; this vessel astonished

* Proclamation of the 9th of November, 1625.

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nished the seamen of that day, who regarded it as the greatest effort of the art; * MORIEU, of Dieppe, superintended its construction at La Roche Bernard, and employed, in the work, such a quantity of timber, that the Ducheſs de ROHAN, who could not imagine it, ſaid, "I ſhould have thought the two forests of M. de ROHAN, which, they ſay, were uſed with this veſſel, had been larger than I now perceive they were!" In the ſpace of two years, a ſquadron of 23 ſhips, was formed, and ſtationed in the road of Breſt, which, before that period, was habited by ſome paltry fiſhermen. It was to ſuch exertions, France, under that reign, was indebted for thoſe naval victories, and ſignal advantages, which PONT COURLAI, general of the gallies; SOURDIS, Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux; and the Marquis de BREZE, obtained over the Spaniards.†

CHARLES might have been able to retard this re-eſta bliſhment of the French marine, had he, inſtead of endeavouring to foment the civil wars of neighbouring powers, exerted himſelf to deſtroy, in his own dominions, the growing ſeeds of thoſe troubles, which terminated in his death on a ſcaffold. Theſe internal commotions, ſhould appear, not only to have arreſted the progrels of the Engliſh marine, but even to tend to do away thoſe advances it had already made: but on the contrary, it will be ſeen to have flouriſhed more than ever; and, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to gain *new life* upon the enſanguined ruins of the throne!

* See the deſcription of it, in *l'Hydrograph, du P. Fournier*, l. I.

† *Le P. Fournier*, has collected ſeveral intereſting details of thoſe operations. *Hydrogr.* chap. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI.

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ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

CROMWELL, in subjecting his accomplices to the yoke, had to fear, lest hatred should awaken in them, a remorse which may be dangerous to himself; he, therefore, determined to employ, in foreign war, the restless spirit of his nation; nothing could be more gratifying to him, than to reduce the maritime power of the Dutch. Since the death of ELIZABETH, the trident of Neptune had passed into their hands; and its possession was the more assured to them by the signal victory of VAN TROMP, over a numerous fleet of the Spaniards; which was destined to invade Sweden, in the view of engrossing the whole commerce of the North, at the moment, that the vast fabric of the Spanish power, was declining in all parts of Europe.

The union of Portugal with Spain, proved advantageous, to the enemies of the latter kingdom alone; the Dutch rendered themselves masters of those places,

places, which the former had possessed in the East Indies, from the time of their first discovery. By these conquests, and the judicious management of them, these new republicans speedily acquired riches, which their economy, and industrious spirit, afterwards so greatly augmented; they became the factors of all nations, and beheld their country, in effect, the center, and *entrepôt* of the commerce of almost the whole world; mercantile aggrandisement was the soul of their enterprises, and, with them, every thing had an irresistible tendency to that object. Nothing can give a clearer idea of the general disposition of these people, than the answer made by one of their merchants, to the magistrates of Amsterdam, who reproached him with conveying warlike stores to the Spaniards, then their enemies: "As a citizen of this town, I have a right to trade every where: and could I make money by passing through *hell*, I would, without hesitation, run the risque of scorching the sails of my ship!"

To possess a share of this national opulence, without purchasing it at the price of blood, or by toilsome exertion, appeared, at first sight, to CROMWELL, a design worthy of him; to effect it, he employed the means of negotiation, and proposed to the States General, to unite and form one republic with Great Britain. This great political innovation, he described by the name of *coalition*, in order to signify, that the two states, by uniting, would secure their mutual strength and aggrandisement. His character strongly appears in his professions to the Dutch Ambassadors on this occasion. "My view in this project, said the hypocritical tyrant, is the better to enable us to resist the enemies of our holy reformation.

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“ The glory of God! which has obviously been hitherto the sole object of all my actions, should be an ample security to you, of the rectitude of my intentions on this occasion.”

After this singular overture, which was received by the States as it deserved, CROMWELL revived the ancient pretensions of his country to the empire of the seas; she had acquired it, he asserted, after a hard struggle, and she could not suffer any other than her own flag, to appear on the ocean. Hostilities speedily ensued; the English commenced them, by the seizure of 200 vessels;* they alledged, that MARTIN VAN TROMP exhibited a large *birch-broom* at the poop of his ship, as an indication of his design to *sweep the Seas*.† Having fallen in with some ships of his nation, chased by an English squadron, he exerted himself to prevent their falling into the hands of BLAKE, who commanded it; the English Admiral, under the pretence of exacting the *salute*, fired three shots at the Dutch, who did not return them; but had their Admiral been able to form his line, they would have obtained a decided advantage,

In consequence of this action, the inhabitants of Kent and Suffolk were so much alarmed, that numbers abandoned their places of residence, and several came up to London, and represented to the

* In contradistinction to this account, we deem it proper to state what *Hume* says of this affair: “ Letters of reprisals were granted to several Merchants, who complained of injuries which, they pretended, they had received from the States, and above eighty Dutch ships fell into their hands, and were made prizes.” *Hume's England, the Commonwealth.*

† *Gumble, Hist. of General MONK, l. I. c. IV.*

the Parliament, the dangers to which they were exposed, as their parts of the country were most exposed to the enemy. CROMWELL endeavoured to allay their fears, and, on this occasion, wrote, in the following curious manner, to BLAKE: "It would be to your honour, and to that of your brave captains, to drive back these frogs (the Dutch,) to their own marshes, and not suffer them to trouble us longer with their croaking!"

The populace, always insolent when they have nothing to fear, were not, in London, impressed with such apprehensions as the inhabitants of Kent and Suffolk; they armed themselves, and ran tumultuously to Chelsea, in order to sacrifice the Dutch ambassadors, but CROMWELL rescued his country from the disgrace of such an outrage, and the representations of the commissioners, whom the Dutch sent expressly for the purpose, were fully heard by the Parliament. They endeavoured to make that assembly sensible of the dangers to which both nations would be exposed, were the ties broken which united them; and asserted, that, in such case, the ruin of either country was inevitable. "Shall we not be then," said they, "as those children sprung from the earth, who destroyed themselves, as the history of *Cadmus* informs us; some writers have very aptly compared our republics, to two earthen pitchers, floating on the sea, and bearing this appropriate inscription, '*Si colidimur, frangimur*;' if we strike against each other we are destroyed." This *Bathonian* eloquence, however, had very little effect; the Parliament, uniformly the organ of CROMWELL, answered in terms of reproach; they accused them with having armed 50 vessels, for the purpose "of wresting from England, her
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“ ancient prerogatives, the rights which she had upon the seas,” and added, “ that the object was the destruction of the English fleets, which were under God, their only barrier, and their strongest rampart.”

Pending these negotiations, the English privateers continued their depredations; nothing could be more favourable to these, than that state of indecision, which had so often withheld the Dutch from acting. At length, VAN TROMP was ordered to put to sea, but a dreadful tempest dispersed his fleet, and prevented him from saving those vessels employed in the herring fishery, which Admiral AYSCUE entirely destroyed.* Irritated by this misfortune, they deprived the brave VAN TROMP of his command, and, they seemed to wish, to make him responsible for the caprice of fortune. What acts of injustice have not republicans committed, with respect to those great men, to whom they owed their safety and their glory?

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* This statement is obviously incorrect, as appears from various authorities, particularly that of *Hume*, who gives the following account of the affair: “ BLAKE sailed Northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring busses, which were escorted by twelve men of war; all these he either took or dispersed; TROMP followed him with a fleet of above 100 sail. When these two Admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them; BLAKE took shelter in the English harbours, the Dutch fleet was dispersed, and received great damage.—Sir GEORGE AYSCUE, though he commanded only 40 ships, according to the English accounts, engaged, near Plymouth, the famous DE RUITER, who had under him 50 ships of war, with 30 merchantmen. The Dutch ships were, indeed, of inferior force to the English, but DE RUITER defended himself so well, that AYSCUE gained no advantage over him.” *Hume's England, the Commonwealth.*

The naval force of England was entrusted to the command of BLAKE, the greatest Admiral that country ever produced! "It was he," says CLARENDRON, "who first taught our mariners to direct the forts and batteries placed at the entrance of ports, or on the coast, for their defence. He inspired the sailors with an extraordinary degree of courage, and made them imagine they could execute whatever they ventured to undertake."* The instances of LUCULLUS, and the great CONDE, evince, that *generals* may be formed by nature; but it appeared impossible, that an *Admiral* could be constituted without the aid of experience, until BLAKE appeared; he was 45 years of age, when he was chosen to command the fleets of his country, before which period, he had never served at sea.

His glory, indeed, might not have been so great, but his success would have been more decisive, had he not to combat with TROMP, EVERTZEN, and RUITER, the last of whom, about this time, began to be famous. A squadron was placed under his command, the vessels of which, mounted only from 30 to 40 guns each,† and carried but a small number of seamen and soldiers. The English fleet, with which he engaged, had, on the contrary, several ships of 60 guns, and 700 men.‡ The impartial HUME acknowledges, that the successes of the English, at that time, "were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels, an advantage, which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch Admirals could not compensate. By
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* Hist. of the Rebellion, &c.

† The ship which he commanded, (the *Neptune*,) had but 28 guns, and 134 men.

‡ *Basnage*, Annal. des Provinces Unies, t. I. p. 259.

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“ means of *ship money*, an imposition which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late king had put the navy into a situation which it had never attained in any former reign, and he ventured to build ships of a size which was then unusual.”* / Notwithstanding their superiority, DE RUITER attacked the English fleet off Plymouth, and after compelling it to retire, he would have burned, or captured in that port the ships of the enemy, had he not been prevented by a strong South East wind.

The English again put to sea; and BLAKE had to contend with DE WIE, RUITER, and TROMP, which last had been restored to his command. He had two actions with them; in the first, the English Admiral, sailing before the wind, attacked the Dutch fleet, which could neither form in order of battle, nor be rallied. In the second, BLAKE being wounded, his squadron, though superior,† bore away, and evaded the pursuit of the enemy only through the darkness of the night; had the rear of the Dutch assisted in this action, VAN TROMP would have obtained a most signal victory.

The conduct of BLAKE created much dissatisfaction in England, but CROMWELL justified it, and fitted out a fleet of 70 sail, of which he gave him the command. That of the Dutch was equally strong, and, with 200 merchant ships under its convoy, was encountered by the English fleet in the Channel, in a direction between Portland and Boulogne. It would appear, that VAN TROMP, for the sake of his convoy, should not have risked an action; however, under the apprehension that the

* *Hume's England, the Commonwealth.*

† He had forty ships against thirty.

the wind might change, he proceeded, without delay, to engage the enemy; after dividing his fleet into three squadrons, he attacked his adversaries, and they continued fighting, until night separated the fleets. The English having been reinforced, the following day, with sixteen ships, the action commenced again; VAN TROMP ranged his vessels in the form of a crescent, and secured his convoy in the center; in this order, he repelled all the efforts of BLAKE, which would have been entirely fruitless, had not some Dutch captains quitted their stations. Perceiving that the enemy's frigates could pass through those spaces in the line, which the desertion of his cowardly officers had left void; TROMP, formed in a new order of battle, and again fought till night, which afforded him an opportunity of effecting an orderly retreat. The third day, notwithstanding all the exertions of the enemy, he reached his ports, being nearly destitute of ammunition; but he brought with him, nearly the whole of the valuable convoy, which was intrusted to his care.*

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* Of this important action, *Hume* gives the following account: "When the English fleet lay off Portland, (Feb. 18, 1653,) they descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the Channel, with a convoy of 300 merchantmen, who had received orders to wait at the Isle of Rhé, till the fleet should arrive to escort them; TROMP, and under him DE RUITER, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations; three days was the combat continued, with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and BLAKE, who was the victor, gained not more honour than TROMP, who was vanquished. The Dutch Admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. He lost, however, eleven ships of war, had 2000
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Some of the English accounts, state the loss of the Dutch in this affair, to be 40 vessels, of which eight were sunk. The latter, give a very different account, and assert that the number of ships lost, did not exceed twenty-four: they also affirm that the English lost twelve vessels by the action, including seven, which were condemned after getting into port. TROMP and RUITER, in these three celebrated days, were equally emulous of the prize of valour. Never was before such a fire seen, as proceeded from the former admiral's ship on that occasion.* He soon had the pleasure of being informed that BLAKE made a hasty retreat, and had anchored near the isle of Wight.

This officer acknowledged, that the enemy had, the first day, all the advantage, because they were to windward. He afterwards wrote to the Parliament in these terms: "God has combated for us, against an enemy whom we have totally destroyed, in three furious encounters. Two days before, when we were at prayers; and also on the eighteenth,† we observed that God made known to us where to find the enemy, by this text of Scripture, which was read; *Depart to-mor-*
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"men slain, and near 1500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk; their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy." *Hume's England, the Commonwealth.*

* It was calculated, that, in the course of one day, upwards of 800 cannon shots had been discharged from the vessel, and that a piece of brass ordnance, which was placed near the poop, had been discharged seventy times. *Mem. de Cornille Tromp, t. I. p. 94.*

† *Old stile*; but, according to the improved mode of reckoning, the 28th. of February, 1653.

‘row, and go forth to meet them.’ Scarcely had “the chapter, where these words appeared, been expounded, than we perceived, just at the dawn of day, the enemy’s fleet, &c.” This finical language was, at that time, adopted even by heroes, and no triumph, divested of hypocrisy, could be meritorious in the eyes of the nation.

On receiving intelligence of the advantage gained by BLAKE, over the Dutch fleet, the English loudly proclaimed their exultation. The prisoners were conducted, in a sort of triumph, to Canterbury, and the Parliament ordered a day of extraordinary thanksgiving on the occasion. This universal joy was, however, damped by some reverses. It is in the school of adversity, that men generally prove themselves worthy of the favours of fortune. An English squadron in the Mediterranean, under the command of Captain BADILLY, was completely defeated by VAN GALEN, who, though mortally wounded, had the resolution to remain upon the upper deck, and direct the manœuvres for pursuing the enemy; at that moment he exclaimed, “The English! the murderers of their king, shall suffer for their crimes?” and, with these words he breathed his last.

In order to follow up the victory off Portland, CROMWELL projected an attack upon the *Texel*, but without success. TROMP, after convoying a numerous fleet of merchant ships, hastened to the defence of his country with ninety-eight ships of war, and six fire ships. They were attacked by MONK, who succeeded BLAKE in the command of the English fleet; in the first encounter, he obtained no decided advantage; but in the second, he met with considerable success, threw the Dutch ships into the greatest disorder, and captured, as well as
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funk, several of them; the remainder were, for the most part, disabled, and took refuge behind the banks of *Wiclengen*. The greatest loss which the English sustained, on this occasion, was that of Admiral DEAN, who was killed in the first action, by a cannon ball.*

The victors appeared before the Texel, and spread consternation in all those parts. VAN TROMP, disapproving the measures of the States, loudly complained, and, to these, he entirely attributed his bad fortune. The weakness and ill-condition of the vessels, which composed his fleet, † as well as the insufficiency of their crews, obliged him to contend at a disadvantage with the enemy, and he threatened, that if they did not remedy those defects, as soon as possible, he would resign the command of the naval forces of the Republic. They attended to his remonstrances, and, in consequence, a number of ships were ordered to be built; repairs to take place, and also, a speedy levying of men. DE WIT concealed not from his country, its critical situation, and ventured even to assert, in an assembly, held at the Hague, *That the English were then superior to them, and, consequently, masters of the sea!‡* The populace confine themselves not within due bounds, either in a state of prosperity, or of adversity; the ill fortune which the Dutch experienced, at that moment,

* It struck him, as a grave historian remarks, in the very place, where, the preceding night, the rats had tore his doublet. *Gumble, life of MONK, L. I. c. IV.*

† The English fleet contained fifty ships, stronger than that of the Dutch Admiral.

‡ *Annal. des Prov. Unies, t. I, p. 308.*

ment, presaged new reverses; and afflicted by their gloomy prospects, they ceased not to exclaim, that, "If the Republic had forces, they ought to be employed, to liberate the seas from the yoke of a power, which assumed the sole dominion of them; and, that they had every thing to fear, from the cruel injustice of their neighbours, should they, after so much blood being shed, become unable to resist them." Their apprehensions were not without some foundation; to prove which, they added, "That the merchant ships were captured within sight of the Texel; that the fleets, badly equipped, were incapable of resisting the well-fitted vessels of the English; that the greater part of the Dutch ships had been crippled, disabled, or dismasted, by the cannon of the former; and, finally, to crown all these evils, that the valour of several captains, could not induce others to support them in the hour of danger, &c."*

The most effectual means of quieting the minds of the people, doubtless were those which the States General employed. They caused such exertions to be made in the different ports, that a fleet of 220 sail was speedily sent to sea; it delayed not, to encounter that of England, which was equal in point of number, but superior in the force of its vessels. The respective fleets had the same commanders as in the last action, VAN TROMP, and MONK; the latter, ordered his officers neither to give, nor to take quarter!† happily, these
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* *Life of CORN TROMP*, t. I. p. 34.

† We feel it again incumbent on us, to observe, that the French compiler (contrary to his usual practice, when any matter appears questionable,) adduces no authority in support of his assertion. *Translator.*

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barbarous instructions were not attended to: Were they the suggestions of a malignant spirit, or the result of despair? His adversary appeared to be urged by the latter feeling, when he attacked the English fleet;* he broke their line three different times; but, at the expiration of six hours fighting, he was killed upon the upper deck of his ship; in expiring, he exclaimed, "*Courage, my boys! for my part, I have run my course!*" Thus ended the life of this great man, and in the last of fifty naval actions, in which he had been engaged; his modesty was equal to his heroism; he never would accept of any title, but that of *Father of the Sailors*, by whom he was almost adored. This irreparable loss, abated the courage of his countrymen. "The action was no longer violent; and, the smoke being dispersed, the two fleets were beheld in a state, which marked the horrible fury of the battle. The sea, appeared covered with dead bodies, with wrecks, and mutilated carcasses, with smoaking, or still burning, vessels; the remainder of the fleets, presented to the view, ships dismasted, or with their sails and rigging torn to pieces by the shot."† After the Dutch were apprised of the surrender of Vice-Admiral EVERTZEN, and the total defeat of his division, they were seized with a general panic; several vessels bore away, and heeded not the shots which Admiral DE WIT fired, to stop their course. In this action, twenty-seven, or, according to some, thirty vessels were sunk, and 6000 men

* July 29, 1653, old stile.

† Narrative of a French Gentleman, who was in the action, quoted by *le P. Hofte, Evolut. Naval*, p. 83.

men killed. An historian, who asserts this battle to have been less bloody, and less destructive to (his country,) Holland, reduces her loss therein, to *nine* vessels, 500 men killed, 700 wounded, and as many taken prisoners.* He adds, that the enemy lost eleven ships of war in the action, and that, afterwards, they were under the necessity of burning eight. CLARENDON also states, that they were not in a condition to pursue the vanquished.†

Although the English might differ from those statements, and wish to conceal their losses on this occasion, there can be no doubt of their victory having been dearly purchased; even the details transmitted by their own historians, prove it: by these it appears, that the English possessed two great advantages, the superior strength, and structure of their vessels, and a greater weight of metal. The Dutch were aware of these circumstances too late, and it was not, until after the peace with CROMWELL, they determined to build vessels on similar principles. The conditions of this peace, were dictated by CROMWELL, of which, the most humiliating, was, doubtless, the stipulation, not to invest the Prince of ORANGE, or any of his descendants, with the dignity of Stadtholder, or Captain General; this resolution was, at the instance of the Protector, inserted in the public registers.‡

The view of CROMWELL, in this proceeding, was not, by destroying the *main-spring* of the Batavian government, to reduce it to a state of inanity, favourable to his ambitious designs; his policy, on this occasion, was not so profound, as he

* *Life of TROMP*, t. I. p. 146.

† *Hist. of the Rebellion*.

‡ May 4th, 1654.

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he excluded, from the Stadtholderate, the *House of Nassau* alone, against which, he conceived a most implacable hatred.* In order to disturb, or rather to destroy, the commerce of the United Provinces, he endeavoured to introduce into the treaty, an article, empowering the English to *search* all the Dutch trading vessels. The latter, though they refused formally to accede to such an article, nevertheless, privately came to a resolution,† not to oppose the proceeding openly, which, in fact, was to tolerate the *insult*. In consequence, they sent instructions to their different Admirals, which DE RUITER warmly endeavoured to induce them to revoke. In a letter to the States General, they expressed their sentiments upon the measure, in terms, which may be regarded as prophetic: "It will, doubtless, expose us to insults when we least expect them; these, will be offered design- edly by the English, they will search our vessels at their pleasure, take possession of them on the slightest pretence, and afterwards treat us as infamous poltrons!"‡

The war which soon after ensued between England and Spain, afforded numerous pretexts to the

* *Hume* thus expresses himself on this curious and important point: "Cromwell, jealous of the connections between the royal family and that of Orange, insisted on a separate article, that neither the young Prince, nor any of his family should ever be invested with the dignity of Stadtholder. The province of Holland, strongly prejudiced against that office, which they esteemed dangerous to liberty, secretly ratified this article; the Protector, knowing that the other provinces would not be induced to make such a concession, was satisfied with the security. *Hume's England, the Commonwealth.*

† By an Act, November 3d, 1655.

‡ Letter, dated Texel, December 16th, 1655.

the former, as well as frequent opportunities, to make these searches. The Protector undertook this war, in the view, as he had failed in participating the commerce of the Dutch, of obtaining that of Spain, by the conquest of her richest possessions in the New World. So far had this power been from affording any ground of complaint, that it, on all occasions, endeavoured to conciliate him; they were the victims of his perfidy, and he attacked them in different quarters, without any declaration of war. They were unable to conjecture the object of the first armament he sent out, its destination being then a profound secret; and for some time they imagined, the design was to plunder the church of Loretto, a proceeding which would, even in his life-time, have canonized CROMWELL, among his own sect. The ambassador of the Court of Madrid, however, rightly suspecting whom the expedition was against, demanded, in the name of the king, his master, to know what was required of him; the Protector answered, *to abolish the inquisition in his dominions, and to grant the English an unrestricted trade to the West Indies!* To this, the philosophic minister replied, "My master has but two eyes, and your highness would deprive him of both:" CROMWELL, however, was pleased that they seemed shut to his ambitious designs.

These were extensive, as may be inferred from the instructions which he gave to PENN and VENABLES, the former commanding a fleet, the latter, a considerable land force. "The principal object" as the instructions set forth, "should be, to establish a footing in those parts of the West Indies, possessed by the Spaniards; this may be effected in three different ways; the first, by
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“ getting possession of St. Domingo, or Porto Rico; the second, to leave the conquest of these, in the first instance, out of the question, and to attack some of those settlements, situated between the Oronoko, and Porto-bello; and thirdly, by a plan, equally affecting the insular, and the continental settlements, viz. to make a descent, either at St. Domingo, or Porto Rico, and, after subduing one of these colonies, to proceed to the main land, and invest Carthagena.” This *well-conceived* plan was suggested by THOMAS GAGE, a Monk, who had escaped from the dungeons of the inquisition.* It was intended to carry it into effect, but the operations of VENABLES, were very injudicious, in consequence of which, he was driven from St. Domingo, with loss.† He afterwards made a descent on Jamaica, the capital of which was immediately taken, and not long after, the whole island was subdued by the English.

This valuable acquisition, however, did not satisfy CROMWELL, who resolved to persecute the war with increased energy. He dispatched a fleet under the command of BLAKE, to cruize off the Canaries, for the purpose of intercepting the rich galleons from Mexico; this officer found them in the

* The narrative of his voyages, is, perhaps, the earliest work which gives a *faithful* description of the Spanish colonies; it was dedicated to Lord FAIRFAX; and the celebrated M. COLBERT deemed the work of such importance, that he had it translated into French.

† The account given by *Hume*, of this affair, bears out so far as the *result*; the statement of the French writer; but the professional character of VENABLES, is, in some degree, shielded by the former. See *Hume's England*, the *Commonwealth*. *Translator*.

the bay of Santa Cruz, under the protection of several forts and batteries. Notwithstanding these disadvantageous circumstances, BLAKE determined to attack them; when the wind proving favourable, he entered the bay, and, after a severe fight of about four hours, he compelled the Spaniards to abandon their ships, which, with their valuable cargoes, were all burned. His situation, however, was very dangerous, being then exposed to a heavy fire from the batteries, but, fortunately, the wind suddenly shifting, he was enabled to get his squadron out of the bay; leaving, (to use Mr. Hume's words,) "the Spaniards in astonishment, at the "happy temerity of their audacious victors!" This, was the last triumph of this great sea-officer, he died on his passage home; his body was taken to England; a public funeral was decreed him, and he was buried at Westminster, in the chapel of HENRY VII. among KINGS, of whom he had always manifested his hatred. This, however, was the last outrage of CROMWELL against them!

This fortunate tyrant died soon after he received from France, the important fortrefs of Dunkirk, and at a time when he meditated great projects against Spain. Not long before this period, MAZARIN blushed not to conclude a treaty of alliance with the assassin of the son-in-law of HENRY IV. and the persecutor of his grandson. Every circumstance then, appeared to favour the views of CROMWELL, and, at length, when death terminated his career of prosperity, it was only to remove him from the effects of those plots and conspiracies, which were forming, in every quarter, against his power and authority; for these, he was indebted, as much to his rare talents, as his criminal, and unprincipled conduct. With that energy, which

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is as essential to the commission of great crimes, as to the achievement of glorious actions, what will not the man of genius attempt, when his principles fluctuate at the will of an insatiable lust of power, and a convulsive rage for fame?

The injuries of oppressed royalty were at length avenged; CHARLES II. on ascending the throne, triumphed over his enemies by his clemency; rendered himself worthy of the applauses of his capital, by pardoning her deluded criminals; and, to crown his glory, he permitted RICHARD CROMWELL, the son of OLIVER, to enjoy a peaceable retirement. This prince, not only refrained from disturbing the adherents of the implacable enemy of his house, but even profited of the salutary regulations he had made, by causing them to be regularly enacted. Among these, was the celebrated Navigation Act, by which, as a sensible writer observes, "CROMWELL rendered to the English, a service, similar to that, which THEMISTOCLES had performed to the Athenians, by inducing them to secure themselves, in *wooden houses* and *citadels*."

In passing this memorable act, by his Parliament, in 1651, CROMWELL had, in the first instance, no other view, than to avenge himself on the Dutch;* however, in fact, on this occasion, he

* To cover these hostile intentions, the parliament, under pretence of providing for the interests of commerce, embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the States. They framed the famous *Act of Navigation*; which prohibited all nations from importing into England, in their bottoms, any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, though the terms in which it was conceived were general, the Dutch were principally affected; S because

he less administered to his own resentments, than to the general interests of his country; in the meantime, he was unable, vigorously, to enforce the provisions of this act, on account of the Spanish war, which constrained him to allow the English merchants the use of Dutch vessels as before. Without the assistance of the latter, the general commerce of England would, at that time, have considerably suffered. When CHARLES ascended the throne, the above consideration did not exist, and, without delay, he issued orders for carrying into effect, the important bill in question, which he confirmed the following year, 1661, by his royal proclamation. We mean, after we have finished our regular narrative, to offer some serious reflections on this great national measure.

CHARLES II. was attached to Naval affairs; which partiality he had conceived during his residence in Holland. His information, in these matters, was, for a sovereign, uncommonly extensive. He frequently applied himself, not only to the theory, but to the improvement of the practice of the nautical art. In the latter, he was assisted by Lord Brouncker, who made several experiments on the qualities of various sorts of timber, with respect to the building of ships. This prince, not only augmented the number of his vessels, but endeavoured to render the sea service more respectable, by inducing the English nobility to enter into it. He created his brother (the Duke of YORK,) Lord High Admiral, and had one of his own sons, entered as a common sailor, on board
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because their country produced few commodities, and they subsist chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. *Hume's England*, the Commonwealth.

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a ship of war; finally, to compensate the sea officers for the scantiness of their appointments, he granted certain perquisites, and allotted them an increased share of prize-money.

This predilection of CHARLES for naval affairs, seemed to be strengthened by the animosity which he had conceived against the Dutch. The principal means of gratifying it was by an augmentation of his naval force, and putting himself in a condition to humble those masters of the Ocean. His feelings were less hurt by the indignities which he formerly received from them, and still continued to receive, in the person of his nephew, the young Prince of ORANGE, than by the tone which they lately held with regard to himself: "a stile," as observed by a late British writer, "natural to all maritime powers, because they can insult every where with impunity."* CHARLES entertained the hope of finishing by his arms, what he had commenced by the act of navigation; namely, to aggrandize the commerce of England, on the ruins of that of the States General. The parliament granted him a supply of 2,500,000*l.* towards the expences of a war, of which, some paltry mercantile quarrels, were the pretext. The United Provinces beheld their vessels detained in the ports of England, and loudly complained of the violence. Their proposal of referring to the *Parliament of Paris* to decide upon the legality of this proceeding, deserves to be particularly remarked.† It might be easily imagined, that such a tribunal was not agreeable to the English, who, without hesitation,

* *Dalrymple's Mem. of Great Britain, &c.*

† *Brandt, Vie de Ruiter, l. VIII. p. 375.*

hesitation, rejected every conciliatory proposition.

In his manifesto on this occasion, CHARLES complained of the preparations, which were made for their defence; their activity was astonishing; in less than a year, forty-eight ships of war were launched from the stocks, and the Dutch were able to put to sea, a fleet of 103 vessels, ships of the line and frigates; seven yachts, and eleven fire ships,* under the command of the Baron D'OPDAM, of the ancient and illustrious family of VASSENAER. His experience, was certainly not equal to his valour: a cotemporary writer asserts, that this officer was indebted for his commission of admiral to the favour of DE WIT, and, for his importance, only to the public professions which he made of being the friend of that party, and the enemy of the house of Orange.† However, being supported by the abilities of EVERTZEN and VAN TROMP, he was capable of contending with the English, whose fleet consisted of more than 100 vessels, but many of those were large trading armed ships. The Duke of YORK, brother to the king, had the command, and under him were placed Prince RUPERT and the Earl of SANDWICH.

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* Others have stated this fleet to consist of 112 vessels, thirty yachts, fire-ships, &c.

† *Mem. du Comte de Guiche*, p. 33. The testimony of this Author is, not always to be relied on, particularly, when he speaks of the DE WITS, and their partizans; against whom his ill-humour, or rather hatred, is apparent. OPDAM was one of the latter, and with respect to him, the Comte goes so far as to assert, that he *had never* (previous to the occasion we are speaking of,) *sailed, but on the canals of Holland!* It was he, however, who in 1657 had taken, or dispersed the fleet from Brasil; and, in the following year, gained an important victory in the Baltic sea.

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The hostile fleets encountered each other, off Leostoffe, near Yarmouth; the orders of OPDAM were, to engage the enemy, under pain of death; he, however, held a council of war, who were of opinion, that an action should be postponed. The unfortunate commander refused to abide by this decision, and exclaiming, "I shall be to-morrow crowned, either with laurel, or with cypress," gave orders to prepare for battle; in fact, on that day, June 3d, 1665, the engagement took place; it commenced at three o'clock in the morning, and continued nine hours, without intermission; both fleets fought with equal obstinacy and valour. In the afternoon, victory declared for the English; for which they were chiefly indebted to their having the weather gage, and to the confusion into which the dreadful fate of OPDAM, threw their adversaries; his vessel suddenly blew up, in consequence, as was suspected, of one of the negroes having set fire to the powder room, with a view to be revenged for some ill treatment; four other vessels were set on fire by this terrible accident, and the greater part of the Dutch fleet immediately appeared as though they were enveloped in a vortex of flames; several ships went to the bottom, and eighteen vessels,* with 2234 men, fell into the hands of the victors, who pursued, nearly to the entrance of the Texel, the remains of this ill-fated armament.†

This

* The names of no more than sixteen, are inserted in the Life of TROMP, t. II. p. 279, 280.

† The account given by *Hume* of this celebrated action, is as follows: "The fleet, consisting of 114 sail, besides fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the Duke of York, and under him, by Prince Rupert, and the Earl of Sandwich;

This signal victory cost the English but three vessels. It caused universal joy in England; in order to preserve the memory of it, divers medals were struck, some of which, merit a description. One, exhibited the likeness of CHARLES, and on its reverse, Great Britain, personified, with this motto: "QUATUOR MARIA VINDICO;" *I claim the possession of the four Seas.* On a second, was represented, a ship under sail, with these words: "PENES NOS IMPERIUM;" *The Dominion is with ourselves.* A third, represented CHARLES in a triumphal car, drawn by four sea horses, and a fleet, in the distance, with this motto: "ET PONTUS SERVIET;" *And the Sea shall be submitted to him.* &c.

That period, however, was not arrived; perhaps the English suffered it then to escape; at least, it was asserted, they had not taken advantage of their victory. BURNET, always unfriendly to the House of STUART, attributes the blame, on this occasion, to the negligence of the Duke of YORK. It is affirmed, that, during the sleep of this prince, orders were given for the fleet to slacken sail, which afforded the Dutch ships an opportunity to effect their escape. The duke, on his awaking, appeared much surpris'd at what had
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"wich; it had about 22,000 men on board. OPDAM, who was Admiral of the Dutch fleet, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, (3d of June, 1665,) when engaged in close fight with the Duke of York, Opdam's ship blew up; this accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous Admiral, killed during the former war, bravely sustained, with his squadron, the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken; the victors lost only one." *Hume's England, reign of CHARLES II.*

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taken place; however, he took no steps to *punish* those who were the cause of it, but was satisfied with disgracing them. We shall leave, to some writers, the malignant pleasure of traducing the memory of a brave, but unfortunate, prince.* The state of his fleet, which, in such a hard fought battle, had suffered much, was the real cause of his retiring; added to this, the sand-banks and shallows, environing the enemy's coasts, favoured their escape, their vessels being so constructed, as to draw less water than those of the English.

Attributing the cause of their defeat, to a mutiny among the sailors on board many of the ships, and the cowardice of some of their captains, the Dutch were not entirely disheartened. The arrival of RUITER, who had just returned from a successful expedition to the coasts of Guinea, soon revived their hopes. They clearly manifested their confidence in this great man, by appointing him, during his absence, to the high, and important office of Lieutenant-Admiral General of the United Provinces. He took the command of their fleet, consisting of 93 vessels, which had been fitted out, or repaired, after the action near Leostoffe, in the short interval of two months. In consequence of the winds being unfavourable, the fleet was detained some time at the Texel, the coast pilots being of opinion, that it could not proceed to sea. The pensionary, DE WIT, one of the three commissioners of the republic, who was on board the Admiral's ship, and with whom, the want of experience was compensated by a profound theoretic knowledge, remarked, that of all the winds, corresponding with the thirty-two points of the compass,

* See the Appendix, No. IV.

pass, four only, were directly opposed to the sailing of the fleet; he examined the different channels with the sounding lead, and found about twenty-three feet water. These considerations determined RUITER to set sail; but a dreadful tempest, some days after, dispersed his vessels, of which, a few were lost, and the remainder obliged to return to port. This event favoured the designs of the English, who, in contempt of the law of nations, insulted, with impunity, a numerous fleet of Dutch trading vessels, at Berghen, in the dominions of the king of Denmark.

During this interval, the Dutch refitted their vessels, and speedily put to sea, with a fleet of ninety-one sail of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-ships, and eighty yachts. The command of the English fleet, on this occasion, was entrusted to MONK, that faithful subject, to whom CHARLES owed his restoration; this commander had but seventy-eight ships, certainly stronger, and better equipped than those of his enemy, but, of which, the crews were chiefly, as the plague had carried off a great number of seamen, composed of the mob and rabble of London. Prince RUPERT was dispatched with twenty-five vessels, to intercept a French squadron, which was supposed to be on its way to join the enemy. Notwithstanding the absence of the prince, MONK resolved to attack the Dutch, while at anchor, but the latter, quickly cut their cables, and RUITER, who commanded them, immediately began the action; the wind blew so strong, that the English were unable to use their lower guns, or maintain the action more than three hours, in which the Dutch had the farther advantage of using *chain-shot*, then newly invented, and which was attributed to the prolific genius of DE WIT. MONK retired until

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until the next day, when he renewed the battle; the hostile fleets several times crossed each other; RUITER, on observing a great part of his fleet cut off, attacked the English vessels with such fury, that he put them to flight, and rescued his own ships. The arrival of Prince RUPERT, with his force, made but very little alteration with respect to the event of the combat, which lasted four days, namely, the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, of June, 1666. On the last day, RUITER obtained the weather gage of the enemy, and pressed the English Admirals so closely, that they took the advantage of a heavy fog, to effect their retreat. Ten vessels, among which was the *Prince Royal*, were sunk, or burned, and eleven others fell into the hands of the Dutch, including the ship of Rear-Admiral AYSUE. Vice-Admiral Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY was killed in the course of this action.

The loss of the victors, on this occasion, was three vessels burned, and four sunk; more than twenty ships were dismasted, but none were taken by the English. However, the States suffered a considerable loss in Admiral EVERTZEN, who was killed by a cannon shot, towards the close of the action. TROMP greatly signalized himself; he changed his ship six times, and as often attacked the enemy with so much promptness and fury, that, with astonishment and earnestness, they enquired, *How many TROMPS were in the Dutch fleet!** RUITER, who disengaged him, when surrounded by the enemy, displayed, throughout the action, a coolness

* Letter of the Comte D'ESTRADES to LOUIS XIV. of the 17th of June, 1666.

coolness and intrepidity, which cannot be sufficiently admired. A young French nobleman, who was on board one of the Dutch ships, in comparing the former of these Admirals to *Marcellus*, and the latter to *Fabius Maximus*, observed, that, during the action, "no one appeared so active as TROMP, or so deliberate or skilful as RUITER; "it may be truly said," continued he, "that these two gained the battle."* This action would have been more destructive to the English, had all the Dutch captains performed their duty.

Nevertheless, this haughty nation did not acknowledge itself to have been conquered; and CHARLES gave orders to his Admirals, Prince RUPERT; and, to the Duke of ALBEMARLE, (the illustrious MONK,) again to engage the enemy. The action we allude to, was favourable to the English, owing to the misconduct of TROMP, who quitted his station, for the fruitless pursuit of the blue squadron of their fleet. The English took advantage of his absence to surround the remainder of the Dutch fleet, which was compelled to retire, with the loss of 20 vessels; TROMP was pursued in his turn, but did not receive a single shot from the enemy, which induced a suspicion of a previous understanding between them. RUITER complained of the ill-conduct of his colleague; his own, it must be acknowledged, was not only exempt from all blame, but even merited the highest eulogium; like the lion, assailed by a numerous band of hunters, he yielded not, but to superior force, being as formidable in his retreat, as he was terrible at the onset. When informed of his exploits, LOUIS XIV. himself,

* *Mem. du Comte de GUICHE*, p. 267.

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himself, wrote to the States General, "that RUI-
" TER had acted with equal prudence and courage,
" that he performed actions, which appeared to
" surpass the power of man! I esteem," adds
this prince, " his retreat, much more than I should
" his having gained the battle, as, with eight ves-
" sels, he resisted twenty-two of the largest English
" ships, directed by two Admirals."

France, at this period, took an interest in the
success of this war; she declared in favour of the
Dutch, and repeatedly promised to join her naval
force with theirs. This junction, however, did not
take place, because the subsequent policy of the
king, was, to suffer the belligerent powers to exhaust
themselves, with a view, afterwards, of reaping the
whole benefit of their quarrel. The advice given
by M. DE LIONNE, on the occasion, to that effect,
was such as sound policy dictated: and it would
have been then, improper to declare for either
of the hostile nations; still more so, to offer
assistance, which he was resolved not to furnish.

The victory obtained by MONK, was brilliant,
and he endeavoured to take every advantage of it.
He detached Sir ROBERT HOLMES with an arma-
ment to attack the enemy in their own ports; this
officer approached the Texel, and burned, in the
road of the Isle of Vlie, two ships of war, and
150 trading vessels; then, availing himself of the
tide, he proceeded to the Isle of Schelling, on
which he made a descent, ravaged the country,
and destroyed the principal town. The loss suf-
fered by the unfortunate inhabitants of this island,
exceeded six millions of livres; the greater part of
these people being *Mennonistes*, or anabaptists,
they fled at the approach of the enemy, and, faith-
ful to their principles, preferred ruin, to a defence,
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purchased at the price of human blood. The Dutch acknowledged they suffered more by this enterprise, than by a lost battle.* They would have felt the effects of it still more severely, had not a heavy rain prevented HOLMES from seizing the rich magazines of their East India company, at Vlic.

The plague, which then raged at London, as well as the great fire, which, about that time, took place, considerably abated the national joy at this success; even the parliament granted with reluctance, a new supply, for the support of the war; and these considerations induced CHARLES to open a negotiation for peace. Its progress was delayed by the machinations of DE WIT, who fought for an opportunity to avenge the late insult upon his country. The impolitic monarch of England soon afforded it, in consequence of his laying up the greater part of his vessels, and discharging their crews. The moment was favourable, and the Pensionary suffered it not to escape; he conceived the bold design of destroying the principal naval forces of England in their very harbours: a profound secrecy, joined to an incredible activity, might assure the execution of it, with which RUITER, was entrusted. He sailed the 6th of June, 1667, with seventy vessels, and sixteen fire-ships; a part of this fleet, under the command of VAN GENT, advanced to the entrance of the river Medway, and took the fort at Sheerness; RUITER then joined him with the remainder of the fleet; they forced their way up the river, as far as Upnore castle, near which, they burned several vessels,

* *Basnage*, Annal. des Prov. Unies. t. I. p. 784.

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vessels,* and took some others, among which, was the *Royal Charles*; the magazines, and a great quantity of naval stores, were destroyed by the Dutch. Consternation and terror universally prevailed; London, herself, feared to see her Tower taken, and her suburbs, which were defenceless, destroyed by fire. A number of vessels were immediately sunk in the bed of the Thames, to obstruct the progress of RUITER, up that river; however, the attempt was not made; the Dutch proceeded to attack some vessels in the road of Harwich, and at Torbay, after having obliged Admiral SPRAGGE to retire.† The towns of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, and the Isles of Wight and Guernsey, were severally menaced with an attack. When the Dutch Admiral arrived off Scilly, he requested the Duke de BEAUFORT, who commanded the French fleet, to join him; such a union would doubtless have proved fatal to the English; but the French commander refused to comply with the wishes of RUITER, and excused himself, as having no orders, to that effect, from his court, as well as on account of the nearly terminated negotiation for peace.‡

All the difficulties which impeded its conclusion were, about this time, removed, and the articles were speedily signed at Breda. The honors of the flag were again assured to England; it was stipulated that the ships of war, as well as the trading vessels, of the United Provinces, should salute the

* *Le Charles Quint*, the *Royal Oak*, the *Royal London*, the *Royal James*, &c. the largest vessels in the English navy.

† The *Comte de Guiche*, censures the Dutch, for not taking proper advantage of their success, which they could, says he, have pushed with the greatest facility. *Mem.* p. 390.

‡ See the Appendix, No. V.

ships of the English royal navy, by lowering the main-sail, and the flag from the main-mast. By this treaty, CHARLES acquired those Dutch colonies in North America, since known by the names of New York and New Jersey. The loss of these extensive and fertile provinces, was by no means, compensated by the cession of the island (so long contested, and of such little importance) of Polorone, in the East Indies. Surinam, of which they had recently made a conquest, remained with the Dutch. By prolonging the war, they might have been able to obtain more favourable terms, but the continuance of hostilities, ruined their commerce, and they felt it necessary to subscribe to the proposed articles.

The reconciliation appeared sincere, and, shortly after, CHARLES entered into the triple alliance,* the immediate object of which, was to preserve the barrier, which, the well founded apprehensions of the Dutch required, should continue between their territory and France. In the midst of the rejoicings, which took place in England, on occasion of this treaty, Lord CLIFFORD, then a confidential minister, let fall some words which discovered the real intentions of his master; he inadvertently said, "Notwithstanding all this joy, we must have a second war with Holland." In fact, negotiations to that end, were soon entered into with LOUIS XIV. who had resolved on the ruin of that Republic, so recently in alliance with him. Offences, which should have been forgotten;

*With the States General and Sweden, in January, 1668:—this confederacy was framed by those great and good ministers, the Dutch Pensionary *de Wit* and Sir *William Temple*.

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ten; injuries, that he ought to have pretended ignorance of; had, most unaccountably irritated him. He could not suppress his resentment, the consequences of which, are well known. The self-love of an individual, when hurt, is often implacable in its vengeance; that of a sovereign, is always terrible.

The animosity of the French monarch, too readily accorded with the aversion of CHARLES II. to admit of their delaying to unite themselves by the stipulations of a treaty. Many of the articles were kept secret; LOUIS therein purchased the ruin of the Dutch by the surrender of the empire of the seas, and promised his ally, first, that he should be put in possession of the islands of Walcheren, Cadfand, Voorn, Goree, and Minorca; and the ports of Sluys and Ostend: and, secondly, to assist him in conquering the Spanish possessions in America.† What important sacrifices, and what consequences might not the execution of such projects involve? But, these considerations were not attended to, by a vindictive prince. The cession of Minorca and Ostend was, however, to take place in the event, that the title, or claims of LOUIS to the Spanish monarchy, should be disputed; in which case, CHARLES engaged to support him with his whole force: but this was to be at the *expence* of LOUIS, who even furnished the money to commence the war in question.

The first hostilities, on the part of the English, were previous to any declaration; they attacked, on the 24th of March, 1672, with a squadron of twelve sail of the line, and five frigates, off the Isle of Wight, the Dutch Smyrna fleet, consisting of

† *Extr. des Mém. M.S.C.S.—de Barillon.*

of seventy merchant ships, and convoyed by five small ships of war: the latter, however, defended themselves so well, and manœuvred with such effect, that they lost but two vessels of their convoy: Soon after this unsuccessful attack, CHARLES published his manifesto: the article respecting the maritime salute is worthy of attention, and runs to the following effect.

“ Our right to the *honours of the flag* is so ancient, that it was one of the first prerogatives of the kings, our ancestors, and, is the last right, which our kingdom ought to part with. It has never been disputed; and although it has been expressly acknowledged in the treaty of *Breda*, nevertheless, certain captains of the republic, in the course of the last summer, had the audacity to violate it. This infraction having been proved at the Hague; the Dutch publicly asserted, in almost every court in Christendom, that our claims were worthy of derision. Astonishing insolence! To attempt to contest with us, the empire of the seas! *They* who, under the late king, our father, were constrained to pay the accustomed tribute for fishing in our seas; to pretend to wrest the possession of it from us! *They*, who are indebted for the very dominions they now possess, to the protection of our ancestors, and to the blood and valour of our subjects!”

The people in general, however, did not approve of the new war, and the parliament appeared very ill-disposed to grant supplies to the king. In order to hasten their compliance, the Lord Chancellor (SHAFTESBURY) addressed that assembly in a speech studied for the occasion, and frequently repeated the well known expression of

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CATO, (and of which an indiscriminate hatred, incessantly makes absurd and barbarous applications) " *Delenda est Carthago!*" The Dutch preachers did not fail to expatiate on these words, with a view to stimulate the people to a spirited defence of their country. In addition to the effect of such discourses, their animosity was inflamed by a discovery, that was soon after made, of a plot conducted by a Scotchman, of the name of FRASER. It appeared, that he was sent to Amsterdam from England, for the purpose of destroying the public magazines, and naval arsenals; and also those of the Dutch East India Company: preparations were made for setting fire to them, by means of pot granados, when he was betrayed by one of his accomplices, and arrested; and after the confessions that were extorted from him, broken alive upon the wheel.

This odious manner of annoying the enemies, doubtless, had not been, either suggested or approved by CHARLES.* Always criminal, frequently unsuccessful, and seldom unpunished, such means are never resorted to, but by unprincipled ministers, who disregard, equally, the real interests, and the honour, of their masters. The English monarch was sufficiently anxious about his character in those respects, though he apparently loved pleasure more than glory: He, however, made great exertions, on account of the approaching contest. He recalled all his sea-faring subjects, who were engaged in foreign services; and he
made

* The Duke of York has been accused of being the contriver, but it is a shameful calumny, and only to be found in the *Life of Cornelle Tromp*. T. II. p. 470.

made every possible exertion to collect a considerable number of vessels. A fleet was soon fitted out, the command of which was given to the Duke of YORK, who formed a junction with the French fleet, consisting of forty-eight vessels, under the command of the Comte d'ESTREES. RUITER, who still directed the naval force of his country, failed, notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, to meet the enemy, with whom he fell in, near Solebay, on the 7th of June, 1672. The action commenced between the French admiral, who had the weather gage, and vice-admiral BRANKER, of whose division several ships were disabled. The vessels of the Duke of YORK, no longer obeying the helm, were driven among those of RUITER: they fought then, on all sides in some confusion, and with more fury than effect. Night separated the hostile fleets, and favoured the retreat of the Dutch admiral, who secured his ships within the sand-banks of Zeeland. The greatest loss the Dutch sustained on this occasion, was that of their fire ships, which, to the number of thirty-five, blew up without effect: one alone, grappled with the ship of the Earl of SANDWICH, and caused her destruction, as well as the death of that celebrated officer, who was not more estimable for his professional skill and ability, than for his talents as a negociator.*

In

* A short Biographical Sketch of this celebrated nobleman, one of whose prominent characteristics appeared to have been versatility of talent, may not be unacceptable to the Reader.—*Edward Montagu*, the first Earl of SANDWICH, was the son of Sir *Sydney Montagu*, of Huntingdonshire, and was born in July, 1625. At the early age of eighteen, he was commissioned by the Parliament, in the civil wars in the reign of

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In the following year, 1673, three other naval actions were fought, and which were as indecisive as

CHARLES II. to raise a regiment, which he completed with such dispatch, that in the following year, he distinguished himself at the head of it, particularly at the battle of Marston Moor, and also at Naseby.

Though he took so active a part with the Parliament, at the commencement of the civil war, yet when he found that the army aimed at the annihilation of the regal power, he opposed their proceedings in parliament, being a representative for Huntingdonshire, and, at length, withdrew himself from the House. He was, however, one of the famous *Council of Fifteen*, and, before he was thirty years of age, he was joined with *Desborough* to execute the office of High Admiral of England: soon after he was united with the illustrious *BLAKE*, in the command of the fleet.

On the death of *CROMWELL*, his moderate principles led him to wish the re-establishment of Monarchy, and, accordingly, he soon, by means of his influence in the fleet, became one of the chief agents in the restoration, for which important service, the king created him Earl of Sandwich.

From this period, he applied himself, principally to naval affairs, and was appointed to high commands on several occasions, of equal honour and importance. He commanded the fleet which brought the king from Holland to Great Britain, and was soon after employed on a nearly similar occasion, that of commanding the Squadron destined to escort the queen (*Catherine*, of Portugal) to England, and, at the same time, to take possession of Tangiers, a part of the marriage portion of her majesty. He afterwards greatly distinguished himself in several naval actions with the Dutch, particularly, in the memorable engagement off Solebay; in which he fought with a degree of bravery and desperation, unparalleled in the records of the English marine. The Earl had a magnificent public funeral, and was interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. He was married in the year 1642, to the daughter of Lord *CREWE*, and had issue. The late *John*, *Earl of Sandwich*, who, for several years, presided at the Board of Admiralty, and seemed to inherit a considerable portion of his talents, was the fourth of the title, and the fifth lineal descendant of this great man.

Translator.

as that just mentioned; each side claiming the victory. The English and French, were commanded by Prince RUPERT and the Comte d'ESTREES, on the one hand; and the Dutch, who were still conducted by RUITER and TROMP, on the other: the latter, however, obtained one important advantage by those actions, that of protecting their country from a descent.* Compelled by the rapid conquests of LOUIS XIV. to dismantle a number of their vessels, and, being deficient in naval stores, they afterwards escaped this misfortune, by a kind of apparent miracle. The English and French fleets having advanced nearly to the entrance of the Texel, they were prevented from approaching the harbour, on account of the ebb tide, which continued more than twelve hours, to the great astonishment, even of the inhabitants of the coast. This circumstance, according to some ignorant or credulous writers, never before happened; or, at least, they assert, that no instance of the kind can be pointed out.† This phenomenon, however, and a violent storm, which immediately followed it, preserved Holland from the most imminent danger.

This republic, since its first establishment, had not been in such perilous circumstances, as at the period in question: threatened with total destruction, it was hourly expected; but, LOUIS, however, suffered the opportunity to escape, and the
Prince

* *Basnage*, Annal. t. II. p. 425.

† This lateness of the tide, is frequent on the coasts of Flanders, as well as on those of Kent and Essex; it mostly happens on the change of the moon, the time which the combined fleets, imprudently, chose for their intended attempt upon the Texel.

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Prince of ORANGE took advantage of his negligence, to annihilate the LOUVESTEIN faction, of which, the Pensionary, DE WIT, was the head. His brother, CORNEILLE DE WIT, after having been barbarously *put to the question*,* was massacred, at the same time, with him, in the midst of the city of Amsterdam, with as much impunity, as if they were executed by a public sanction. JEAN DE WIT, who was invested with the important office of Grand Pensionary of Holland, at an early age, possessed that strong resolution, and energy of soul, which are more essential to the satisfactory administration of the affairs of a republic, than of any other form of government; his steadfast attachment to the liberties of his country, and his enlightened devotion to her real interests, uniformly appeared in his conduct. He, in the first instance, restored tranquility to the state; he re-established her credit, and her finances; strengthened the union of some provinces, which were torn by dissensions, negotiated successfully with the Northern powers, in circumstances of great delicacy; and, by his counsels, sustained the war against England. His natural activity, and the resources of his genius, furnished the means of repairing the frequent losses during the war, and of counterpoising the successes of the enemy, of whom, he foresaw, the aggrandisement; he was the first to perceive that her maritime preponderance, would, one day, become as destructive to the commerce of his fellow citizens, as the Stadtholderian authority, would to their independence.

This

* The appellation given to a particular kind of torture, formerly used in different parts of the Continent, for the purpose of extorting confessions. *Translator.*

This latter apprehension, and not an inherent animosity, as has been falsely supposed, induced him to cause the promulgation of the famous *perpetual edict*.* The partisans of the House of ORANGE never pardoned him that measure, and he ultimately became the victim of their vengeance; although the assassins were not sought after, ingratitude soon yielded to the powerful sentiment of esteem, and afterwards, to that just, but tardy, *veneration*, which it is beyond the power of envy or hatred, to deprive the memory of great men.

The massacre of the DE WITS, appears to be the period, at which the maritime rivalry between the English and the Dutch terminated; the latter, having no longer any person capable of inspiring them, and, borne down by repeated misfortunes, they had no hope of ending them, but by a peace. In the view of forwarding it, they destroyed that *fine monument* of their exploits at Chatham, the ship *Royal Charles*. They afterwards sent deputies to the Prince, whose name the vessel bore, to intreat his clemency; a term which cannot be regarded as improper, when we consider the deplorable state to which the United Provinces were then reduced. The greater part of the English felt for this, and, in proportion as their jealousy and hatred against France revived; numbers of the populace followed the carriage of the Dutch envoys, and manifested the strongest feelings of sympathy and regard. The ministers thought proper to appoint the audiences at Hampton-Court, in order to remove them from an intercourse with the people. The
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* The principal effect, of which, was to exclude the Prince of Orange from the Stadtholderate, and all share in the civil administration. *Translator.*

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commiseration of the latter, for the Dutch, every day increased, and their wishes for peace became more ardent; the parliament pressed for the conclusion of it, and appeared decidedly averse to granting any farther supplies for the continuance of the war, by which the merchants had already sustained considerable losses. The immense number of 2700 trading vessels, were captured by the enemy's cruizers, especially those of Flushing, which, at that period, were remarkable for their audacity and success.

The humiliation of the Dutch, and the re-establishment of the Prince of ORANGE, which latter circumstance, eventually, became so fatal to the House of STUART, appeared to satisfy CHARLES; however, he unwillingly signed the articles of the peace, at Westminster, 16th February, 1674: it was therein agreed, that the honors of the flag should be paid in the most comprehensive manner, to all his vessels, throughout the whole extent of the *four seas*, which surround the British Isles; that is to say, from Cape Finisterre, to the central point of *Staten-island*, on the coast of Norway. The United Provinces, also stipulated to pay to the king, the sum of 2,000,000 florins,* in four equal payments. This last condition seemed to gratify CHARLES more than any of the others, as, during the whole course of his reign, he was in great want of money; this circumstance, constrained him to sell Dunkirk, and to abandon Tangier, places of great importance, in the estimation of a nation, ever anxious to secure, and extend its commerce.

From the time of this treaty, the naval power of the Dutch, progressively declined, and they have

* About 225,000*l.* Translator.

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have been unable to resist the fleets of **LOUIS XIV.** except when united with the English. A long fought policy, however, condemns this league, which was more of an offensive, than a defensive, nature; but resentment suggested, and the interest of the moment required it. During the continuance of the war, between France and Holland, **CHARLES** frequently obstructed the negociations for peace, which were set on foot;* and (according to a recent English writer,†) endeavoured to widen the breach between those powers, in order to afford his subjects an opportunity of securing that exclusive commerce, of which they had possessed themselves. In some degree, he succeeded, but by such a line of policy, the French were suffered to become experienced in naval tactics, and, by that means enabled to dispute the empire of the seas, with his successors. Previous to our stating the consequences of this new rivalship, and the efforts made by Great Britain, to obtain a dangerous ascendancy, we shall take a view of the re-establishment, or rather, the creation of the French marine, under the reign of **LOUIS XIV.**

During the minority of this prince, though France fitted out fleets, capable of defeating those of Spain, as in the actions off Orbitello, and the bay of Naples, it could not be said, that she had a marine; the small number of vessels which she then had, were so scattered, that it was with difficulty fifteen, or sixteen, were collected, for the purpose of attacking Gigeri, upon the coast of Africa, in 1664. The difficulty of procuring sailors was so great, that, two years after this expedition,

* *Mem. of Sir William Temple*, p. 434.

† *Sir John Dalrymple*.

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pedition, M. DE LIONNE, on the application made by the States General, for permission to recruit their ships' companies in the French ports, wrote to the Comte d'ESTRADES, that, "His majesty desires not to enter into any engagements which he may be unable to fulfil;* nor that the States should have any reason to complain they were intentionally deceived; and candor obliges him to state, that a single seaman cannot be found throughout all his ports; and also, that DU QUESNE has had a great deal of trouble, during a period of three months, to form the crew of the *Vendôme*."†

Added to this, France possessed no arsenals; no naval stores; no timber, fit for building; nor even had any harbours proper for the reception of fleets. The scarcity, in all those respects, was so great, that there were neither fluke anchors, nor cordage, nor sails, &c.; in short, every requisite was wanting, even the very powder and matches. At first, these several articles were furnished by the Dutch;‡ but their assistance, in that respect, soon

* The phraseology of the original, is rather curious; it is literally "desires not to sell smoke." *Translator*.

† Letter of the 10th August, 1666.

‡ Louis XIV. in the year 1666 and 1667, obtained also, from the Colleges of the Admiralty of Holland, permission to build there, twelve large ships of war, and to purchase the like number of armed merchant ships, two galliots, thirteen fly boats, and five flutes, or pinks, which came at different times, laden with masts, planks, sails, cordage, &c. and even to levy seamen, as well as to establish at Amsterdam, a cannon foundery, for the use of his marine. The quantity and nature of the several stores and articles, with which the Dutch supplied this prince, may be judged by the account, &c. of those, which were deposited in the arsenal at Dunkirk. *Let. et Neg. d'Estades*, t. IV. p. 343.

soon became unnecessary. Builders came to France, from different parts of Holland; mast-makers, and anchor-smiths, from Sweden; rope twisters, sail-makers, &c. from Riga, Hambourg, and Dantzic. All these artificers had French pupils, who, in a short time, equalled, if not excelled, their masters. A general review of persons, fit for the sea service, took place, and 60,000 were immediately rated. Five arsenals were built, and several vessels constructed on the stocks, in different ports of France: in the year 1667, a numerous fleet was collected at Brest, consisting of fifty ships of war, and commanded by the Duc de BEAUFORT;* in this number the fire-ships were not included, nor the Levant squadron, the junction of which, would have considerably augmented the force of that officer.

The genius of COLBERT, effected this *prodigy*, which, the creation of a marine, really was, in circumstances, wherein the national *gout*, among so many other moral, and even physical, difficulties, seemed to oppose the views of LOUIS XIV. This prince, however, extended them farther; he endeavoured to become the *legislator* of the seas, and he succeeded. The ancient code of the maritime laws of Rhodes had been lost, or, the remaining parts of it, were so confusedly blended with the reveries of a fabricator, that it was almost impossible to distinguish them; the laws, and customs of Oleron and Wisby,† digested under the appellation of the *Consulat de la mer*, were inadequate, and

* Letter of the Duc de Beaufort, to Ruiter, of the 12th July, 1667.

† A sea-port town of Sweden, on the Baltic sea; it was a place, formerly, of considerable importance; it lies eighty-eight miles S. E. of Stockholm. *Translator.*

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and too strongly manifested the character of those barbarous ages, in which they were first suggested. A new system of marine jurisprudence, therefore, became necessary; and Louis established one on just and liberal principles, in his ordinances, issued at Fontainebleau, in August, 1681. His enemies, the English, admired the wisdom, and superior policy, which they displayed, and have taken care, from time to time, to introduce the greater part of them into their own maritime regulations.*

The constituent ordinances of the royal marine, are not less worthy of admiration; but of these, their stability is the best eulogium: the slight alterations which they have undergone, admit of no comparison with the successive abrogations of the other military laws of France, which, in general, bear an indelible impression of the national character. Circumstances, at that period, also seemed, happily, to co-operate with the designs of Louis, by affording opportunities to improve the skill of his Admirals, and to exercise his seamen in naval operations. We allude to those wars, in which the French flag was unfurled *with* that of England; not to confirm the power of the latter, but with the view of learning, either to repress, or to ballance it. On their separation, the French navy became more and more respectable; it derived glory from the action at Tobago, which rendered D'ESTREES illustrious; and from the affair of Agousta, which immortalised DU QUESNE, the rival

*The French narrator would have done well to have *specified some instances of what he asserts*; on most other occasions, he freely refers to his various authorities. *Translator.*

rival of RUITER, and, with whom, he merits to be compared.

Were it not for RUITER, DU QUESNE had been the first seaman of the age, in which he lived. But for DU QUESNE, RUITER had been the greatest Admiral Europe ever produced! The ability manifested by those, was as much the felicitous effort of genius, as the result of long experience; equally fierce and intrepid in action, as gentle and unassuming after victory, they afforded to all other commanders, numerous examples of generosity; and to heroes, those of a rare and estimable simplicity:* they entertained no other ambition, than to render themselves formidable to their enemies, by their exploits; and useful to their fellow citizens, by their services.

But, to return to our principal subject, the naval affairs of England. JAMES II. before he ascended the throne, had served his country, with equal zeal and valour; though he seldom commanded her fleets in person, their operations were generally directed by his orders. His countrymen have seen him, in the midst of death, and covered with blood, proceeding to grapple with his adversary, coolly observing, at the same time, "It is necessary I should, myself, salute the Sieur 'D'OPDAM!" In the action, near Solebay, the vessel of this prince was so much damaged, that it became necessary he should change her. These acts of bravery, merited the attachment of the sailors, of whom, it pleased him, to be called *the friend*. During the short interval of his reign, the
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* "The day after the victory," says the Comte de Guiche, "I found *Ruiter* sweeping his cabin, and feeding his hens." *Mem.* p. 268.

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sea officers received an augmentation of their pay, under the name of *table-money*; and, notwithstanding the insufficiency of the supplies, the number of the vessels, in the royal navy, was increased; these benefits were requited only with ingratitude, and his exertions to render the naval force of his country respectable, only became injurious to himself. At the first rumour of an invasion, he fitted out a fleet of sixty-one sail, of which, thirty-eight were of the third and fourth rates. The instruction which he gave to his Admirals, STRICKLAND, and LORD DARTMOUTH, shew the extensive information, of this unfortunate monarch, in sea affairs, and his skill in naval tactics. This was so generally known, that the invention of signals, by flags and pendants, has been attributed, but without foundation, to him, as the practice existed before his time;* perhaps, he multiplied them, rendered them more intelligible, or arranged them in a better order. We know, that, after his time, the Maréchal de TOURVILLE farther improved this species of *maritime alphabet*,† which, at present, is in such a high state of improvement, and, in fact, so worthy of admiration.

Notwithstanding the judicious instructions we have alluded to; and a violent tempest, which dis-

perfed

* *Le P. Fournier*, in a work, printed in 1643, thus expresses himself upon this subject: "The commander gave the signals, in the day, either by flags or pendants, and firing guns, laden with ball; and, in the night, by lights, or discharging guns without ball." *Hydrogr.* l. III. c. I. &c.

† *Le P. Hofte*, who accompanied this officer, in all his campaigns, suggested the plan of a variety of signals, which shews that, in his time, the art, in question, was by no means so highly improved as at present. See p. 420, 421, *du traité des Evolutions a Navales*, printed in 1697.

perfed the Dutch fleet; WILLIAM, (*the only name which we fhall give to the fon-in-law of JAMES,*)* fafely landed in England. The king, abandoned by his fubjects, and betrayed by the feamen and officers of his fleet, conducted himfelf, in that arduous crisis, with fo much weaknefs and pusillanimity, as, in fome degree, to leave the throne vacant. His fortunate adverfary took poffeffion of it; perhaps, without remorse, but not without apprehenfions. It is not in the power of ambition to eradicate the latter, however it may diflemble them; in the mean time, the nation was not entirely fubdued; and the parliament vainly endeavoured to eftablifh the pretended *abdication* of their king, in order to fet up another. The brave DUNDEE, in Scotland, and TYRCONNEL, in Ireland, remained faithful to the Houfe of STUART, and, in favour of which, LOUIS XIV. interpoled.

From that period, the principal object of WILLIAM was to fubdue the *rebels*, an appellation which
 * * * * * Ireland became the principal theatre of war; and JAMES, relying on the affiftance of France, repaired thither. CHATEAURENAUD was charged with the convoy of a number of transports, laden with ammunition, arms, and a large fum of money, for the fervice of JAMES; his force confifted of twelve fhips of the line, and fome fmall veffels. Admiral HERBERT, who commanded the fleet of WILLIAM, had twenty-two fail of different rates. Having fallen in with the French, near the Bay of Bantry,† on the Firft of May, 1689, he refolved

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* Literally rendered from the original. *Translator.*

† *Bantry bay*, which takes its name from a fmall fea-port town, in the Weftern part of Corkfhire, in Ireland; is one of the

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to fight them, although they had the advantage of the wind, which they preserved throughout the whole day, to the great astonishment of the English: according to a British writer,† they manifested, on this occasion, that the activity of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, were equal to those of their adversaries. The fight commenced with equal ardour on both sides, and continued until the English line were entirely broken, and their squadron put into disorder: they then bore away, in the view of recovering their order of battle; but CHATEAURENAUD did not allow them time: he chased them to a considerable distance, without losing sight of his own convoy, which he rejoined when the enemy were at too great a distance to annoy them. The French commander, afterwards, effected his intended debarkation, and returned to Brest, having, in eleven days, defeated the enemy, conveyed assistance to the adherents of King JAMES, in Ireland, taken a valuable Dutch convoy, and brought back his own ships uninjured.

With a view to obviate the unfavourable effect, which this check might have on the minds of the people, WILLIAM created Admiral HERBERT, Earl of TORRINGTON, ordered presents to be given to the seamen of his fleet, and repaired himself

noblest bays in the world; it is twenty-six miles in length, and in most places more than a league broad; and in the center, from the entrance, to within a few miles of the head of the bay, the depth of water exceeds 40 fathoms; it is supposed capable of containing all the shipping in Europe. This bay is also remarkable for the unsuccessful attempt of an invasion of Ireland by the French, during the present war, towards the latter end of December, 1796. *Translator.*

+ Sir John Dalrymple.

himself to Portsmouth to thank them for their services. On this occasion, the writer just quoted, observes, that "flattered by these attentions, the "soldiers and seamen were induced to imagine "they had really beaten that enemy, by whom "they acknowledged, a few days before, they "were themselves defeated." However, the same writer observes, that the English officers and seamen regarded it as a defeat, because they gained no decisive advantage on their own element; at the same time the French accounted it a victory, *not* to have been defeated. The latter, however, made good their debarkation, and returned unmolested into Brest, which sufficiently determined on whose side the advantage lay.

The Dutch, having joined their naval force to that of England, they formed, together, a fleet of 70 sail of the line, which proceeded to cruize on the French coast, and blocked up 40 ships of war in the harbour of Brest, until the period of the arrival of TOURVILLE. This commander came from Toulon, with a squadron of twenty ships, and had advanced nearly as far as Ushant when he learned that the combined fleets were off that part of the coast: he foresaw that a strong south-west wind would shortly prevail, and he stood out to sea, in consequence. At the expiration of six days, it blew with such violence, that the enemy were obliged to quit their station. TOURVILLE then seized the opportunity, got into Brest, and effected his junction with the ships in that port, in the view of the enemy, who, deeming themselves no longer in safety in that quarter, retired towards the Scilly Islands.

In this situation, however, they were unable to protect their commerce from the depredations of the

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the French privateers, who cruized in all directions, and made an immense number of captures. The English merchants could not submit to this in silence, but loudly exclaimed against the measures of government: they said that the fleets were sent out merely to parade in the view of the enemy, to whom they exhibited a magnificent spectacle; but, with respect to the people of England, who bore the expence, they appeared as an insult to their sufferings! They even went so far as to insinuate, that WILLIAM had conceived a plan for sacrificing their commercial interests, to those of his countrymen, the Dutch.

In order to silence these clamours, and to destroy the seeds of a general disaffection, the Queen, consort of WILLIAM, who governed during his absence, followed the advice of Admiral RUSSEL, and sent positive orders to Lord TORRINGTON, who commanded the fleet, to come to a decisive action. The latter avoided it for the interval of five days, in which TOURVILLE kept him in sight; waiting for the wind and tide,* and standing upon those tacks most suitable to his purpose, he expected the wind would change, and enable him to force the English commander to a fight, which his instructions forbade him to retire from. At length the French quitted their station, near Plymouth, passed the Isle of Wight, and advanced up the channel, where, it would have been signally disgraceful to the new government, it was said, to yield

* By *waiting for the wind and tide*, is meant to take advantage of the flow, or the ebbing of the tide; casting anchor, when these are contrary,—and weighing anchor, when they become favourable.

yield the empire of the seas to the enemy. At this time EVERTZEN, with the Dutch fleet, joined that of TORRINGTON, who found himself at the head of 112 sail, of which fifty-nine were of the line. TOURVILLE, had but seventy-three ships, eight of which, as mounting less than fifty guns, he separated from the rest, which, however, with respect to their bulk, structure, or number of their guns, were not comparable to those of the combined fleet. In addition to the foregoing, twenty-one fire-ships, and some light vessels increased the number of the French fleet, without adding to its strength.

At first the hostile fleets respectively endeavoured to obtain the weather gage; this, the French, on account of the wind blowing strongly from the north, were unable to gain, but the tide was favourable to them. The enemy, when they had collected all their force, advanced towards the French, and the action commenced off Beachy-head: the van of the combined fleets, which was composed entirely of Dutch, crowded sail, passed that of the French, and attacked their center: TOURVILLE took advantage of their temerity, and speedily cut off that division from the center of the enemy: one part of his ships engaged the English, the other opposed the Dutch squadron, while CHATEAURENAUD, who led the van, fell back, with a view of surrounding the latter. A calm which took place, however, prevented this officer from arriving at the scene of action, soon enough to destroy the whole Dutch squadron: it was already exposed to the fire of the center division of the French fleet, which TOURVILLE himself commanded: he attacked it so warmly, with his half cannon shot, that nearly the whole were disabled,

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disabled, and four vessels sunk. TORRINGTON, perceiving what had taken place, endeavoured to rescue the Dutch Admiral; he attacked the weakest vessels of the French rear; some of which, he at first, compelled to retire, but the others, animated by the presence of the Comte d'ESTREES, who commanded that division, received the enemy so warmly, that the English Admiral was obliged to relinquish his design; his own ship suffered so much, that it became necessary to tow her from the place of action.

In this retreat, however, Lord TORRINGTON evinced himself an experienced seaman, and it was to his ability, that the allies owed their safety. After having remained some time, at a certain distance from the French fleet, in good order, and with sails furled, he perceived that it was driven to leeward, by the force of the currents; he immediately cast anchor, with the view of separating the two fleets, in case the enemy should not have recourse to the same expedient; in fact, TOURVILLE neglected, or did not think proper, to adopt it;* and, being carried by the tide, was removed, during the night, to a considerable distance from his adversary, who, in consequence, escaped entire destruction. However, the following day, the Dutch Vice-Admiral's ship was set on fire, and thirteen other vessels shared the same fate, after having been run aground on the coast: perhaps, a greater number would have perished, were it not for the misconduct of the French commander, in his ineffectual mode of pursuing the vanquished foe,

* *Mem. du Comte de Forbin*, t. I. p. 302.

foe, whom he followed, as far up the Channel as Rye-Haven.* †

Lord

* *Mem. de Berwick*, t. I. p. 455.

† The account, given by Dr. *Smell t*, of this important action, in which, the French certainly gained a signal victory, is as follows: “ The French fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and twenty-two fire-ships; whereas, the combined squadrons of England and Holland, did not exceed fifty-six; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, Lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy, off Beachy-head, on the 30th of June, at day break. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, began the engagement, about nine in the morning; in about half an hour, the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French; but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington, in person, did not fill the line till ten o’clock, so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy, and, though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the Admiral’s division drove between them and the French, and, in that situation, the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he, therefore, weighed anchor in the night, and, with the tide of flood, retired to the Eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat; they were pursued as far as Rye; an English ship of seventy guns, being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted by the captain’s command. A Dutch ship, of sixty four guns, met with the same accident; and some French frigates attempted to burn her, but the captain defended her so vigorously, that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her safe to Holland. In this engagement, the English lost two ships, two sea captains, and about 400 men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate; six of their great ships were destroyed; Dick and Brackel, Rear-Admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers, and seamen.”

Continuation of Hume’s England, WILLIAM and MARY.

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Lord TORRINGTON, with the remainder of the fleet, passed through the Streights of Calais; but, on his arrival in the river Thames, he was arrested, and sent to the Tower; from which, he was soon after liberated, on his acquittal by a court martial. WILLIAM, not satisfied with this decision, had the injustice to disgrace several persons who had assisted in it; and to cashier forty-two sea officers, warm partisans of their unfortunate commander, who was dismissed from all his employments; he was sacrificed with the view of appeasing the Dutch, who, in every part of Europe, loudly complained of the conduct of their allies; and even accused the latter with having abandoned them. These republicans also thought proper to assert, that, though victory had declared for the French, all the real glory was indisputably with the Dutch; they threw all the blame upon the English, making no allowance for the ill-judged manœuvre of their own Admiral, which had produced such fatal effects.

The greatest consternation prevailed at London, when it was known that Lord TORRINGTON was compelled to take refuge in the Thames; and that several of his vessels were burned, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who triumphantly sailed up the channel. The English ships would have been pursued up the river Thames, had the French Admiral's pilots been sufficiently acquainted with its navigation. In England, the agitations of fear, were succeeded by irresolution, and a gloomy dependency, which was much increased by the intelligence of the defeat sustained by the allied troops on the Continent, at Fleurus: the people expected, every moment, to see the whole force of France employed

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ployed in the invasion of England; which, distracted by internal discord, and divided between two conflicting parties, they feared, would eventually become the victim of the jacobites; the executions of the cruel JEFFERIES, were not yet forgotten, and a renewal of them was dreaded. What a gloomy prospect must not the restoration of a dethroned monarch have presented; of a prince, exiled from his own dominions, returning armed with power, goaded by the spirit of vengeance, and influenced by hatred? The government partook of the fears of the people; the reins slackened in the hands of a woman,* who, agitated by remorse, imagined herself surrounded by traitors; and whose council, composed of the leaders of those implacable contending factions, the whigs and tories, did not inspire her with confidence, nor suggest any salutary measures in such an alarming crisis; and, as a political writer, of that nation, observes, it may be said, that the British empire was then shaken to its very foundations.†

The French, however, in not following up their victory, afforded their adversaries leisure to recover themselves; the cause of their inaction was said to be the illness of SEIGNELAI, which prevented him from embarking with the fleet, in order to direct the operations, according to a plan of his own forming, and which, he had kept a profound secret; he was accused of a design to reserve all the merit of its execution to himself, in the hope of being appointed to the rank of Maréchal

* QUEEN MARY II. consort of WILLIAM III. then invested with the regency of the kingdom. *Translator.*

† Sir John Dalrymple.

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chal of France, the ultimate object of his wishes, although, hitherto, he had never served his country, beyond the cabinet. In his project, he speculated upon the ruin of the whole commerce of the English, in destroying their ports, principally by means of light vessels; a squadron of twenty-five frigates, were, at the same time, to enter St. George's Channel, in order to destroy all the vessels which might serve to transport the army of WILLIAM from Ireland to Great Britain; which, it was confidently expected, being done, the partizans of JAMES, would not fail to declare themselves, both in England and Scotland, as those kingdoms were discontented, alarmed, and defenceless, and would then have nothing to fear, either from the measures of the Queen, or her counsel.

This great design, it was said, had been known to TOURVILLE, who, on being reproached for not having carried it into execution, alledged, that it was too hazardous, the English having taking up all the buoys* round their coasts; this wise precaution, which LORD TORRINGTON took, on his retreat, not only secured that, but afterwards preserved England. The French contented themselves with insulting the kingdom by a descent, which they made at Teignmouth, in Devonshire; they put the enemy's troops to flight, after having forced their intrenchments; they afterwards seized twelve ships of war, and eight trading vessels, which they set on fire. This expedition terminated the campaign, and the French fleet retired to Brest.

The signal victory at the Boyne, in Ireland, consoled WILLIAM for these losses, and, perhaps, prevented

* *Mem. de Berwick*, t. I. p. 455.

prevented LOUIS XIV. from attempting the invasion of England. The latter, however, did not abandon JAMES; he endeavoured, the following campaign, to support his cause in Ireland, or, to secure the retreat of his adherents; to effect this, the superiority at sea, was, in some degree, necessary, an advantage which their victory, off Beachy-head, had procured to the French;* and, in order to maintain it, they fitted out a fleet of eighty-one sail of the line; that of the enemy, however, was superior, and TOURVILLE, in consequence, had instructions to avoid an action. This officer, without expressly gaining a battle, succeeded in rendering useless, the formidable armament of the allied powers: and at the time, when they imagined him reduced to take refuge in the ports of France, he ventured out to sea. During a cruize of five days, in the channel, he captured all the vessels he fell in with; having learned that the Smyrna fleet was arrived off the coasts of Ireland, he shaped his course towards the Scilly Islands, with the view of intercepting them; he afterwards fell in with the Jamaica fleet, of which, he obliged the convoy to surrender, and captured eleven of the merchant ships; the rest escaped by means of a thick fog. On receiving intelligence of these operations, Admiral RUSSEL, who commanded the combined fleets, sailed in quest of TOURVILLE, and endeavoured to bring him to action; the French commander, however, stood out to sea, to preserve the advantage of the wind; and, during an interval of fifty days, gave the enemy no opportunity of forcing him to an action; still watch-

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* A medal was struck on the occasion of this victory, in France, with this inscription, "*Imperium mans assertum.*"

ing for the moment, when he might himself begin an attack with advantage. The English Admiral, despairing of success, abandoned the pursuit, and proceeded to cruize, for some time, off the coasts of Ireland; where, being assailed by a violent tempest, he was under the necessity of returning to port, with all his vessels, more or less damaged; and with the loss of three, together with their crews, consisting of 1500 men. TOURVILLE proposed to take advantage of this disaster, but the contrary winds frustrated his design, and prevented his coming up soon enough to capture a part of the fleet of the allied powers.

This campaign, known by the name of *du large*, was the *chef d'œuvre* of TOURVILLE; and the skilful manœuvres he performed, have been always admired by the ablest seamen. Not only was WILLIAM unable to derive those advantages from his naval armaments, which were expected from them; but even their very successes, increased the number of the mal-contented, and rendered their complaints louder.—According to the narrative of the British writer,* last referred to, they openly asserted, that this prince, had exposed the navy, the coasts, and the metropolis, to an enemy, which he, himself, had attracted. They alledged, that the friendship of his countrymen, was as injurious to the nation, as his own; as their rashness off Beachy-head, and their inactivity at Bantry-bay, had equally endangered it; that misfortune, ruin, and disgrace, were the consequence; that he had never gained a victory, but over his own subjects; that the maritime glory which England had

* Sir John Dalrymple.

had preserved for ages, without a stain, was twice tarnished, in the course of the two first years of his reign; and that commerce, which was so flourishing under the last kings, languished, in consequence of the ambition of a prince, who thought of nothing, but to defend his title, and to guide the projects of other nations!

Always the faithful friend of JAMES, notwithstanding the number of enemies he had to encounter, LOUIS omitted nothing that might turn the national discontents to the advantage of the dethroned prince; and made additional exertions to effect his re-establishment. WILLIAM, however, rendered all the attempts of his enemies ineffectual; menaced, at the same time, by domestic insurrection, and foreign invasion; he suppressed the one, by lenient measures, and a conciliating line of policy; and prevented the other, by his vigorous exertions, for the defence of his dominions. All the old ships were thoroughly repaired, and fitted out; new ones were launched from the stocks, and equipped with so much celerity, that one, a three decker, was completely ready for sea, in ten days after she was launched. Seamen being wanted, a proclamation was issued, by which, every sailor in England, was ordered, under pain of an exemplary punishment, to register his name; in consequence, a sufficient number of seamen was collected, to form the crews of sixty-three ships of the line, and twenty-three frigates, or fire-ships. RUSSEL was appointed to command this fleet, which was soon after joined by that of Holland, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, under the command of Admiral ALLEMONDE.

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ment, that France, which, in the preceding campaign, had sent eighty sail of the line to sea, did not, on this occasion, fit out more than fifty-five, of which, thirteen were from Toulon, and under the command of D'ESTREES; but these did not arrive in proper time, on account of the contrary winds. The council of LOUIS XIV. shall it be told, relied, not a little, on the defection of some officers, in the interest of JAMES; and, on the intelligence which he had received, respecting the operations of the English fleet. Even RUSSEL, himself, did not endeavour to intercept the French, to whom he wished to furnish an opportunity of landing in England, by employing the force, under his command, in attempting a descent upon the coast of France.*† But, we would ask, was it wise, or politic, to trust to such expectations; or, chiefly to depend upon the result of an act of treason? Why not increase the number

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* *Mem. de Berwick*, t. I. p. 476, 477.

† This is a direct, and positive, assertion against the English Admiral; and, in support of which, the French writer gives only a general reference. It is true, that RUSSEL, at the period in question, was suspected of corresponding with the dethroned monarch; but, though there was a degree of apparent duplicity in his conduct, it is very uncertain, even at this day, whether he really entered into the views of JAMES, or, by pretending an attachment to his cause, intended, the more effectually, to serve WILLIAM, by disclosing the designs of his adversary. In consequence of the suspicions which were entertained, Queen MARY, who was then regent, directed the Earl of NOTTINGHAM to write an official letter, to Admiral RUSSEL, to assure him, that her Majesty reposed the most entire confidence in the fidelity, and attachment, of her sea officers, against whom, she believed, the reports were raised by their common enemies. The flag officers and captains, forthwith signed a very loyal and dutiful address, dated from on

of vessels, instead of diminishing them? Were not the well known orders, *you shall fight my enemies, strong or weak, wherever you find them!* perfectly absurd? However, on receiving intelligence from London, of the discovery of the plot, and the zeal of those officers, who were suspected of being concerned therein, it was proposed to countermand the above orders; but it was then too late; added to which consideration, not one, of the ten corvettes, which were dispatched from Cherbourg, for the purpose, could fall in with TOURVILLE. The intention was, to apprise him of the number of the enemy's ship, assembled in the road of St. Helen's; and to convey fresh instructions, with orders to cruize off Ushant, and there wait for the Toulon squadron. The English, however, anticipated these operations, and had already made arrangements to intercept all the reinforcements, which the French fleet expected to receive. Two of their squadrons were stationed, one, under the command of Rear-Admiral CARTER, off the island of Guernsey; and a second, under the direction of Sir RALPH DE LAVAL, between the peninsula of the Cotentin, and the Streights of Calais. TOURVILLE had several times attempted to proceed to sea, but was withheld

board the *Britannia*, at St. Helens, May 15, 1692; which, on being presented, was very graciously received by the Queen regent, and afterwards published, for the satisfaction of the people. With respect to RUSSEL himself, Dr. *Smollet*, in his continuation of *Hume's England*, pronounces an unqualified panegyric, and describes him, to have acted, at the period we allude to, as well as on the occasion of the ever memorable affair, off *Cape de la Hogue*, "with the genuine spirit of a British Admiral." *Translator.*

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withheld by those winds,* which prevented the Comte d'ESTREES from joining him; while they continued, the division of the Marquis DE VILLETTE, alone, could join the main fleet, which then amounted to forty-four sail of the line.† With such a comparatively slight force, TOURVILLE hesitated not to go in quest of Admiral RUSSEL, who had the good fortune to effect, without opposition, the junction of four different squadrons; these, constituted an aggregate of ninety-nine sail of the line, mounting 6991 guns, and containing 40,675 men.

This formidable armament, however, did not shake the resolution of TOURVILLE; but, before he proceeded to action, he deemed it proper to call a council of war; the orders of the court, however, were positive, and admitted of no interpretation, which was favourable to the existing circumstances; it was necessary then to execute them at all events. At the commencement of the action, the French fleet lay to windward, and could have avoided it; TOURVILLE, nevertheless, made no farther use of this advantage, than to form his line; when that was done, he advanced with ardour upon the enemy, who

* About this period, very high winds, and tempestuous weather prevailed, without intermission, for nearly a month. On this occasion, *Brunet*, in his memoirs, observes, that the heavens fought more effectually against the French, than the English themselves. *Tourville*, who sailed from Berthame the 12th of May, was unable to arrive on the English coast, off Plymouth, before the 25th of that month.

† Some writers have asserted, but without foundation, the number of these to be greater. We advance nothing, but from exact calculations, and authentic accounts. If the historians had taken the trouble to inform themselves correctly, they would not have differed so widely from each other, with regard to the respective numbers of the fleets in question.

who lay by, to receive him. When they had come within musket shot, the action commenced with fury, on both sides, and was the more bloody, in consequence of a calm, which took place. This prevented the Dutch Admiral, ALLEMONDE, from manœuvring with his division, in order to surround the French line, so as to place them between two fires; this circumstance, nevertheless, took place, some hours after, when the wind changed from the S. W. to the N. W.; in consequence of which, a part of the French fleet having been cut off, each of their vessels had to defend itself against several of the enemies' ships. TOURVILLE'S ship was much damaged in the early part of the action, having been closely engaged with that of RUSSEL; who fought in such a manner, as (*according to an English writer,*) soon convinced him of the error into which he had fallen, in imagining it possible, to compel an Admiral, of his nation, to strike to a French one! In the description of an action, by one of those, for whose side victory declared, such a reflection is merely a ridiculous insult, and impairs the dignity of history, which is very often lost sight of by national vanity.

TOURVILLE was unable to take advantage of a thick fog, which had arisen, in order to get away from the enemy, and in consequence of the calm, and a strong tide, a part of his fleet would have been carried into the midst of them, had he not ordered his ships to cast anchor. RUSSEL, however, did not adopt a similar expedient, he suffered his vessels to fall to leeward, being obscured by the fog, they passed between those of the French, and falling in with their centre, attacked them with considerable fury: several fire-ships were then sent among the French fleet; five, of which, by means

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of the tide, were brought almost under the bowsprit of the French Admiral. This intrepid commander, however, was not alarmed; but, by some masterly manœuvring, and with the assistance of his chaloupes, he soon got clear of them. The Chevalier de CÆTLOGON, perceiving the danger to which his commander, and friend, was reduced, instantly came along side with his ship, and helped to make way for him, through the enemies' vessels, which he dispersed by the briskness of his fire.

The action continued until near eleven at night, when the darkness put an end to it; not a flag was struck on either side, and the victory still appeared doubtful. On the next morning, at day break, TOURVILLE made a signal for the fleet, which was dispersed, to collect into regular order; several ships, however, were hid from his view, by a thick fog, which again prevailed, and, soon after, the tide became unfavourable, which compelled him to cast anchor. The allies followed his example, and they remained, the whole of that day, in a state of inaction. Towards evening, a fleet made its appearance, which, at first, was not known; it was a number of trading vessels, proceeding on their voyage to Havre, under convoy of a ship of war. The English Admiral, imagining it to be the squadron of the Comte d'ESTREES, and, apprehending an attack, should a junction be formed with TOURVILLE, immediately put his fleet in order of battle; he remained a part of the night in this expectation, and, at the dawn of day, found himself at the distance of about seven leagues from the enemy. In consequence of these ill-judged movements, on the part of the English, the French fleet might have been in a state of security, but due advantage was not taken
of

of them. Proceeding through the Race de Blanchard, between the isle of Aurigny and the Cotentin, the French endeavoured to effect a retreat, by means of the tide; having failed in this attempt, and being unable to gain a secure anchorage, they fell to the leeward of the enemy, but being overpowered by the currents, the Admiral retreated to La Hogue; in this situation, twelve of his largest vessels were burnt by the enemy, as were also two in the road of Cherbourg, and one, at the harbour du Galet.

Perhaps these misfortunes would have been avoided, if LOUIS XIV. previous to his undertaking any operations in the Channel, had constructed a harbour at Cherbourg, or at La Hogue, capable of receiving ships of the line; and, without which, it will always be dangerous to his fleets to engage extensively in that arm of the sea. King JAMES, who personally witnessed a great part of these disasters, and beheld the eagerness with which the English advanced to set fire to the remains of the French fleet, recommended that a few of the regiments, which were encamped near the coast, should be put on board the stranded ships, from which they could act with as much efficacy, as on the shore; this, doubtless, was in the circumstances of the case, a well judged expedient; but the general consternation was so great, as to prevent its adoption; perhaps, had it been carried into effect, the result would, circumstanced as they were, only have aggravated the losses of the French, whose despondency, on occasions of defeat, equals their exultation in the moment of victory.

PANNETIER, having been lucky enough to pass the Race de Blanchard, with the rest of the fleet, made

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made the signal for rallying, and, by his exertions, saved twenty-five vessels. Those which NESMOND commanded, got away, during the night, took their course round the north of Scotland, and, in that circuitous way, returned to Brest. Such was the event of an action, in which the *courage* of the French, became the admiration of their enemies. RUSSEL had the magnanimity to write to TOURVILLE, and and congratulate him on the extraordinary degree of valour, he had manifested, in so intrepidly attacking him, and afterwards fighting with such gallantry "against a superior force." The English Admirals, SHOVEL and DELAVAL, and also ALLEMONDE and CALIMBOURG, who commanded the Dutch, also merit our praises, for having so liberally accorded them to their adversaries; a species of justice, which an enlightened self-love freely renders; but which a groveling, and sometimes a jealous, policy, dares to withhold. The English ministry have but too often listened to the suggestions of the latter: in publishing the accounts of the action, transmitted by their commanders, every thing was suppressed that tended to the glory of a French Admiral, who was destined to re-appear upon the scene, and whose reputation they dreaded.*

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* We shall, for the further information of the reader, accompany the account, which the *French writer* has thought proper, or could allow room, to give of the *ever memorable* action, off La Hogue, with Dr. *Smollet's* condensed, but luminous, narrative of the engagement:

"Ruffel, being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callenberg, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France, on the 18th day of May, 1692, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates, and fire-ships. Next day, about three o'clock in the morn-

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If the intrepidity of TOURVILLE, merits praise, his conduct, in other respects, is, by no means, exempt from censure. He might, in the course of the action, have retired, as the division of Rear-Admiral SHOVEL did not take the weather gage, by profiting of which, the retreat of the French would have been secured. TOURVILLE could still have effected a retreat, if, at night, he had stood out to sea, and not proceeded to anchor off the coast, near Cherbourg, within a league of the enemy's fleet. These two faults appear to be inexcusable: however, LOUIS XIV. was

ing, he discovered the enemy, under the Count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which, by eight o'clock, was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line; and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition, that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. * * * * * In obedience, therefore, to his orders, he bore down alongside of Ruffel's own ship, which he engaged, at a very short distance. He fought with great fury, till one o'clock, when, his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the *Rising Sun*, which carried 104 cannon, was towed out of the line, in great disorder; nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried, flying to the northward; and Ruffel made the signal for chasing; part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy, about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which, Admiral Carter was mortally wounded; finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight, as long as the ship could swim, and expired with great composure. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were discovered, crowding away to the westward; and the combined fleets chased with all the sail they could carry, until

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was not deterred from giving a Marshal's staff to TOURVILLE, and applauding his conduct with that dignity, which was so peculiar to himself. It is well known, and here unnecessary to observe, that no prince ever knew better how to reward merit, or, that no prince was ever better served; he judged of the exertions; duly estimated the successes; applauded the brilliant actions; and appeared, even to forget the faults of great men; their errors were entirely their own, and he regarded them with a degree of equanimity, of which JAMES was wholly incapable. This unfortunate prince,

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“ Ruffel's fore-top-mast came by the board; though he was
 “ retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit,
 “ and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the 22d of the
 “ month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet
 “ was perceived near the race of Alderney, some at anchor,
 “ and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood.
 “ Ruffel, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their
 “ cables, and chased. The Rising Sun, having lost her masts,
 “ ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by Sir
 “ Ralph Delaval; together with the Admirable, another first-
 “ rate, and the Conquerant, of eighty guns; eighteen other
 “ ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were at-
 “ tacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a
 “ great number of transports, laden with ammunition, in the
 “ midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in the sight of the
 “ Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron, and
 “ some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which
 “ escaped through the race of Alderney, by such a dangerous
 “ passage, as the English could not attempt, without exposing
 “ their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a mortifi-
 “ cing defeat to the French king, who had been so long flat-
 “ tered with an uninterrupted series of victories: it reduced
 “ James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the
 “ whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhipped his
 “ friends in England, with grief and despair.” *Smollet's conti-*
nuation of Hume's England; reign of WILLIAM and MARY.

on beholding the destruction of the French fleet, which was intended to convey the army destined to restore him to the throne of his ancestors, exclaimed, "The very heavens fight against me!" and retired to his tent, overwhelmed with grief.

The battle of *La Hogue*, forms the epoch of the maritime ascendancy of England; but it did not, as was generally thought, by those, who attended not to the subsequent events, involve the destruction of the French marine. The loss of fifteen vessels, was easily retrieved by another, which had, in such a short interval, created a formidable naval force; far from its being destroyed by this defeat, the following year France fitted out seventy-one ships of the line, besides twenty-nine vessels; these formed a fleet, of which the command was again given to Maréchal TOURVILLE; he put to sea; sailed from Brest the 26th of May, 1693, in order to join the squadron of the Comte D'ESTREES, who brought thirty vessels from Toulon.

The principal object of this great armament, was, to intercept a numerous fleet of trading vessels, belonging to the allied powers, bound for the Mediterranean, which amounted to 400 sail, and were convoyed by twenty-five ships of war, under the command of Sir GEORGE ROOKE. The plan of the operations for this campaign, was suggested by the Chevalier RENAULT, that renowned politician, and philosophic citizen, who always rendered, without ostentation, the most important services to his country, and, devoid of ambition, dedicated his talents to her interests alone. Near Cape St. Vincent, the French first perceived the enemy's ships; TOURVILLE briskly pursued them, but having sailed too near the coast, he could not prevent

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prevent them from holding the wind, which circumstance, saved the greater part of their fleet. Their loss, however, was considerable; sixty vessels were either ran aground, or burned, and twenty-seven fell into the hands of the French, besides three ships of war, a part of the convoy; the latter were Dutch, who fought against eleven vessels, which, with the utmost gallantry, they beat off; they were afterwards attacked, and overpowered, by seven vessels. The French also attacked many other ships, in the bay of Gibraltar, and in the port of Malaga, where nineteen were destroyed, and five taken. The total loss, on this occasion, was valued at 2,500,000 livres. The merchants of England, Germany, and Holland, severely felt it; and they accused the English Admirals, who were then stationed in the channel, with not having watched the sailing of TOURVILLE; but, after much ineffectual discussion of their conduct, in parliament, they found means to exculpate themselves. The French commander also, had to vindicate himself against the charge of his not having obtained those advantages which such an occasion presented; he threw the blame upon GABARET, who commanded his rear; this officer, by skilful manœuvring, might have gained the advantage of the wind, from the fleet of merchant ships, while they were chased by the van and center, in which case, it was hardly possible they could have escaped; others attributed this mischance to TOURVILLE himself; being at anchor in the road of Lagos, the evening after he discovered the enemy's ships, he gave orders for sailing, and, going before the wind, stood out to sea, for more than ten leagues, in consequence of which, he lost the weather gage. The enemy, as may be supposed, spoke more freely

freely of his conduct, than his own countrymen, and hesitated not to say, that he blundered, most stupidly, on this occasion.*

Notwithstanding these unfavourable remarks, the reputation of TOURVILLE was not seriously affected; it was even enhanced, the following campaign, in the estimation of the judicious, as well as that of ordinary persons. He was appointed to the command of a fleet which, in the first instance, was employed to assist in the siege of Palamos, then invested at land, by NOAILLES. TOURVILLE, unmindful of his station or rank, seconded the operations of the general, whose orders he appeared to

* A more particular account, in some points, of this affair, which, in itself, was of considerable interest, but which had nearly produced consequences of the most incalculable importance, may be acceptable to the reader. It appears, then, that while the French fleet, under *Tourville*, were in Lagos bay, Sir *George Rooke*, with his squadron, consisting of twenty-three ships of war, English and Dutch, and the fleet under his convoy, came within sight. *Rooke*, deceived by false intelligence of the strength of the enemy, prepared to engage, but shortly perceiving his mistake, he stood out to sea; at the same time, sending orders to the merchantmen that were near shore, to put into the neighbouring Spanish ports. In the course of the evening, ten sail of the enemy's fleet, having on board their Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, came up with three of the sternmost ships, which were Dutch men of war; the captains of which, finding themselves under the wind, and thereby cut off from all escape, tacked in for the shore, and thus, by dividing the attention of the enemy, gave many ships an opportunity of escaping. The Dutch captains, when attacked, made a most desperate defence, but were at last overpowered by numbers, and taken. An English ship of war, and a rich pinnace, were burnt; twenty-nine merchant ships were taken, and about fifty destroyed; the value of which, was estimated at a million sterling. The escape of the rest of the fleet, was attributed to the injudicious conduct of *Tourville*, who, it was said, might have surrounded and taken the whole. *Translator.*

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to receive; an example, which pride observed with regret, as militating against its baneful pretensions. In the mean time, RUSSEL, having arrived at Cadiz, with a considerable fleet, on his way to the Mediterranean; when, the French minister ordered Maréchal TOURVILLE, instead of concentrating the whole force in that sea, to dispatch thirty vessels into their ocean, and to retain not a greater number than twenty. This disposition appeared to have been made under the idea, that the English Admiral would be obliged to retire; but the minister, who was not SEIGNELAI, soon found himself deceived in his conjectures. RUSSEL sailed from Cadiz, and passed the streights; at his approach, TOURVILLE, retired to Toulon, and Barcelona, escaped the danger, with which it was threatened.*

After this expedition, the English seemed to meditate nothing further in the course of the war, than attempts to destroy the principal sea-port towns of France. They bombarded several places, but with indifferent success; and expended an immense sum of money, without being able to make any serious impression.† The low state of his finances, prevented LOUIS XIV. from repelling those attacks with powerful armaments. The principal one which he sent out, was that destined against Carthage;‡ but the king, on this occasion, was able to furnish the ships alone, a company of Stockholders undertook to defray all the expences. POINTIS, who commanded this expedition,

* Mem. de Noailles, t. I. p. 248.

† These operations gave rise to the well known expression, "Breaking windows with guineas."

‡ In South America.

expedition, was very fortunate in his operations, he brought away an immensity of wealth from that town, which was as sensibly felt by the Spaniards, as the exploits of JEAN BART, in the Northern seas, were by the English and Dutch. The activity of NESMOND, the bravery of HIBERVILLE,* and the multiplied successes of the French privateers, among whom, the famous DUGAY TROUIN, who began to distinguish himself, considerably injured the commerce of England. The immense number of 4,200 trading vessels, belonging to that kingdom, valued at nearly thirty millions sterling, were captured, which ruined the insurers, and shook the credit of the most capital merchants. The artificers and tradesmen were without employment; insurance at thirty per cent; the interest of money at nine, or ten, to the merchants; and bankruptcies occurring every day, were the inevitable consequence of the captures alluded to, and which necessarily affected, in the most serious manner, a nation, of which, commerce formed the riches, and naval strength the security. No longer venturing to send their ships to sea, they were under the necessity of employing the vessels of foreigners, their jealousy of whom, in the carrying trade, gave rise to the Navigation act, which they were then unable to put in force.†

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* The gallant actions of this gentleman, a native of Canada, deserve to be more generally known. *Le P. Charlevoix*, has omitted to mention several of them, in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*.

† “The number of our trading vessels was so diminished during the last war, that in the winter of 1699, all the English vessels, in the river Thames, did not contain more than

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This deplorable state of her commerce, induced England to listen to those overtures towards peace, which LOUIS XIV. weary of "fighting and conquering," found himself inclined to make: the active and inveterate hatred of WILLIAM, would have rejected them, but the clamours of the nation prevented such a proceeding. It was not so much the public debt of forty-three millions, which was contracted in the course of the war, as the distresses of their merchants, that produced this general wish for peace. A well informed writer, with great truth, says, that "the marine of England, exists only by its finances, which are created by the national commerce alone.—Take from the Englishman a colony,—he grows turbulent;—destroy his trade,—he will revolt!"* We shall add, that, in order to avert those evils, the government will always be obliged, as in the instance we speak of, to conclude a peace.

The principal object, then, of the enemies of England, should always be to fall upon its commerce; to attack it partially, would only prolong the war: not to attack it all, would be to leave that state in full possession of all her resources, and render the contest eternal. We are much surprised, therefore, that M. l'Abbe DE MABLY, should wish the practice of cruising were prohibited between belligerent powers. The arguments which he advances, in favour of this abolition, are weakened,

" than 65,788 tons; at the same period, the foreign bottoms, in the river, contained 83,238 tons; a circumstance, which, since the navigation act, had not taken place before that period." *Les interets de la L'Angl. mal entendus, par l'Abbe du Bos.* p. 117.

* *Dist. Enchyl. art Marine.*

weakened, or rather, done away, by his acknowledgement, as follows: "If I prove that it is the interest of England to suppress the custom of privateering, I fear, it must thence be concluded, that France ought to keep it up."* In fact, Where is the reader that does not agree in this position? It is certainly a matter of regret with merchants, to experience the loss of their vessels; but is it not still more calamitous, to these countries, which are the seat of war, to be ravaged, and laid under contribution? In general, farmers have neither so various, nor so favourable, opportunities of retrieving their circumstances as merchants; † many of the latter, often enrich themselves, in the very midst of troubles; they recover their losses, and calculate their profits always in proportion to the risks they run. It frequently appears, that commerce revives immediately, on the cessation of hostilities; at least, a few years of peace suffices to render it flourishing; whilst agriculture slowly recovers itself, and long feels the effects of those injuries it has sustained.

France can, without danger, at any time, suspend her commercial operations; which it is almost impossible to England, as such a suspension would, to her, be as destructive, as a diminution of her seamen; deprived of great numbers, by the success of the enemy's cruizers, she finds herself under the necessity of disarming several vessels, and of weakening the crews of others; recourse is then had to pressing, but this expedient,

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* *Droit publ. d'Europe*, t. II. p. 417.

† Perhaps some of our readers may feel, that this mode of reasoning, would not, at present, be strictly applicable to the meridian of South Britain! *Translator.*

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is not always efficacious; the seamen often conceal themselves, and, before they can be drawn from their retreats; intended expeditions are delayed, or of necessity laid aside: the same effects are also produced by frequent desertions of the seamen, when procured by means of pressing. The merchants solicit convoys, and, by employing ships on that service, the active forces of the nation are necessarily diminished, and consequently, rendered less formidable to the enemy, whose commerce, being less extensive, requires fewer ships of war, for its protection. The coasters, who carry fresh provisions, and the fishermen, should be the only persons exempted from hostile attacks. The humanity of LOUIS XVI. approved of regulations in favour of the latter, who, at a time of the most active hostilities, were formerly spared, and lived with each other, as if their respective nations had not been at war.*

* Whilst CHARLES VI. made such great preparations at L'Ecluse, (Sluys,) "The English," says *Froissard*, "in order to have good fish, frequently went to fish off Boulogne, and before the port *de Wisant*. * * * * *"
 "For fishermen at sea, (whatever war may be between France and England,) never molested each other; they were, therefore, always friends, and assisted each other in time of need. They also, while at sea, sold fish to each other; for if they were at war, people could have no fresh fish." Part III. chap XLI.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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BOOK IV.

AFTER the various losses which England had sustained, and the exertions which she made to establish WILLIAM on the throne of his predecessor, she seemed to enjoy some repose, but it was of short duration; the newly chosen king, soon engaged her to become a party in the quadruple, or grand alliance. If he anticipated the success of this project, he had not the satisfaction of witnessing the humiliation of France, his death having taken place in March, 1702. He left the marine of his kingdom in a very flourishing state; it consisted of 282 vessels, of which 130 were ships of the line, from the first, to the fourth rates, inclusive: to arm these completely, 10,469 pieces of cannon were required, together with 61,119 seamen and marines. This force was necessary to the hostile designs, which were adopted by ANN STUART, who succeeded to the crown; she dispatched

patched a fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, under the command of Admiral ROOKE, with the view of taking possession of Cadiz; this expedition was unsuccessful; but, however, he soon after made ample amends for it.

On his returning homeward, the Admiral was apprised, that a fleet of rich galleons were in the harbour of Vigo. He resolved to attack them without delay, although they were defended by a squadron of fifteen ships of the line, which had convoyed them, under the command of CHATEAURENAUD. This officer omitted nothing, on his part, to induce the Spaniards to remove the treasure to a place of safety; failing in this respect, he made every preparation which could be expected from an able and experienced commander, for the reception of the enemy; his ships of war, which were moored near the mouth of the harbour, were defended by a castle, and two platforms, on which he had placed a part of his guns; at the entrance of the port, a staccade was constructed, formed of masts, yards, cables, and casks, strongly lashed together, this was secured, at the sides, by the strongest cables, and iron chains, which were fixed to a number of anchors; and at each end, a ship of seventy guns was moored: within the staccade, five other ships, of the like force, were moored with their broadsides fronting the entrance of the harbour. Unfortunately, those preparations, particularly the staccade, were not completed, when the English appeared, and attacked the place, both by sea and land.

The forts and batteries, which defended the harbour, were taken by the land forces, under the command of the Duke of ORMOND; the staccade was forced, and the harbour entered, by the ships

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ships under ROOKE, after a violent conflict. Of fifteen French ships, which composed the convoy, ten were taken, and five burned,* together with three of the largest vessels of the Spanish marine. All the shipping would have been disposed of in the latter way, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, had the directions of CHATEAURENAUD, been promptly executed; however, nine galleons were rescued from the English by burning them; two frigates, and several small vessels, were sunk. The above fleet, was one of the richest that had ever come from the New World; its arrival was anxiously looked for by the Spanish government, as their principal resource for carrying on the war, the finances of that country, being in a very languishing condition. Twenty millions of pieces of eight, in specie, and merchandize of nearly the same value, would have been an irreparable loss, had not the precaution of CHATEAURENAUD, and the activity of the Chevalier RENAUD, been the means of preserving a considerable part of these riches; the latter, rejecting the aid of the Spanish militia, put himself at the head of 400 cavalry, and acted with such vigour and effect, that, of the whole number of waggons, which conveyed fourteen millions of pieces of eight, and were escorted by him, only one was lost. This signal service, however, was recompensed by disgrace alone; ministers seldom forgive those who, by their conduct, expose their own faults. The errors of the cabinet of Madrid, were inexcusable; they had been repeatedly

* Three of this squadron, carried only from forty-two to forty-six guns, which is the reason of our not having followed the example of other writers, in describing the whole as ships of the line.

peatedly apprised of the danger in question, but without effect; they were unwilling even to permit the galleons to enter any of the French ports, where they would have been in safety.* To all the expedients, which were the more earnestly recommended as the peril became imminent, the destructive evil of procrastination was opposed.

Notwithstanding the success of this expedition, BURNETT† asserts, that the plan and execution of it, were equally censurable: it is certain, that the English commander afforded the Spaniards time to recover from the alarm, which the first surprise had necessarily caused, and to provide for the safety of the greater part of the bullion; six millions only, fell into the hands of the enemy, and about a fourth part of the merchandize; the remainder was burned, thrown into the sea, or irretrievably damaged. Some individuals made considerable sums by the expedition; one galleon, richly laden, sunk in her passage to England, the government of which, derived but little pecuniary assistance, from these captures, which proved less serviceable to the nation at large, than they were prejudicial to the Spaniards.

This last mentioned power was then convinced, by sad experience, of the danger of bringing to Europe, in one fleet, or at one time, the treasures of Peru and Mexico. Large fleets of merchants, or trading ships, however strong the convoy, always run great risques; generally spoken of, particularly

* Some there are, we imagine, who will not be very apt to censure this part of the policy of Spain, in a *prudential point of view*, when they recollect the detention of the Spanish fleet, this war, in the port of Brest. *Translator.*

† Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, Bishop of Salisbury, famous for his *historical and biographical productions.* *Translator.*

ticularly they attend every particular known to put in expectation circumstantially danger present, a which a expedient together in final quently This in the sequel That CASSE, their several for a L'Heur fortune to his which "De votre tain re these Cartha all the is inde long e laid by

ticularly the expected arrival, with ostentation, they attract the attention of the enemy, who make every exertion to intercept them. In the cases we particularly allude to, it is necessary to sail in well known latitudes, to touch at the same places, and to put into the same ports. They are, of course, expected, and watched for; the attack upon them, circumstanced as they are, is made with advantage, and the defence is always difficult; the danger multiplies, and becomes more or less urgent, according to the number of trading vessels which are convoyed: it would, therefore, be expedient to diminish the number of ships sailing together, and to send them out, at different periods, in small divisions, the loss of which would, consequently, be neither so general, nor so destructive. This mode was uniformly adopted by Spain, in the sequel of this war.

That able and intelligent commander, Du CASSE, conducted into the ports of Spain, one of their convoys, the value of which, amounted to several millions; the ship, which he commanded for a long time, during that war, was called *L'Heureux*, and, in which, he had always the good fortune to escort, in safety, the galleons entrusted to his charge, without even the loss of one, from which he obtained the appellation of "*the lucky*" "Du CASSE;" in fact, he was uniformly the favourite of fortune, or rather, success was the certain result of his vigilance and valour. It was to these united, that France owed the taking of Carthage, of which POINTIS, unjustly, had all the reputation. The colony of St. Domingo is indebted to Du CASSE, for the prosperity she long enjoyed, the foundations of which, were laid by that commander; he was the terror of the

English settlements in America, and the inhabitants of Jamaica, still remember his attacks. The dread and apprehension with which he had heretofore inspired Spain, were succeeded by the feelings of gratitude on the part of that nation. Not only did he save her treasures at the moment, but he secured the possession of them, by protecting her colonies; he repelled, in three successive instances, the attacks of the English Admiral, BENBOW, who was dispatched to that quarter, to oppose him, and, though with an inferior force, put his squadron, of which he damaged several ships, to flight. The English so sensibly felt this check, that they attributed their defeat to the treachery, or cowardice, of the captains in BENBOW'S squadron.*

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* That this was the *real* cause of Vice Admiral BENBOW'S ill success, is even upon record. The engagement took place off the coast of St. Martha, one of the Spanish provinces in South America, and continued at intervals, principally, during the 21st, 23d, and 24th, days of August, 1702. The zeal and bravery of the admiral was so conspicuous on this occasion, that we shall give Dr. *Smollet's* account of the action, as it took place on the last mentioned day, and which was decisive: "On the 23d, Admiral Benbow renewed the battle with his single ship, unsupported by the rest of the squadron: on the 24th, his leg was shattered by a chain shot; notwithstanding which accident he remained on the quarter deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French, bearing down upon the Admiral with their whole force, shot away his main top-sail yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner that he was obliged to lie by and rest, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his captains, and expostulated with them on their behaviour. They observed, that the French were very strong, and ad-

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Two of these were afterwards condemned to die; a third was imprisoned; two others were suspended, and the sixth, died before his trial. Such examples are highly proper, and at the commencement of a war, productive of salutary effects.

We mean not to enter into any detail respecting particular actions, such as those of the Chevalier

CÆTLOGON,

“vifed him to defist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and, with the utmost reluctance, returned to Jamaica, having not only lost a leg. but also received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while he in person attempted to board the French Admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to Rear Admiral Whetstone, and other officers, to hold a court martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson, of the *Pedennis*, died before his trial; Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot; Constable, of the *Windfor*, was cashiered and imprisoned; Vincent, of the *Falmouth*, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, of the *Breda*, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command, but as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted on them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. * * * * *

“ * * * * * The boisterous manner of Benbow, had produced this base confederacy. † He was a rough seaman, but remarkably brave, honest, and experienced. He took this miscarriage so much to heart, that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever, occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life.

† “When the French commander, *Du Casse*, arrived at Carthagena, with very becoming liberality, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect.—

“SIR,

“I had little hope, on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God! they deserve it.

Your's,

DU CASSE.”

Continuation of Hume's England, reign of Queen ANN.

CÆTLOGON, and de St. PAUL; the former of whom attacked a fleet, convoyed by five ships, of which he took four, but was unable to capture any of the trading vessels: the latter had nearly a similar success: we allude to those circumstances; merely to shew, that the allied powers were not, at that time, entirely masters of the sea, although the number of their ships was very superior. Notwithstanding the effects of the dreadful storm which took place on the night of the 26th of November, 1703, in which the English lost thirteen ships of war, and more than 1500 seamen, they were able to send out, immediately after, a fleet of forty-eight ships, of different rates, to cruise in the seas between the Scilly Islands and Cape Finisterre, for the protection of their commerce. A squadron, under the command of Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEI, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line, was dispatched to block up the port of Brest, in order to prevent the French fleet, commanded by the Comte de TOULOUSE, from putting to sea; however, the English fleet arrived at its place of destination too late; the French commander had previously got out of Brest, and proceeded to the Mediterranean.

His fleet soon formed a junction with twenty-two ships from the port of Toulon, which had been repaired and fitted out with so much celerity, that at the expiration of four months, they were ready to set sail, and at the precise day which was fixed for their departure. The united squadrons, exclusive of frigates, fire ships, and some small vessels, which were rather an incumbrance, consisted of forty-nine ships; those of the enemy formed an aggregate of fifty-five large ships, also exclusive of eighteen small vessels, and some fire ships.

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ships. Admiral ROOKE, who commanded this fleet, and had recently taken the important fortrefs of GIBRALTAR,* went in quest of the Comte de TOLLOUSE,

* As this very important conquest was projected by the Admirals, and almost entirely executed by seamen, it may justly be regarded as a *Naval* achievement; we shall, therefore, relate the leading circumstances of the enterprise. On the 17th. of July, 1704, the admiral, *Sir George Rooke*, called a council of war, in the road of Tetuan, when it was resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar. This important fortrefs, from its natural advantages, seemed to bid defiance to all the attacks of an enemy; it was, however, known, at that time, to be very weakly garrisoned, and the surprize, which such an unexpected assault would create, might operate powerfully to its success:— accordingly, on the 21st. day of July, the fleet entered the Bay of Gibraltar, and the marines, both English and Dutch, amounting to 1800 men, were landed on the isthmus, under the command of the Prince of *Hesse*, by which all communication between the continent and the town was cut off. A message was then sent to the governor, summoning him to surrender the place to King *Charles III.*; he answered, that he had sworn allegiance to *Philippe*, and that he would defend the place for him to the last extremity. Next day Admiral *Byng*, and the Dutch Admiral, *Vander-duffen*, were directed, with their ships, to cannonade the town; and Captain *Hicks* was appointed to act against the South, or New Mole. A French privateer, of twelve guns, lay under the Old Mole, which Captain *Whitaker* was commissioned to destroy, and he effected it. On the 22d. at the dawn of day, the signal was given for cannonading the town, which was performed with such vigour that 15,000 shot were spent in five hours: the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the South Mole-head, gave orders to Captain *Whitaker* to burn all the boats, and assault that quarter. Immediately, the Captains *Hicks* and *Jumper*, who were nearest the mole, manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards, on this occasion, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty wounded; nevertheless the two captains kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by Captain *Whitaker*, and a body of seamen under his command, who took, by storm, a redoubt, between the mole

LOUSE, with whom he fell in, on the 24th. of August, 1704, eleven leagues south of Malaga; and on that day the enemy exerted themselves to bring the French into action; seemingly under the apprehension, that the following day, being the festival of St. Louis, nothing but good fortune, (according to a vulgar opinion then prevalent throughout Europe,) would attend the arms of the French.

Far from declining an engagement, the latter immediately exerted themselves to obtain the weather gage, and afterwards endeavoured to cut off the enemy's van from the rest of their fleet, but Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, who commanded that division, by his skilful manœuvring, frustrated their design. The action then became very warm, and, during six hours, each side fought with equal fury: CHAMPELIN, one of the French captains, three times boarded the English ship commanded by Captain MILLS, and would, at length, have got possession of her, had not the vessel taken fire, which necessarily compelled him to abandon his design. SHOVEL warmly attacked the ship of the

intrepid

mole and the town: on this the governor, being again summoned by the admiral, thought proper to surrender, by capitulation, on the 24th. The same day the Prince of Hesse took possession of the town. Besides the natural strength of the place, the fortress was defended by 100 guns mounted; it was also well supplied with ammunition, but the garrison consisted of no more than 100 men. The negligence of Spain, in suffering a place of such importance to be so weakly manned, has been considered as astonishing; however, in the opinion of able officers, who had seen the works, such a garrison might have defended the place against thousands; and the attack made by the assailants was intrepid, almost beyond example. Only sixty men were killed in this enterprise, of which two were lieutenants, and one master; 216 were wounded, among whom were one captain, seven lieutenants, and a boatswain.

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intrepid DU CASSE, but he soon had reason to repent the proceeding, as after his own ship was considerably damaged, he was obliged to retire. The Marquis de VILLETTE, who commanded the van of the French fleet, was, however, still more unfortunate, a bomb fell on his vessel, which set it on fire, and the poop entirely blowing up, he was under the necessity of quitting the line of battle. Some other captains were reduced to a similar line of proceeding, in consequence of the great advantage the enemy obtained, by means of their galiots, and smaller vessels, during a calm which took place. Notwithstanding the damage which many of his ships sustained, the Comte de TOULOUSE compelled the centre division of the English line to retreat, of which some vessels, having exhausted their ammunition, had previously fallen back. Towards evening the engagement drew to a close, but the fight was partially kept up, at intervals, until night fall, when it wholly terminated.

The French commander called a council of his principal officers, in order to deliberate, with respect to his future operations. De RELINGUE, one of his ablest captains, and who afterwards died of his wounds, was of opinion that the action should be renewed on the following day: we generally grow timid by reflection; vigorous decisions are never adopted by numerous assemblies: by consulting, the most favourable occasions are lost. A commander rarely succeeds in arduous conjunctures, but by following the dictates of his own valour and experience: the Comte de TOULOUSE was not deficient in the former attribute, but he had not yet acquired the latter: yielding to the opinion of the majority, though contrary to his own

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own conviction, he did not seize the advantage which, the unfortunate situation of the enemy presented, but of which, probably, he was ignorant. When they sailed from the Bay of Gibraltar, the quantity of ball in their possession did not exceed twenty-five rounds for each vessel; the greater part of these were necessarily expended in the late engagement, and had the action been renewed, the enemy must have either surrendered, or set fire to their own vessels: Admiral ROOKE had resolved upon the latter alternative, and had *actually given orders to twenty-five captains of his fleet, to set fire to, and abandon their vessels.** The French, however, rendered this act of desperation unnecessary, by retiring to Toulon; which they were induced to do, in consequence of the great number of their wounded; † among whom, it was remarked, that all those who were severely hurt, expired in convulsions. ‡

“This action tended,” says the Maréchal de BERWICK, “only to retain the Catalans, that year, in their allegiance, and to give celebrity to the Comte de TOULOUSE, § This prince had the liberality to write to the king, that the whole honour

* These are assertions of facts, obviously of a very serious and interesting nature, and the justification of which, we think some references should have been given; however, in justice to our narrator, we should add, that during the recent action, it appeared that some of the English ships had *actually expended all their ammunition*, and were, in consequence, obliged to quit the life.

Translator.

† The whole number of killed and wounded, rather exceeded 1500 men.

‡ *Lettre de Mad. de Maintenon* to the Cardinal de Noailles of the 20th. of October, 1704.

§ *Mém.* T. I. p. 255.

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nour of the day ought to be attributed to the Comte d'ESTREES, then known as the Maréchal de CŒUVRES; he was on board the ship of the Admiral of France, whose youth and inexperience were abundantly compensated by his great practical knowledge, and extensive information in sea affairs. Throughout the whole action, even in its hottest moments, his intrepidity, or presence of mind, never abandoned him: of this we can state an instance; while he was explaining a particular manœuvre to the master of the ship, the head of the latter was taken off by a cannon ball; the maréchal, who perceived this fatal accident, only by his receiving no answer, immediately, without the least emotion, called two other persons to him, who, on their being explained, executed his orders.

After the action, the hostile fleets retired to some distance from each other, in order to repair their respective damages. The English had considerable difficulty in replacing those masts which they had lost: the ships of their faithful allies, the Dutch, were also greatly damaged, and the latter had the additional misfortune of losing their vice-admiral, whose ship was blown up. The loss of men, on the part of the allied powers, was proportionate to the number of ships they had in the action.* On receiving the first intelligence of the engagement in London, it was imagined the allies had gained a signal victory, but the people of that metropolis were soon convinced to the contrary.

* The English had forty-five, and the Dutch twenty, which were commanded by *Calembourg*. The former had, by their own account, 695 men killed, and 663 wounded. On the part of the latter, more than 600 were killed, or wounded.

contrary. Lord HAVERSHAM, on the occasion observed, in the House of Peers,* that he could congratulate Admiral ROOKE only, on *his fortunate escape*. This officer did not remain long in the Mediterranean; he left a strong squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral LEAKE, who had orders, after refitting at Lisbon, to attend particularly to the safety of Gibraltar.

It was the earnest wish of PHILIPPE to retake this very important fortress, at all events; but the delays, and inaction of the Spaniards, counteracted the skilful exertions of the Chevalier RENAULT, who conducted the siege: yet, notwithstanding their unparalleled delays, particularly with respect to the approaches, they confidently expected, in a short time, to reduce the place; and at length, a considerable number of chaloupes were brought from Cadiz, in order to make an assault on the side of the New Mole, by which avenue the allies had entered the place. In this conjuncture, the English admiral, LEAKE, took advantage of the negligence of POINTIS, who commanded a French squadron, of fourteen ships of war, in the road of Gibraltar, and threw in succours to the besieged. Being reinforced by some Portuguese and Dutch vessels, he sailed a second time from the Tagus, and arrived at the entrance of the Bay of Gibraltar, wherein he observed but five ships of the enemy; the rest having been driven from their anchors, were compelled to stand out to sea.

LEAKE, favoured by a thick fog, approached within a certain distance of the fortress; at this unexpected view, POINTIS, who had then anchored

* On the 4th. of December, 1704.

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ed near Cape Carnero, immediately cut his cables, and crowded sail to the eastward: he had scarcely passed Europa point, when his vessels, which were not in good condition for sailing, were overtaken by the enemy's fleet, which was, for the most part, fresh from port. One of the French ships, that could offer but a slight resistance, on account of the great number of sick among her crew, soon fell a prey to the pursuers. The four other ships, however, were fought with great bravery; those commanded by PATOULET and MONS three times repulsed the enemy in boarding, and did not surrender until the fourth attack. POIN-TIS, accompanied by LAUTHIER, succeeded in forcing his way through the English fleet; they afterwards ran their ships aground near Marbella, where, after the crews had been withdrawn, they burned them,

This misfortune was entirely owing to the obstinacy of the cabinet of Madrid, to whom POIN-TIS frequently represented that his vessels were not in safety at the road of Gibraltar, where, they would certainly be destroyed. This consideration, however, should induce him to have always kept at some station without the bay, particularly off Cape St. Vincent, some light vessels for the purpose of reconnoitering, and to apprise him of the movements, or the arrival of the enemy: but this commander had already shewn, particularly at the taking of Carthagena, that he was less endowed with genuine talent, than filled with confidence, and actuated by presumption. His late defeat was most severely felt by the marine of France, which was previously in a declining state. "Since that period," says a celebrated writer, "we have seen no powerful French fleets, either

“ on the Ocean, or in the Mediterranean. The
 “ marine relapsed nearly into that state, from
 “ which LOUIS XIV. had raised it, in the same
 “ manner, as many other grand things, which had
 “ their rise and fall during his reign.”†

The youthful monarch of Spain, was sensibly touched by the unfortunate events at Gibraltar, of which the principal cause was his own stubborn obstinacy, in not raising the siege of a place, wherein the lives of so many of his troops were thrown away. In a letter which he wrote on that occasion, to his grandfather, LOUIS XIV: were these words: “ *How can I recompense you for all the losses you have sustained upon my account?*” These, soon reduced LOUIS to a state, in which he had reason to fear for the safety of his own dominions. The enemy embarked, at Portsmouth, an army of 10,000 men, under the command of the Earl of RIVERS; the fleet destined to escort this force was commanded by Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL: it was intended that the debarkation should take place between Blaye, and the entrance of the Charente. The French Refugees, which were on board, were to have excited a revolt in Quercy and the Cévennes, whilst the English army, after taking possession of Saintes, should attempt to establish itself in Guyenne: if it did not succeed in these projects, the burning of the yards and arsenals at the port of Rochefort, was to be the last object of an expedition * which, however, the prevalence of contrary winds, and the delays of the Dutch in joining their allies, caused to be laid

† Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Hist. Génér.* chap. CLXXXII.

* *Mem. de Berwick*, T. I. p. 376, 377.

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laid aside.† That, which the allied powers attempted, the following year, 1707, though unsuccessful, was, nevertheless, productive of very considerable injury to the French marine.

It will easily be conjectured, that we allude to the memorable siege of Toulon, where the whole force of the allies failed to accomplish their object. While the Duke of Savoy, attacked this important place by land, Admiral SHOVEL, with a fleet of forty-six ships of the line, together with twenty-nine frigates, fireships, galiots, &c. invested it closely by sea, and made several attempts to enter the port. Every possible exertion was made by the besieged in defence of the place. Several ships were sunk at the entrance of harbour, and others were cut down for floating batteries: after the siege was raised, however, some of these vessels could not be got up, others were completely rendered unserviceable, and two ships near the arsenal were destroyed by the enemy's bombs.‡

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† *Lediard, Hist. Nav. L. V. chap. IX.*

‡ *Le Sage, et le Modéré.*

‡ We feel it proper to give the Reader a brief circumstantial account of this important operation, the siege of Toulon, the more especially, as the very interesting occurrences at that place, in the early part of the present war, must be fresh in the recollection of every intelligent person. The army of the allies, under the command of the Duke of Savoy, and the celebrated Prince *Eugene*, appeared before Toulon on the 15th. of July, 1707. This inroad into the kingdom of France, and especially in a quarter, where they deemed themselves most secure, threw the French government into the greatest consternation. Toulon was in a very weak state of defence, nor was any considerable number of troops in that part of the country; in the port were no less than forty-four large ships of war, together with twenty-five

In order to supply their losses, it was necessary to build a number of new ships, as well as to undertake a general and thorough repair, of which, France was not then in condition to bear the expence: it was only able to fit out such a number of vessels, as served to annoy the commerce of the English, and the Dutch.*

These

ty-five frigates, fire-ships, and other vessels, with 5000 pieces of cannon, and vast magazines; all which were in imminent danger of being either taken or destroyed. The allies took possession of the heights that commanded the town, and erected batteries, from which they cannonaded and bombarded the place, while the fleets attacked, and reduced, two forts at the entrance of the harbour, and co-operated in the siege with their great guns and bombketches. They had used almost incredible activity in strengthening the fortifications; they sunk ships in the entrance of the harbours, and kept up a brisk fire from their ramparts, and even drove the besiegers from one of their posts with great slaughter. The French were indefatigable in marching troops from all parts of the kingdom into Provence. To encrease the embarrassment of the allies, their chief commanders unfortunately disagreed; and the Duke of Savoy, sensible of the growing strength of the enemy, and apprized of the preparations that were making to cut off his retreat, resolved to abandon his enterprize. The artillery being reembarked, with the sick and wounded, he decamped in the night, under favour of a terrible bombardment and cannonading from the English fleet, and retreated to Italy without molestation. Notwithstanding the miscarriage of this enterprize, it proved of great service to the allies, as, in addition to the great damage the French suffered at Toulon, where eight large ships of war were destroyed, several magazines blown up, and a great number of houses burned, together with the devastations committed in Provence, by the armies, it brought the further important advantage to the common cause, by operating as a powerful diversion to the enemies' forces, particularly in Germany, their progress in Spain was also retarded, the relief of Naples prevented, and, eventually, the conquests of the allies in Italy secured.

Translator.

* *Rapin Thoiras, Hist. d'Angl. T. XII. p. 256.*

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These miscarriages of the allies, in general were accompanied by some serious losses on the part of the English; the catastrophe of Sir *Claudesley Shovel* was one of the chief: On his return to England, with a part of the Mediterranean fleet, his ships, while they approached the land, were thrown on the rocks of Scilly: five sail of the line, and one fire ship perished on this occasion. A false reckoning was supposed to be the cause of this misfortune; the admiral imagined himself at some distance from the land, and, of course, neglected the necessary precautions.* This was not, however,

* The French narrator, not being perfectly correct in his account of this interesting event, we shall briefly recite the principal circumstances, which have been collected, with respect to it. It appears, that the Squadron of Sir *Claudesley Shovel* was in soundings, near the entrance of the channel, on the 22d. of October, 1707; having, at the same time, a very brisk gale at S. W. and hazy weather: about eight o'clock at night his own ship, the *Association*, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, called the Bishop and his Clerks: Sir *George Byng* was then about half a mile to windward of him; he saw the signals of danger that were made from the Admiral's ship, which, in two minutes time, disappeared, and every soul on board perished. The *Eagle*, of seventy, and the *Romney*, of fifty guns, shared the same fate. A fire-ship, the *Firebrand*, was likewise lost, but the captain and 24 men, saved themselves in the boat. The *Royal Anne* in which Sir *George Byng* bore his flag, was saved by the presence of mind, and uncommon dexterity, of Sir *George*, and his officers: the ships of Sir *John Norris* and Lord *Durley* were, with much difficulty, saved from the impending fate. Thus perished that respectable officer, Sir *Claudesley Shovel*, whose ship's company exceeded 900 men. The admiral's body being cast on shore, was stripped, and buried in the sand, but was afterwards discovered, and brought to London, and interred, with due pomp and solemnity, in Westminster-Abbey. Dr. *Smollett* says, that, "Sir *Claudesley Shovel* was born of mean parentage, in the County of Suffolk, but raised himself to the chief command at sea, by his industry, valour, skill, and integrity." *Translator.*

however, the only loss which England sustained, about this period, in the Channel: one of their fleets, laden with provisions and stores for the army of the *Archduke*,* in Spain, and convoyed by five large ships of the line, under the command of Rear-Admiral EDWARDS, unfortunately fell in with the squadron of DUGAY-TROUIN, an officer celebrated for his numerous exploits. The action which we speak of, and which so much enhanced his reputation, merits a particular detail, which we should give, had he not recited it himself in his Memoirs; it forms a master-piece in its way, and cannot be abridged: however, it will be sufficient to inform our readers, that of the five English vessels, three were taken, one was blown up, and the fifth escaped; a part of the convoy fell into the hands of the victors, and the rest, being dispersed, very few of them reached the place of their destination. It was asserted, that this event was as injurious to the affairs of the Archduke, as even the defeat of his main army at Almanza. The French, on entering the port of Brest with their prizes, amused themselves with exclaiming, "Make room for the *masters of the sea!*"

Notwithstanding these numerous losses, England possessed, at the end of the year 1707, a respectable marine: it consisted of 100 ships of the line, including fourth rates; sixty-six fifth and sixth rates, and eighty-eight vessels of various sizes. Among the first description of vessels were several three-deckers, the strongest and most capacious that had been constructed in Europe: and executed according to the plans of HARDING, LEE, &c. they

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* The appellation given by the enemy to the Austrian claimant of the crown of Spain. *Translator.*

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stamped a celebrity on those able builders who distinguished themselves in an intricate and complicated art, in which, about the same period, a considerable progress was made in France, by the assiduity of the Chevalier RÉNAU, without, however, arriving at the necessary degree of perfection. Can we flatter ourselves, that, even at the present day, we have attained it? In how many instances do we not feel the impracticability of imparting to a vessel, a certain quality without prejudicing some other; or, to unite all the necessary qualities, and regulate the whole, so as to tend equally to the same object, and to produce the desired effect?

These Naval Forces of England, were not all employed in Europe. America, about this time, began to draw the attention of the British ministry, respecting which, however, their principal views, at that time, did not extend beyond the protection of the English commerce, in that quarter, and the ruin of that of the enemy. In order to accomplish these objects, Commodore WAGER was dispatched, with a squadron, to cruise in the Gulf of Mexico: he fell in with a fleet of galleons off Carthegena;* after a fight of several hours, the Spanish Admiral's ship blew up; the other vessels escaped, only through the darkness of the night, with the exception of one, which fell into the hands of the commodore.

In Europe, the English were engaged in more important enterprizes; they formed new projects of invasion, on the suggestions of the French refugees: these persons, in fact, beset the British ministry with their importunities, who, at length, were induced

* May 13, 1709.

duced to countenance their restless wishes, and vindictive projects. A squadron was fitted out of twenty four vessels, under the command of Sir JOHN NORRIS, from which were debarked, at Cette, the troops intended to assist the rebels of the Cevennes. The enterprize was well concerted, but it was rendered abortive by the vigour and promptitude of NOAILLES, and the incredible rapidity of his march. The enemy were repulled with loss, and from that time they relinquished such attempts, which proved equally as ineffectual to their objects, as ruinous to themselves.*

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* A more circumstantial account of this attempt, the only one (excepting the two affairs at Toulon) ever made by the British against France, on her southern coast, will not, we imagine be unacceptable to the Reader. A design was formed by the English cabinet, as the Cevennois were then in arms against the French government, to assist them by making a descent upon the coast of Languedoc: the troops embarked on board the confederate fleet, commanded by Sir John Norris, for this expedition, consisted of Colonel Stanhope's regiment, and about 300 men from Port Mahon; which force was under the command of General Sciffin, a French refugee, and a native of Languedoc. The fleet arrived on the 13th. of July, 1710, before the town of Cette. Some ships were directed to batter the fort, at the mole head, and soon after, both fort and town surrendered. The adjacent town of Adge surrendered next day, but the want of a sufficient force to preserve and improve these advantages, soon appeared. On the 17th. advice was received, that the Duke de Roquetaur was advancing, with 400 dragoons and 4000 militia, to recover the two towns. All the boats of the fleet were, hereupon, manned, and sent to oppose the enemy, whilst the land forces marched to meet them; which obliged the French general to return to Mezé. The Duke de Noailles, who was at Roussillon, when intelligence of the descent arrived, immediately marched with 2000 dragoons, having each a foot soldier behind, to oppose the invaders. Adge was immediately given up, and Cette soon after, when the land forces re-embarked on board the fleet.

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The capture of some fishing vessels, on the coasts of Newfoundland, and the acquisition of Acadia, did not compensate the English for the loss of a part of the fleet under the command of Rear-Admiral WALKER, which was intended to act against Canada;* nor for the ravages, which the enterprising CASSART committed in several of their sugar islands. On the other hand, the lucrative expedition to Rio Janiero, where DUGAY TROUIN manifested his activity, and all the resources of his genius, consoled France for her disasters at sea, and would have furnished additional means to her privateers, who defrayed the expence of the above, for annoying the commerce of England, were it not for the intervention of peace.

The number of these had, nevertheless, diminished, which may be attributed to various causes; the first was, the want of sufficient protection, when there were neither squadrons, nor any number of ships of the line, at sea, privateers could easily make successful cruises; but falling, sooner or later, into the hands of the enemy, they conceived a dislike to the practice, and, at length, declined to run any further hazard; the second cause was, the new regulations, by which additional restraints were laid upon an undertaking which obviously should be exempt from any, as the profits thereof cannot be too great, considering

* Eight transport vessels, having on board 884 soldiers, were lost at the Bay of Seven Isles, near the entrance of the river St. Laurence. At his return, the ship, which carried his flag, took fire in the road of Spithead, blew up, and all her crew perished.

ing the various dangers that attend it. Why, then, we would ask, should the state regard with jealousy, riches so dearly acquired? Far from wishing to participate in these, it should encourage operations which are always so injurious to the enemy. The third, and principal, cause was, the liberty of trading with Peru and Mexico: although the Spaniards might see this with regret, and the French injure themselves by too great importations into those countries, nevertheless, the latter frequently brought into their ports, cargoes of bullion, in spite of the vigilance of the allies. The advances which such undertakings required, frequently absorbed the capital of numbers of the French merchants, and rendered them unable to fit out vessels, as heretofore, for cruising.

In the mean time, some stockholders, in France, made considerable exertions; they fitted out a number of vessels, which were supplied by the king: success amply recompensed their zeal, especially when the head of DUCAY-TROUIN conducted their enterprises, and his hand assured their favourable execution. JEAN BART was no more. FORBIN succeeded him, and rendered his name nearly as formidable in the North Seas. Before him St. PAULY had gained signal advantages, in capturing, or dispersing entire fleets, it was from the port of Dunkirk, the squadrons of these able sea-officers generally failed. That town, maintained two distinct squadrons at sea, during the latter part of the war we have just spoken of: these were principally commanded by the intrepid SAUS, who took, or dispersed, two considerable fleets; the one from Virginia, and the other from Holland. The Dunkerquois, however, did not

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confine themselves to these armaments, but fitted out, in the course of the war, for cruising, no fewer than 792 vessels, of different sizes, of which, several made three or four different cruises in each season.* They had harrassed the trade of Great Britain to such a degree, that the parliament solicited Queen ANNE, to make every exertion in her power, to obtain the demolition of a port, so fatal to the commerce, and injurious to the interests of her kingdom.

These captures necessarily occasioned a number of bankruptcies at London: some of the most opulent merchants were reduced, by them, to a state of beggary: the *halls of Westminster* often resounded with their complaints.† In the year 1707, numerous petitions were presented to the House of Commons on the subject; and, in consequence, enquiries were instituted; the result of which, was not very agreeable to the government. It appeared, that administration had often refused convoys, or neglected to issue orders for the ships of war sailing, until it was too late; and, that they had not appointed

* A circumstantial account of these appears in the History of Dankirk, by Faulconnier.

† Without entertaining the least idea of any thing ludicrous, we confess ourselves rather at a loss for our Writer's real meaning; we can hardly imagine he means to speak *literæ*, as we fancy, that Westminster-hall, or rather those *recesses* in Westminster-hall, where the Courts are held, are not very likely places for merchants, reduced to a *state of beggary*, by the captures of the enemy, to resort to; or, the general character of their *stable* tenants, must have been very different in the times of good Queen ANNE, from what it is at present; but, probably, what the writer had in contemplation, was St. Stephen's chapel, which is in the immediate precincts of Westminster-hall; as he speaks of the merchants petitioning the House of Commons, in the next line.

Translator.

appointed ships to cruise in the proper parts of the Channel, for the protection of trade; that the Admiralty often received important communications, which, they not only entirely neglected, but even ill-used those, from whom the information was received.* In addition to the foregoing, the celebrated BURNET hesitates not to assert, that the cause of all the great losses which the nation had sustained, was attributed to the weakness and the dishonesty of the Queen's ministers.

This princess, however, was not ignorant, that the commerce of her subjects declined every day; that her finances were exhausted; that the public debts progressively increased, and, that in a short time, the taxes could not be collected.† She should have considered, that if she had terminated the war in 1706, as was then in her power, much blood and treasure would have been saved to different parts of Europe, as well as to her own dominions. What solid advantages might she not have, at that time, procured, by a treaty of peace, which her adversaries would have accepted with gratitude? But England, elated with success, impelled by national hatred, and distracted by the *passions*, as well as the various views, and complicated concerns of her allies, was incapable of proportioning her own objects, to her real interest, or even to her strength. The Queen herself, was not sufficiently enlightened to perceive this great truth, that *Victories which reflect lustre upon the arms of a nation, may attach odium to its councils!* The new trophies, for which the English were indebted to the superior talents of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and

* *Lediard. Hist. Nav. L. V. chap. XI.*

† *Mém. de Torcy, T. III. p. 18.*

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and the successful progress of their arms, from the time of the rupture of the negotiations in 1706, until the year 1711, had cost the nation more than thirty millions sterling; and, they were verging to a total ruin, in order to support a confederacy, of which the component parties had neither equal energy, nor power, with themselves. The Dutch, who appeared the most zealous in the common cause, never, during the course of the war, sent to sea the number of vessels which they had stipulated to furnish; and, instead of 114, they did not fit out, for the last three years of hostilities, more than thirty-five ships. The whole weight fell upon England: "It was time, therefore," says the celebrated BOLINGBROKE, "to save her from total bankruptcy, by abandoning a line of conduct, which was maintained only by the prejudices of a party, by the caprice of some individuals, the personal interest of many, and by the ambition and avarice of her allies." †

At length, the Queen perceived the true interest of her subjects; she no longer listened to the councils of the Duchess of MARLBOROUGH, and consented to sign the preliminaries. These were soon followed by a treaty of peace, in which England acquired possessions that were, eventually, destructive to her tranquility: she attempted, also, to prohibit the Cod Fishery to the French, on their own coasts. M. MENAGER, the plenipotentiary of LOUIS XIV. declared to the British minister, that with such a condition France would not agree to a peace; and, that she would continue the war, *rather than yield up so important a consideration.*

† *Letters on History.*

tion.* The loss of that nursery of her sailors would have been the consequence; and the French monarch was sufficiently well informed, to foresee that their decrease would involve the ruin of his own navy, by establishing the maritime preponderancy of England.

During the course of this war, Dunkirk was much dreaded by the English; and they wished to make that town expiate its successes, in the total destruction of its port, which was the *chef d'œuvre* of VAUBAN. The Dutch, who gratified a transient animosity, at the expence of a durable interest, and endeavoured to reduce the power of France, in order, the more effectually, to subject themselves to that of the English, proposed, at first, to have to have this important place, which so greatly annoyed their commerce, † ceded to the latter. This demand was, in fact, an insult, and foreboded all those, which LOUIS afterwards endured at Gertruydenberg, in the course of those famous conferences, where the pride and arrogance of his enemies eventually became so advantageous to himself. They were, however, satisfied with exacting that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and its port filled up. ‡ Although this prince, at length agreed to this, he had, nevertheless, the resolution to propose some modification to the article, but QUEEN ANNE could not mitigate it, in consequence of the representations of her parliament. Notwithstanding the repeated exertions of LOUIS XIV. and all the address of his negotiators, it was necessary, in the end, to ratify this sad, and disgraceful condition, without which, according

* *Mém. de Torcy*. T. III. p. 127, 129.

† *Id.* T. I. p. 236.

‡ Art. XVII.

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ording to a great minister.* it was impossible to detach England from her allies; the only means of accomplishing the great and necessary work of peace.

In vain, did the inhabitants of Dunkirk, send deputations to London, in order to obtain some mitigation of their fate; in vain, did they represent, that their port was advantageous to the commerce of England: the Queen paid no attention to their complaints.† Her inflexibility, however, was the cause of the French first perceiving the advantages which the situation of Mardike afforded.‡ They appeared

* *Torey, Mém. T. III. p. 437.*

† This interesting proceeding is thus adverted to by Dr. *Smollett*: "The magistracy of Dunkirk, having sent a deputation with an address to the Queen, humbly imploring her majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects, the memorial was printed and dispersed, and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Mainwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground, and the harbour filled up."

Continuation of HUME's England, reign of Queen ANNE.

"The French afterwards resumed the works; but they were, again, ordered to be demolished at the peace of 1763, when it was stipulated that an English Commissary should reside at Dunkirk, in order to see that the terms of the treaty were strictly adhered to. But by the peace of 1783, the English Commissary was withdrawn, and the French were left to proceed with the works. The British laid siege to this place, in the present war, in 1793, but were obliged, by a superior force, to abandon it. Dunkirk lies 22 miles S. W. of Ostend. Lon. 2—28. E. Lat. 51. 2. N."

Brookes's Gazetteer.

‡ The road of Mardike is covered by several banks, to an extent of near three leagues, and affords good anchorage in nine

appeared evident to LOUIS XIV. who thought he could therein find an equivalent for the sacrifice, he had been compelled to make. He immediately ordered sluices to be formed, and other works commenced, necessary to the construction of this new port: the labour and activity which were used in these, together with the successful progress of the work, alarmed the court of London; and a memorial was presented on the occasion, by the English ambassador in France, (the celebrated PRIOR, whose passion for literature and the muse, did not render him useless to his country) in which it was advanced; that those works were contrary to the treaty at Utrecht. This the French answered, by alledging that they were necessary to secure the country from inundations. LORD STAIR, his successor, continued to remonstrate on the same head; and, in one of his memorials, averred, that the danger of the waters could be obviated, by conducting them by the rivers of d'Aas and Iperlec:* this expedient, was deemed impracticable, for reasons which policy well knew how to magnify, as it would counteract its own projects. Neverthe-
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or ten fathom water, equally sheltered from storms, and the attacks of an enemy, who, obliged to approach the harbour through two narrow passes, would be exposed to the batteries at the head of the piers; or be in danger of perishing on the shallows. By the means of a sluice, and a new canal, large ships could enter the port, which had become, in times of peace, the centre of the commerce of the North; and, in war, the secure asylum of privateers, which, when stationed there, being at the distance of only fourteen leagues from the North Foreland, could sail across in less than three hours; and, to a great degree of certainty, attended with very little risque, intercept all the British ships, passing through that part of the sea.

* Mem. 15th of February, 1715.

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less, the answers and objections were continued between the parties, until the dispute was suspended, by the well known reply of LOUIS XIV. to STAIR, when the latter urged him to be explicit: "*My Lord Ambassador,*" said the Monarch, "*I have always been master at home, some times, abroad; do not put me in mind of it!*"

After the death of this great prince, the regent, ORLEANS, became the ally of the English; the treaty which he concluded, and his conduct, with respect to them, tended to secure their maritime ascendancy. He felt the first effects of it, however, himself, in being compelled to destroy the works at Mardike; nor could he obtain the least modification of this humiliating stipulation. His complaisance, should have obviated all ground of complaint, but it is the general principle of power to endeavour to oppress weakness. The views of England, with respect to North America, began, about this time, to be apparent: she had, already, entertained the idea of extending the boundaries of Acadia, to the banks of the river St. Lawrence; and to contract those of the French fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, which were settled by the treaty of Utrecht: the English ministers authorized Captain SMART, to take possession of the Isle of Canseau, in that quarter, and 200 fishing vessels which took shelter in its harbour. Oppressive regulations were imposed on the French vessels, that were employed in fishing off Yarmouth, and which they even endeavoured entirely to prohibit: the English ships of war openly protected the * contraband

* See the instructions transmitted the 11th of April, and the 15th. of May, 1724, to the Comte de Broglie, Ambassador Extraordinary from France, to the Court of London.

traband trade with the French West India Islands. The government of France, nearly destitute of a marine, having resolved to dissemble, necessarily suffered all these proceedings: and, if it occasionally reclaimed the rights of France, it was less for the purpose of exercising them, than to prevent their prescription.

Spain, also, had to support the oppressive weight of the English power: not content with having obtained the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca, they farther demanded, in the course of the negotiations at Utrecht, some places for the security of their commerce in America: * fortunate, in not being compelled to make this new sacrifice, PHILIPPE V. had to congratulate himself in getting clear of it, by the treaty, for an exclusive supply of negroes by the English, for an interval of thirty years; † the most extraordinary condition ever

* Mém. de Torcy, T. III. p. 96.

† This was the famous *Affiento* Contract, the principal stipulations of which were, that from the 1st. of May, 1713, to the 1st. of May, 1743, the English African company should transport into the Spanish West Indies, 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4800 negroes *per annum*; that for each negro, the *Affientists* should pay 33½ pieces of eight, in full, for all royal duties; that his Catholic Majesty, and the Queen of Great Britain (ANNE) should each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and be allowed a fourth share of the profits: that, during this interval, neither the French Guinea Company, nor any other persons, should have any licence to import negroes; and, in case they should import them, they should be considered as contraband, and liable to confiscation. A short time previous to her death, Queen ANNE assigned her fourth part of the *Affiento* Contract to the South Sea Company; which grant was confirmed by GEORGE I. soon after his accession. The ports to which the Company were allowed to trade were, Panama, Porto-bello, Carthagen, Vera Cruz, Buenos-Ayres, and the Havannah.

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ever suggested by maritime despotism! and, of which, Spain soon felt the injurious consequences. The connections which the English formed with the Colonies of Spain! and their abuses of those privileges, menaced the mother country with the loss of her commerce, or, perhaps, a revolution in her extensive dominions in the New World: at least there was strong reason to apprehend it, when the depredations and piracies, which, if not formally authorized, were tolerated by the British ministry, were considered. Permission had been granted to take out of the sea, indefinitely, all shipwrecked property: in consequence of which, two vessels were fitted out at Jamaica, and sailed with a commission from the governor, authorizing them to collect the riches of the Spanish vessels which were wrecked on the coast of Florida. The English, in the first instance, forcibly drove away the fishermen from that part of the coast; afterwards, being apprized that some other persons had pitched tents on the shore, in order to receive therein the collected treasure, they attacked this little camp, took possession of its contents, and massacred those who guarded them.* This enterprize, which was conducted by Captain JENNINGS, produced to him

Havannah. A very able and perspicuous exposition of the *Affiento* Contract, was given by his royal highness the Duke of CLARENCE, in his excellent speech on the "Slave Trade Limitation Bill," (of which, a *descriptive* report, of some length, will be found in the *True Briton* of the 6th. of July, 1799,) and, from which, it appears, that the Portuguese were in possession of the *Affiento* privilege, several years before the English obtained it. *Translator.*

* We again, feel it incumbent on us, for reasons already glanced at, to remark, that the French writer adduces no authority in support of these alledged facts. *Translator.*

him the value of 400,000 pieces of eight, which were never restored; and, although the proceeding was formally disavowed by the British government, those concerned in it were never punished. Such conduct, on the part of the court of London, naturally tended to increase the number of those English pirates, which then infested the seas of both hemispheres.

Spain soon felt the necessity of regenerating her marine, or rather, of drawing it from that state almost of annihilation, to which it was reduced by the succession of war. This was the project of Cardinal ALBERONI; on the execution of which depended the success of many others, which the fervid imagination of this man unceasingly indulged in: placed in a court which was governed by intrigue, he hoped, by the means of skilful management, aided by effrontery, to be able to triumph over the various obstacles which France, as well as England, threw in her way.

Under pretence of sending assistance to the Venetians, who were then at war with the Turks, ALBERONI fitted out a considerable armament, the real object of which, however, was soon known, being the conquest of Sardinia, at that time, easily achieved, and which, he intended, should be followed by the subjugation of Naples and Sicily. GEORGE I. who succeeded to the crown of England, on the demise of ANNE, immediately entered into the quadruple alliance, and, in order to arrest the progress of the Spaniards in the last mentioned Island, he dispatched Admiral BYNG,* into the Mediterranean, with

* Sir George Byng, afterwards Viscount Torrington.
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with a fleet of twenty ships of the line, among which was one three-decker, and only two of fifty guns. When the Admiral arrived off Cape St. Vincent, he dispatched his secretary to Lord STANHOPE, then ambassador from England to PHILIPPE V. in order that his catholic majesty might be informed of the destination of the English fleet: the ambassador shewed the letter, and the instructions of the British admiral to Cardinal ALBERONI, who appeared very little affected by them; and, with respect to the proposal, which was made, either to withdraw the Spanish troops from Sicily, or to consent to a suspension of arms, he answered: "*The king, my master, would run all hazards, even that of being dethroned, sooner than submit to either of these conditions!*" and added, "The Spaniards are not a nation who suffer themselves to be intimidated: I am so convinced that the fleet will do their duty, should your admiral think proper to attack them, that I feel no uneasiness about the event." In reply to this, STANHOPE only begged him to look at the list of the fleet under Admiral BYNG, and to compare its strength with that of the Spanish squadron; on which, the cardinal took the list, and threw it on the ground with contempt.

The comparison of the two fleets, however, should have given him some uneasiness: that of Spain, only consisted of eleven vessels, of the third, fourth, and fifth rates; and six of the sixth rate, mounting forty-four or forty-six guns, which were as incapable of entering the line of battle, as some frigates which formed a part of their fleet, as well as seven useless galleys: what still more merited the attention of the minister, was, the inexperience of the officers, the greater part of whom,

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having never, properly speaking, been at sea. ALBERONI, was aware of this, and, therefore, had little confidence in the talents of CASTAGNETTA, who had been appointed to the command of the fleet; but he relied entirely on CAMMOCK, who was promoted to the rank of commodore, and placed at the head of one of the divisions. This officer, a native of Ireland, after passing through the regular gradations in the English navy, was appointed a captain under the reign of Queen ANNE; he served with distinction, but, at the death of that princess, his attachment to the house of STUART, induced him to quit the English service, and enter into that of Spain: his resolution, however, appeared to forsake him, in the engagement, of which we shall shortly speak, as he was the first to take to flight. Before the action took place, he had written to BYNG, in order to engage him to betray the interests of GEORGE I. and to espouse the cause of JAMES III.† promising him, on the part of the latter, the title of Duke of ALBEMARLE, and a pension of 100,000*l.* sterling: in the same letter he offered the further recompense of 10,000*l.* sterling to each captain, and two months pay to every one of those sailors, who should act in the same manner. These offers, however, produced no effect; but were regarded with the greater contempt, as being chimerical, on the part of CAMMOCK; and illusory, if they had been made with the concurrence, or by the instigation of ALBERONI.

Perhaps this minister depended upon finding many Jacobites in the fleet of Admiral BYNG, their number being, at that time, very considerable

* The language of the original.

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able in Great Britain; which the insurrection, headed by the Earl of MAR, that was recently, and not without difficulty, quelled, sufficiently proved; as well as that the hopes of the STUARTS were not entirely vanished: their adherents rested much on the armament which Spain had fitted out to assist them, but which a violent tempest had entirely dispersed off Cape Finisterre.* Probably, ALBERONI had procured an understanding with the English fleet; or flattered himself with the hope of obtaining it, when they should appear in the Mediterranean: without such a ground for acting upon, and knowing the great superiority of the Naval force of England, and the weakness of that of Spain, how, we would ask, could he venture to expose the latter to such peril, or dare to answer Lord STANHOPE with so much assurance and *hauteur*?

Scarcely

* An account of this affair, which the French writer has occasion but merely to allude to, and which, but for a providential interposition, might have produced very serious consequences, we imagine will not be unacceptable to the Reader. The armament, in question, consisted of five ships of war, and forty transports, on board which, were 6000 regular troops, commanded by the Duke of ORMOND, together with arms for 12000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, and one million pieces of eight. Soon after the fleet had sailed from Cadiz, as if a fatality hung over all the attempts of Spain against England, a violent tempest overtook them, on the 28th. of February, 1719, to the Westward of Cape Finisterre, which continued nearly forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed the whole fleet. Such ships as returned to the ports of Spain, were in a very shattered condition, and, only a small part of the force, three frigates and five transports, reached Scotland, and landed the Earls of Marichal and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with about 400 men, chiefly Spaniards, in the shire of Ross.

Translator.

Scarcely had the English ambassador, imparted to BYNG, the answer,† which ALBERONI had insolently put into writing at the bottom of the letter of that admiral, than the latter entered the Mediterranean: after refitting his ships at Port Mahon, he proceeded to Naples, and afterwards to Sicily. In approaching the coast of that island, he descried the Spanish fleet, which, on perceiving him, immediately stood out to sea; when the English pursued them, till the close of night. The following day, being the 11th. of August, 1718, the two fleets encountered each other, off Cape Passaro, in Sicily: the Spaniards, who, the evening before, had retreated in good order, were incapable, this day, of preserving the line; each of their vessels were thus compelled to engage with several of the enemy's ships: upon the whole, it was rather a *route*, than a battle. CASTAGNETA fought with great bravery; he lost 200 on board his own ship, and he was wounded himself. According to the Spanish accounts, DON FERNANDO CHACON, and DON ANTONIO ESCUDERO, appeared to be the officers who the best imitated the conduct of their commander, but whose laudable example was followed by a very small number: nine sail of the line, and three frigates, struck their flags, almost without resistance; three others were burnt, together with two fire ships, and two bomb-ketches; one third rate, and a number of transport vessels, afterwards fell into the hands of the victors: Never was any naval victory more decisive:

† “ His Catholic Majesty has condescended to inform me that the *Chevalier* BYNG might execute the orders which he has received from the king, his master.”
The Escorial, 15th. July, 1718.

Signed,
Le Cardinal ALBERONI.

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five: never did any victory cost less: * the ship of Captain HADDOCK was the only one damaged in

* A more circumstantial account of this very signal and complete victory, which, in these points of view, may stand in competition with the ever memorable victory of Aboukir, achieved by the illustrious NELSON, in the present war, will, doubtless, be gratifying to the Reader; we, accordingly, give Dr. Smollett's narrative of the affair: "Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead, on the 4th. day of June, 1718, for the Mediterranean, with twenty ships of the line, two fire ships, two bomb vessels, and ample instructions how to act in all emergencies. In passing by Gibraltar, he was joined by Vice-Admiral Cornwall, with two ships; he proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garrison of Port Mahon; he then sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer; for the Neapolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. He forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the ninth of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina, from which port the Spanish had sailed on the day before the English squadron appeared. On doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, which he pursued through the Faro, and on the tenth, before noon, he came within sight of the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty-seven sail, large and small, besides two fire ships, four bomb vessels, and seven gallees. They were commanded, in chief, by Don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four rear-admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, Rear-Admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the gallees, fire ships, and bomb ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English admiral detached Captain Walton, with five ships in pursuit of them, and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their councils, and acted in confusion. They made a running fight; yet the admirals behaved with courage and activity; in spite of which, they were all taken, except Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of

G g 2 war

in the whole English fleet, before which, the projects of ALBERONI, respecting Naples and Sicily, completely vanished.

This defeat considerably injured the reputation of that minister, and it was regarded as entirely owing to him. However, he did not yield to despondency; but, fearing the murmurs of the nation, he forbid, by sound of drum, the people to speak of the misfortune of the fleet: this expedient, however, was an effectual mode of rendering it the subject of universal conversation, and to preserve, for a much longer time, than otherwise, the recollection of it. *Effectual* silence cannot be enforced: silence is kept by slaves, not by constraint, but through that lethargic indifference which proceeds from the humiliation of those unfortunate beings, whom a long, and hereditary, servitude has irretrievably degraded. Before he permitted such an act of despotism, on the part of his minister, PHILIPPE V. ought to have recollected, these remarkable expressions, in a letter

“ war, and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off Cape Paniaro, Captain Haddock, of the *Grafton*, signaled his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the eighteenth, the admiral received a letter from Captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating, that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and, that he had burned four ships of the line, a fire ship, and a bomb vessel.”†

† “ This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style:

‘ SIR, We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast; the number as per margin. I am, &c.

G. WALTON.’

Continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE I.

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ter which LOUIS XIV. had formerly written to him: "It is impossible to deprive the public of the liberty of speech; it is assumed by them, in all times, and in all countries, especially in France: we should endeavour to furnish them only with subjects which merit praise and approbation."†

Nevertheless, ALBERONI manifested very little anxiety respecting the public opinion; men of his character very seldom consult it, and are apt to think they are the more likely to succeed, as they act contrary to it: in proportion, therefore, then, such statesmen are opposed, the more they become obstinate and enterprising: such, was this minister, whose conduct soon produced further losses to Spain. CAMMOCK, who had escaped with three vessels, from the route off Cape Passaro, being joined by some cruizers from Lipari, remained some time longer at sea, in the view of intercepting the enemy's convoys. Admiral BYNG dispatched a few ships in quest of him, under the command of Captain MATTHEWS: the latter pursued the Spanish commander so closely, that the vessel which he was on board, was run aground, and another, in endeavouring to get away, was wrecked near the entrance of the Bay of Tarento. CAMMOCK himself, wishing to get into a Spanish port, in a frigate, was unable to effect it; he was compelled to abandon her, and, with considerable difficulty, he afterwards escaped in a chaloupe: his precipitation was so great, that he had not time to burn his papers, which, together with his ship, fell into the hands of the English: among the papers was found a com-

* *Mém. de Noailles*, t. III. p. 239.

commission of Admiral of the white squadron, signed by the *sai-disant* JAMES III. a proof of the absurd projects of the Cardinal.

If Spain did not suffer as many losses in the Ocean, as in the Mediterranean, it was because she had a lesser force thereon, and also, as that of England was not so ably conducted in those parts. A detachment of French troops, (the regent, ORLEANS, having, about this time, declared in favour of England against Spain,) entered the latter kingdom, and took possession of the fortress of Santona,* and burned three ships of the line, which were building in that port; this slight advantage did not, however, satisfy the British ministry, who then entertained the project (one of equal boldness and importance,) of securing a port near Cape Finisterre, from which their ships of war could have intercepted the commerce of all of Europe. They had Corunna in view, as its favourable and convenient situation, together with the safety and capaciousness of its harbour, rendered it more eligible, than either Port-Mahon, or Gibraltar. The armament which was fitted out to accomplish their views, was commanded by Lord COBHAM, and

* We believe, the French writer, in this part of his narrative, is not perfectly correct. An account of the enterprize, to which, unquestionably, he alludes, is thus given by Doctor *Sm'let*. "During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the Duke of *Berwick* advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took *Fort passage*, and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks; then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio, in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay. In this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large unfinished ships, and a great quantity of naval stores."

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and Admiral MICHELS, the former having the direction of the land force; they were prevented by contrary winds from landing at the place originally intended, on which they effected a descent, near Vigo; that town was immediately attacked, when, almost without resistance, it surrendered to the invaders, who afterwards took Ponte-Vedra;* after having taken away what they could from both these places, they abandoned them. This slight success, by no means compensated for the great expences of the armament: if any thing therein tended to console the British monarch, it was their having taken, or destroyed, all the stores which were intended for a new attempt, projected in favour of the pretender.

PHILIPPE V. disgusted with an unsuccessful war, and undeceived as to the chimerical projects of his minister, determined, at length, to dismiss him: he then, after concluding a peace, acceded to the quadruple alliance. In the course of this war, England had, at least, destroyed the rising navy of Spain; and perceiving also, that the marine of France was, at the same time, in a very low state, she took advantage of so favourable a conjuncture, and, in fact, gave law to the maritime powers of the North. The fleets, under the command of NORRIS and WAGER, being sent into the Baltic sea, caused the British flag to be amply respected in that quarter.

These proceedings, however, soon gave umbrage to the Northern potentates, particularly the Russian Emperor, who sought for the means of retaliation, and immediately formed an alliance with
Austria

* Vigo was taken the 11th, and Ponte-Vedra, the 21st of October, 1719.

Austria and Spain. The former of these powers endeavoured to aggrandize the company of Ostend, whose commerce to the East Indies was so extensive, as to alarm the English and Dutch East India companies; the latter asserted, that the treaties of Munster, and of Antwerp, had, in its favour, derogated from the common right which every nation had to maritime commerce in all quarters. They were answered, that the emperor did not guarantee the engagements which the king of Spain might formerly have made, as sovereign of the Low Countries, and, that the treaty of Munster did not at all exclude the inhabitants of those provinces, from the commerce of India. This difference, of which *English despotism** endeavoured to avail itself, and which mercantile jealousy alone, could have created, however, less interested the House of Austria, than the pragmatic sanction, by which it was proposed to be terminated.

Although this treaty was unfavorable to the views of Spain, with respect to Italy, PHILIPPE V. appeared to take little interest in it, and to be actuated only by the hope of recovering Minorca and Gibraltar. The king of England had, in the first instance, led him to expect the restitution of the latter place, by a letter, in which that prince expressed himself to this effect: "I no longer hesitate to assure your majesty of my willingness to render satisfaction with respect to the proceeding which has taken place, of which the object is the restitution of Gibraltar, I promise to take the first favourable occasion to regulate that article, with the consent of my parliament.†" In vain did the Spanish

* The language of the original. *Translator.*

† Letter, dated, St. James's, the 1st of June, 1721.

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Spanish ministers urge the performance of this promise, which, at length, they were convinced was but illusory: PHILIPPE, destitute of hope, in that respect, and irritated by the instructions which the British ministry had given to their Admirals, to capture the Spanish galleons, gave orders for the detention of the *Affiento* vessels, in the harbour of Vera-Cruz, and dispatched the Comte de LAS TORRES, to lay siege to Gibraltar.

The English, without delay, sent out a squadron, commanded by Sir CHARLES WAGER, to the assistance of that fortress: a second, under the orders of Rear-Admiral HOSNER, was sent to America, and for some time blocked up the harbours of Porto-bello and Carthagea: and Sir JOHN NORRIS was sent to the Baltic, with a third squadron. These hostile movements were, however, attended with very little bloodshed, the first sparks not producing any serious conflagration; all those differences, which might have been settled by the congress at Soissons, were terminated by the treaty of Vienna, in which, England dictated to all Europe: the grant made to the company of Ostend, was revoked, and the pragmatic Sanction guaranteed: Spain no longer pressed for the restitution of Gibraltar,* but was happy to subscribe to the arrangements

* At the siege of Gibraltar, which was terminated by the pacification alluded to, the trenches were opened the 11th of February, 1727; the squadron of Sir Charles Wager, which, with other succours, carried a number of troops, arrived in the bay about the beginning of April; when the troops from England were landed, the garrison, including a reinforcement from Minorca, amounted to nearly 6000 men. At the expiration of about four months, the siege was raised, during which time, the Spaniards had lost a great number of men by sickness; while the garrison, who, in fact, regarded the efforts of the besiegers with contempt, sustained very little loss. *Translator.*

arrangements which were adopted relative to the succession of Tuscany, and the Dutchy of Parma. Why, we would ask, did not France then perceive, all she had to fear from that preponderance, for which, her rival was indebted solely to the flourishing state of her marine? But Cardinal de FLEURY, while engaged in counteracting the designs of the House of Austria, obstinately overlooked the real interests of his own country, that of diminishing the number of her enemies on the Continent, in order to establish her power principally at sea.

About the conclusion of the last mentioned treaty, GEORGE II. succeeded to the British crown, and the celebrated WALPOLE continued to enjoy under him, that credit and power, which he possessed in the reign of the late king. This minister, formerly so adverse to pacification, and who persecuted the authors of the treaty of Utrecht, endeavoured, during the whole course of his own administration, to keep England in a state of peace. In order to accomplish our designs, it is sometimes necessary to contradict ourselves; a choice of means is seldom presented by ambition, and that of WALPOLE made him, at first, depart from his character; but when his power was established, he appeared, by a pacific line of conduct, as much to consult his natural inclination, as his personal interest, in which latter view, he regarded war as the bane of his administration; unfortunately, however, for his country, it was only by the means of corruption, that he succeeded, and the epoch of his administration will be that of her decline. Venality, with respect to suffrage, which, from that time, has become so common, is principally the effect of that general cupidity, with which a commercial people are always actuated, and which,

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sooner or later, becomes the soul of all their undertakings.

The English have themselves furnished us with an illustration of this truth, by their conduct with regard to Spain. The contraband trade became the sole cause of a war which they did not hesitate to declare, and all the expence incurred by it, as ADAM SMITH judiciously observes, was, in fact, a premium bestowed for the support of monopoly. By the treaty of Utrecht, PHILIPPE V. had not only granted, to an English company, the exclusive privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, but also the additional indulgence of sending annually to Porto-bello, a ship of 500 tons, laden with European merchandize: shortly after this permission, they sent a ship of double that burden; afterwards, several other vessels accompanied the chartered ship to a certain distance from the port, where they anchored in some obscure creek, and with their cargoes replenished the first ship, as its contents were disposed of. Emboldened by the success of those fraudulent practices, smugglers resorted in crowds to the coast of Mexico, and of Terra-firma; the commerce, which should exclusively be carried on through the galleons, was gradually fading into their hands, and would entirely have been engrossed by them, had not Spain, struck with those unjustifiable practices, and (as Doct^r ROBERTSON acknowledges, with candour, in his history of America,) sensibly aware of their pernicious consequences, exerted herself to suppress them. The *Guarda-costas** received orders to cruize in those parts most frequented by the illicit traders, whose depredations, they,

* The appellation given by the Spaniards to their guard-ships.

they, in some measure, put a stop to. These proceedings of the Spanish government, excited loud complaints and remonstrances on the part of the British merchants; some of these insolently exclaimed, “by what right does the king of Spain arrogate to himself, the empire of the American seas? Shall the very existence then, of our commerce, be precarious and uncertain? Shall the seas be no longer free?”

The sight of Captain JENKINS, who was barbarously mutilated* by the Spanish guarda-costas, so inflamed the passions of the English; that they considered not this act of cruelty † as a retaliation for a treatment, nearly similar, which the inhuman avarice of some smugglers of their nation, induced them to inflict upon the Spanish traders. We shall content ourselves with adverting to one particular instance, that of an English captain, who, after having invited, under a pretence of commercial

* See *Le Siècle de Louis XV.* chap. XIII.

† “Captain Jenkins was master of a Scottish merchant ship, who treated him in the most barbarous manner. The Spaniards, after having, in vain, rummaged the vessel, for what they called contraband commodities, insulted Jenkins with the most opprobrious invectives. They tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his king, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner, should an opportunity offer; they also tortured him with the most shocking cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and being asked by a member, what he thought, when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians? *I recommended my soul to God, said he, and my cause to my country!* The behaviour of this brave seaman, the sight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation, and Sovereign of Great Britain, filled the whole house with indignation.” *****
Snollett's continuation of Hume's *England, reign of GEORGE II.*

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mercantile business, two Spanish gentlemen, on board his ship, confined them two days, without nourishment, in order to extort a ransom; this shocking expedient not having the desired effect, he caused the nose and ears of one of them, to be cut off, and afterwards compelled him, under the terror of immediate death, to eat them. This act of unparalleled perfidy, and atrocious barbarity, is related in a work, published by the (secret) orders of the British minister, and which contains the following observation: "If all the depredations committed by our people, in the American seas, were known, the nation would be astonished at its having given birth to such a number of villains, who have grossly violated the most sacred laws of nations. Let not the English, then, flatter themselves, that they are less vicious, than other people. The number of our vessels, in those seas, is five times greater than that of all other nations. The number also of English, who are convicted of piracy, or brought to punishment for that offence, greatly exceeds that of any other people."*

This impartial observation, and judicious acknowledgement, ought to have produced an impression, favourable to the views of the minister, and determined the nation to accept the pacific overtures of the Spaniards, who had, in the mean time, proceeded with their usual circumspection. But the parliament were too strongly inclined to espouse this mercantile quarrel, to consider of its probable consequences, and still less to perceive the

* Examination of the vulgar prejudices against the new treaty, signed at the Pardo, 10th January.

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ORER II.

the glaring inconsistency manifested by their own conduct, on this occasion. They affected to appear the assertors of the general liberty of commerce; when, at the same time, by their *Act of Navigation*, they were long since its oppressors. WALPOLE, however, negotiated with the court of Madrid, and they, at length, concluded the famous treaty of the Pardo;* the two Houses of Parliament, at length, approved it; but thirty-nine peers, (members of the upper house,) entered a protest against the measure; in which, they endeavour to justify, and even to sanction, the piratical enterprises of the English merchants, by affirming, that the unfavourable winds, and adverse currents, forced the vessels from their intended course, in a way, that it was impossible to avoid them; that it

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* This celebrated *Convention*, was concluded in January, 1739; and never was any measure, of equal importance, in the diplomatic annals of Great Britain, the object of such animadversion. The substance of the leading stipulations in this treaty, we presume, will not be unacceptable to the reader.—It was agreed, that, within six weeks after the ratifications were exchanged, two plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, finally to regulate the pretensions of the two crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina; that those conferences should be finished in the interval of eight months; that his Catholic majesty should pay to the king of Great Britain, the sum of 95,000*l.* for a balance due to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of those of Spain, with the exception of the accounts between the crown of Spain and the *Asiento* company; and, that his Catholic majesty should cause the said sum of 95,000*l.* to be paid, at London, within four months after the ratifications were exchanged. This was the substance of that famous convention, which, as Dr. Smollett says, “alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of Great Britain; excited the indignation of all those who retained any regard for the honour of their country, and raised a general cry against the ministers.” *Translator.*

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was impracticable to navigate with safety, the American seas, without passing near the coasts of the Spanish colonies, to obtain the benefit of their light-houses.* In such a case, they would soon serve only to guide those monopolists, whose party were then so strong; they were on the point of restraining, by a bold manœuvre, that prerogative which vests solely in the king, the powers respecting the questions of war and peace.

In order to allay this popular ferment, the British minister did not fulfil the engagements he had made with the Spaniards. He ordered the squadron to remain in the Mediterranean, which was to have been recalled, and preparations were made for sending another, to the coasts of America. The state of the English marine, at that period, shewed how little inclined the English government were, of entering into a war. Previous to the first negociations, there were not more than ninety ships of the line, in all the ports of Great Britain; of which, nearly one half were either on the stocks, or considerably out of repair; to these may be added thirty-four ships, of fifty guns, and eighteen of forty; but those vessels were incapable of entering the line of battle, and could only be employed in cruizing, or in the convoy service; but such was their condition, at that period, they could not even stand the sea, without considerable repairs; a small number of frigates, and some corvettes, made up the aggregate of this naval force, 209 vessels. However, great exertions were forthwith used, in repairing the old, and building new ships; large sums were granted for the service of the navy, the expences of which, amounted

* See the third paragraph of the *protest* in question.

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amounted to 142 millions of livres *tournois*, during the five first years of the war.

On its being declared, the people loudly expressed their satisfaction, and the minister, seeing he could no longer put off hostilities, expedited the different warlike preparations. Admiral VERNON, one of his most decided opponents, in the House of Commons, having asserted, he could take Porto bello with *only six ships of war*; and afterwards undertaking to reduce it with that force, the offer was accepted: he kept his word, and the enterprize was successful, as he had predicted.* But a squadron of twenty-two ships of the line, commanded by the Marquis d'ANTIN, Vice-Admiral of France, having appeared in those seas, VERNON thought proper to retire into port, and wait for reinforcements, before he attempted any further conquests. Accordingly, such assistance was sent out to him, from England, that soon after, he had under his command, twenty-five ships of the line, together with a fleet of transport vessels, which contained a considerable number of troops; with this force, he appeared at the entrance of the harbour of Carthagena, and took

* Of this exploit, we cannot better give the reader a general idea, than in the words of Dr. Smollett, who says, that "On the 13th of March, (1740,) a ship arrived from the West Indies, dispatched by Admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the Isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place; the Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity, on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two Houses of Parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his Majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit, which was magnified much above its merit."

Continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.

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the castle of Bocca-chica, which defended it. However, like the famous demagogue of Athens, the impudent CLEON, with whom he might well be compared, this Admiral possessed audacity, without talents, and had been successful, only through the caprice of fortune: stupid, presumptuous, and obstinate, he was compelled to raise the siege, after having seen a great number of his seamen, as well as of the land forces, cut off by the sword of the enemy, or by an intemperate clime.*

This miscarriage was so little expected by the nation, that, in anticipation of complete success, a medal was struck, with this inscription: "*Carthago gena taken;*" and, on the reverse, a likeness of Admiral VERNON, with the words: "*The avenger of the country.*" The illusion, however, was soon dispelled, and the people vented their rage, at the disappointment, in loud complaints, and calumnious assertions. The minister was accused with having caused the failure of this important enterprise, in order to countenance his pacific negotiations, and to disgust the English with the war. The plan

* For a circumstantial account of this important enterprise, one of the most arduous the British arms were ever engaged in, and in which, notwithstanding its unfortunate result, the bravery of our seamen, and soldiers, was eminently conspicuous, we refer the reader, (as it would run to too great a length for a note to our *Memoir*,) to the animated, and luminous, description given of the affair, by that excellent historian, Dr. SMOLLETT, (in the 4th volume of his *Continuation of Hume's History of England*.) Our readers may be the more confident of finding an accurate account therein, from the circumstance of which, perhaps, they are not all aware, of the Doctor being, himself, present in the action. He has, also, given a lively picture of these destructive operations, in his admirable romance of Roderick Random. *Translator.*

plan of this campaign, however, sufficiently shews how much he had the success of it, at heart. Commodore ANSON was dispatched with a squadron to the South seas, and had instructions to proceed to the Isthmus of Darien, where he was to act, so as to facilitate the operations of Admiral VERNON, on its Northern side.* The elements, however, delivered the Southern colonies of Spain, from such eminent peril, and, by the skillful exertions of JEAN DE FACEDENE, those of the North were secured from invasion. This commander obliged the enemy to raise the siege of St. Augustin, in Florida; overrun the greater part of Georgia; and captured, in its principal sea port town, thirty-eight merchant ships. Since the declaration of war, no fewer than 407 ships, trading vessels, of different sizes, were captured by the Spanish privateers; and their fleet of galleons, most fortunately escaped the vigilance of Vice-Admiral HADDOCK. This officer was afterwards repulsed before Barcelona; and, on account of the delays in his operations, failed of making an impression on Majorca. In the mean time, a French squadron, under the command of M. DE COURT, having put to sea, he took a direction, so as to place it between the Spaniards, and the English fleets; in consequence of which, the latter did not attempt any further operations, but retired to Port-Mahon,

* The *outset* of this celebrated expedition, is thus noticed by Dr. Smollett: "In September, (1740,) a small squadron of ships, commanded by Commodore Anson, set sail for the South sea, in order to act against the enemy, on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate, occasionally, with Admiral Vernon, across the Isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well laid, but ruined by unforeseen accidents."

Continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.

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Mahon, and thus suffered all the reinforcements of troops and stores, for which the armies of the House of Bourbon had occasion, to be transported into Italy.*

After the retirement, so long desired, of WALPOLE, the command of the naval forces of England, in the Mediterranean, was entrusted to Admiral MATTHEWS, who signalized his arrival in that quarter, by an action, of which the galling remembrance cannot yet be obliterated. We allude to the insult given to the king of the Two Sicilies: the British Admiral sent commodore MARTIN with a squadron, to demand, of that prince, the immediate

* The following extract, tends to illustrate an apparent obscurity in this part of the narrative: "The king of Naples resolved to support the claims of his family (the *Bourbon*,) to the Austrian dominions in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly. His mother, the Queen of Spain, had formed a plan, for erecting those dominions into a monarchy for her son, Don Philip; and a body of fifteen thousand men being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain; while Admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the Straits, in the night, and was joined by the French squadron, from Toulon. The British Admiral, sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in a line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French Admiral sent a flag of truce, to inform him, that, as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies; this interposition prevented an engagement. The combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron; Haddock was obliged to desist, and proceeded to Port-Mahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage, without molestation."

Smollett's *continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.*

mediate recall of his troops, then on the point of entering Lombardy; and also to preserve, on his part, a strict neutrality: every thing was disposed for the bombardment of Naples, in case of a refusal, and a short time only was allowed to the court for deliberation. The king was, therefore, under the necessity of promising all that was required, and to dispatch, the same night, orders to his generals, in pursuance of these engagements. The cabinet of St. James's, has had cause to repent of this act of despotism, which created an enemy as implacable towards the nation at large, as the family of JAMES II. was to that upon the throne!*

In hope of expelling the latter entirely from England, and of gaining the crown of his ancestors, the prince CHARLES EDWARD, came, about this period, to France, which had undertaken to support his pretensions. Troops were already collected for the purpose, and transports were in readiness, as well as squadrons to convoy them, when Admiral Sir JOHN NORRIS, appeared with a superior force, in a situation to intercept them; and, at the same time, a storm arose, which greatly damaged the transport vessels, particularly those which were at anchor in the road of Dunkirk. These disastrous circumstances, joined to the exertions made by the allies, for the defence of Great Britain, caused the armament to be laid aside. The young prince was afterwards constrained to proceed in a frigate to Scotland, where his signal successes would, to a certainty, have produced a revolution, had the French marine been in condition to enable them to cope with the English at sea.

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* We conceive the writer alludes, to the general resentment of the *Bourbon* family, which this proceeding had, most probably, excited against the English nation. *Translator.*

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It was then felt how injurious to France, the impolitic views of the regent, and the deliberate negligence of the Cardinal de FLEURI had been. This minister, who, in governing, fought only his own gratification, and who considered the present moment alone, thought, by an ill-judged economy, to heal the wounds suffered by the state under the preceding reign, when, in reality, by such conduct, he was laying the foundation of new evils. He left the marine in such a ruinous condition, that, notwithstanding all the zeal and activity of M. le Comte de MAUREPAS, it was almost impossible to renovate it. The deficiency of vessels was not the most embarrassing circumstance; money, for building new, or repairing the old ships, was wanting. Since the declaration of war by England, against Spain, there were granted but four millions of *livres tournois* each year, for the extraordinary expences of the navy. This moderate sum was, however, so judiciously applied, that France was enabled to send several squadrons to sea, which caused her flag to be respected.

M. DE L'EPIGNAY, who commanded one of those, in the gulf of Mexico, and the Chevalier DE CAYLUS, another, near the Straits of Gibraltar, repulsed the attacks of the English, with equal brilliancy and effect. M. le Marquis de ROQUEFEUILLE, went farther than either of those commander; while cruising in the channel, he obliged all the vessels of his Britannic Majesty, that he fell in with, to render first the honours of the salute to him; and while he remained on that station, the English did not attempt to send out any reinforcements to the fleet of MATTHEWS, in the Mediterranean. This last mentioned Admiral, proceeded

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proceeded to block up the Spanish squadron, which had taken refuge in the port of Toulon: after the blockade continued some time, M. DE COURT, the French Admiral, received orders, from his government, to cover, with the force under his command, the retreat, or rather, to favour the escape, of their ally.

The French and Spanish fleets accordingly, on the 19th of February, 1744, sailed together from Toulon; they were formed in three divisions, the van was commanded by M. DE GABARET, the center by M. DE COURT, and the rear was placed under the orders of DON NAVARRO, a Milanese, who had originally been in the land service. This division of the fleet, consisted of twelve Spanish ships of war, one of which, was a three-decker, the *Royal Philippe*; one second rate, and the rest were fourth and fifth rates: the French had sixteen vessels, viz. six of the third rates, seven of the fourth, two of the fifth, and one of the sixth rate, together with four frigates. The next day, the English fleet, which lay in the road of Hieres, weighed anchor, and soon came up with its adversaries; Admiral MATTHEWS, who had the chief command, placed himself in the center; Rear-Admiral ROWLEY led the van; and Vicè-Admiral LESTOCK commanded the rear-division: the whole constituted a force of thirty ships of the line, among which were seven three-deckers; and they had also fifteen smaller vessels, consisting of frigates, corvettes, or fire ships.

The Spanish vessels, going heavily, were soon out-ailed by the French; the English Admiral, who had the weather gage, took advantage of this circumstance, to cut off their rear, of which, the vessels not having sufficiently closed their line, were exposed singly to the fire of several of the enemy's

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enemy's ships: the *Royal Philippe* was engaged with three large vessels, one of which, was the flag ship of Admiral MATTHEWS. In the course of the action, M. DE GIRARDIN, captain of the Spanish Admiral's ship, was killed; and DON NAVARRO, himself, having received two very slight wounds, or rather, scratches, one upon the ear, and the other on the foot, and also a slight contusion in the cheek, immediately went down into the hold, under the pretence of considering how he should act; a serjeant, who was on guard, attempted to prevent his entrance, and it was not without much trouble that he yielded to his commander; the latter, quietly seated himself on a cable, and remained in that situation during the rest of the action.* Thus the Spanish Squadron was deprived of its chief, but its principal ship had a gallant defender, in the person of M. DE LAGE, who assumed the command of her.

Although he was very ill supported by the other Spanish vessels, which, with the exception of three,† one, of which, was dismasted and taken, bore but a small share in the action, he vigorously sustained all the efforts of the enemy; though his vessel was disabled, he compelled them to sheer off; however, he was allowed but a short respite, MATTHEWS, whose ship was soon put in order, returned with four or five vessels, and again assailed them; the peril then became eminent, a fire-ship, having advanced to within fifteen paces of the poop of

* See the Appendix, No. VI.

† Viz. *L'Hercule*, of sixty guns, commanded by Don Cosmod'ALVAREZ; *L'Amerique*, of fifty-six guns, by D. ANNIBAL PETROUCHY; *Le Puissant ou Poder*, of sixty guns, by D. RODRIGO URRUTIA. See *Mém. ou Journal de la Campagne Navale de 1744*, par M. de Lage de Cueilly, &c.

of his vessel, was on the point of communicating the fire to her, and the crew deliberated upon the necessity of an immediate surrender, when M. DE LAGE awakened their courage and resolution by his example, as well as by his words;* he ordered the guns to be discharged at the fire-ship, which would have sunk her, were it not for a very unexpected event, the vessel suddenly blew up, without injuring the Spanish ship: on this occasion, however, we cannot but admire the intrepidity and undaunted resolution of three English officers, on board the fire-ship, who exerted themselves to grapple with the Spanish Admiral, and, despairing not of success, to the very last moment, they devoted themselves to a certain death, by firing their vessel in such a situation, rather than relinquish their enterprize, and attempt to save themselves by swimming; they were enveloped in the flames, and blown up by the explosion of the vessel, their bodies, shattered into particles, soon found a watery tomb. Why should their names then, be for ever consigned to oblivion?†

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* See the Appendix, No. VII.

† Of this transaction we shall endeavour to give the reader a more accurate idea. The *Royal Philippe* lying quite disabled upon the water, Admiral *Matthews* dispatched the *Ann* galley, fire-ship, to destroy her, but before she could be got ready, some of the Spanish vessels came up to the assistance of their Admiral, and the English ships, which were intended to cover her, not obeying the signal, she was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; she, however, advanced, and got within a very short distance of the Spanish Admiral, the officers, who then perceived she was sinking, in consequence of the great number of shot which took effect in her bows, set fire to the fuzes, the vessel was immediately in flames, in which twelve men, together with her intrepid captain (*Mackay*) and Lieutenant, (*Hulliers*) so deservedly the objects of the French writer's panegyric, unfortunately perished. *Translator.*

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While this was going forward, the French were engaged with the van of the English fleet, commanded by ROWLEY; three vessels, each three-deckers, attacked the French Admiral, who, after a fight of three hours,* compelled them to retire, as were the whole of that division: M. DE COURT, then perceiving the Spaniards closely pressed by the enemy, proceeded immediately to assist them, although the gallery of his vessel had taken fire, and the wheel of her rudder was shattered by a ball. The catastrophe of the fire-ship, first drew his attention to the perilous situation of the rear division, but being at the distance of a league, and the wind blowing very faintly, he was unable to come up with it, before night fall.

At the approach of the French commander, MATTHEWS fell back, endeavoured to rally his fleet, and abandoned the vessel (*Le Poder*)† which had struck to one of his ships. After having retaken this vessel, in sight of the English Admiral, M. DE COURT ordered her to be burned, and then directed his attention to the situation of the *Royal Philippe*, on board of which, he sent fifty men, to assist in putting her in order. The Spanish squadron was reduced to seven vessels, the others having quitted the line; nevertheless, Admiral MATTHEWS did not venture to renew the action, although

* In which *Le Terrible*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by this officer; *Le Ferme*, of seventy-four guns, by M. De *Sorgues*; and *Le St. Esprit*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by the Chevalier *De Piofin*, discharged more than 2500 cannon shots.

† This vessel, the only one which struck in this engagement, surrendered to the *Berwick*, of seventy guns, commanded by captain, afterwards, the famous Lord HAWKE. *Translator.*

although he had made the signal for engaging; he was satisfied with chasing a Spanish vessel, (*L'Hercule*;) which, during the night, had, through mistake, steered by his lanthorn, and found herself almost furrounded by hostile ships: M. DE COURT crowded sail to come up to her relief, which, being perceived by the English Admiral, he desisted from the pursuit.

After having remained two days in sight of the allies, the English proceeded to Port-Mahon, where they landed their wounded, to the number of 700; and laboured diligently at the repairs of their fleet: on the other side, the French convoyed the Spanish squadron to the port of Carthagea; the Mediterranean became free for some time; and the army of DON PHILIPPE, received, from the coasts of Provence, all the necessary supplies. The advantage in the fight off Toulon, obviously then lay with the allies: DON NAVARRO, however, arrogated to himself, all the glory of it; and Spain resounded with invectives against the French; they were accused with having sacrificed their allies, instead of assisting them; they even went so far, as to assert, that the former had fired upon the Spanish vessels, and engaged the English without ball. Calumny always gratifies its malignity, by means of the credulity of mankind. The French were grossly insulted in several towns of Spain; and, at one period, they were even apprehensive of being burned in their very houses.*

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* "In fact," says *M. De Lage*, "timber was actually collected, with such a design, at the doors of some houses inhabited by the French; and, during the stay of the French squadron at Carthagea, the commander of that place, caused

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On this occasion, not only did pusillanimity triumph, it was even rewarded. DON NAVARRO who was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, decorated with the Orders of Castile, and invested with the dignity of Marquis, received every where the greatest applauses; the very preachers resounded them in their pulpits, and united his name with that of victory. On the other hand, M. DE COURT, on his return to France, met with nothing but disapprobation and censure;* he was deprived of his command, and obliged to retire to his estate at Gournay. The fate of the British Admirals, MATTHEWS and LESTOCK, was not dissimilar from that of their adversaries, being nearly as unjust: the latter, who had taken no part in the action, was acquitted of all blame, and continued in his command; while the superior officer was degraded, after having been declared incapable of serving in future; he, nevertheless, had displayed uncommon valour, in the engagement in question, towards the end of which, his own ship being so much damaged, he was obliged to move his flag into another. Among the various ill-founded charges, which were made against Admiral MATTHEWS, was that of not having sufficiently extended his line; but this manœuvre, the hope of being able to separate the French from the Spanish squadron, prevented him from attempting; besides, it was impracticable to do it with safety, on account of

“ to be published, throughout all the town, a defence of the Spaniards, in order to insult the French; a defence as injurious, as it was ineffectual; for the French were then too numerous at Carthagea, to be insulted with impunity.” *Mém.* p. 95, 96.

* See the Appendix, No. VIII.

of the distance of Vice-Admiral LESTOCK'S division, which was more than five miles in the rear, at the commencement of the action.*

Previous to this affair, some partial acts of hostility, between the French and English, took place by land; but this naval action immediately produced a regular declaration of war, and rendered hostilities general. The sea became, then, a new theatre, where these two great rival nations exercised their animosity. The ministry of Versailles, too much engaged in projecting military operations, thought rather of defending the commerce of France, than of annoying that of the enemy, by naval enterprises. However, circumstances, at the commencement of the war, turned out fortunately for them, several fleets of trading vessels having arrived at their place of destination, without being intercepted by the enemy. M. DUBOIS DE LA MOTTE, who commanded a vessel of the third rate, and, assisted only by a frigate, successfully defended a fleet of eighty sail of merchant ships, against an entire squadron. M. de MACMURRAY, with

* "The miscarriage off Toulon, became the subject of a Parliamentary enquiry in England. The Commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Lestock had accused Matthews, and all the captains of his division, who misbehaved on the day of battle: the court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial: several commanders of ships were cashiered; Vice-Admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted; and Admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his Majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement; yet the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped the sentence of death, for cowardice and misconduct. Such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction." Smollett's *continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.*

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with five ships of war, and two frigates, effectually protected the commerce of France, in the gulf of Mexico, and put to flight a superior force of the enemy.

The Bostonians were the cause of the first reverse suffered by the French, this war, by the reduction of Louisbourg, the siege of which was undertaken, not only at their suggestion, but principally at their expence. In order to retaliate upon the enemy, M. le duc d'ANVILLE, was sent the following year, 1746, on an expedition to the coasts of Acadia; without experience or talents, though possessing a reputation for genius and courage, success could not rationally be expected from this commander; the two officers, who were appointed to assist him with their advice, quarrelled with each other, and this unfortunate misunderstanding, cooperated with the weather, which proving unfavourable, rendered the enterprize abortive: an epidemic distemper, also, raged to such a degree among the troops and the seamen of the fleet, that the Admiral's ship had but 200 effective men, when it returned to France.

M. DE LA JONQUIERE, who brought back this unfortunate squadron, had the command of five ships of the line, and one frigate, destined to convoy a considerable fleet of merchant ships; he was encountered off Cape Finisterre, by the English Admirals, ANSON and WARREN, whose united squadrons formed a fleet of sixteen sail of the line; it was scarcely possible to resist such a superior force; but it was not till after a very spirited defence, that M. DE LA JONQUIERE, surrendered, with his five ships of war, as well as three armed ships, belonging to the East India Company, which

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which he had obliged to enter the line.* The remainder of the convoy were indebted for their safety to a circumstance, that deserves to be mentioned. On the morning of the day, in which the action took place, ANSON having sent a Lieutenant, in a long-boat, to WARREN, to learn what he had discovered; the latter imprudently sent it away, together with his own, with the view of

* Of this signal and important victory, Dr. *Smollett* gives the following account: "Not discouraged by the disaster of the armament under the Duke d'Anville, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North America, and their settlements in the East Indies. For these purposes, two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the Commodore De la Jonquiere, and the other, destined for India, by Monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great Britain, being apprised of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose, Vice-Admiral Anson and Rear-Admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth, with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre, on the coast of Galicia. On the third day of May, they fell in with the French squadrons, commanded by La Jonquiere, and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, and as many frigates, and four armed vessels, equipped by their East India company, having under their convoy, about thirty ships, laden with merchandize. Those prepared for war, immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was likewise drawn up in line of battle; but Mr. Warren, perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off; now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised Admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engaging, otherwise the French would, in all probability, escape, by favour of the night; the proposal was embraced, and, in a little time, the engagement began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon; the enemy sustained the battle with equal con-

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being less encumbered in the pursuit of the enemy. It was not till after he had come up with them, that he thought of sending back the officer to the Admiral, who waited for his return with impatience, in order that the proper signals may be made. The English passed some hours in this expectation, and M. DE LA JONQUIERE did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, to cover the retreat of the merchant ships under his care, which, crowding sail, arrived under the convoy of a single frigate, at the place of their destination.

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“ duct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colours. The Admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy; nine ships, of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded, in this action. The English lost about five hundred, and among these, Captain Grenville, commander of the ship *Defiance*; he was nephew to the Lord Viscount Cobham, a youth of the most amiable character, and promising genius, animated with the noblest sentiments of honour and patriotism; eager in the pursuit of glory, he rushed into the midst of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon ball; he submitted to his fate with the most heroic resignation, and died universally lamented and beloved.* The success of the British arms, in this engagement, was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage, of the Rear-Admiral. A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which was brought to Spithead, in triumph; and the treasure, being landed, was conveyed to London, in twenty waggons, to the Bank, in London.—Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the Order of the Bath.”

Continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.

* This excellent young officer, at the time of his taking off, was only twenty-eight years of age; he was the youngest brother of the late Earl *Temple*, and Mr. *George Grenville*; uncle of the present Marquis of *Buckingham*, and Lord *Grenville*; and also uncle (maternally) to the present Earl of *Chatham*, and Mr. *Pitt*.

Translator.

We shall here remark, that this was the first war, in which the French adopted the salutary practice of convoying their trading fleets, by squadrons, or with a certain number of ships of war, proportioned to their value. The English, who had always experienced the great advantage of it, never departed from so useful a practice: but it has been remarked, that, on every occasion, in which their convoys have been encountered by a superior force, their guard-ships have thought less of defending the merchant vessels, than of seeking their own safety, in a prompt retreat.* The marine of England, then, is never sacrificed for her commerce, as that of France has constantly been; on every occasion of the convoy service, in order to afford the trading vessels an opportunity to escape, the ships of war always expose themselves to the most imminent peril: the fight sustained by M. DE L'ETENDUERE, offers a very strong instance of this generous devotion.

Such exertions were made in the ports of France, that although the squadron of M. DE LA JONQUIERE was taken on the 14th of June,† of this year, 1747, that of M. DE L'ETENDUERE, consisting of eight ships

* The intelligent reader will feel, that this assertion of the French writer, is, generally speaking, unfounded, and be aware that there are various instances, upon record, where British officers have displayed their *characteristic* spirit and activity in the convoy service, in as conspicuous a manner, as upon any other occasion. *Translator.*

† This date, as to the *month*, is evidently a mistake of the French narrator. The best accounts we have perused, as well as that just quoted from Dr. *Smollett*, agree in stating the action to have taken place on the 3d of May; throughout the whole of this narrative, the French writer generally uses the new style, which accounts for the variation in the *day* from the 3d to the 14th. *Translator.*

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ships of the line, was in a condition to sail the 17th of October, following, from the road of the Isle d'Aix, having under his convoy 252 merchant ships. It should appear, that the approach to Cape Finisterre, was fatal to the French, for, failing in that direction, they were encountered by an English Squadron, consisting of twenty-three ships of war, under the command of Admiral HAWKE; in the order of sailing, the French merchant ships were placed to windward, with a view, the more safely to dispose of them as circumstances may require; M. DE L'ÉTENDUERE, seeing himself on the point of being attacked, made a signal for the trading vessels, to pass to leeward, and, with crowded sail, to proceed on their voyage; in order to effect this, it was necessary to leave intervals in the line, for them to pass through, which manœuvre separated the ships of war, too much from each other, particularly the rear from the center division; the English then, immediately surrounded a part of them, which brought on the action.

Four French vessels, of which, one* was disabled, and the others entirely disabled,† were under the necessity of surrendering forthwith. All the efforts of Admiral HAWKE, were then directed to *Le Tonnant*,‡ the flag ship of M. DE L'ÉTENDUERE, which, at one time, had been engaged with three

or

* *Le Neptune*, of sixty-eight guns, commanded by M. De Fromentiere.

† *Le Monarque*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by M. De la Bédoyere; *Le Fougueux*, of sixty-four guns, by M. Du Vignau; and *Le Severn*, of fifty guns, by M. Du Rouret.

‡ Of eighty guns, and 750 men.

or four ships together, and successively, with all those of the English line; the state to which she was reduced,* did not allow her brave commander to join the rest of his squadron. He had scarcely a moment's respite, when the English returned to the charge; this was done with the more ardour, as they had been reinforced by their vessels, which had just manned the prizes. *Le Tonnant*, being entirely surrounded by the enemy's ships, fighting at the distance of half pistol shot, and having lost her main-mast by the round top, was on the point of striking, when *L'Inrépide*,† a ship which well deserved that name, came up to her assistance.

M. DE VANDREUIL, who commanded her, was, at first, doubtful how to act, in such an arduous conjuncture; whether, to proceed with the fleet of merchant ships, to the place of their destination, or to run along side his commander, and defend him to the last extremity; this latter alternative, (by far the most perilous,) but inspired by a sentiment of honour, and dictated by considerations of duty, was that which he adopted, with a resolution, worthy of his name and character; he immediately tacked about, and came up in full sail to the assistance of *Le Tonnant*, through the midst of the English vessels, and firing on both sides as he passed.

* "All our tackling," says an officer of this ship, in his account of the action, "were so much damaged, that it was actually impossible to repair them, and our sails so torn, as to be perfectly useless; we fixed a new bow-line to our main-top-sail, with the help of the remnant of our fore-bow-line, and our fore-top-mast fell upon the deck; our mizen-top-mast had already fallen; and the mizen-mast itself, was kept right with great difficulty."

† Of seventy-four guns, and 620 men.

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passed. M. M. DUGUAY, and d'AMBLIMONT,* attempted to act in the same manner, but their vessels were soon disabled, by the superior fire of the enemy; they could no longer defend themselves, and were under the necessity of striking; the former captain, however, did not lower his flag, until night fall; at which time, the enemy recommenced firing with increased eagerness and fury, upon the French commander, and his generous companion in danger. Astonished and checked by the unconquerable resolution of these officers, as well as fatigued by such a sanguinary conflict, they desisted for a time; and at the moment, seemed to have given up the contest.

This last manœuvre of Admiral HAWKE, was not more successful than his former efforts; five of his ships, which returned to the charge, were, after an engagement of more than an hour, beaten off with loss. M. DE L'ETENDUERE profited of their retreat, and, by means of a feigned course, got away from the enemy; not that he dreaded the encounter, but his ship's company, having fought the whole day, without taking any refreshment, necessarily required some repose; at the same time, the number of their killed and wounded was inconsiderable: the condition of the hull of his ship, was not so injurious, as the ruinous state of the rigging, which rendered it necessary she should be taken in tow by *L'Intrepide*.† Although
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* The former commanding *Le Terrible* of seventy-four, and the latter, *Le Trident*, of sixty-four guns.

† We received in the hull of our ship, 145 shot, and eighteen between wind and water, of which, only one had, and that barely, penetrated. All our sails were torn to pieces; the main shrouds; those of the fore-mast, and our main stay,

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he came, expressly, for the purpose of being refitted, M. DE L'ENTENDUERE wished his ship to be led, in the condition she then was, by the latter, as in triumph, into the road of Brest. Such a proceeding, suggested by this officer, did him great honor: it formed a ray of that genuine glory, of which, envy, alone, could attempt to dim the lustre. Such was the result of an engagement, the details of which, appear to us, worthy of being transmitted to latest posterity. Though the French, on account of the great inferiority of their force, lost several ships of the line, they reaped one great advantage from their valour and exertions, namely, that of saving all their merchant ships.*

In

were cut in several places; and also our masts and yards, were pierced by a number of balls. We discharged 1800 shot, of different sizes, exclusive of grape and cannister shot. We had twenty-five men killed during the action, and thirty-seven wounded; the greatest part of which, were by shot which entered at the port holes, for in other parts, the ship was impenetrable. Few vessels, were ever built, so stoutly timbered, so spacious, or better adapted for fighting. *Rel. cit.*

* This action, in which, doubtless, the French displayed uncommon bravery; and their commander made the most laudable exertions for the preservation of the ships under his convoy, we must observe, is related more in detail by our narrator, than its importance seems to warrant, or, perhaps, the scale of his performance, which is that of a *Compendious Memoir*, should fairly admit. The affair is thus noticed by Dr. Smollett: "Rear-Admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth, in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant ships, bound for the West Indies. He cruized, for some time, on the coast of Bretagne; and, at length, the French fleet sailed from the Isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Monsieur De Letendur. On the 14th day of October, the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude

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In India, however, fortune seemed willing to console the French, for the losses which she caused them to experience in Europe. In this view, DE LA BOURDONNAIS, was her chosen instrument, and one more appropriate could not be selected; he was a man of an uncommonly active mind, of a genius fruitful in expedients, capable of projecting vast enterprises, of forming plans, of executing them, and of directing all their various details, with an equal facility; indefatigable in preparation, intrepid in action, foreseeing, or surmounting, every difficulty: he was, also, as capable of establishing a colony; laying the foundations of a town, and forming arsenals, as of conducting a siege, commanding an army, and directing the manœuvres of a fleet. His acquaintance with all the arts, likewise enabled him to superintend, were it necessary, even the construction of a vessel, from the laying

“ of Belle-Isle. The French commodore immediately ordered
 “ one of his great ships, and the frigates, to proceed with the
 “ trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited
 “ the attack. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Admiral
 “ Hawke displayed the signal to chase; and, in half an hour,
 “ both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when
 “ all the French squadron, except the *Intrépide* and *Tonnant*,
 “ had struck to the English flag; these two capital ships escaped
 “ in the dark, and returned to Brest, in a shattered condition.
 “ The French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncom-
 “ mon bravery and resolution, and did not yield until their
 “ ships were disabled. Their loss in men, amounted to eight
 “ hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement,
 “ did not exceed 200, including captain Saumarez, a gallant
 “ officer, who had served under Lord Anson, in his expedition
 “ to the Pacific Ocean. Indeed it must be owned, for the
 “ honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under
 “ his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves,
 “ in all respects, worthy of the commands, to which they were
 “ preferred.”

Continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.

laying of the keel, to the completion of her fitting out for sea. "By his skill in navigation, he was "capable," says an English writer, "of conducting a ship to any part of the globe; and, by his "courage, he would have defended her in any "circumstances, against an equal force. Had he "lived," continues this *impartial* historian, "until "the period of the disgraces of his country, at sea, "he would, most probably, on account of his superior abilities, have been elevated to the chief "command in the French marine."* Let us add, that he certainly would, in such a case, have maintained its glory, and, perhaps, have completely retrieved, or prevented its disasters!

Scarcely had he been informed of the declaration of war, when he communicated to the court, certain projects, the execution of which, would have infallibly ruined the commerce, and establishments of the English, in India; if the chimerical hope of a neutrality in this part of the world had not prevented the ministry from adopting them; but that ministry, being quickly undeceived, sent out orders to act offensively, and promised succours; those succours, being a great while expected, did, at length, arrive, and consisted of one ship of the line, and several sail of merchantmen. LA BOURDONNAIS undertook to form a squadron of them; he was in want of sailors, and was obliged to compose his crews, or add to their number, by blacks; he was destitute of cannon also, and was constrained to take those appropriated to the defence of the Isle de France; he was equally to seek for the article of provisions, and to remedy this most pressing of all wants, he had

* *Hist. des Guerres de L'Inde. Tr. fr. t. I. p. 141.*

had to go to Madagascar. In his course to this island, he was encountered by a violent tempest; his vessels were all, in some respects, disabled, several of them were dismasted, and one totally wrecked; that on board of which he had his flag, nearly escaped the same fate. All this, did not terrify him, nor did any thing embarrass him; he arrived in Antongil bay, and cast anchor near the little Isle Marotte, the borders of which are both steep and rocky; no sooner had he fixed on the place most proper for a quay, than he ordered buildings to be constructed, for the purpose of getting ready new masts, which he drew from the interior of the country, across marshes and swamps, where he raised temporary causeways. He even rendered a river navigable, for the more easy transporting them; a rope yard was, in like manner, established, where, by untwisting his spare cables, he the more speedily obtained the rigging he felt an urgent want of. He collected together his old iron, among other, that for ballast; he erected forges, trained up workmen, and thus, in a short time, provided hoops for his masts. All this was executed in defiance of incessant rains, an epidemical sickness, and the indifference and ill-will of some of the officers, and yet it was done with so much diligence, through indefatigable toil, that, in forty-eight days, his squadron, composed of nine sail, was able to put to sea again.

That of the English, under the command of captain PEYTON, was inferior as to the number of ships, but superior in weight of metal, and was, besides, better victualled and equipped; the vessels also were lighter built, and more easy to manœuvre; joined to these, and other advantages was that of the wind. When they met M. DE LA BOURDONNAIS,
off

off the heights of Negapatam, the commander, however, did not approach but with the greatest circumspection, nor did he commence the fight until four o'clock in the afternoon, with the view that should it not turn out prosperous, he might be able to withdraw from a further conflict, by favour of the darkness; this turned out to be the case, after a very brisk cannonade on both sides. Although PEYTON had been in many actions, he acknowledged he had never witnessed one so hot as this: so often as the French were desirous of boarding, so often did the English endeavour to frustrate their designs, nor were they to be approached, nearer than within reach of cannister shot. Determined, at last, to withdraw, they took refuge in Trinquemallée bay, whither BOURDONNAIS, after having disembarked his sick and wounded at Pondichery, resolved to go, and attempt to set them on fire: at his approach, the English avoided the threatened mischief, by the superiority of their sailing; but they thereby left the French commander master of the sea, without offering any further obstacles to the execution of his projects.*

The

* "The naval transactions of this year, (1746,) reflected very little honour on the British nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded six ships of war, in the East Indies, shamefully declined a decisive engagement with a French squadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel, which was taken, without opposition, in the month of September, by the French commodore, De la Bourdonnais; Fort St. David, and the other British factories in India, would, probably, have shared the same fate, had not the enemy's naval force, in that country, being shattered, and partly destroyed, by a terrible tempest."

Smollett's continuation of Hume's *England, reign of GEORGE II.*

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The first of these, was to lay siege to Madras, which he possessed himself of, notwithstanding his inconsiderable means, and the small number of his troops. It is well known, that certain unhappy jealousies, of that time, a secret counter-order from the French cabinet, and a dreadful tempest, hindered him from further extending his conquests. The English flattered themselves, they should meet with better fortune; and, in one campaign, seize upon every one of the French establishments beyond the Cape of Good Hope. In consequence of preparations for this purpose, BOSCAWEN appeared in those seas, with a powerful fleet. After having been repulsed in an attack upon the Isle de France, he undertook the siege of Pondichery, in which he failed of success, DUPLEIX having compelled him to retire with loss.

The French were indebted for this last success to the troops which LA BOURDONNAIS had left in India, and to the succours carried them by BOUVET, an able and experienced seaman, who had acquired great celebrity by his discoveries, in the *Terra Australis*; when the latter had arrived at the Isle de France, he learnt that an English squadron, very superior to his own, was upon the coast of Coromandel; on this intelligence, he lost no time, but sailed for Fort St. David, in the neighbourhood of which, the enemy's force, commanded by GRIFFIN, was at anchor, and wind-bound by the Monsoon, which blew hard on shore. The English commodore, imagining that the French were desirous to engage with him, prepared for action; but BOUVET, during the night, hoisted every sail, and disembarked, next day, at Madras, the troops and money he had on board his ships. Having thus fulfilled the object of his mission, he

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returned home quietly, with the satisfaction of having deceived the English commander, by his skilful manœuvres.

The French, and their rivals, were still at hostilities in Asia, when these powers had laid down their arms in Europe; and where the English, notwithstanding their superiority, could not protect their commerce from great losses. The privateers fitted out from the ports of France and Spain, had made a great many captures during the course of the war; several families, among the first class of merchants, were reduced, thereby, to actual poverty. The parliament every day received petitions on that head, without being able to remove the cause; the complainants found themselves threatened with total ruin; whilst their enemies avoided the same evil by the wise conduct of providing convoys for their various fleets of merchantmen; their colonies were well supplied in every respect, and the manufactures of the mother country flourished; French merchants made very considerable fortunes, and their ships were readily insured. As the war by land had been of long continuance, France exhausted herself in carrying it on; peace was therefore necessary, but it was not thought prudent to hurry its conclusion; the influence of a *potent mistress*, who desired it, however, was sensibly felt at this delicate conjuncture; articles of a treaty, in many respects crude, and defective in their object, were signed in haste, and became the source of future discord and hostility.* Although the English received the news

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* This treaty of peace is thus described by Dr. Smollett:
 " The definitive treaty was, at length, concluded, and signed
 " at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 7th day of October, 1748. It

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of this treaty with tokens of joy, yet, in a short time, the chief politicians, or heads of the opposition, among whom was the Prince of WALES himself, asserted, that the honour and interest of the nation

“ was founded on former treaties, which were now expressly confirmed, from that at Westphalia, to the last concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, that all prisoners, on each side, should be mutually released, without ransom, and all conquests restored. That the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guftalla, should be ceded as a settlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male issue, that they should revert to the house of Austria. That the king of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conquests, which his Britannic majesty should have achieved in the East or West Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed. That the Affiento contract, with the article of the annual ship, should be confirmed for four years, during which, the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended during the commencement of the present war. That Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land side, and towards the sea, continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the king of Prussia, for the Duchy of Silesia and the Courts of Glatz, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the Empress, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, in possession of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic sanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual restitution; as well as the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world. But the right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained; this, and all other disputes, were left to the discussion of Commissaries.”

Continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.

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nation had been sacrificed by the ministers, who concluded the peace; the vain and useless condition which the cabinet of Versailles exacted of having two persons of distinction, as hostages, until his Britannic majesty should restore the distant conquests, appeared humiliating; the manner in which the ancient differences with Spain had been arranged, was blamed with still more reason; and they were not substantially terminated till some years after, which was by the treaty of *Buen-Retiro*. This latter power, at length, disengaged herself from the *Affiento* contract, and continued, ever after, free to regulate the commerce of her colonies, without being restrained by any engagement whatever.

England now perceived, that she had reaped no real advantage from a protracted war, and the enormous expences which it had occasioned; her commerce was diminished rather than increased, and the limits of her possessions, so far from being extended, were not even distinctly ascertained. Perhaps the British ministry had designedly neglected to regulate them, in the recent treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, or, which is possible, the negociators might have received secret instructions to give an equivocal meaning to some of the articles, in order to have an opportunity, under more favourable circumstances, of interpreting them to their own advantage; however this might be, new hostilities, between the two nations, shortly arose from this negligence, or ambiguity. America and the Indies became the scenes of discord, of which, the court of London was suspected of not having, *bona-fide*, exerted itself to remove the causes. Negotiations for accommodating those differences, were commenced, but they lasted no longer than the time necessary to make preparations, and to enable the
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enemies of France to profit by the supposed security into which they had lulled the ministry of Versailles, always confiding in the justice of her cause, and always a prey to uncertainty and to weakness.

The condition in which the last war had left the French navy, rendered its re-establishment a matter of great difficulty. In all the ports of the kingdom, only sixty-three sail of the line could be counted, among which, three were unfit for service; three* had been lately taken; eight stood in need of thorough repair; and four ships, only, were on the stocks: for equipping the remaining forty-five, several of which, besides caulking, stood in need of other repairs; there were neither masts nor rigging, nor a sufficiency of sail-cloth, nor even the proper artillery for mounting them; the scarcity of ship timber too, was so severely felt, that it was in vain to expect any addition, for some time, could be made to the naval force of France; in other respects, few precautions were taken to meet the enemy, on an equal footing. "I am ignorant," said the Maréchal de NOAILLES, at the time, "whether any fixed and well digested plan be laid down. Nothing is thought of, and even those, who give themselves the trouble to think, meet with disapprobation."†

A very different picture was presented to the eye of the politician, on the part of the English, whose plans were combined with sagacity, and whose forces were capable of carrying them into execution; their navy, before hostilities commenced,

* *Le Lys, L'Alcide, and L'Esperance.* This account is the state of the French navy, at the commencement of the year 1755.

† *Mém. de Noailles, tom. VI. p. 240.*

menced, amounted to eighty-nine line of battle ships, of which, sixteen were three-deckers; they had, besides, thirty-two, of fifty-guns, and ninety-one frigates, with sixty-seven sloops, cutters, bombs, fire-ships, &c. The arsenals were also full of ammunition and stores of every kind, and the dock-yards abounded with ship timber. Every thing demonstrated the utmost activity in their ports, where their old ships of war were quickly repaired, and eleven line of battle ships put on the stocks: several had already been sent out to cruize, and others were arming with all possible expedition, before France even thought seriously of defending herself.

In speaking of the English navy, we cannot refrain from making a few observations, on the general subject. It should be remarked, that the ships of the line, which have composed it, at different periods, since the revolution of 1688, have not, in number, exceeded one hundred, except during the succession war, where, however, scarcely two thirds ever kept the sea, during one campaign; among those, the fifty gun-ships are not included,* although they sometimes enter the line, they are, nevertheless, found to weaken, rather than strengthen it; towards the end, only, of an action, where an enemy's fleet has been roughly handled, it is that they are found useful, in serving to take the place of other damaged ships. As every thing is decided by the cannon, in sea fights, it is become more and more necessary to have only ships of great force in them; those of the fourth

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* The French writer suggests, "Whether these ships, and all those two deckers of inferior force, ought not to be called *ships of the second line?*"

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rate, that is of sixty-four guns, appear even too weak; it is probable, that in a short time hence, none but three deckers, or those down to the third rate, mounting eighty, or seventy-four guns, will be seen in the grand fleets of naval powers: all of an inferior rate, will be employed only as cruizers, as convoys, or as a *corps de reserve*, in the time of action. So far, therefore, from encreasing the naval force, with respect to the number of ships, there will be a necessity for diminishing it; and it is doubtful whether any state hereafter, will be in a condition to fit out more than a hundred ships of the line.* The scarcity of timber, the want of sailors, and, above all, the exhaustion of finances, will progressively render more difficult an encrease of strength, in that respect, and which, at all times, a profound politician, will regard as an alarming consideration. Whatever resources a people may possess, it is requisite, before they can aspire to the empire of the seas, that they inhabit a country favoured by nature, and where, situation, the depth, and number of their ports, all concur to cherish that ambition. England, France, and Spain, are the only three states which enjoy these advantages in Europe; the Northern countries of this quarter of the world, surrounded, as they are, with ice a certain portion of the year, in remote situations, besides being unprovided with oak, or other timber, whose durable, and solid quality, is necessary to the construction of ships, and having only

* This is a speculation, (in a great degree, respecting a matter of mere fact,) which the intelligent *British* reader, on contemplating the *present* naval force of his country, and her comparative situation *in that point-of view*, will, with exultation, immediately perceive to be ill-founded. *Translator.*

only masts and rigging, must be content with holding only a second rank among the maritime powers. Holland, who once held the first, but who was dispossessed of it by England, above a century ago, can never again pretend to more, whatever her exertions, her industry, and her commerce may be; her coasts are environed with sand banks, and her ports are not sufficiently deep; it is as difficult to approach them, as it is impossible to put very large ships afloat; those of three-decks, therefore, cannot enter, or sail out of her harbours, and even the largest of the third-rates are necessarily constructed with flattened bottoms, which gives to such ships the great disadvantage of falling too much to leeward in all engagements. Forced thus, by their position, to give up all pretensions to the sceptre of the main, the Dutch ought to seek for an alliance with one of the belligerent powers; or rather to remain tranquil spectators of their hostilities, if it be possible, as they were in the war, of which the commencement announced to France a very fatal issue.

Her colonies attacked in all parts; numbers of her ships carried into the enemy's ports, clearly discovered to her, what the views of the latter were; but nothing could rouse the lethargic council of Versailles, to salutary exertion. Whether blindly, or through weakness, it obstinately continued to take the *pretext* for the *cause* of the war; it imagined, that Nova Scotia, and the banks of Ohio, were the only objects of contention with the cabinet of St. James's, and that it would still be time enough to yield on these points, when every hope of accommodation should be at an end. The British ministry sought only to amuse, in order to arrive at its real object, which

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was the extinction of the French navy, and the total destruction of her commerce.

The efforts of England were proportioned to her designs. Several strong squadrons were speedily sent out to sea. The first, of eleven ships of the line, under the orders of Admiral BOSCAWEN, sailed the 22d of April, 1755; the second, of seven, commanded by HOLBURNE, the 11th of May, of the same year; the third, of nineteen, under the orders of HAWKE, the 22d of July; the fourth, of four, under commodore FRANKLAND, the 13th of August; the fifth, of twenty-two, to which Admiral BYNG had been appointed; and lastly, a sixth, of thirteen vessels, sailed the 30th of January, 1756, under the command of OSBORNE. The declaration of war, on the part of France, did not take place till the 9th of June, in the preceding year. It is necessary to attend to these dates; which were so many fatal epochs to the French merchants, the greater part of whose ships fell a prey to those squadrons, or to swarms of privateers, which they protected, before any declaration of war took place.

It would appear, that the number of these captures, augmented in proportion as the complaints on the subject became more frequent, and more just. The vessels taken, amounted to three hundred sail, before the declaration of war, of which, one hundred and eighty were richly freighted, and of considerable bulk, the others were mostly coasters, or Fishing vessels, from Newfoundland. The value of the whole was estimated at no less a sum than thirty millions of livres *tournois*. Thus the French merchants, the innocent victims of the misunderstanding between the two courts, saw themselves plundered and ruined, without being

apprised, by some public declaration, or a manifesto, of any quarrel with their sovereign. These unjustifiable proceedings met with disapprobation, even in London itself; many persons in England condemned the severe treatment of the French prisoners;* crowded together in prisons, where the only resource left them was in a cruel extremity, viz. that of serving against their own country.†

The first years of the war, was similar to its commencement, and were not less fatal to the commerce of France. These losses, before the end of the year 1757, amounted to five hundred and ten ships, fitted out from the principal ports, for the colonies, without counting the coasting vessels, great and small, and those employed in the Newfoundland fishery. The insurances, which, at first, were carried so high as 45 and 50 per cent. totally ceased. It was thought necessary, in order to

avert

* "You praise," replied the author of *Le Peuple Instruit*, to one of his critics, "our ministers for having given directions to take all the French ships our privateers might meet with; you praise, I say, this action, which covers you with shame, and which makes you pass for barbarians, who have renounced every sentiment of humanity. What reasons can they allege, in justification of themselves, for having caused so many of the French prisoners to be taken and shut up in prisons and dungeons, to perish with hunger and misery?" Their number amounted to 7500, including 1500 soldiers, or men newly raised.

† With regard to those assertions, we have only to offer what, more than once, on *similar occasions*, we have found it incumbent on us to observe, in the course of this work; namely, that the *French writer* refers to no respectable authority, in support of them. We, by no means, deem a slight reference to an anonymous and obscure publication, sufficient, and the difficulty of our proving the negative, in such a case, the reader will be aware of. *Translator.*

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avert a general ruin, and save the French islands from famine, to admit neutral vessels into their ports; but the evil progressively increased; every thing remained in a fatal inaction; no more vessels were fitted out; industry languished, the very hope of recovering again from such distresses, at length, vanished: and, to crown all, the state of the royal navy was such, as to leave no room for the merchants to expect any protection therefrom.

The engagement, off Minorca, was the sole prosperous one during the war. M. de MACHAULT, controller-general, at that time, become minister of the marine department, appeared to have given new life to it. The utmost activity prevailed in the ports of France: a squadron, of twelve sail, was fitted out with great celerity, under the orders of M. DE LA GALISSONIERE, which, after having convoyed the troops to Minorca, protected their operations. BYNG was dispatched with twelve ships for the relief of the island, and upon his coming up with, engaged the French Admiral.* The fight began between the van of the respective fleets; the one, under the orders of M. de GLANDEVEZ, the other, commanded by Rear-Admiral WEST, who both equally distinguished themselves. The courage of BYNG was ill supported by his division: two English ships quitted the line, the first, † because it was greatly damaged in its rigging, and the second, ‡ on account of its weakness. This Admiral, despairing of

* The first of May, 1756.

† The *Intrepid*, of sixty-four guns. ‡ The *Deptford*, of fifty.

of succeeding in his object, was forced to retire, and put into Gibraltar, to repair his vessels. He alleged, "that a part of his force being disabled, it would have been imprudent to return and engage with an enemy, who, from the first, had the superiority, and who, at that time, had suffered no diminution of strength."*

It is not necessary here, to enter into the particular details of this battle, where BYRN, according to the depositions of his own officers, evinced neither fear, nor even any inward agitation; he never endeavoured to shun the enemy, and gave his orders with an admirable presence of mind; but they were not always well executed; his signal being defective. Is this a sufficient reason for taking away his life? The *ministers* alone are blameable; they had neither given him a sufficient force to subdue the French fleet, nor even an adequate number of troops to arise the siege of fort St. Philip. His instructions were to block up the vessels of M. DE LA GALISSONIERE, in the port of Toulon; to attack one of his divisions; or to pursue him as far as the Ocean, if he attempted to pass the Streights of Gibraltar. What ignorance do not such orders betray? Their authors, therefore, were anxious to turn the eyes of the public from them, and to fix their attention on the unhappy Admiral. His enemies found judges wicked enough to pronounce sentence of death upon him, *because he did not do all he might have done in the action*; but afterwards, as if to acknowledge his innocence, they recommended

* See the speech he made, in his own defence, upon his trial, the 18th of January, 1757.

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recommended him to the royal mercy.* Every species of malice was manifested in the execution

* For a description of the engagement in question, as well as for a detailed account of the circumstances which it gave rise to, (the catastrophe of which, will always be an object of an interesting contemplation in the naval history of Great Britain,) we refer the reader to the fifth and sixth volumes of SMOLLETT'S continuation of Hume's *England*; where that excellent historian not only gives a luminous narrative of the facts, but expatiates upon the event with a degree of candour, *spirit*, and impartiality, which does him infinite credit. However, as he has treated this part of his subject rather (though not improperly) in detail, the necessary extracts, for the purpose of immediate illustration, would run to too great a length for the plan of our *Memoir*. We shall simply observe, that our *French* writer, and the *British* historian, seem perfectly to coincide in sentiment, with respect to the result: and, to illustrate this position, we extract a few lines from the concluding parts of Dr. SMOLLETT'S observations on the subject: "Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, Admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations. His sentiments of his own fate, he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause for dissimulation, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the Marshal of the Admiralty.

 "Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been, whatever consequences might have attended his behaviour on that occasion, as the tribunal, before which he was tried, acquitted him expressly of cowardice and treachery, he was, without all doubt, a proper object for royal clemency; and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all these dishonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion, or remembered with disdain."

The unfortunate subject of these observations, was the second son of that renowned sea officer, Sir GEORGE BYNG, afterwards created Viscount TORRINGTON; he had, from his earliest youth, been trained to his father's profession, and had, till the unhappy affair in question, been deemed one of the best officers in the navy. *Translator.*

tion of this sentence, to which, one officer only refused to subscribe; history cannot conceal his name; it was Admiral FÖRBER, who declared, that
 “When a man is called upon to sign his name to
 “an act which is to give authority to the shedding
 “of blood, he ought to be guided by his own con-
 “science, and not by the opinions of other men.”*

If there was some reason to censure the want of vigilance in M. DE LA GALISSONIERE for letting a division† escape from Port-Mahon, and thereby join the English squadron, there was, at least, nothing in his conduct during the action, which did not deserve great praise. He would even have had the advantage of the wind, if it had not turned all at once in favour of the enemy. He always manœuvred with the ability of an experienced Admiral, although he had never before commanded a fleet in real action; his general knowledge, and the extent of his views were manifested highly to his credit, during his government of an important colony, and in several difficult negotiations. His country still looked for new services, in his zeal and his talents; but fortune, as if envious of his rapid advancement to the chief command in the French navy, cut short his days;‡ which subsequent events proved an almost irreparable loss to France.

The

* See the first paragraph of the reasons assigned by the late Admiral *Forbes*, then one of the Lord of the Admiralty, for his not signing the warrant for the execution of the unfortunate *Byng*. *Translator*.

† Consisting of two ships of the line, and two frigates, under the command of Commodore *Edgcombe*.

‡ *Roland Michel Barrin*, Marquis de la *Galissoniere*, lieutenant-general in the French sea service, died in his way to court, the 26th of October, 1756, at the age of sixty-three; of which he had spent forty-six in the Navy.

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The fortunate junction of the French ships, in the port of Louisbourg, saved, it is true, that important place, the following year; but M. DE MACHAULT was obliged to retire to his estate, at d'Arnonville. LOUIS XV. who called him *the minister after his own heart*, had the weakness to sacrifice him to court intrigue, the activity of which, always grows in proportion to its success; never had that spirit been greater, or so injurious to any state. It was to the baneful changes which these intrigues incessantly occasioned, that the English owed all their prosperity in this war; its beginning had greatly discontented the English, who were ready to burst out in clamorous sedition; they were afterwards more disposed to turn their generals, as well as the vain projects, and fruitless attempts of the ministers at invasion, into ridicule. The well-disposed citizens bewailed the destruction of their armies, and the inaction of the fleets; the most apprehensive among them, and those who were unfriendly to the Administration, foreboded public disasters, and even predicted the slavery of the country, with the total ruin of its marine.

In this conjuncture, Mr. PITT was, for the second time, called to the head of affairs. Fortune, at first, did not seem to enter into his views. The useless appearance of HAWKE, and General MORDAUNT, upon the coasts of Aunis, did no honour to those officers, or to those who sent them. The capitulation of Closter-Seven, was less shameful than its infraction, and the manner in which the British ministry attempted to justify it.* It was
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* They pretended, that the army, which capitulated, belonged to the Elector of Hanover, and that this identical army
which

some time before the influence of Mr. PITT's genius, upon the operations of the war, was discernable. The harmony and wisdom of his measures soon presented a striking contrast to the conduct of the council at Versailles, which was deficient in the knowledge, not only of the art of forming plans, and combining their different parts, but that, when they had adopted one, they never thought of, nor foresaw, the inconvenience it was liable to, or how to ensure its execution.

Louisbourg, menaced by a powerful armament, was but feebly succoured; and through this, the marine of France received a fatal blow. Ships, one after another, entered the harbour of that place, to the number of five, and several frigates, where they suffered themselves to be taken or burnt, without attempting to escape.† This was the first disaster of the French navy, but it was quickly followed by others, which will not easily be forgotten. From that period, it seemed as if France only fitted out ships of war for England; her squadrons blocked up all the harbours of France, and cut off all communication with them; no French ship got ready to sail but, in some measure, clandestinely; those few vessels which did escape sailing

which, contrary to the laws of nation, and military usage, had re-entered upon service, ought, thenceforward, to be considered as a British army.*

† See *Mem. sur la dernière guerre de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, T. I p. 160. Yverdon.

* The subject of the French writer's animadversion, not being regularly connected with that of our *Memoir*, we shall simply refer the reader to the very able, and, we believe, impartial statement of this much talked of affair, by Dr. SMOLLETT, in the seventh volume of his *Continuation of Hume's England*.

Translator.

ing into the hands of the enemy, were chiefly indebted for it to some favourable circumstance in the weather. The French naval force in the Mediterranean, could not join that of the Atlantic Ocean, the Streights of Gibraltar being guarded with so much care: whenever the French did resolve to pass them, they lost a great part of their fleet; this disastrous circumstance, forboded the still greater one which befell the Marshal de CONFLANS, and which completed the misfortunes. In considering these disasters, it is not permitted us to relate the genuine particulars; the events are too near the present day; in this respect, truth is restrained, and prudence dictates a rigorous silence: posterity, alone, can break it, and divulge the causes of such dire calamities.

We shall not, however, conceal, that the imprudent orders of the court were the true cause of the loss M. de CONFLANS' fleet, and the triumph of Admiral HAWKE, who fought, not only with the winds in his favour, but, in a manner, with the very rocks and sand-banks. If, instead of ranging along the coast, the Maréchal's ships had kept a good offing; and more, if, instead of putting to sea in a stormy season, they had waited till a more favourable time for going out, it is certain, that England would not have had so much cause to congratulate herself on a victory, which was disputed with them by too small a number of combatants, several having been scattered by the tempests, and others lost in a turbulent sea. A few ships of the rear division, among which, was that of M. DU VERGER DE ST. ANDRE, solely sustained, for a long time, all the efforts of the enemy.*

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* We are precluded from introducing the account given of this celebrated and important action, by the *British* historian,
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The French, having nothing to expect from good fortune, confided in their valour alone; it never abandons them in action, but the moment after, the sight of their disasters creates in them a fatal dependency, which soon reaches the ministry, when it is composed of men of ordinary capacities; adversity, by overpowering their energy of mind, contracts the sphere of their ideas; they discern nothing beyond the present moment; they despair of the future, and they judge of the resources of national spirit, by their own. Monsieur BERRYER, finding

in contradistinction to the notice taken of it by the French writer; by the same consideration which obliged us to decline that, in the instance of the unfortunate engagement off Minorca, namely, the length to which it runs: we, therefore, beg to refer the reader to the seventh volume of SMOLLETT'S continuation of Hume's England, for the particulars. One or two short extracts from this work, however, we cannot refrain from bringing forward, as directly applying to the observations of our narrator:

“ Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous, the nature of the coast, which is, in that place, rendered very hazardous by a great number of sand banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, (November 20, 1759,) dark night, and lee shore, it required extraordinary resolution in the English Admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion; who, with respect to his ships of the line, had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal.” *****
 “ On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives were lost, may be considered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great Britain; but it gave the finishing
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finding none which could bear him up under the misfortunes which oppressed him, thought the French marine, whose operations he had so ill-directed, could never be restored again. He put the contents of the Royal yards, &c. up to sale; and those at Brest were, in a short time, as empty as the harbour itself. "Ah! if DUGAY TROUIN were now living," said a celebrated orator of that day, with a justness and severity of remark, "if he were to walk through our arsenals, and inspect our harbours, what would be his grief! Frenchmen, he would exclaim, what is become of the ships I commanded, those victorious fleets which triumphed on the Ocean; I look
" for

" blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel of this war."

Smollett's continuation of Hume's England, reign of GEORGE II.

We shall just state the losses sustained in the action, by the respective fleets: On the part of the French, *Le Thefee*, of seventy-four guns, and 815 men, and *Le Superbe*, of seventy guns, and 800 men, were sunk in the early part of the action; *Le Soleil Royal*, of eighty guns, their Admiral's ship, and *Le Heros*, of seventy-four guns, were destroyed by fire; *Le Juste*, of eighty guns, perished at the entrance of the Loire; and *Le Formidable*, of eighty guns, was taken. The loss of British, with respect to ships, was, the *Essex*, of sixty-four, and the *Resolution*, of seventy-four guns, which were both lost on a sand bank, on that part of the coast of France, near which the engagement was fought, notwithstanding all the efforts that were made to save them; however, all their men, and the greater part of the stores, were brought off; they were afterwards set on fire, by orders of the Admiral. *Translator.*

* Eulogium on Dugay Trouin, by M. Thomas.

“for them in vain? I perceive nothing but the wrecks; a gloomy stillness reigns in your ports.” The few ships which remained in them were given to private individuals, for fitting out as letters of marque; by this proceeding, the colonies, and the coasts, were left without defence. In a short time, the former submitted to the conqueror, and the latter continued to be insulted with impunity.

Mr. PITT continued at the head of affairs; a more able minister, than an enlightened citizen; less attached to his country and king, than to objects of personal ambition; a man, unfortunately, too successful; and whom posterity will judge unfavourably of, for having inspired his countrymen into a depth of ambition, without seeing the fatal, though distant, effects of them.* Mr. PITT now approached the wished for moment, of seeing France deprived of her establishments, and ruined in her commerce. The taking of Quebec, and the

* We should certainly deem it the *acme* of presumption, did we, for a moment, imagine, that any thing from us, could, in the slightest degree, enhance the *growing reputation* of this *truly illustrious Statesman*. However, on considering what the *French* writer has observed, we cannot resist the impulse of our feelings; but, by way of contrast to those observations, as well as for the gratification of the reader, select a few sentences from that comprehensive, (and, perhaps, the most *appropriate*) character drawn of him, by the celebrated Mr. GRATTAN.

Translator.

“The secretary (PITT) stood alone; modern degeneracy had not reached him; original and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. ***** Overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable; his object was *England*; his ambition was *fame!* ***** *France* sunk beneath him; with one hand, he smote the House of Bourbon, and in the other, wielded the democracy of

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the death of the brave MONTCOLM, left no hope of the French preserving Canada: the raising the siege of Madras; the ill conduct of LALLY; and the unfortunate battles of the French squadron, under the orders of M. d'ACHE; announced the total ruin of her East India company, and its factories: those of Africa, the enemy had already possessed themselves of: Guadaloupe had fallen, and the British ministry delayed the conquest of the other windward islands, only to make new attempts upon the coast of France. The defeat at St. Cas ought, however, to have given that ministry a disrelish for those enterprises; but Mr. PITT was not discouraged; he was bent upon preventing the re-establishment of the French marine, and to effect that design, did all he could to destroy the ports of Brétagne; Brest, above all, fixed his attention; L'Orient was not overlooked in this project, the execution of which, was to commence with the capture of Belle-Isle, and which he proposed

“ of England; the sight of his mind was infinite; and his schemes were to effect, not England, not the present age only, but all Europe, and posterity. *****
 “ the suggestions of an understanding, animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy! *****
 “ Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this Statesman; and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories; but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her!” *****
 “ Upon the whole, there was, in this man, something, that could create, subvert, or reform;—an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder; and to rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority; something, that could establish, or overwhelm empires; and strike a blow in the world, that should resound through its Universe!”

posed to erect into a new Gibraltar, and thence to carry fire and sword upon the continent. A miserable fugitive had given the plan of these operations,* of which, the long resistance of the Chevalier de St. CROIX, occasioned the failure; the season being, at length, too far advanced to continue them.

This vain project having thus miscarried, the conquest of Belle-Isle became more burthensome, than useful to England; and it was dishonourable in her to have undertaken it at the moment, when France was calling for peace. The British ministry answered the first propositions with a haughtiness, which did not surprize Europe; but what should not her astonishment be, when the court of Versailles having insisted upon the restitution of the ships captured before the war, that ministry declared this demand was *neither just, nor warrantable, according to the established principles of the laws of nations, and of war.*† Out of all the immense possessions which France had recently lost in North America, she reserved to herself only one spot, as a place of refuge for her fishermen. After having refused to agree to this, with a peremptory tone, Mr. PITT suggested the offer of the miserable island of St. Pierre, exacting, at the same time, not only, that the French should erect no fortifications, and maintain no troops thereon, but further, in virtue of this cession, *that it should be free for an English commissary to reside there; and for the commander of the British Squadron in those seas, to inspect it from time to time.*‡ Is not this sufficient to warrant

* See the Appendix, No. VIII.

† Art. X. of the answer to the *ultimatum* of France.

‡ Idem. Art. IV.

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rant the enemies of the court of London, in asserting, that it was "much less influenced by the true interests of the nation, and of the dictates of humanity, than inflated by its recent successes, and eager for those, which it further promised itself."*

The rupture of these negotiations prove, then, that GEORGE the Third, who had just ascended the throne, had not a more pacific disposition, than his grandfather, whom he had succeeded: having retained the same ministers, he, necessarily, must have had the same views of ambition; Spain only furnished him with new means of satisfying it, by declaring war against him. The English, in one campaign, only, had the double advantage of possessing themselves of two of the richest colonies of this king, the Havannah, and Manilla, and in taking from it twelve ships of the line, in the harbour of the latter city;† which reduced the Spanish navy to almost the same condition as that of France.

In the course of this war, the French lost thirty-seven sail of the line, and fifty-six frigates; eighteen of the former ships, and thirty-seven of the latter, had been taken, the others were either lost or burnt. The generous exertions, which several
of

* See the latter part of the *Hist. de la France*.

† This is evidently a mistake in our narrator; it being at the taking of the *Havannah*, that the ships of war fell into the hands of the British. Nine ships of the line and four frigates, which were in the harbour, surrendered to the victors; three ships of the line were sunk by the Spaniards, at the beginning of the siege, in the entrance of the harbour, and two more large ships were burned on the stocks by the British. By this blow, it was calculated that Spain was deprived of one fifth of her whole naval strength. *Translator*.

of the provinces, and the principal state corporations had made, in furnishing the king with seventeen ships of the line, were not sufficient to repair these losses; besides, it required considerable time to build such vessels,* and the want of them was urgent; seamen were also scarce, the greater part of those were immured in English prisons, or compelled to serve in the enemy's marine.

Spain, therefore, came forward too late: if this power had availed herself of the first successes of France, to enter into an alliance with her; if, united, they had afterwards formed one common plan of defence, the result of their junction would not have been those destructive losses which they suffered after a few months hostilities; at least, in attacking an enemy, whose vessels covered every sea, and were on the point of invading the Spanish possessions of America, with the same troops which had just conquered Canada and Martinique; we would ask, would it not be politic to have withdrawn the French armies from the heart of Germany, and, at length, to give up a system as absurd, as ruinous, and no longer to distract the attention between land and sea operations? From the very beginning, it had been foreseen, "that
 " so fatal a division of the forces, would absorb
 " their whole strength, and that the result of it
 " would be to render the English more powerful
 " than they had ever been, consequently, the
 " arbiters

* From having run up these ships with too much haste, and having employed bad timber in their construction, several of the vessels were scarcely of any use, such as *Le Diligent*, *Les Six Corps*, of seventy-four guns; *L'Union*, of sixty-four guns; *Le Bourdelois*, *La Ferme*, and *L'Utile*, of fifty-four guns each.

“ arbiters of the fate of Europe, and particularly of France.”*

The event justified this prediction of the Maréchal de NOAILLES; the English not only knew how to profit by the advantageous situation of their affairs, but they made an insulting use of it, by exacting from their rivals,† conditions for a peace, too galling to be endured. Let a nation provide for its own welfare by a treaty with the smallest possible ill to its adversary; it will then establish its power upon a solid foundation; otherwise, such nation prepares, and even accelerates, its ruin. This truth was disregarded by England in the negociations which, after Mr. PITT's resignation, the Earl of BUTE entered upon. This latter minister sincerely wished to bring them to a conclusion; he was materially assisted by the Duke of BEDFORD, the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, who understood the true interests of his country; rather than betray them, by listening to the pernicious councils of unqualified ambition; he was wise enough to yield with respect to certain articles, which, if too tenaciously insisted upon, might endanger a rupture of the negociations. The article respecting the Newfoundland fisheries, which the English ministry intended to exclude the French, because it proved a nursery to the seamen, gave the greatest uneasiness to the Duc de CHOISEUL, whose firmness, and superior talents, ultimately overcome all obstacles. The Duc de NIVERNOIS had already exerted himself with some success

* *Lettre du Maréchal de Noailles à Louis XV.* See his *Mém.* vol. VI. page 246.

† See the Appendix, No. XI.

success, in London, to remove the difficulties which impeded the work of pacification; and the Duc de PRASLIN, plenipotentiary of France, conducted himself, on the same occasion, with as much zeal and prudence. By their united efforts, they brought the treaty to a conclusion, and preliminaries were signed at Fontainebleau, the 3d of November, 1762, notwithstanding the opposition made to them by a strong party, who set no bounds to their pretensions. The Duke of BEDFORD might have been the *victim* of this measure, if he had not *enjoyed considerable credit in the House of Commons*.* Many people may still remember his having said, that by conceding to certain articles in the treaty, he ran the risk of losing his head; to such a degree had the successes of their arms rendered his countrymen unjust. How often have the walls of both houses of Parliament resounded with severe complaints, pointed sarcasms, and loud denunciations against the authors of the treaty in question?

Was England, we would ask, at that time, in a condition for prolonging the war? Resentment rarely considers our weakness; and hatred always make us presume too much on our own strength. If France, at that time, deplored her losses; had not the British nation also to lament her very triumphs? a disposition to invade every thing, when we cannot retain such acquisitions if made; to count upon new efforts, while the means of producing them are wanting; is the extreme of infatuation!

* With respect to this, *rather curious*, observation of the French writer, we shall only repeat one, which he has, himself, more than once suggested in the course of this work, namely, that the events alluded to, are not sufficiently remote, to admit that perfect freedom of discussion, which the interests of genuine truth requires. *Translator.*

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infatuation! Ambition is never regulated by true policy. Should the eyes of England, then, have been shut upon her enormous debts,* and the extent of her engagements? But the deeper the abyss, the less we are disposed to fathom it. Great Britain had no other advantage over her rival, than the facility of borrowing money, that is to say, the power of ruining future generations, to gratify the passions of the present: she did not perceive that the duration of hostilities relaxed the sinews of government, and that it would end by her experiencing the same evils as her adversary, in the oppressive weight of taxes, the misery of her people, the luxury of the rich, a general corruption, a debasement of public morals, a stagnation of trade, and in the ruin of agriculture.

Men always sacrifice future security, to present aggrandizement: England, by seeking to reduce her enemies too low, in the treaty of Paris, rendered the peace of very short duration. She did not reflect, that by too widely extending her possessions, the fabric of her power must be undermined, or that it would, ere long, be overthrown by the efforts of despotism. Lord CHATHAM, the same Mr. Pitt, the implacable enemy of France, so adverse to the peace made after his resignation, ventured to predict, that, under the circumstances of the case, *the cession of Canada would, eventually, occasion the loss of America to England*, and, consequently, a considerable portion of her commerce, as well as her maritime ascendancy. This natural consequence, of the first part of his prediction,

* Amounting to 3330,000,000 of livres, *tournois*, the interest, of which, was 111,477,490 livres, per annum.

prediction, escaped his lips unawares, or doubtless he would have concealed it. But is it not still remembered, that he often boasted of having subdued *Canada on the plains of Germany*, and that he had strongly insisted, in the first overtures of peace, upon the entire abandonment of that country on the part of France. What a change of principles! either in the former case they were false, or his conduct in the administration had been injurious to his country, and was, what the event but too well proved.

Never was a more fatal gift, than that which the French made to their rivals, in the treaty of Paris. "Canada," said a judicious English writer, during the last war, "was, in effect, the security for our colonies,* why then do our ministers endeavour to subdue it?" That province being no longer an object of terror to these colonies, from the moment it passed under the dominion of the mother country, they ceased to regard the French as enemies when they were no longer their neighbours, and had no further occasion of British fleets and armies, to guard against them. Discovering, at length, that they had been the passive instruments of the hatred and ambition of the mother country, the colonists were, the more easily, raised up against her, when they saw themselves arbitrarily charged with the burden of a debt contracted without

* See *Lettres du Marquis de Montcalm*; falsely attributed to this general. They were the production of an Englishman of quality, who wrote them in 1757, whilst he was serving against the French in Canada. They remained a long time in manuscript, and were not published till 1777, and then with several alterations. It is the first work of the time, in which the actual revolution of America was foretold in a firm tone, and its causes clearly set forth.

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out their knowledge, and, among other purposes, for that of the more securely oppressing them. Such were the original causes of a revolution which will, probably, be fatal to the maritime ascendancy of Great Britain.*

In vain might she dissemble with herself, that she owes this aggrandizement to the progress of her colonies, and to the commerce with which they furnished her the means; which have increased in proportion to their prosperity. Under the administration of CROMWELL, and in the commencement of the reign of CHARLES II. the naval force of England equalled that of Holland and France together; but can its state, at that time, be compared to that, which it rose to in the succession war. It was then, that the influence of the North American commerce upon the navigation of Great Britain was sensibly felt; not only the number of sailors upon the coasts of the three kingdoms was augmented, but further, new England supplied a great many to the mother country, to man her fleets, and in consequence of which, the colonists were frequently obliged to employ, in their own vessels, negroes and savages.†

From the peace of Utrecht, to that of Aix-la-Chapelle, the progress of these colonies became more sensible, and England drew considerable advantages from them; her commerce maintained a greater

* Our remark upon this speculative observation of the *French* writer, who, in his preface, made one to the same effect, and to which we felt ourselves called upon simply to point the reader's attention, is necessarily short, and merely to repeat, that the above was written *before the present war.* *Translator.*

† *Dummer's* Defence of the Charters of New England, published in 1721.

a greater number of sailors than before;* and the Americans supported Great Britain in such a way, as to prove what she might have executed with their assistance, when their population should have considerably increased. The principal corps of troops, employed in the siege of Carthagena, had been raised in North America; that which attacked the Spaniards in Florida, was composed only of natives of that continent; finally, Louisbourg was taken by the militia of Boston; this last city was then in a very flourishing condition; its inhabitants, and those of the neighbouring coasts, carried on a successful cod-fishery. The English acknowledge, that they owe to them the preservation of this branch of commerce in Europe; and it increased the number of sailors in America to such a degree, that the colonists were enabled to fit out a great many privateers. "Scarcely," as the illustrious FRANKLIN observed, in 1751, "have we been settled here a hundred years, and yet the aggregate force of our privateers, during the last war, was greater, either as to men, or artillery, than that of all the English marine, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.†"

It is universally known, that during the war of 1756, the Anglo-Americans raised an army of 25,000 men for seconding the enterprizes of England;

* The number which the commerce between England and all America supported, before the present troubles, amounted to 13,900, according to an English writer. "Struck with the loss of so many sailors," the same writer adds, "that, after the separation of the colonies, the English flag will be no more respected, even in the surrounding seas, than the streamers of an oyster boat." See *Impartial Reflections concerning America*, page 37.

† Observations upon the population of America, Sec. XXII.

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land; but attention has not, perhaps, been sufficiently paid to the prodigious number of failors, that they furnished to her navy.* Without such assistance, could she have been able, at one, and the same time, to fit out so many ships of the line, and maintain her commerce? the profit she derived from that of her American colonies, amounted to two millions sterling, per annum. When the repeal of the famous Stamp Act was agitated in the House of Commons, Lord CHATHAM, then a member, said, "This is the fund which has enabled us to triumph during the last war." We have no reason to doubt the assertion of this celebrated minister, who affirmed, he had availed himself of the means, which his office furnished him, to gain accurate information in that respect.

To this resource, so important to the finances of England, we may add that which her navy could draw from America, in masts, timber for ship building, iron, copper, hemp, tar, &c. objects as rare in Europe, as abundant in the Northern parts of the New World.† In order to secure the exclusive property in these articles, the parliament had forbidden their export; this prohibition, would, however, have been less injurious to other nations, than the rapid aggrandizement of the English colonies, had they continued faithful to the parent state.

Possessing, then, without interruption, an immense

* The number of these, was rated at 35,000 in those Northern provinces, only, known by the general denomination of New England.

† America, says an English political writer, furnishes us with all our naval stores, and is capable of abundantly supplying, not only the royal navy, but all our merchant ships, &c. *Reflex. impart. sur l'Amerique*, p. 33.

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menſe and fertile country, doubling its population every twenty years,* to what a degree of power might not England have ariſen; and what a counterpoife of ſtrength would not have been required in oppoſition to it? Would not the independance, even of the whole world have been threatened? France, then, in declaring for the Anglo-Americans, after the re-eſta bliſhment of their marine, † conſulted as much the general welfare, as her own particular ſafety. “ People of Europe, it is time that you “ renounce thoſe ſentiments of jealousy which “ have ſo long animated you againſt this power; “ ſecond her efforts. The ſceptre of the main “ wavers in the hand of her rival; do not ſuffer it “ to be firmly graſped again; the moment is ar- “ rived when the commerce of the two hemiſpheres “ may be ſet free; let it not be loſt; reſume all “ your rights; fortune calls, and your intereſt re- “ quires you to follow her!” ‡

* See the Appendix, No. XI. † See the Appendix, No. XII.

‡ The aſſertions, and reaſoning, of the *French* writer, in the latter pages; we ſhall, after ſimply obſerving, that events have ſince, in a great meaſure, decided upon its merits, leave to the deliberate judgment of the intelligent reader, who of courſe, will take into his conſideration, the quarter from which they, as well as the concluding exhortation, proceed. *Translator.*

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

OBSERVATIONS

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

NAVIGATION ACT.

THIS celebrated Act, some people exclaim, bears the impress of the very heart and soul of CROMWELL! It was founded upon a perfect disregard to the rights and interests of nations; and presents a series of regulations, outraging public liberty, as well as injurious to private right. Such invectives offend, without proving any thing; let us then, give to our adversaries the mild example of moderation, whilst we examine, with equal impartiality and attention, the Edict, to which they are so much indebted for the rapid progress of their naval power.

The principal articles will be the subject of our reflections; as the others serve only to explain the essential regulations of this Bill, and to ensure its execution, we do not think it necessary to dwell upon them.*

ARTICLE

* The Abbé *Dubois*, with propriety, calls this Act "the Palladium or the tutelary Deity of the Marine of England." This judicious politician also remarks, that this Edict contains the substance of many others, which have been made since the days of Cromwell.

ARTICLE I.

That, from and after the 1st of December, 1660, no Goods, or Commodities, whatsoever, shall be imported into, or exported out of any plantations, &c. belonging to his Majesty, or which may hereafter be in his possession, his heirs, and successors, in Asia, Africa, or America, but in such ships as are built in England, or in the dominions, plantations, &c. thereunto belonging; and whereof the right owners, and the master, and three-fourth of the mariners, at least, are English; under the penalty of the forfeiture and loss of all such goods, and commodities, ships, &c.

The example of this general interdiction, had been previously set by the Spaniards. It is well known how far they have carried their jealousy, with respect to the exclusive commerce of their own colonies. The Dutch and Portugueze also refused to admit any other nation to partake with them in the riches of their establishments. England, then, did no more, by her Act of Navigation, than imitate the example of other commercial powers; this is not the place to examine the utility, or disadvantage, of such a prohibitory system; it will be sufficient to observe, that if the English had left the exportation and importation of their commodities free and unfettered, whilst neither were permitted by their neighbours or rivals, they would have had cause to apprehend, that the latter would soon have been enriched at their expence, and have reaped, without difficulty the fruit of their labours; and, continually exhausted by fresh emigration, Great Britain would, in that case, have

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have seen her population daily diminish, without the capability of repairing her losses, by means of her own commerce.

But, with a view of enriching one part of a great nation, must the other part be impoverished, and held in servitude? To prevent the latter from making that advantage of the productions of its soil, which are peculiar to it, and from employing its capital, and its industry, in the most beneficial manner: Is it not an infraction of the social compact, and a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of humanity? Engagements implied, reciprocal, founded upon necessity, and consecrated by time, can alone justify a procedure, which appears as illicit, as it is odious. A colony is originally, an infant state, which, after having purchased, by its submission, the protection of the mother-country, engages to give her commodities, and only to receive from her, subsistence, and whatever it may stand in need of; this condition is more or less hard, more or less permanent, according to the nature of the soil, to which the colonists are transported. For instance, in the American Isles, which produce no articles of the first necessity; the engagement which the mother-country comes under, towards their inhabitants, to furnish them with corn, wine, cloth, &c. in exchange for their sugar, coffee, indigo, &c. is as just, as it is durable, provided that she does not abuse it by her monopolies, or excessive prices. But the case is not the same with the establishments on the continent of North America, where nature has not left, to its cultivators, any thing to envy the productions of the old world; when the ties, by which these colonists were bound, tended daily towards dissolution, by the

progress of their population, they could not then be retained but by the successive abrogation of prohibitory regulations, according to circumstances; England, perhaps, might then have been recompensed, for this unavoidable sacrifice, by the benefits resulting from a close connection, of which, the relaxation of the Act of Navigation would have been the first and principal cause.

This has not been the line of conduct adopted by the British Government; its administration towards the colonies, at first generous, had become, in the sequel, oppressive. The colonists, having been threatened with the burden of taxation, unfortunately perceived, that the Act of Navigation,* and all the prohibitory laws which have followed, were none other than the sad effects of a real servitude. An English political writer, considers them merely as being the badge thereof, "wherewith," says he, "we considerately mark the colonists, without any other motive than the indiscriminating jealousy of our merchants and manufacturers. When those colonies shall have attained greater maturity, those laws, or regulations will proportionally become tyrannical and insupportable." If Mr. ADAM SMITH had written some years before, his observations might have been regarded as prophecies; at this time they only contain a remarkable acknowledgement, and a reflection equally judicious and impartial.

ARTICLE

* The promulgation of this Act, caused an insurrection in the States of Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland; but their differences frustrated the effect of a confederation, projected with a view of obtaining a free tobacco trade; they were, besides, too feeble at the time, to maintain a proceeding of that sort.

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ARTICLE II.

Be it further enacted, that no alien, who shall not be naturalized, shall, after the 1st of February, 1661, exercise the trade, or occupation of a Merchant, or Factor, in any of the said Colonies, or places, upon pain of the forfeiture, and loss, of all his goods, &c. as above mentioned.

In prohibiting persons, who were not naturalized, from carrying on commerce with the colonies, Parliament meant to enforce the observance of the Act of Navigation; but it did not prevent the colonists, although foreigners, from trafficking with the inhabitants of Great Britain. Such a prohibition would have proved the greatest obstacle to the population of North America, which received into its bosom so great a number of emigrants from all nations, French, German, Swedes, and Danes.

The French government, in such a regulation, has extended it, in terms, which do not allow a similar interpretation. In fact, it permits *foreigners* "to possess lands and habitations in the Caribbee islands, and traffic in commodities, the product of their lands; but it prohibits them, under pain of perpetual banishment," *although naturalized* "to be merchants, brokers, or agents in affairs of commerce."* This law is so rigorous, that we are inclined to doubt, whether it has been carried into effect; unfortunately, it may serve as a pretext for many vexatious proceedings, which, however,

* *Lettres Pat. de 1727. Art. VI.*

however, it is the duty of a wise legislator to prevent; every regulation ought either to be rigorously forced, or else to be formally abolished.

ARTICLE III.

No Goods or Commodities of the growth, &c. of Asia, Africa, or America, be imported into England, or the territories, &c. therunto belonging, but in an English vessel, or vessels, whose proprietors and owners are subjects of his Majesty, and whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners are English, under the penalty of the seizure, and forfeiture, of such goods, commodities, and vessels, &c.

ARTICLE IV.

No European Goods or commodities, &c. shall be imported into England, in English built shipping, as aforesaid, but by such vessels as sail directly from the ports of those countries, where the said articles are manufactured, or commodities produced, &c. under the penalties above mentioned.

The former of these articles is a necessary consequence of the preceding ones, and naturally results from the system which England adopted, respecting the commerce of her colonies, which she exclusively reserved to herself. The latter was chiefly made with a view to prevent the Dutch from becoming the factors of that kingdom, as they were then of the whole world; unfortunately, it tends to isolate nations, and to diminish the relations between them. The English have not, however, derived all that they promised themselves, from this last article; they have, thereby, deprived themselves

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themselves of the advantage of competition in their own market, and, to a certain degree, of that of foreign exchange; without this prohibition, the produce of their soil, and their manufactures, would sell dearer abroad, and foreign merchandize would at home yield a better price. The advantage of freight cannot compensate them for the losses which this regulation occasions them, in their sales and purchases.

A prohibitory law, when too rigorous, and overstrained, cannot, for any length of time, be strictly executed. This is the case with regard to the Navigation Act, in many particulars; the inconveniences resulting from that just mentioned, clearly proved, that several exceptions were necessary; England has admitted some: bullion and cochineal may be imported into that kingdom, in foreign vessels; such vessels have likewise permission to carry on the commerce of the exportation and importation of the North, formerly reserved to the English alone, upon condition that they always proceed from their respective ports.

ARTICLE V.

That all sorts of dried, or salted, fish, cod-fish, or herring, or any oil, or blubber, made, or that shall be made, of any kind of fish whatsoever, or any whale-fins, or whale-bones, which shall be imported into England, &c. not having been caught in vessels truly and properly belonging therunto, shall pay double alien duties.

This restriction did not appear sufficient to CHARLES II. to ensure the advantage of the fisheries; for, some time afterwards, he forbade the importation of all fish, caught by foreigners.

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GEORGE I. excepted from this hard prohibition, stock-fish, anchovies, flurgeon, and some other sorts; other methods, more efficacious, have since been employed to augment this valuable branch of commerce. Bounties have been granted, one of thirty shilling per ton; for vessels employed in the herring fishery; and one of two pounds sterling, for vessels exceeding 200 tons engage din the Greenland whale fishery.

But more, still, has been done to promote the fisheries; an alteration has been made, with regard to the principal article in the Act of Navigation, by granting to the North American colonies, the unlimited liberty of fishing, and of exporting the produce, to all parts of Europe, situated beyond Capé Finisterre; such a permission has had all the effect which might be expected; the number of American vessels has ever since been encreasing, and the fishery of New England was, before the war, one of the most considerable in the world. At the same period, the Whale-fishery which, till then, had languished on the part of England, became flourishing in its colonies, and began to engage many vessels; this alteration was owing to the wisdom of the measures adopted by Parliament: these required the vessels of the Anglo-Americans, which proceed to this last fishery, 1st. to have been built within two years; 2dly. to depart before the 1st of May, and not to quit Davis's Streights, or the coasts of Greenland, before the 20th of August. We freely acknowledge that no people has so well understood maritime legislation as the English; its tendency with them is always to multiply the number of their sailors, and to ensure their subsistence, of which, the following article is likewise a convincing proof:

ARTICLE

ARTICLE VI.

No goods to be laded or carried in, or from, any port of England, Ireland, &c. to another port, creek, or place of the same, in the vessel of any alien not denizen'd, under the penalties above expressed.

After the great fisheries, the coast trade is the best nursery for seamen; it has, particularly, one great advantage over the others, in as much, as it proves far less destructive to that valuable class of men, and more favourable to population. It has also been remarked, that those who are inclined to enter on a sea-faring life, have chosen, for their first attempt, a voyage which has not removed them far from their country; the more frequently these occasions return, the more do they induce young persons to try the sea, till, by degrees, they entirely addict themselves to it.

The necessity of encouraging and maintaining the coasting trade in Great Britain, by every possible means, could not escape discerning minds. The irregular form of that island, in its length from South to North, and where nature has formed an infinity of bays, harbours, and creeks; its happy situation with respect to the neighbouring islands; in fine, the difficulty attending the interior communications render these which the sea offers, as frequent as they are indispensably necessary; without these latter resources, how could the distant parts of Scotland carry on commerce with London, and the Southern counties? Not without much difficulty, and a great expence. Let us hear Mr. ADAM SMITH upon this subject:

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" A broad-wheeled waggon, attended by two
 " men, and drawn by eight horses, in about six
 " weeks time, carries and brings back, between
 " London and Edinburgh, near four ton weight
 " of goods. In about the same time, a ship, navi-
 " gated by six or eight men, and sailing between the
 " ports of London and Leith, frequently carries
 " and brings back, two hundred ton weight of
 " goods. Six or eight men, therefore, by the help
 " of water carriage, can carry, and bring back, in
 " the same time, the same quantity of goods between
 " London and Edinburgh, as fifty broad wheeled
 " waggons, attended by a hundred men, and drawn
 " by four hundred horses. Upon two hundred
 " tons of goods, therefore, carried by the cheapest
 " land-carriage from London to Edinburgh, there
 " must be charged the maintenance of a hundred
 " men for three weeks; and both the maintenance,
 " and what is nearly equal to the maintenance, the
 " wear and tear of four hundred horses, as well as
 " of fifty great waggons. Whereas, upon the same
 " quantity of goods carried by water, there is to
 " be charged only the maintenance of six or eight
 " men, and the wear and tear of a ship of two hun-
 " dred tons burthen, together with the value of
 " the superior risk, or the difference of the insur-
 " ance between land and water carriage. Were
 " there no other communication between those two
 " places, therefore, but by land-carriage, as no
 " goods could be transported from the one to the
 " other, except such, whose price was very con-
 " siderable in proportion to their weight, they
 " could carry on but a small part of that commerce
 " which, at present subsists between them; and
 " consequently, could give but a small part of
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“that encouragement, which they, at present, mutually afford to each others industry.”*

If the Dutch had been allowed this advantage of maintaining and facilitating these maritime communications between the different parts of Great Britain, or of diminishing and destroying them, according to their interest, they would have been masters of the commerce of that kingdom; and would have supported, at her expence, a prodigious quantity of sailors, had not the Navigation Act interdicted the coasting trade, to a people so economical and industrious. This trade is, perhaps, the most certain resource of Great Britain; the importance of this regulation to England, may be judged by considering the single article of sea-coal, the carriage of which, annually, employs 8000 men, and 1500 vessels. “Three of the ports, in the neighbourhood of the principal coal-mines,” says NICHOLLS, “Whitehaven, Newcastle, and Swansea, in Wales, are become the magazines, whence all England and Ireland derive their consumption. Newcastle supplies all the Eastern coast, as far as Portsmouth; Swansea, the western coast, as far as Devonshire, and its neighbourhood; Whitehaven furnishes Ireland. This sole branch of commerce employs not less than five hundred vessels, from one to two hundred tons, maintains a body of sailors reputedly the most skilful, which, in periods of exigence, forms a ready resource, and always to be depended upon. The Thames, alone, distributes the coals, which are brought into it, at London, and through nine counties: the other rivers render the same service, according to the course they take. Other
“ coal-

* SMITH, on the Wealth of Nations, B. I. c. III.

“ coal-mines, nearer London, have not been
 “ opened, lest this branch of maritime commerce
 “ should be diminished, it being, in a manner, the
 “ school of failors, and the nurseries of the English
 “ marine, which forms the real bulwark, and true
 “ glory of the nation. Riches, so capable of in-
 “ crease, have entitled these mines to the appella-
 “ tion of the *black Indies*.”* This writer, also
 relates, in a note, that, adding to this, the other
 articles conveyed in the same manner, it was found,
 upon a moderate calculation, that there were
 more than one hundred thousand failors, which
 the commerce of Great Britain employs, only be-
 tween her different ports. The projected Jun-
 ction-canal, between the Thames and the Severn,
 might, probably, reduce the price of this, and
 many other, articles of consumption, but fewer
 hands would be then employed, and, consequently,
 many failors lost to the nation.

Far from censuring this article, which relates to
 the coasting trade, or considering it as unjust, we
 cannot too much applaud it. The entire benefits
 of a navigation, the object, of which, is to main-
 tain a constant intercourse between the maritime
 provinces, and enable them, reciprocally, to sup-
 ply their wants, should naturally belong to the
 subjects of every state. Notwithstanding the ani-
 madversions to be expected from certain politicians,
 the extravagant partizans of a general and indefinite
 liberty, we do not hesitate to say, that, whatever
 nation neglects to adopt the English system, in
 the above respect, will soon find itself deprived of
 failors, and will render its coasts deserted. This
 would

* *Remarks upon the advantages, and disadvantages, of France
 and Great Britain, with respect to commerce, &c.*
Tr. Fr. p. 337, 338, 339.

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would infallibly have been the case with France, if the Dutch had continued to engross its coasting-trade, as they successfully attempted, during the late war, when they profited by her misfortunes, and enjoyed, without restraint, their too extensive privileges.*

This species of commerce is so much more advantageously carried on upon the coasts of France, as they may be frequented in all seasons of the year; whilst, in the Northern countries, and even in England, the Navigation becomes interrupted the greatest part of the winter, by the ice striking against the vessels, and opening their seams, by the unexpected violence of the shocks.† France is less subject than Holland, to sudden inundations; and there are fewer shipwrecks upon its coast, than upon those of England; nothing is wanting to France, but a greater number of ports. An English writer, of the 17th century, boldly affirmed, that this deficiency would always prevent France from being as powerful, at sea, as Great Britain, or than the United Provinces in particular.‡ Would it then, we ask, be impossible for the French to surmount those obstacles, which prevent their ascending many of their rivers? Some years of peace, and works skilfully directed, would suffice for the execution of such undertakings, these,

* These were granted to them by the treaty of commerce, signed at Nimiguen, 10th August, 1678. The 13th article is one of the most injurious to the different descriptions of the French marine.

† We should almost apologize to our readers, for observing, that this description of our French writer, is greatly overcharged with respect to England. *Translator.*

‡ Sir *W. Petty's* Political Arithmetic, c. III.

these, together with politic regulations, would certainly produce all the advantages which might justly be expected.

ARTICLE VII.

That where any ease, abatement, or privilege, is given in the book of rates, to Goods or Commodities, imported, or exported, in English-built shipping, or belonging to England, that it is always to be understood and provided, that the master, and three-fourths of the mariners of the said ships, at least, shall be also English, &c.

The art of constructing trading vessels, with equal strength and economy, has hitherto, in the greatest degree, appertained to the Dutch; so remarkably dextrous are they, in such sort of constructions, that they commonly say at Sardam, (where their principal yards for building merchant-vessels, are situated,) that they could finish a large vessel in a day, if the builders, of that town, were to be paid three months, in advance. In fact, jealousy is often injurious, but it sometimes helps us to discern our own interests: the English did more than envy Holland its valuable ship-yards; they endeavoured to establish the like in their own country: the Navigation Act constrained them so to do, both, by exempting (as we shall see immediately) vessels, built in their own ports, from the payments of duties which were chargeable on foreign vessels, and also, by requiring many formalities, which it is needless to recite,* in order

* See, also, the Statutes of WILLIAM III. an. VII. and VIII. c. 20, &c.

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der to validate the purchase of vessels, which their neighbours, on the continent, might have furnished to the subjects of Great Britain. These restrictions have not been fruitless: the inhabitants of Shoreham, of Ipswich, of Yarmouth, of Hull, of Whitby, and of Newcastle, have been the principal builders of most of the merchant vessels, made use of by the English; the prices were not high before the present war, on account of the competition of the North American colonists, where the dearness of labour,* was compensated by the low prices of the timber,† &c.; although the quality of the timber, hitherto used, has not been very good, and the vessels built therewith, have not been of long duration, it is, however, certain, that their number considerably reduced the price of freight, in England; a circumstance which is justly considered as one of the principal causes of the advancement of commerce in that kingdom.

Before the Navigation Act took place, commercial men had been aware, how much it concerned them to remove the necessity of freighting foreign vessels. HENRI II. forbade it to the French, under penalty of confiscation of the vessels and merchandizes.‡ CHARLES IX. renewed this prohibition, and also decreed, that no commodity, or merchandize, should be carried from France, but in ships belonging to his subjects,

* At New York, before the Revolution, the shipwrights earned six shillings and six-pence sterling a day, including the value of a pint of rum; that is to say, seven livres, sixteen sols *tournois*.

† The importation of which, was encouraged by bounties, Stat. of 2d. of GEO. II. c. 35.

‡ Declaration of the 8th February, 1555.

jects, excepting salt, the importation of which, was declared to be free.* But these prohibitory laws could not, then, be put in execution; and, far from proving serviceable, they became injurious to a kingdom, whose commerce was in its infancy, and whose sanguinary internal commotions, threatened to involve it in ruin.

Whilst England had only a small number of ships, the prohibition against their being manned with more than one fourth part of foreign sailors, and giving the preference to those of the nation, was politic; but since the great extension of her commerce, it became necessary to repeal that part of this law. It was found expedient, afterwards, to hold out inducements to foreigners, who, being well assured of gaining their livelihood, could not fail, by degrees, to establish themselves in that country; and to encrease its population. On this account, Parliament enacted, in the thirteenth year of GEORGE II. that three-fourths of the crews, whether of merchant-vessels, or of men of war, might, in future, be composed of foreigners, † upon whom it even conferred, the rights of naturalization, after two years of service. During the whole of last war, ‡ England has felt the beneficial effects of this regulation, without which, it could neither have fully manned her fleets, nor continued her commerce.

ARTICLE

* Declaration of the 8th February, 1567.

† In the fourth and fifth years of WILLIAM and MARY, this permission had been granted, with respect to vessels employed in the Whale-fishery.

‡ That which terminated in November, 1762. *Translator.*

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ARTICLE VIII.*

It shall be lawful to English vessels, to load at, and import from, any of the ports of Spain or Portugal, or of the Western islands, commonly called the Azores, or the Madeira, or the Canary Islands, all sorts of goods or commodities, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the plantations, or dominions, of either of them respectively, &c.

In this Article, we clearly perceive the views which England had, at that time, entertained, with respect to the commerce of Portugal, and of its colonies; whose riches she was desirous of engrossing. The wealth of Spain, also enflamed her cupidity; but the Dutch had profited by the war which CROMWELL had declared against this state, and, in some degree, supplanted their neighbours, who had lately become their rivals. The English, however, had not, as yet, a sufficient number of vessels to trade, without assistance, to all parts of the world; nor could the Navigation Act be so soon put into rigorous execution. Three years after its promulgation, the Count D'ESTRADES, affirmed, that it was still disregarded, "because," said he, "the English themselves, who carried on the trade of the Levant, the Canaries, and the North, find

* This Article should have been the XIII. but having omitted the five preceding ones, inasmuch as they only present us with regulations similar to those which have been already noticed, we deem it unnecessary to change the enumeration with respect to this, or the following Articles, which we have extracted.

“ find it more secure and advantageous, to charter
 “ Dutch vessels than those of their own country;
 “ and on that account: this infraction of the law
 “ is connived at, because it is found to be un-
 “ voidable.* But there is a mistake in this ob-
 “ servation of the skilful negociator; it was the
 “ scarcity of vessels, as we shall soon have to remark,
 “ and the want of capital, which, at that time, in-
 “ duced the merchants of England to have recourse
 “ to the Dutch; besides, it was scarcely possible that
 “ the confidence which had been so long reposed in
 “ them, should so suddenly be superseded by con-
 “ siderations of national interest.

The most palpable effect of the Navigation
 Act was, to produce a speedy augmentation of
 the number of trading-vessels. In the reign of
 CHARLES I. there were not computed to be more
 than *three* vessels, throughout his kingdoms, of
 the burden of 300 tons; † whilst, before the
 death of CHARLES II. there were four hundred
 vessels of that description; ‡ but even this number
 was insufficient entirely to supersede the Dutch;
 when a nation has once got possession of an exten-
 sive commerce, it is no easy matter to deprive them
 of it. According to the remark of a judicious po-
 litician, “ Commerce is a river which is easily re-
 “ tained within its bed, if proper care be taken
 “ to preserve the banks; but it costs infinite pains,
 “ immense expence, and much time to cause it to
 “ flow again within them, when once it has over-
 “ spread its bounds, and taken another course.” §

ARTICLE

* Letter to M. De Colbert, 8th of November, 1663.

† The language of the original. Translator.

‡ Child's Treatise on Commerce, p. 68.

§ Dubos, in his treatise on the Interests of England, ill un-
 derstood.

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ARTICLE IX. (XVII.)

Every French Ship or Vessel, which, from and after the 20th of October, 1660, shall come into any port, &c. of England, Wales, or Ireland, and shall there lade, or unlade, any Goods or Commodities, or take in, or set on shore, any passengers, shall pay to the Collector of his Majesty's Customs, the sum of five shillings per ton: and such ship, or vessel, shall not be suffered to depart from such port, or harbour, until the duty be fully paid: And that this duty shall continue to be collected, and paid, so long as a certain duty of 50 sols per ton, lately imposed by the French king, or any part thereof, shall continue to be collected upon English Shipping lading in France, and three months after.

By a former Article, the carriage of wines, brandies, &c. into the dominions of his Britannic majesty, was permitted in French vessels; but, by the heavy imposts which were laid on, and which, by degrees, grew so excessive, this pretended licence differed but little from an actual prohibition. In the Article, now under consideration, Great Britain ventures to throw intolerable restraints, in the way, even of the simple conveyance of passengers. Is not this, in some degree, to break the bonds of society? Every prohibitory law, every exclusive regulation, unfortunately leads to this, by their nature and effects.

The imposition of fifty *sols* per ton, upon English vessels, in common with those of other nations, which served, on this occasion, as a pretext to CHARLES II. ought to have appeared to him the less exceptionable, as it had been laid on be-

fore the adoption of those principles, on which, the Navigation Act was founded. Its object was to prevent foreigners from engrossing the whole maritime commerce of France, to the prejudice of her own inhabitants. With a view of benefiting his subjects, Louis XIV. *suspended* this impost on freight, in 1662, the year when the famous Act, in question, was first put in force; this proceeding, however, convinced the French monarch, of the necessity of excluding, at least, the Dutch from his ports; whence, freighting their vessels with almost all the commodities of his kingdom, they were in the practice of distributing them afterwards, through the rest of Europe. The Dutch exerted themselves to obtain an exemption from the revived duties; but they were only able to procure the reduction of one moiety thereof, in favour of their vessels, as were engaged in the exportation of salt from France.*

ARTICLE X. (XXIII.)

After the 1st of April, 1661, no sugars, tobacco, or other merchandize, of the growth, production, or manufacture, of any English plantations, shall be carried from the said English plantations, to any land, port, or place, whatsoever, other than to such land, &c. as belong to his Majesty, there to be laid on shore, under the penalty of the forfeiture of the said goods and ship, &c.

Without a strict observance of this Article, it is certain that the English could not have derived any great advantage from their colonies; whilst the

* *Separate Article of the Treaty of Commerce, at Nimeguen.*

the latter would have succeeded in engrossing all the cominerce of the Southern States of Europe. Their own vessel conveying immediately thither, the commodities of the New World, would have had nothing to fear from the competition of merchants, who were, in the first instance, obliged to transport, at a great expence, their coffee, sugar, &c. into England, and there to pay the duties, and afterwards to freight other vessels for the conveyance of these same articles into Spain or Italy.

In time of war, what numerous obstacles arise to the execution of this law! How could merchants, who sustain considerable losses, or pay high insurance, and who are obliged to advance the price of their goods; withstand, at such a period, the competition of the colonists, either in America or in Europe! Thus, thirty years after the passing of this Navigation Act, and during the war, which was terminated by the treaty of Ryfwick, these American vessels passed into the Mediterranean, and carried the produce of their country, to the enemies of the mother-state, even in the face of her fleets. They have continued to carry on this species of commerce whenever the breaking out of hostilities afford them an opportunity, and prevented the parliament from enforcing the observance of its ancient regulations, which it has been under the necessity of modifying, and altering, in proportion as the progress of the colonies has been more perceptible, or its own occasions required; this latter motive, induced parliament, upon the representation of the planters in the British West India islands, in 1773, to permit them, freely to export their sugars. But the restrictions with which this permission was accompanied,

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added to the high price of the article in the three kingdoms, have obviated the effects proposed by it. The inhabitants of Carolina were authorized by an Act, in the reign of GEORGE II. to export their rice into any of that part of Europe, situated beyond Cape Finisterre. By another Act, in the eighth year of the same king, the like privilege was extended to Georgia; the exportation of timber, of light or wrought wood, and, in general, all sorts which were not necessary to naval constructions, was also declared free; at length the distinction was introduced between provisions, and articles of merchandize actually *enumerated* in the Navigation Act, and those which were not, and the sale of the latter ceased to be prohibited to foreigners; and, more than this, even in ordinary times, it has been forbidden to sell the grain of North America in the markets of Great Britain.

Thus, the principal Articles of the Navigation Act have been insensibly departed from, either by abrogating, or explaining them in a manner, favourable to the freedom and extension of commerce. By such a line of conduct, a sudden and violent shock has been avoided. But despotic views soon thwart the execution of plans, which sound policy could easily suggest, as consonant to the general order of things, and directed by the natural course of events. Why, then, interrupt it by hastening a revolution, which time would necessarily bring forward, and which, by ceasing to be convulsive, could scarcely be injurious? Before such an event would, of itself, take place, merchants may find other employments for their capitals, and other citizens of whose industry they may avail themselves.

What gradation, we ask, ought the legislature
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to observe in those successive repeals? What restrictions should it, in the first instance, remove? These two questions are easily resolved by those who are not influenced by mercantile prejudices. The last barriers which it would be necessary to throw down, are those, doubtless, regarding the exclusive commerce in articles of luxury, because, being less opposed to the public happiness, there should be less solicitude to surmount them; the progress of population would, afterwards, point out the gradation of the different changes becoming daily more necessary, with respect to the colonies, whose circumstances, announced, for a long time past, their inevitable separation from the mother-country.*

The rapid increase of population, by producing a diminution in the price of manual labour, would facilitate the establishment of manufactures in America; England being no longer able to prevent them, what purpose, supposing her to be still the mistress of this vast Continent, would those prohibitory regulations then serve?

What force, we ask, would the Navigation Act have, with respect to the colonies? If England did not entirely abrogate it, they would only regard it as a monument of tyranny, and its execution would give birth to continual conspiracies and frequent revolts. If tired, at length, by such a state of things, and exhausted by her very victories, (supposing her always to obtain them,) she determined on the total repeal of this statute, which, indeed, would be unavoidable, what fruits would she reap therefrom? None! they would escape from her grasp, and she would find

† See the Appendix, No. XIII.

find it impossible to gather them; others would come in, and enjoy the harvests of those fields, which she had watered with her blood, during a succession of years, on behalf of her mercantile interests, and with the view of continuing a dependance, as contrary to the immutable laws of nature and rectitude, as to the incontrovertible principles of genuine policy.

Although the Navigation Act was not the immediate cause of the American revolution, it unquestionably paved the way for it. This Act has also produced effects in Europe, equally prejudicial to the interests of England. By becoming habituated to the despotism of avarice, to the influence of ambition, and to the workings of an active jealousy, she has caused herself to be suspected by her allies, and become opposed to all the commercial powers. Her maritime code which, at first, had only attracted the attention of the Dutch, has, at length, been considered as militating against general liberty. "It excited other States," as Count D'ALBON, a judicious politician, remarks, "to render her evil for evil, to bring her to herself, by repelling, by means of a counteracting law, the whole force of this new prohibition, by forbidding her an entry into their ports, as she had excluded them from her's."* It was, however, no easy matter for the nations of Europe so cordially to agree amongst themselves, as enabled them to carry a resolution of this nature into effect. A more simple and efficacious method, would have been to hold out encouragement to foreign merchants, with as little injury as possible to their own commerce. The establishment

* Treatise respecting Holland.

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establishment of free ports unites this double advantage; it is a matter of surprize, that France has not constituted several in the Ocean, instead of contenting herself with that of Dunkirk, after having experienced the great utility of such a measure. By such a plan, she would have attracted the vessels, of all countries, into her ports; England would then have been obliged to repeal her famous Act; and Holland would soon have ceased to increase her wealth and population at the expense of France.*

England having laid an interdict on all vessels laden with other merchandize than the growth or fabrication of those countries, to which such vessels belonged; Holland had, from that time, scarcely any apparent or direct commerce with Great Britain or Ireland; it is true, she may import spices and linen cloths, but, from the enterprises and activity of her rivals in India, she must expect, sooner or later, to lose this original traffic. The second Article is much restrained by the attention which Great Britain has paid to the encouragement within her own territories, of the cultivation of flax, and the improvement of those manufactures, in which it forms the chief material. The English are also the sole gainers by the freight and commission of what they furnish to the United Provinces. The latter are compensated, however,

for

* “ DE WIT positively assured me, that since the opening of the port of Dunkirk, more than 600 sailors had quitted Holland; and that he clearly foresaw the injury which that proceeding would occasion to the United Provinces.” *Extract from a Letter, written by Le Comte D'ESTRADES, to LOUIS XIV.*

for these losses, and support the balance of exchange, by the profits on the interest, which they draw from the public funds, that are due to them, and by the lucrative transactions of the Bank.

Such are the advantages resulting from their economy, and of which the Navigation Act cannot deprive them. If, in promulgating this famous statute, England had only meant to convince other States, that, through its operation, they would, by trading immediately with themselves, and without the intervention of agents or factors, eventually become gainers; we should have applauded their views, and, perhaps, have profited thereby, to a certain extent; but the measure was dictated by ambition. Not content with excluding the Dutch from her ports, England imagined, that she was also capable of excelling them in economical regulations. In this, she has been deceived, since "other nations," says the illustrious MONTESQUIEU, "have always been convinced, "that it answers better to transact business with "one which exacts little, and which commercial "necessities render, in some sort, dependant; with "a nation which, by the extent of her views, or "her transactions, knows where to dispose of all "her superfluous merchandize; which is rich, and "has occasion for many commodities; which will "make quick returns, and is, in some degree, "laid under the necessity of being faithful; which "is pacific by principle; whose pursuit is gain, not "conquest; it is better, I say, to keep up a commercial intercourse with such a nation, than with "those who uniformly act the part of rivals, and "are unwilling to afford these advantages."*

* *Esprit. des Loix*, L. XX. chap. VIII.

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A P P E N D I X.

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No. I.

WE may form a judgment of the flourishing state to which the Dutch fisheries had arrived, at the commencement of the reign of JAMES I. by the details which we find, upon this subject, in a memoir presented in 1604, to the council of Madrid, and which we have extracted from valuable collections in M.S. of the learned and laborious PEIRESC. We shall content ourselves by giving, in this place, a succinct detail of this article; the author arranges all those fisheries, into five principal divisions.

1st. That of the fresh herring-fishery, in which six hundred vessels are employed, with a complement of ten men each, and carrying from ten to twenty-five lasts, each estimated at two tons, or 4000 pounds weight, and containing twelve barrels of 1000 herrings; this employs and maintains 6000 men.

2d. The great herring-fishery, in which 3000 vessels are employed, of thirty and forty lasts, the former manned with ten men, and the latter with fifteen, employing 37,500 men.

3d. That of chub-fish, of salmon, &c. called the winter-fishery, occupies 600 barks, of from ten to fifteen lasts, with a complement of eight men each, of which the total amount is 4800 men.

4th. That of dried herrings, in which a thousand small vessels, of four lasts, are employed, with a complement of six men each, maintaining 6000 men.

5th. The inland fishery upon the lakes, rivers, &c. which takes up six hundred boats with five men each, and employs annually 3000 persons.

The sum total of those who gained their livelihood by the different fisheries, amounted, then, in 1604, to fifty seven thousand, three hundred men. The revenue, which the Republic gathered upon their produce, amounted, at that time, to 4,942,500 florins; a sum with which, says our author, the rebels so powerfully supported the war against their king.

No. II.

In the MSS. dispatches of BLAINVILLE, the French Ambassador, at the court of London, some interesting details are to be found, relative to the hostilities which CHARLES I. carried on against LOUIS XIII. This minister wrote to the last mentioned Prince, from Greenwich, the 3d of April, 1626, as follows: "By the arrival of M. DE RAMES, I am informed, that the same vessels, which carried the intelligence to France, of the
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“ embargo on French ships, ha taken three of
 “ them, which were at anchor in Calais roads, and
 “ brought them into the harbour of Dover, where
 “ they now are.—The parliament disapproves as
 “ much of this conduct, as of former proceedings,
 “ and remains as attentive as ever to the just rights
 “ and interests of your majesty.”

By another letter of the 17th of March, of the
 same year, BLAINVILLE observed to the king, “ His
 “ majesty will be pleased to remember his having re-
 “ ceived advice, by my former dispatches, that the
 “ parliament of England, when upon the point of a
 “ misunderstanding with France, had resolved to
 “ give satisfaction to her merchants, whose goods
 “ were detained by order of the court of London,
 “ and even to call the authors to an account, for
 “ the little attention which these merchants had
 “ received hitherto, in order that it may be fully
 “ known, they entirely disapproved of the coun-
 “ cils which were likely to give umbrage to France.
 “ Your majesty will hereby be informed, that
 “ this is an affair which personally concerns the
 “ Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who has been required
 “ to appear before the parliament, particularly to
 “ give an account of the detention of a vessel of
 “ Havre-de-Grace, made under his own authority,
 “ and which is concluded to have given ground for
 “ the reprisals which have been made within your
 “ kingdom; he has attempted to stop the progress of
 “ this enquiry, by submitting to the Upper House,
 “ *which is composed of the Peers, and great Lords*
 “ *of the country*, that it would be derogatory to
 “ them, if that which, in the first instance, con-
 “ cerned those of their rank, was agitated in the
 “ Lower House, and urged them to retain the
 “ consideration of the affair to themselves; but, by

“ a

“ a plurality of voices, it has been sent back to
 “ the Lower House.”

No. III.

The following extract from two letters, the one from the Bishop of MENDE, the 24th of November, 1625; the other from BLAINVILLE to the king, of the 29th of December, of the same year, will shew the state in which the affairs of England, at that period, were; the former was written from London. —“ They talk of nothing here, but the relief of Rochelle; but such is their wretched state, that nothing is to be apprehended from them; above all, speak out boldly, and menace them with the treaty of Italy, and you may be sure of success. You will have no security of your vessels, if you do not adopt the expedient of detaining their ships in your ports. They will be influenced by measures of rigour, but not of respect.”

In the second, BLAINVILLE expresses himself in these terms: “ Having then ascertained that the condition of this island was unfavourable for undertaking great enterprizes, which depend on the winds and weather, and for which, the preparations are necessarily very tedious; that it was weak, as to the number of its forces; and poor, with respect to money; that there was a national inconstancy in every design; an arrogance of disposition towards those, who are afraid of her; a servility with respect to others; I have often entertained an idea, which subsequent observation has strengthened, namely, that there was no difficulty or risk of living with the English, whilst we maintained some dignity, and the appearance of resolution.”

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No. IV.

BASNAGE, on the occasion of this combat, observes, that "*the sequel of the Duke's life* has shewn "that he never had been truly brave, and that "those who had given him the glory of it, have "been influenced rather by considerations of flattery, or attachment to him, than by the spirit of "truth."—*Annal. des Prov. Unies*, t. I. p. 743. But this author soon forgets what he had advanced, and scruples not to contradict himself, in recounting the exploits of the Duke of YORK, at the battle of Solebay.* The account contains a complete refutation of the opinion which he had hazarded, relative to the valour of the prince. "RUYTER," he says, "gave the signal for combat, by ordering the "red flag to be hoisted at the top-gallant-mast, and "attacked the red squadron with the ships of his "division. '*There is our man,*' said he, to the "pilot, ZEGER, pointing out to him the Duke of "YORK. 'Sir, you are going to meet him;' answered the pilot, taking of his cap. He soon "came within musket shot of the English Admiral; RUYTER, finding himself so near the "Duke of YORK, at first, attempted to board him, "and, for that purpose, slackened sail for a moment

* This is evidently an error in the authority quoted by our narrator, as the circumstance alluded to, and, on which occasion, the *British historian* is quoted, did not take place in the action off Solebay; but in the engagement between the Dutch and English fleets, on the 3d of June, 1665, during the *first* war of CHARLES II. with the Dutch, in which the latter were commanded by OBDAM. The action off Solebay, took place nearly seven years after, and in the *second* war, of that prince, with the United Provinces. *Translator.*

ment behind the rest of his division. His cannon was so well served, that their discharges were as frequent as those from the musquetry. A perfect calm took place, and the smoke became so thick, that the hostile fleets could no longer see each other. *The Duke of YORK*, defended himself with a great deal of spirit, until nine o'clock in the morning, (the battle commenced between seven and eight o'clock,) when his main-top-mast fell with the red flag, in consequence of which, he removed on board the *London*, in which he hoisted his flag." *Annal. des Prov. Unies.* t. II. p. 206.

Let us hear the judicious HUME, who does not suffer himself to be misled by such unjust prejudices. After having mentioned the order which was issued whilst the Duke of YORK was asleep, and which afforded time to the Dutch to escape, he adds, "It is allowed, however, that the Duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fire; the Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot, at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore; and it is not likely, that, in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly disposition, acquire courage, a commander should feel his spirits flag, and should turn from the back of an enemy, whose face he had not been afraid to encounter." *Hume's England, reign of CHARLES II.*

No. V.

The Duke de BEAUFORT answered the Dutch Admirals, DE RUYTER and BLANKERT, when urged

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urged to unite with them, to this effect: "Gentlemen, I have received the letters of the 15th of June last, which your Excellencies have done me the honour to write me, and to which I have not omitted to return an answer; those of the 27th must have been lost; having heard of your brilliant action, off the river Thames, by other channels of information. As to the fleet of the king, my master, it has been for a long while in excellent condition; but the assurance of peace with England, and the weak state of that nation, have prevented his majesty from sending out his fleet, excepting a certain squadron, intending, with a view to this peace, to employ his sea forces on services of the greatest urgency. I am in expectation of receiving orders, relative to their execution, which still detains me in port; and am waiting, for this purpose, for the squadrons of M. M. DUQUESNE and DE LA ROCHE, otherwise I should have done myself the honour of waiting upon your Excellencies, to assure you, that no one can hold you in more esteem than myself, &c." At *Brest*, the 22d of August, 1667.

Two letters of LOUIS XIV. to the Count D'ESTRADES, the one of the 14th of July, 1665, and the other of the 17th of August, of the same year, discovers the real intentions of that monarch, respecting the naval assistance which his ministers had repeatedly promised to the States General. In the first, he says to his Ambassador, "You must declare to DE WIT, that if orders are given for the fleets' sailing in this conjuncture, and that no assurance is given me of postponing that measure, until it has been better concerted between us, I shall be under the necessity of discontinuing

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“ the proofs of my good-will, and relinquishing the
 “ part which I mean to take to support the interests
 “ of the States.”—In his second letter he adds, “ You
 “ may also suggest, not to the States, (for whatever
 “ is mentioned to them, becomes known immedi-
 “ ately,) but to my servants in particular, that, in
 “ making this declaration, I have not even waited
 “ for the return of the courier, whom I have dis-
 “ patched to England, for the purpose of carrying
 “ thither, a new proposition, and, consequently,
 “ without knowing what answer may be returned
 “ by his Britannic Majesty; nor the event of the
 “ sailing of their fleet, and of a new action, which
 “ this circumstance may occasion; nor what may
 “ happen to the ships under the command of DE
 “ RUYTER; or their fleets in the West Indies: al-
 “ though all these circumstances might not only
 “ furnish me with plausible prettexts for, but even
 “ render temporising necessary, at least, until I
 “ shall be informed of that, which the result of a
 “ few days will discover, respecting events of the
 “ last importance.”

A letter from LIONNE to the Count D'ESTRADES,
 of the 21st of May, 1666, contains some inform-
 ation relative to the French marine, at that period;
 and respecting the assistance which the United Pro-
 vinces had to expect therefrom. “ His majesty
 “ desires,” said that minister, “ you should inform
 “ DE WIT, that his armament will consist of forty-
 “ four good vessels, and of fourteen fire-ships; of
 “ which, twenty-nine large ships, two smaller
 “ ones, and eight fire-ships, shall proceed from
 “ the eastern ports to the western Ocean, under
 “ the command of M. DE BEAUFORT; and thir-
 “ teen vessels and five fire-ships, shall be stationed
 “ in the harbour of Mardyke: that these forty-
 “ four

“ four vessels shall carry from forty to eighty
 “ pieces of cannon each; and that the crews shall
 “ be stronger by, at least, one third, than those of
 “ vessels of the same size, in the service of the
 “ states.”

No. VI.

To relate events which blemish the reputation of a commander, can only yield pleasure to a contemptible libeller: it always occasions much pain to a man of honour and feeling, when constrained to it; the dictates of truth become, in such a case, a punishment to him. We have often experienced this, and it is this sentiment which may, perhaps, in the present instance, have created in us rather a disposition to credulity: however, we have not reported the conduct of DON NAVARRO without proof; one of the strongest, is the following declaration of the surgeons of his own ship; to which we shall subjoin some passages from the journal of M. DE LAGE.

“ We certify, that amongst the officers wounded,
 “ who were carried below deck, on the day of the
 “ battle of the 22d of February, the first, was
 “ DON FRANCIS MORALES, captain of the grenadiers
 “ of the regiment of Seville, mortally
 “ wounded in the head, at the commencement of
 “ the action; a quarter of an hour afterwards, was
 “ brought down, DON ALVALEZ PADILLA, whose
 “ bowels fell out, and who died instantly; the third
 “ was the commandant, DON JOHN JOSEPH NAVARRO,
 “ he was wounded in the ear, with a contusion
 “ in the left cheek; these wounds were
 “ dressed, but we did not dress a wound in his leg,
 “ which was very slight; and we had many other
 “ wounded, who were brought to us nearly at one
 “ time.

“ the hold, saw Don NAVARRO there, soon after
 “ the beginning of the fight, and they have certified
 “ that he remained there until it was over. The
 “ first surgeon observed to him, at three different
 “ times, ‘ *General, you are not wounded; nothing*
 “ *prevents you from going upon deck.*’ But Don
 “ NAVARRO preferred sitting upon his cable, and
 “ counting his beads, and to impose the care and
 “ dangers of the fight upon two French captains,
 “ GERARDIN, and myself.” *Journal*, p. 127, 128.

“ I was informed, after the battle, that Don
 “ NAVARRO was gone up from the hold to his bed.
 “ I went immediately to see him, believing him
 “ to be dangerously wounded; I found him suffi-
 “ ciently tranquil, with a compress upon the ear,
 “ bound by a handkerchief, which passed under
 “ the chin, and was fastened to his wig. He told
 “ me, that he was wounded in the leg; he saluted,
 “ and praised me much.” p. 39.

“ M. DE COURT, before his departure, received
 “ DON NAVARRO’s visit; he repaired on board the
 “ *Terrible*; they were surprised to see this Spanish
 “ commander, *wounded in the foot*, in the engage-
 “ ment, get on board the ship without any other
 “ assistance than an ordinary ladder. As there
 “ had been so little time, since the fight, for heal-
 “ ing a wound in the foot, it was concluded not to
 “ have been dangerous.” p. 114.

No. VII.

The copies of M. DE LAGE’S memoirs, or ra-
 ther journal, are now become very scarce; for this
 reason, we have determined, in this place, to
 quote the most interesting passage of the work,
 where

where the author himself, relates how he revived the courage of his men, and repelled the attacks of the enemy. At the approach of the fire-ship, of which we have already spoken, some officers began to deliberate about a surrender; when the intrepid DE LAGE immediately observed, "Gentlemen, you doubtless forget that I am here, and alive. I told the king, that the flag of his majesty shall never be struck to an enemy whilst I am living: I shall not this day fail in the performance of so glorious a promise. Seek, then, Gentlemen, in your own resolution, the means of destroying this fire ship, and think of nothing else. I have told the same thing to M. le Comte DE MAUREPAS, by M. DE SALEY, his first secretary, to whom I wrote, upon leaving Toulon. Such is my determination, whatever may be yours. Go, I say, this instant, to the principal battery, and let the cannon be pointed, with a promise of reward to him who shall sink the fire-ship."

"I shall give," continued M. DE LAGE, whose expressions we faithfully report, "the same order to Major St. JUST, for another battery; I have sent Captain PINDIRICHI to his post, at the fore-castle, and Lieutenant SAGARDIA in the long-boat, against the fire-ship, in order to compel her to sheer off. These orders were promptly executed. I said also to M. SAGARDIA, 'use every possible exertion to keep the prow of the fire-ship clear of the *Real*, when the fire shall be in that direction, and to cause the enemy's chaloupe to retire.' The third Lieutenant, DON PEDRO ARIGONI, and DON JUAN GAIOSO, marine officer, immediately jumped into the long-boat, and advanced to the fire-ship, with so much intrepidity, that the English therein were disconcerted; they
" fired

“ fired upon the boat with swivel guns, and some
 “ musketry; but they could not cannonade it, be-
 “ cause the boat kept upon its prow. The chaloupe
 “ of the fire-ship ran from the larboard to the star-
 “ board side.”

“ In the mean time, four Spanish vessels, which
 “ were to windward of the *Real*, and abaft, fired
 “ with all their might upon the fire-ship, without
 “ being able to affect her. She came within fif-
 “ teen yards of us; at the moment she was disco-
 “ vered through the port-holes, three broad-sides
 “ were fired into her, the effect of which was so
 “ immediate, and so fortunate, that she would have
 “ sunk, if the English had not hastily set fire to her.
 “ In less than a minute, she was blown up into the
 “ air; I was surpris'd at it; a fire-ship ought to
 “ be a longer time in catching fire; but either they
 “ had no desire to make us linger by means of a
 “ slow fire, or else the violent attack sustained by
 “ the vessel, had disconcerted their plan.”

“ All sorts of fragments fell upon our vessel, not-
 “ withstanding which, no damage was sustained;
 “ I myself, was covered with the flakes of fire.
 “ Previous to the conflagration of the fire-ship, I
 “ saw on board of her, two young officers, dressed
 “ in blue, and another, more elderly, in a red
 “ vest; they made several attempts, with five or
 “ six men, to grapple us. They stood upon the
 “ prow of their vessel, with astonishing intrepidity;
 “ I admired their bravery; they faced death with
 “ infinite resolution; I heard them give orders to
 “ apply the match to the fire-works. They might
 “ even then have saved themselves, by leaping
 “ into the sea, if they had not been determined to
 “ grapple the *Real*; immediately after, I saw them
 “ thrown into the air; I followed them with my
 “ eyes to the height of their fore-top-mast, without
 “ observing

" observing any change of the colour of their clothes;
 " at this elevation, they were enveloped in the flames,
 " and burnt to a coal; they fell at the side of the
 " *Real*, light as cork, and less than two feet long.
 " Their intrepidity and exertions, led me to ima-
 " gine, that they were officers of the English Ad-
 " miral, and that they had pledged themselves, to
 " him, to burn the *Real*, or to perish in the attempt;
 " they kept their promise with a perseverance and
 " valour, worthy of being immortalized. I owe this
 " justice to their memory, and think, that their glory
 " should even reflect upon those, to whom they
 " belonged. I shall, in due time, inform Admi-
 " miral MATTHEWS, of the circumstance, or the
 " Lords of the Admiralty, in London."

" I was no less determined to save the *Real*, than
 " these three officers were to destroy her. Nothing
 " but death would have prevented me from ful-
 " filling my promise to that effect, which I made
 " to the king of Spain, and to the minister of the
 " French marine; no officer who wished to act
 " otherwise, deserved to live. The late M. DE LA
 " ROCHE-ALLARD was of the same opinion: the
 " captain of a French ship struck his colours to an
 " Englishman; in his own excuse, he said to M.
 " DE LA ROCHE-ALLARD, ' there were four of the
 " enemy's vessels, what would you have had me
 " do?' ' You ought to have sunk your own ves-
 " sel!' replied M. DE LA ROCHE-ALLARD, ' would
 " the king have lamented, if he had had a ship or
 " a man less, such as you?'

" However, five or six of the crew of the fire-
 " ship, were thrown into the boat; we killed two
 " of them, the remainder saved themselves. I or-
 " dered the ship's boat to be brought on board,
 " for I had already lost one of mine; it likewise
 " became

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“ became necessary I should send directions to the
“ ships in our rear division, which had not been
“ in the battle, to come up near the *Real*, and
“ protect her, during the night. The two fleets
“ seemed to me, at the moment, as if thrown in
“ the air, and surrounded by flames; but at the
“ reiterated cries of ‘ Long live the King,’ which
“ I ordered to be shouted, when the fire-ship dis-
“ appeared, all our men resumed fresh courage;
“ those whom death had spared on board the *Real*,
“ embraced one another, as persons returned from
“ the other world.”

“ I thought myself, at first, in a state of tran-
“ quility, and, perhaps, might have continued so
“ a long while, if, at the approach of the ships of
“ my division, the *Brilliant*, an armed merchant
“ ship, had not fired upon the vessels which ac-
“ companied the English Admiral, with a view
“ of attacking me on the larboard, whilst the fire-
“ ship attempted to board me on the starboard;
“ the swiftness of the latter, which flew like a bird,
“ came quite close, and which, by being under my
“ fire, caused its destruction, before the large English
“ vessels were within reach of my cannon; after
“ the fruitless attempt of the fire-ship, they did not
“ fire one shot at me. As it now grew dark, they
“ intended to reserve their exertions till the
“ morrow.

“ Although I was ready to answer them, I did
“ not wish to be the aggressor; but the feeble
“ *Brilliant* chose to fire, and the enemy began to
“ cannonade me. This latter engagement was still
“ more furious; Admiral MATTHEWS lay athwart
“ me; I gave him by *wholesale*, what he gave me
“ in *retail*. I wished not to scatter my fire amongst
“ so many enemies; I ordered that all the batteries

“ should be fired solely upon the Admiral; he was
 “ thereby very roughly handled; and I perceived
 “ the splinters fly from different parts of his ship,
 “ from the prow, and the head of the bolt-sprit.”

“ Whilst five ships cannonaded me at the
 “ same time, *L'Hercule*, which lay at my stern,
 “ continued firing, as did also *Le Saint Fer-*
 “ *dinand*; *L'Elizabeth* could only make two or
 “ three discharges; this vessel brought up our
 “ rear, but was not within gun shot of the Eng-
 “ lish ships. For what reason the latter removed
 “ to such a distance, I know not, unless it was
 “ to prevent their being surrounded by the French,
 “ who would, in such a case, have put them be-
 “ tween two fires. It was about six in the evening
 “ when the enemy's fire ceased; I immediately
 “ gave orders to the major, to cease firing, being
 “ also apprehensive, in the situation we then were,
 “ of firing into the *Brilliant*, whose conduct had
 “ occasioned this second encounter with the enemy.
 “ Had the firing continued, and she advanced far-
 “ ther, while obscured by the smoke, she must
 “ inevitably have been sunk by my artillery.”

Journal, p. 25, à 35.

No. VIII. 

M. DE COURT found almost as many persons
 who condemned his conduct, in France, as he had
 left, of that description, behind him in Spain;
 hence, ill-founded prejudices were excited against
 him, which time alone could remove, as well as
 establish the truth of the following positions, ad-
 vanced by an officer of his squadron:

1st. “ In naval actions,” says he, “ where al-
 “ most every thing is done by cannon shot, those
 “ who

" who have the heaviest metal, and the greatest
 " number of guns, are almost certain of destroying
 " vessels of inferior force, because the latter are
 " pierced by the balls, and have only one covered
 " battery; whereas, three-decked vessels have two
 " covered batteries, and have also such a thickness,
 " as can scarcely be penetrated by the shot. Hence
 " it was that the *Real* resisted the fire of the Eng-
 " lish,* and always cannonaded them from her
 " two lower decks, where she had none either
 " killed or wounded, and where the people were
 " removed from the disorder occasioned above-
 " deck, by the fall of masts, yards, &c.; be-
 " sides, she was commanded by the intrepid M.
 " DE LAGE, who threatened to kill those who
 " talked of surrendering at the sight of the fire-ship,
 " which Admiral MATTHEWS had dispatched against
 " her. The *Real* was thirty-seven inches thick,
 " whilst the thickest of the French vessels, had
 " scarcely twenty-four inches."

2dly. " The advantageous order of battle gene-
 " rally consists in keeping the ships near each other,
 " at the distance of from fifty to sixty toises; in this
 " case, each vessel has only a single adversary to
 " fight. For this reason the French Admiral gave
 " orders to keep at not more than the distance of
 " from fifty to sixty toises asunder; but the Spa-
 " niards not conforming to this order, and not
 " closing the line, gave the opportunity to Admiral
 " MATTHEWS

* " Had the Spaniards," says M. DE LAGE, " but twelve
 " ships like the *Real*, they, alone, could have repelled the
 " whole English fleet; or had the French had twelve three-
 " deckers, the English would never have hazarded an engage-
 " ment." p. 140.

" MATTHEWS to fight two or three of his ships
 " against one of the Spanish; the distance was
 " still farther encreased near the *Real*, in conse-
 " quence of her two consorts having deserted her,
 " after two hours fighting; and five or six vessels of
 " this squadron, having thought fit to remain in a
 " state of inaction: such was the real cause of the
 " damage which four of the Spanish ships sustained.
 " This, however, was not considerable, if we ex-
 " cept *Le Poder*, which had the misfortune to be
 " dismasted, in the early part of the engagement
 " and to surrender without even seeing the fire-
 " ships, or being in the least danger of sinking."

3dly. " In naval engagements, those who have
 " the advantage of the wind, cannot lose it, if it
 " be not their own faults, unless the wind change;
 " they have also the option of engaging, or not,
 " and of maintaining a close or distant fight; they
 " who are to leeward must flee, in order to avoid
 " the combat, and cannot board their adver-
 " saries."

4thly. " Admiral MATTHEWS came before the
 " wind, upon the Spaniards, consequently, the
 " line to windward was perpendicular to the two
 " fleets, in the first order of battle, whilst the
 " French squadron, which was to leeward, could
 " not approach the English fleet without sailing
 " nearer to the wind. These movements occa-
 " sioned the men of war to form an oblique line,
 " of twenty-two degrees and a half, upon the line
 " which they quitted, and of sixty-seven degrees
 " and a half upon that which they approached.
 " Mariners call that an oblique line, consisting of
 " a ship's course by the second or sixth point of
 " the compass; but this oblique course is insuffi-
 " cient to gain the weather gage of the enemy, if
 " they

“ they are not three times the distance under you,
 “ from that point of the line from which you set
 “ out, to the parallel line with your own; this dis-
 “ tance is measured upon the perpendicular, be-
 “ tween the two lines of adverse fleets; it must be
 “ at least three times the length of this perpendi-
 “ lar line, although the reckoning make it shorter,
 “ because, in sailing closer, the ship's inclination
 “ to leeward is always to be considered, and some-
 “ times a great deal; besides, that, in attacking,
 “ the ship also inclines that way. The enemy,
 “ who perceives your manœuvre, may hinder you
 “ from passing to windward of him; he has only
 “ to keep his wind, and to crowd sail; you will
 “ not be able to cut him off, if you attempt to
 “ close him, and you will be constantly to lee-
 “ ward. These, then, who alledge that M. DE
 “ COURT, by tacking, could have cut off the
 “ enemy, or gained the weather-gage of him, must
 “ suppose, either that the English could not per-
 “ ceive his manœuvre, or that they wanted the
 “ skill to counteract it. Who will venture to say
 “ so? Is there even a mechanic, or tradesman,
 “ who could entertain such an opinion?

5thly. “ It remains, finally, to consider, whe-
 “ ther the French Admiral ought to have tacked,
 “ as soon as the engagement began between the
 “ English and Spaniards, with a view of going to
 “ the assistance of the latter, or whether he should
 “ not have to tacked till after the engagement was
 “ terminated with Admiral ROWLEY. As the
 “ French could not obtain the weather-gage of
 “ the English, we must consider the inconveni-
 “ ces which would have attended tacking, at the
 “ beginning of the action: 1st. Each French
 “ ship would then necessarily have passed under
 “ the

“ the fire of the van of the English fleet, and in
 “ such a manner, that each French vessel must
 “ have received the fire of ten or twelve English
 “ ships. Then, supposing three or four of the
 “ French ships had been disabled by such a pro-
 “ ceeding, What injurious, or even destructive,
 “ consequences must not such a circumstance have
 “ given rise to, with respect to that squadron? 2dly.
 “ Supposing that all the ships had succeeded in tak-
 “ ing so hazardous a course, and without sustaining
 “ any material injury, in what a situation would they
 “ then have been placed? In front of the Spani-
 “ ards, to cover them from the fire of the Eng-
 “ lish. We see then, that, at the beginning of
 “ an action, such a manœuvre on the part of the
 “ French, would have impeded the fire of the
 “ Spaniards, without knowing whether they were
 “ capable of sustaining that of the enemy; and that,
 “ by depriving himself of the assistance of his rear
 “ division, of which the ships were larger than his
 “ own, he would have exposed himself singly to
 “ the attempts of the English, who were superior
 “ to both the squadrons then opposed to them.
 “ 3dly. If any misfortune had happened to the
 “ French squadron, thus placed between the Eng-
 “ lish and the Spaniards, what reproaches would
 “ not have been thrown, in such a case, upon the
 “ French Admiral? The Spaniards would not
 “ have scrupled to assert, that he was come to
 “ prevent them from having acquired the glory of
 “ combating the English; that he acted wrong in
 “ officiously interfering, when they had no occa-
 “ sion of, nor had applied for, his assistance. Is
 “ it not an established principle in naval tactics,
 “ that there is nothing more perilous than to make
 “ such an important movement as that of changing
 “ the

" the order of battle, in the presence of an enemy
 " prepared to attack you? Such, however, is the
 " circumstance upon which is founded the charge
 " brought against the French Admiral, for not
 " tacking about in order that he might come up
 " to the assistance of the Spaniards! The com-
 " mencement of the action had passed, without the
 " Spaniards having sustaining the least damage, or
 " applying to the French to assist them; four or
 " five of the Spanish vessels had only to ply their
 " oars, in order to compact their line, and assist
 " the *Real*, and her consort ships, to prevent
 " their maintaining an unequal fight against the
 " English. Shortly after, the French Admiral
 " had M. ROWLEY'S division opposed to him,
 " which he was compelled to engage immediately,
 " in a word, the Spaniards, assisted by the French,
 " in the first instance, would have been rendered
 " useless, inasmuch as the latter could only have
 " ranged themselves between the former and the
 " English, as, in fact, they did, after having re-
 " pulsed Admiral ROWLEY'S division.

6thly. " But though the French commander
 " committed no error by not tacking at the com-
 " mencement of the action, some may censure him
 " for not tacking afterwards, in proper time; for,
 " it may be said, had he done so, the *Real* would
 " have been set at liberty, the *Poder* retaken, and
 " the English would have declined a combat, which,
 " otherwise, proved honourable to them. But
 " are we justified in assuming thus favourably of
 " the probable success of a manœuvre which was,
 " perhaps, contrary to all rule? The fact, how-
 " ever, was, that many seamen blamed M. DE
 " COURT'S determination of proceeding to the
 " assistance of the Spaniards, after he had repulsed
 ROWLEY,

“ ROWLEY, as being too daring; this was done
“ under the mistaken supposition, that the whole
“ Spanish Squadron was destroyed, and that the
“ English, flushed with their victory, would have
“ found us in disorder. At any rate, to have
“ tacked at the beginning of the action would have
“ been rash, and ill-advised; but doing so, after
“ having beat off Admiral ROWLEY, was a ma-
“ nœuvre, at once bold, prudent, and, indeed,
“ necessary.”

“ It was, doubtless, a bold attempt to sail un-
“ der the fire, and within half gun shot, of ten
“ or twelve large English ships, and to wrest the
“ victory from those, who had already taken one
“ vessel, and who considered the others as unable
“ to escape them. It now remains no longer a
“ question, that this was a necessary operation to
“ save the Spanish fleet, which, without such
“ assistance from the French Admiral, would have
“ certainly been sacrificed to the English, to the
“ sea, or to the flames.”

“ It was also a prudent manœuvre, as it was
“ performed after *Le Terrible*, Admiral DE COURT'S
“ own ship, and her formidable consort vessels,
“ had obliged Admiral ROWLEY'S division to re-
“ tire; there was, then, much less reason to fear
“ that he would oppose this attempt on the part of
“ the French; in fact, he dared not fire a gun, al-
“ though he plainly perceived whither they were
“ going; nor would it be prudent on the part of the
“ French to renew the engagement with ROWLEY,
“ because time pressed upon them to hasten to the
“ assistance of the Spanish Squadron. It was far-
“ ther prudent, because the Spaniards could then
“ have no ground to complain of their exertions,
“ being cramped, or their operations impeded, by
“ the

" the French placing themselves between the Eng-
 " lish and the Spanish ships, and it likewise afford-
 " ed them time to renew the engagement, if the
 " English felt so disposed. Judging, then, of
 " the action, of the 22d of February, from all its
 " circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the
 " French Admiral acted with equal prudence and
 " valour. If the Spaniards sustained some loss,
 " in what combat, even the most glorious, has not
 " the like occurred? It may also be asserted with
 " truth, that the English therein did not acquire
 " any glory; that the French commander, as well
 " as the captains under him, made themselves
 " dreaded by the English; and that a greater de-
 " gree of order in the Spanish squadron, would
 " have prevented Admiral MATTHEWS, from at-
 " tacking them."

" We may conjecture, then, what has drawn
 " upon the French Admiral the hatred of those
 " Spaniards, who were either, during the engage-
 " ment, in the hold of the vessel on account of
 " very slight wounds, or who were too far re-
 " moved from the heat of action, to make proper
 " observations, or else, without orders, had retired
 " and abandoned their commander. If Don NA-
 " VARRO, to relieve the French squadron, had
 " made but a moiety of those exertions, which M.
 " DE COURT made to save the Spanish, the greatest
 " honours, accompanied with the most liberal
 " pensions, would have fallen short of the merit,
 " the valour, and prudence, of the Spanish Ad-
 " miral; and the French, animated by a true
 " zeal for the interests of the two nations, would
 " have paid the voluntary tribute of their ap-
 " plause."

No. IX.

Since the preceding year, the French minister had received information respecting the plans of Mr. PITT,* as may be seen by a letter from the Maréchal de BELLE-ISLE, to M. le Duc D'AIGUIL-
LON, dated at Versailles, the 3d of May, 1759; the reader, doubtless, will not be displeas'd at its insertion.

“ I dispatch this courier to you, my Lord Duke,
“ to impart to you the secret information which
“ has been given to the king, namely, that Mr.
“ PITT has adopted the suggestion and plan of a
“ French officer, to attack and surprize Belle-Isle,
“ as one of those enterprizes which would prove
“ most injurious to France, and the most advan-
“ tageous to the crown of England. The French
“ engineer, the author of this project, promises to
“ render the port of Belle-Isle the best in Europe;
“ and asserts, that England shall derive more ad-
“ vantage thereby, than from Gibraltar. To en-
“ sure success, the English must block up Brest
“ and Rochfort, and alarm the coast of Bretagne
“ in various places, at the same time; but, in the
“ mean while, the real attempt will be made against
“ Belle-Isle, from between the rock called *le Four*,
“ and *Palais*; the debarkation to be effected near
“ *Sauzon*, during the night; and it is propos'd to
“ follow up this operation, by immediately attack-
“ ing the principal fortrefs.”

“ Although

* The late Earl of CHATHAM, then a Commoner, Secretary of State for the home department, and efficient minister of the British Empire. *Translator.*

“ Although we are assured of the fidelity of the person who has given us this information, and who is in an effective situation to obtain it, I am aware that those who give intelligence may be deceived, and sometimes that they may deceive themselves; the ministry, and Mr. PITT may also change the plan, for we know, with certainty, that they have already done so, in other instances, more than once. There is no doubt that their first object was Brest, and that nothing else than the advantageous dispositions which you have made, and the redoubled precautions which you have taken, have prevented them from proceeding with the enterprize, which, in fact, on account of its extreme importance, they have never lost sight of.”

“ They have equally in view the destruction of the port of L'Orient; but as Belle-Isle is, of the kind, a place of the greatest importance, and as we are so well apprised of the enemy's intentions, the king has commanded me to dispatch a courier to you.” &c. &c.

No. X.

We should have entered pretty fully into the details of the treaty of Paris, and applied ourselves to a careful discussion of all the articles, if this delicate and arduous task had not been well executed in a work which appeared at the beginning of the year 1780, under this title: *Observations sur le Traité de Paix conclu à Paris, le 10 Février, 1763, entre la France, L'Espagne, et L'Angleterre; relativement aux intérêts de ces puissances, dans la guerre présente.* Intelligent persons have charged the author of this performance with having uniformly

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supposed, that France was in a situation to *give*,
 and not to *receive*, the law from her enemies, and
 with having set out from this principle with a view
 of criminating the conduct of the French negotia-
 tors. The accusation is serious; but is it well
 founded? We shall be convinced to the contrary,
 by recurring to that passage, in page 64, where
 the author says, "Such a situation was *too critical*
 "for the councils of Versailles and Madrid not
 "to determine to put an end to the war, *cost*
 "what it might!" But it is said, has not the
 author, by exaggerating the defects of certain ar-
 ticles, passed a censure upon the ministers plenipo-
 tentiaries of the two crowns? Certainly not; he
 has only been desirous of shewing to what extent
 England has abused her good-fortune, and her
 maritime superiority, with the view of compelling
 the acquiescence of the belligerent powers, in such
 oppressive conditions, as she, alone, dictated. But,
 we would ask, is not the object of those critical
 reflections manifest, in the 65th page, by these
 expressions, "May they be made to feel the ne-
 cessity of effacing, by fresh negotiations, even
 "the smallest vestige of this treaty!"—Such is the
 wish of a man who loves his country. Why, then,
 should it be imputed to him as a crime, that he
 endeavoured to maintain the honour of his fellow-
 citizens, under circumstances which made it re-
 quisite to revive their courage, and even to excite
 it, by the use of energetic expressions, and vigo-
 rous and appropriate language? The author of
 those observations may, perhaps, be sometimes
 deceived; a circumstance which should, by no
 means, surprise us. Cultivating literary pursuits
 in profound retirement, and engaged in the con-
 sideration of interests, dear to his heart, namely,
 those

those of his country, it was totally impracticable with him to seek in the cabinets of courts, for those various elucidations which he might have been desirous to obtain; we are too well acquainted with the rectitude of his intentions to apprehend that he will take the following remarks in ill part.

1st. After raising the siege of Carthagena, and when GEORGE II. was upon the throne, "there was no longer," says the author, "any design entertained of invading America." p. 13. This is true, if he means only to speak of the Spanish possessions; but false, with respect to the French colonies. In 1746, England equipped a fleet of sixty sail, in which six battalions, of eight hundred men each, were embarked, and who were intended to take Quebec, and subdue all Canada; but, being detained by contrary winds, it could not proceed in proper time, in consequence of which, orders were issued to the Admiral, who commanded the armament, to attempt a descent upon the coast of Brétagne; the ill-success of which, is universally known. Never did the English wage war against the French, than one of her objects has not been to expel the latter from North America, and, unfortunately, they have too well succeeded.

2dly. In speaking of Florida, the author, in page 225, says, "nothing then, on the part of Spain, though she succeeded in withdrawing her ancient colonists from the yoke of England, can prevent them from forming alliances, or political connections, with the Anglo-Americans." On this subject he is misinformed; for we know to a certainty, that, after the cession of this Province to Great Britain, none of its ancient inhabitants remained, having all preferred passing over to the
Island

Island of Cuba; an additional example of that laudable fidelity, of which the Spanish nation has afforded so many proofs.

3dly. We are told, in page 58, that M. WALL was minister of the Spanish Marine, during the last war; but, in fact, he never was in that department of administration; he was minister for foreign affairs. Again, in page 135, it is said, that the island of St. Lucie is to the leeward, whereas, that island lies to the windward of Martinique, and to the leeward of Barbadoes; a circumstance which he ought to have accurately distinguished.

4thly. This latter remark will also apply to the question of the author, who, when speaking of the bill which passed in favour of the Catholics of Canada, enquires whether that *act be irrevocable?* p. 81. He seemed then, to have foreseen that nothing would be left undone, to obtain the repeal of it. In fact, on the occasion of the famous riots, originating in the fanaticism of Lord GEORGE GORDON, the Duke of RICHMOND, after having observed, in the House of Peers, on the 3d of June, 1780, that "he considered the bill which had passed in favour of the Catholics in Quebec, as the principal cause of all the evil which was complained of," proposed the repeal of it. Unfortunately, Lord SHELBURN* alone declared himself of the same opinion. *****

No. XI.

"I am of opinion," says the illustrious FRANKLIN, "that in North America the population is
"doubled

* The present Marquis of LANSDOWN. *Translator.*

"doubled every twenty-five years; but the demands
 "of the colonies, on the English merchants, in-
 "crease in a greater proportion; the consumption,
 "in those respects, not exactly corresponding
 "with the advancement of population, but be-
 "coming, progressively greater by that means. In
 "1725, the whole importation of Great Britain,
 "into Pennsylvania, amounted to about 15,000l.
 "sterling; at the present period, it amounts to
 "almost half a million." See the *examination*
before the House of Commons, answer to the second
question. This is nothing extraordinary in a coun-
 try, free, fertile, and of vast extent; in such a
 country, the demands increase and multiply, not
 in proportion to the number of inhabitants, but in
 a ratio to its circulating medium, or its riches.
 Although the population of the English colonies
 was scarcely *trippled* from the year 1723 to 1759,
 it was, according to BLACKFORD, nevertheless,
 observed, that, within the same period, the im-
 portation of merchandize, had increased *seventeen*
 times; others have remarked, that, within thirty
 years, the exportation from England, to North
 America alone, have, at an average, doubled every
 six years. By what means, then, we would ask,
 could England possibly answer such increasing de-
 mands? Could she supply a sufficient number of
 hands, for the workmanship of so many manufac-
 tures, since, according to her own political writ-
 ters, she could not double her population in the
 course of five centuries? How could she maintain
 a force, capable of making her authority respected,
 in a country, at such an immense distance, and
 which, in less than half a century, would contain
 three times as many inhabitants, as Great Britain
 and Ireland together? Could these two Islands
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entertain the hope of seeing, within their limits, a considerable number of emigrants? Their confined extent, the constitution and intolerance of their government, keep them at a distance, whilst, in the mean time, they arrive from all parts in crowds, upon the northern continent of the New World. "We have the strongest grounds for believing," said the American Congress to their constituents, "that this population will be immense. Supposing," they observe, "that there arrive only 10,000 persons the first year, after the war, within twenty years what will they not have produced with their families? Probably their number will be doubled. Calculate, in this proportion, the produce of the emigrants who shall come over within each of the following years." This calculation is strongly opposed to the ill-founded conjectures of a celebrated writer, who seemed inclined to fix the future population of a country, the limits of which, are indefinite, especially to the North and West, at six millions of souls. This singular opinion is unworthy of a serious refutation.

No. XII.

This re-establishment of the French marine could not, however, be suddenly effected; the number of ships of which it was composed, exclusive of frigates, flutes, corvettes, &c. amounted to eighty-four, at the end of the campaign of the preceding year, 1781, during which, seventy-one of this number were at sea. Twenty-four only remained of those, which, if we may use the expression, survived the disasters of the last war; the
seventeen

seventeen which were presented by the Provinces, and different corporate bodies in the kingdom, and five or six, which the king obtained from the India Company, were insufficient to put this marine in a condition sufficiently respectable; it was still necessary to build many other ships; and to this work the Duc de CHOISEUL successfully applied himself, after the peace of 1763. When this minister quitted the marine department, the arsenals were full, and the dock-yards were amply furnished with ship-timber and workmen. The Duc de PRASLIN, who succeeded him, entered into his views, and soon put his country into a situation not only not to be apprehensive of her enemies, but even to wait with impatience for the moment of retaliation. If the English had had it in their power to set limits to the naval power of France, as some have falsely supposed, would they not then, in the instance before us, have opposed its rapid aggrandizement? The two following letters incontestibly prove what we advance, and entirely dispel prejudices, offensive to truth, and injurious to the honour of the nation. Compelled to avoid entering into details respecting events which are still so recent; we may be allowed, however, the advantage of preserving useful documents, and of transmitting them to future writers, on historical subjects.

Letter from the Duc de CHOISEUL, to M. le Comte de VERGENNES, dated 17th of December, 1779.

“ I have received, my Lord, from the author,
 “ a work entitled, *Observations upon the justificatory*
 “ *Memorial of the Court of London.* I am told,
 “ my Lord, that you have read this work. It can-

Z z

“ not

" not be doubted, from the manner of its publi-
 " cation, of its being authorised by government.
 " After this opinion, I shall have the honour of
 " remarking to you, that there is, in this work, a
 " fallity in point of fact; and an observation con-
 " trary to all good sense, respecting which, I
 " think it is just, decent, and even politic, au-
 " thentically, to enlighten both the king and the
 " public. M. DE BEAUMARCHAIS, in page 35, of
 " his memoir, after a truly affecting description
 " of the anxieties (to this moment unknown to
 " all Europe,) which deprived him of rest, after
 " having portrayed the suspicions, ingratitude,
 " and reproaches of France, of America, and
 " England, of which he was the victim, says, that
 " his spirits revived, when he considered that his
 " country would be revenged for the humiliation to
 " which she was subjected, by its being prescribed in
 " the treaty of 1763, the small number of ships which
 " she was still permitted to retain.

" It is this assertion, my Lord, equally false
 " and absurd, which I take the liberty of denounc-
 " ing to you.

" You know the treaty of 1763; you know
 " that, in fact, nothing is more destitute of truth
 " and probability, than that which M. DE BEAU-
 " MARCHAIS presumes to advance. Were you
 " called upon to give an account of the negocia-
 " tion of that treaty, and which should be in your
 " office, it would appear to you, that *it was Eng-
 " land which first proposed peace to France, and
 " that, notwithstanding her successes, she too
 " much respected the greatness of the king, to
 " think of offering to him so humiliating a con-
 " dition.*

" The minister of the marine cannot be igno-
 " rant

" rant that most of the ships, employed in the pre-
 " sent war, had been tendered gratuitously to the
 " king, in 1762, by different corporate bodies
 " and communities, within his kingdom, and that
 " they were built soon after the peace of 1763;
 " hence he can feel no difficulty, upon this head,
 " of publishing the falsity of the statement advanced
 " by M. DE BEAUMARCHAIS. But I shall have
 " the honour of observing to you, my Lord, that
 " this misrepresentation, set forth in a work
 " which is understood to have met with the appro-
 " bation of the minister, may have dangerous con-
 " sequences.

" The first would be, that the king may be mis-
 " led, respecting a fact of so much importance;
 " his majesty, doubtless, is not ignorant that his
 " ministers are acquainted with this memoir of M.
 " DE BEAUMARCHAIS; he must naturally be ap-
 " prehensive, lest what is stated in his memoir,
 " respecting the last treaty of peace, should be cor-
 " rect. His noble and feeling heart must surely
 " be pained at a supposed condition of this treaty,
 " so degrading to the memory of the deceased
 " king, as well as dishonourable to the nation, of
 " which he is the sovereign. I am opinion, my
 " Lord, that it is just, and a matter of urgent ne-
 " cessity, that you undeceive his majesty, by lay-
 " ing before him, the letter which I have the ho-
 " nour to write to you; I even dare to request,
 " you will inform the king, that, however sub-
 " missive I was to the will of the late king, by duty
 " and by respect, I should, by no means, have
 " contributed, by my signature, to an article so
 " much against the honour of his kingdom.

" The positive assertion of M. DE BEAUMAR-
 " CHAIS, might excite the apprehension of another
 " danger,

“ danger, if it were not annihilated in its very
 “ principle, by the authority of the king, and with
 “ the greatest authenticity.

“ You well know, my Lord, that a sagacious fore-
 “ fight is one of the most essential qualities in State
 “ policy; however formidable may be the forces of
 “ the king; however great the power and influence
 “ of his majesty in Europe; whatever talents there
 “ may be for the direction of a power so extensive,
 “ the fortune of war depends upon such a number of
 “ fortuitous circumstances, that reverses are some-
 “ times experienced, even in the execution of plans
 “ most ably concerted. I am far from dreading re-
 “ verses in the present war; but who can answer
 “ for the events of a future war? And if these
 “ events should lead to the desire, or the necessity,
 “ of suing for peace, would not the English, who,
 “ at the conferences of Gertruydenberg, had no
 “ thoughts of limiting the forces of France; who,
 “ in 1763, had not, even in imagination, the har-
 “ dihood to make such a proposition, would they
 “ not, I say, feel authorised, after a memoir in
 “ which this proposition is taken for granted, after
 “ a memoir avowed by the minister of France,
 “ advance this pretension as a condition of peace,
 “ without being apprehensive of its indignant re-
 “ jection, on the part of the ministers, or of a
 “ nation, which, of its own accord, should have
 “ entertained thoughts of acquiescing in such a dis-
 “ graceful stipulation.

“ I intreat your pardon, my Lord, for having
 “ dwelt so long upon this subject; in that respect,
 “ I have rather given way to my feelings, on an
 “ occasion of such importance, judging, that when
 “ M. DE BEAUMARCHAIS interrested no small part of
 “ Europe, by his reflections upon the differences of
 “ England

“ England and America, and *voluntarily* stepped
 “ forward to support the honour and the rights of
 “ the crown of France, I might confide to you my
 “ sentiments, upon a circumstance, which affects
 “ the glory of the deceased monarch, and at a time,
 “ when I had the honour to be his minister.”

“ I have that of being, &c.”

*Letter from M. le Duc de PRASLIN, to M. le Comte
 de VERGENNES, dated 17th December, 1779.*

“ Some days ago, I received, my Lord, a
 “ small pamphlet, with this title, *Observations upon*
 “ *the justificatory Memoir of the Court of London, by*
 “ *Pierre Augustin, Caron de Beaumarchais, &c.*
 “ I, at first, paid no attention to it, because I sel-
 “ dom attend to the reading of pamphlets, and
 “ especially these which relate to politics; but hear-
 “ ing of its reputation with the public, my curiosity
 “ was excited; but I can scarcely express to you
 “ how much I was surpris'd, to find in it (p. 36,)
 “ the following passage: *But my spirits revive*
 “ *when I considered * * * * that my country would be*
 “ *revenged for the humiliation to which she was sub-*
 “ *jected, by its being prescribed in the treaty of 1763,*
 “ *the small number of ships which she was still per-*
 “ *mitted to retain.*”

“ If this pamphlet, my Lord, was the production
 “ of a private individual, without an appointment,
 “ who had not given himself the trouble to read the
 “ treaty in question, I should have overlooked the
 “ erroneous assertion, which I found in it; but as it
 “ is, it may pass in the world as if published by the
 “ authority of government; whence it will be sup-
 “ posed to contain nothing but facts; but, the part
 “ which I have had in that treaty, will not suffer me

“ to

“ to see, with indifference, the article which I am
“ going to speak of, alluded to in such a manner,
“ and which, at once, affects my honour, that of
“ the nation, and the memory of the late king.

“ You certainly know, that, in the treaty of
“ Paris, there is no article which fixes *the small*
“ *number of ships which Great Britain still permits*
“ *France to retain*; that, throughout the whole
“ treaty (which contains no secret article,) there
“ is not one single word from which an inference
“ of that nature, can be drawn; and should you
“ choose to produce the whole of the negotiation
“ preceding the treaty, it will be seen that such a
“ clause was never even proposed. The English
“ ministers, with whom the negotiation was car-
“ ried on, well knew all the advantages of their
“ situation, on which they stood, and to what ac-
“ count to turn our losses and misfortunes, by de-
“ manding conditions of peace, proportioned to
“ their success. But, my Lord, 'tis a justice which
“ I owe them, to declare, that they thought nobly
“ on the occasion; they knew the respect which
“ was due to great powers; they never hazarded
“ the bringing forward insulting propositions, and
“ I dare say, they knew me sufficiently well to be
“ aware of the manner in which, in such a case,
“ I should have answered them. I will add, also,
“ that the late king, who knew how to support
“ his personal dignity, and the independance of
“ his crown, would never have suffered any of his
“ ministers to lay before him such a singular pro-
“ position. Peace was then desired by the whole
“ kingdom; it was even considered as necessary;
“ but I can attest, that it would never have been
“ made, if our enemies had fixed it at the price of
“ our dishonour.

“ Added

" Added to all this, my Lord, this pretended
 " limitation of our naval force, is contradicted by
 " all the articles of the treaty, and by the whole
 " negociation which took place, and, above all,
 " the contrary must be evident to the whole world,
 " by the plain fact of the re-establishment of our
 " marine. It is notorious, that it was almost an-
 " nihilated in 1763, and, since that period, that we
 " have openly laboured in all our ports, to place
 " it upon a more respectable footing than it has
 " ever been, since the commencement of the mo-
 " narchy. -At the time when I quitted this depart-
 " ment, France had sixty-four ships, independent
 " of those which were upon the stocks, besides all
 " materials necessary for building ten or twelve
 " more, and about fifty large frigates, or cor-
 " vettes.

" The English, certainly beheld this re-establish-
 " ment with an uneasy and jealous eye; but they
 " never, on this account, made any complaints;
 " they well knew that they had no right to oppose
 " it; and it may easily be imagined, that if they
 " had been authorised by the treaty of Paris, they
 " would not have neglected to call for the obser-
 " vance of a stipulation, so glorious and servicea-
 " ble to their country.

" I have, perhaps, extended my observations
 " too far upon an article, respecting which, the
 " the misrepresentation stands self-exposed; but,
 " my Lord, occupying, as you now do, the situ-
 " ation which was formerly entrusted to me, you
 " are more likely than any other person to feel,
 " and to approve of my motives; and I am per-
 " suaded that you will think with me, that the
 " justice and dignity of the king are involv'd, in
 " his ordering a public disavowal of the article,

" which

" Added

“ which I denounce to him. I will not hesitate
 “ even to say, that he owes this satisfaction to the
 “ memory of his grandfather, to the honour of
 “ his crown, and to that of the nation, which he
 “ governs.

“ I trust, my Lord, that you will have the
 “ goodness to lay before his majesty, my just and
 “ respectful representation, with the authorities
 “ upon which it is founded, and to impart to me
 “ the orders which he will judge proper to issue in
 “ consequence.”

“ I have the honour to be, &c.”

The regard which the king paid to representa-
 tions so just, equally worthy of good citizens,
 and enlightened statesmen, is well known, by his
 suppressing, by an edict of his council, the Memoir
 of M. DE BEAUMARCHAIS, &c.

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA.

The following are among the *Notes* and *Justificatory* papers in the APPENDIX of the Original work; but not being regularly referred to, in the Narrative part, we deem it proper to give them under a distinct head.

HARFLEUR,* anciently denominated *Haro-flost*, *Hareflu*, &c. "was," says MONSTRELET, "the key of all Normandie, by sea, * * * * * "the sovereign port of all the Duchy of Normandie." Chron. t. I. chap. CXLIII. Our kings, formerly, formed their principal naval arsenal, at this town, to the choice of which, they had been determined, as much by its advantageous situation at the entrance of the Seine, as by the extent, and security of its harbour, in which were constructed, two large basons, or wet docks; the one, for the reception of the gallies, the other, for ordinary vessels. The harbour has been, long since, choaked up, and cattle now feed upon the place, where, formerly,

* *Harfleur*, a town in France, in the department of the Lower Seine, and late province of Normandy. Its fortifications have long since been demolished, and its harbour choaked up. The English took it by assault, in 1415; it stands at the mouth of the Seine, thirty-six miles N. W. of Rouen. Lon. °19. E. lat, 49, 3°. N. *Brookes's Gazetteer*.

formerly, large fleets lay at anchor; this alteration has been caused by the circumstance of the land gaining considerably on the sea, from the vicinity of this place, to as far as *Havre*; and which is chiefly attributed to an accumulation of the mud and sand, produced by the *Lezarde*, a river, whose confluence with the Seine, is in the district of Harfleur. In the reign of LOUIS XIII. this gaining of land, as well as the injuries in other respects, occasioned by the sea itself, became so considerable, that, an able engineer, ALPHONSE DE LOPES, was appointed to examine them, and to suggest some means of preventing their destructive consequences, which threatened, even *Havre-de-Grace*, with the speedy loss of its port. He proposed, in 1627, to construct a canal, between the two towns, of a sufficient depth for boats, "Which," he said, "could conduct the goods which came into Havre, and were, heretofore, sent, either by land carriage, or by the river, to the port of Harfleur, and, at the same time, drive back the sand, brought into it by the sea, as well as free it from all filth and noxious matter, which might accumulate therein, by other causes, a circumstance highly useful and necessary." *Mem. M.S.S.*

M. DE BREQUIGNY, the extent of whose information, equals his facility in communicating it, and who appears to take a more lively interest in the works of others, than in those with which he has himself enlightened us, has extracted, from the *British Museum*, a M.S. saved from the fire which destroyed the greater part of the Cottonian library.

It

It is a collection of pieces which have been considerably damaged by the fire; among them, we find a letter written of EDWARD VCHYNCHAM, relative to the action between HOWARD and DE PREGENT. It is written in the English of those times, and very difficult to be understood, on account of its peculiar orthography; notwithstanding these obstacles, M. DE BREQUIGNY has, with infinite good-will, effected a translation of it, and which we have much pleasure in inserting. The reader will observe several vacant intervals in the piece; it also appears, that in the binding, some of the *half-burned*, and loose leaves of the M.S. were misplaced, which that respectable scholar has endeavoured to arrange in their proper order.

“ Sir, the news from this place is so distressing,
 “ that it is with pain I communicate it to you.
 “ But you have already testified so much kindness
 “ for me, especially in procuring me the honour
 “ of a letter from the king, that I have resolved
 “ to relate to you, what has passed within my own
 “ personal observation.

“ On Friday, the 22d of April, six gallies,* and
 “ four *fustes*,† cut through a part of his majesty’s
 “ fleet, sunk the vessel of which COMPTON had the
 “ command, and so violently injured one of the new
 “ royal barks, that commanded by STEPHEN BULL,
 “ that we thought she must have gone to the bottom.
 “ The chaloupes then captured one of the *fustes*,
 “ and the others, with the gallies, retired to the
 “ bay of Whitfond, near Conquet, where they
 “ remained

* This is erroneous, they had but *four* gallies, as we have already stated.

† A kind of store-ship, both with oars and sails, of which the Venetians formerly made frequent use.

" remained the whole of the next day, Saturday.
 " The following night, my Lord Admiral gave
 " orders for the debarkation of 6000 men, between
 " the bay and Conquet, and thus to attack the
 " gallies on the rear; but, when we had landed, my
 " Lord Admiral perceived a ship coming from the
 " other side, which induced him to relinquish that
 " part of his project; the commander of the ene-
 " my's ship, it appeared, having put his men on
 " board the store-ships; our Admiral sent orders
 " to the captains of the large vessels to rejoin the
 " the grand fleet, off the port of Brest, and to re-
 " main on that station, so as to prevent the French
 " fleet from entering in. * * * * *

" The 25th of April, St. Mark's day, our Admi-
 " miral directed four captains to support him in
 " an attempt to board the gallies; the dispositions
 " for the encounter, were made about four o'clock
 " in the afternoon, * * * * *. SIDNEY,
 " and some others, were ordered to attack the gal-
 " lies, with the assistance of the light barks; the gal-
 " lies having retired between two rocks, there was
 " not a sufficient depth of water for the large ves-
 " sels; added to this, they were defended by works
 " thrown up on the shore, at each side, mounted
 " with cannon, and in such situations, that neither
 " boats nor vessels could approach, without passing
 " under the fire of these redoubts, and through a
 " shower of arrows, and of balls.

" My Lord Admiral, notwithstanding all these
 " obstacles, persisted in his design, from which,
 " nothing could dissuade him. He boarded the
 " galley which PREGENT commanded, and leaped
 " upon the fore-castle, accompanied by CHARRAU,
 " (a Spaniard,) and sixteen other persons. The
 " anchor, which had been thrown into the French
 " galley,

“ galley, was held by a cable, and fixed by the crew to the capstan of the Admiral’s vessel, in order that they might veer the cable, in case the gallies should be set on fire. But, whether it had been cut by the enemy, or whether his own people had purposely slackened it, in order to enable them to avoid the fire of the gallies, or of the batteries on shore, the instant that my Lord Admiral had got on board the French vessel, his galley separated from that of the enemy, leaving him, and his companions, on board the latter, where they were assailed with *Moorish* pikes, and driven into the sea, according to the account given by one of the sailors, who, though wounded in eighteen places, got into a chalupe, and escaped.”

“ A servant of CHARRAU’S, related this event, in the like manner, and added, that when his master and the Admiral had leaped on board the enemy’s galley, the former ordered him to search for his pistols; but when he returned with them, their galley had separated from the other. He then perceived the Admiral swimming in the sea, and calling out for his galley to come to him; but seeing it was impracticable, he took the whistle that hung from his neck, twisted the string about it, and threw it into the sea. This man says, that immediately after, he lost sight of him.”† * * * * *

“ One of our barks drew near, but shortly after
“ its

† Thus perished the great Sir EDWARD HOWARD, who had distinguished himself by his skill and bravery, in the preceding reign, and had been recently created *Lord High Admiral of England*, by HENRY VIII. He was the second son of THOMAS, Earl of SURREY, afterwards Duke of NORFOLK. *Translator.*

" its arrival, the commander was killed. At the
 " same time, CHEYNE and WALLOP arrived at the
 " place of action, on board their small vessels, and
 " fired smartly from such guns as they had. CHIS-
 " BURNE and SIDNEY also came up, and attempted
 " to board the galley of PREGENT, which received
 " considerable damage from their attacks; but see-
 " ing that all the other vessels had retired, and his
 " alone remaining, and also not knowing that my
 " Lord Admiral had quitted his galley, they return-
 " ed to join the large vessels, without attempting any
 " thing farther. We were as yet, ignorant whether
 " the Admiral was taken or killed; I believe that
 " no grief ever exceeded ours, when we were ap-
 " prised of having so unhappily lost this com-
 " mander, who was equally estimable for his
 " bravery, his talents, and his virtues. We all
 " anxiously wish, that the king may send, to com-
 " mand us, an Admiral, or a commander in chief,
 " who to high birth, unites firmness and sagacity;
 " and who can render himself equally loved and
 " respected, for never had any fleet a greater oc-
 " casion for a man capable of maintaining good
 " order." * * * * *

" In order to ascertain the fate of my Lord Ad-
 " miral, we sent to the shore a boat, with a flag of
 " truce, and commissioned CHEYNE, RICHARD
 " CROMWELL, and WALLOP, to learn if any Eng-
 " lish prisoners were taken in the late fight. When
 " they arrived at the shore, two of the French
 " came forward, and demanded their pleasure;
 " they answered, that they wished to speak to the
 " French Admiral; they were then invited to land,
 " and assured that they all should be perfectly safe;
 " but they declined landing, until four of the
 " French were sent, as hostages, on board their
 " boat."

“boat:” * * * * * “Then,
 “CHEYNE, and his companions, went on shore,
 “and proceeded towards the place where the Ad-
 “miral of France resided; in the mean while,
 “PREGENT arrived on horseback, and they en-
 “quired of him, if he had taken any English pri-
 “soners; CHEYNE added, that one of his relatives
 “had been either killed or taken, that if he was a
 “prisoner, he would pay his ransom; he begged
 “he might be well treated, and for which he would
 “himself be accountable. PREGENT then an-
 “swered, ‘I assure you, I have no other prisoner
 ‘than one sailor: but an officer, having on his
 ‘arm a gilt buckler, leaped on board me, and
 ‘has been thrown into the sea, by means of Moor-
 ‘ish pikes; the prisoner informed me, that this
 ‘officer was your Admiral.’

“I had forgot to mention the galley which
 “Lord FERRERS commanded; he brought her up
 “against those of the enemy, and expended all his
 “powder and ball, as well as two hundred quivers
 “of arrows, against them. * * * * *

“This is all the news, except that my Lord FER-
 “RERS, whom we have chosen for our Admiral,
 “has sent me an order to go to Hampton,* for
 “the purpose of convoying the store-ships thither.
 “I have been appointed to this service for three
 “reasons: my ship is a good-failer; it is better
 “supplied than any of the others; there are many
 “sick on board the fleet; and, all my people, with
 “the exception of one, who has just died, were
 “cured by means of the medicines which I had
 “on board.”

“On

* The appellation of *Southampton*, in those days. *Translator.*

“ On Saturday, the last day of April, all the
 “ fleet arrived at Plymouth; and, on the Sunday, I
 “ saw a number of the sick landed from a boat, of
 “ whom, two dropped dead on reaching the shore.
 “ * * * * *

“ To render the better part of the gallees and
 “ the boats serviceable against the French; I am
 “ of opinion, that they should be entrusted to the
 “ direction of brave captains, and that their crews
 “ should consist only of able sailors; that the row-
 “ ers should be chained to their benches; that they
 “ should also have a certain number of archers;
 “ and lastly, that those should be recompensed
 “ who may distinguish themselves; and that those
 “ who fail in their duty, should be punished.”*
 “ * * * * *

“ † At my departure from England, on Wednes-
 “ day, * * * of April, I discovered a ship, which
 “ I observed to be French, and accordingly chased
 “ it, for two or three hours. At length, she made
 “ for the coast of Friesland, and I abandoned the
 “ pursuit. I then shaped my course towards the
 “ West, all that day, and the following night. On
 “ Thursday morning, we perceived fifteen sail
 “ coming towards us; several of my people ima-
 “ gined they were French; but wishing to ascer-
 “ tain whether they were French, English, or Spa-
 “ niards, I crowded sail upon them, and, on ap-
 “ proaching nearer, we found them to be Spani-
 “ ards. The wind then became contrary.

“ The next morning, Friday, we discovered
 “ three French vessels; we prepared ourselves
 “ accordingly, and I encouraged my people.
 “ Being deficient in quarter-netting, I substituted

“ two

‡ What follows, has probably been misplaced.

"two cables, upon which I placed my mattraffes,
 "and other things of that kind, which I had on
 "board; I ordered the moor-pikes, and other
 "arms, to be got ready. Every thing being pre-
 "pared for the reception of the three French barks;
 "the latter, when they perceived our respectable
 "appearance, and that I fought not to avoid
 "the encounter, betook themselves to flight: I
 "chafed them almost to the Abbey of Feschamp,
 "and under the walls of that town; I followed
 "them so far, that they sent us a broadside each,
 "but seeing no means of closing with them, I re-
 "sumed my course, and ran all that day upon
 "different tacks, and also the following night.
 "On the 16th, the wind changing to the S. S. W.
 "we had no other alternative than to * * * *, in
 "the morning of the 18th, we perceived a sail,
 " * * * *.

"The 19th, at ten o'clock, P. M. we discovered
 "the French gallies between the rocks, while we
 "were giving chase to a Breton ship, and some
 "transport vessels in the offing. When I perceived
 "the gallies, I cried out, '*Row to the transport
 "ships!*' as we approached them, we counted
 "twenty-two; they were then two miles from the
 "gallies, and we distinguished them to be French;
 "never did I see any persons so frightened as our
 "Spaniards were, on this occasion,* they repeat-
 "edly cried, '*This day will send us to the hos-
 "pital!*' About this time, some other ships were
 "discovered from the mast-head, and towards
 "which we turned; after having pursued them
 " about

* It appears that recourse was had to them, in order to complete the crews of ships belonging to the English fleet.

“ about six miles, we fell in with, while on our
 “ course, the same day, his majesty’s fleet, off the
 “ the harbour of Brest, which we joined with our
 “ provision ships, and I immediately went on board
 “ the Admiral. Never yet was any knight better
 “ received by his lady, than I was by the Admiral,
 “ and all the fleet; for I brought provisions, which
 “ were so much wanted, that, during ten days, the
 “ ship’s crews were reduced to one meal a day. I
 “ finish my letter with praying God to send us good
 “ fortune.” Dated at *Hampton*, 5th of May, 1513.

A *Postscript* of some lines, appears in the original M.S. but so damaged by the fire, that nothing could be extracted from it.

The means which the French minister adopted for the discovery of the treaty, which the allied powers had formed amongst themselves, at the instigation of WILLIAM,* deserves to be known; no historian of the reign of LOUIS XIV. has made any mention of it. We derive this information from CHARPENTIER, formerly the *commis* of the Marquis de LOUVOIS, which he states in his memoirs, which, we believe; have never been in print, in the following manner: “ The Marquis de LOUVOIS, according to his practice, maintained, at Brussels, a French officer, who, under pretext of an affair of honour, that had occurred to him in France, had taken refuge there, and placed himself under the protection of the Spanish Governor-General, to whom he assiduously paid his court; and he rendered himself agreeable to the great, by his polite manners.

“ M. le

* Prince of ORANGE, afterwards king WILLIAM the Third,
Translator.

“ M. le Prince de VAUDEMONT, esteeming himself happy, if he could attach a subject who appeared so deserving, prevailed on him, after much entreaty, to reside in his palace; D'AUBIGNY, such was the name of the officer, wished to have excused himself, to prevent his being laid under restraint in his avocations; but as a refusal might have led to a discovery, he accepted the offer. A short time had elapsed after his residing there, when, passing by himself the prince's apartments, he perceived a paper upon a desk; he took it, and, retiring to his chamber, he perceived that it was sketch of the grand confederacy entered into at Augsb^urg,* amongst several powers, against France. He immediately sent it to the Marquis of LOUVOIS, who had already entertained some apprehensions, since he learnt what had passed at the carnival of Venice, between certain princes, respecting arrangements for a general treaty.

“ The French court was extremely surpris'd at the treaty; this work, conducted by the Prince of ORANGE, appeared cemented, in all its parts, with so much caution, and such a perfect unanimity

* “ The circumstance of this confederacy, is thus adverted to by HUME. “ By the intrigues and influence of the Prince of Orange, a league was formed at Augsb^urg, in which the whole empire united for its defence, against the French monarch; Spain and Holland became parties in the alliance; the accession of Savoy was afterwards obtained; Sweden and Denmark seem'd to favour the same cause. But though these numerous States compos'd the greater part of Europe, the leagues was still deem'd imperfect, and unequal to its end, so long as England maintained that neutrality, in which she had, hitherto, persevered.”

Hume's *England*, reign of JAMES II.

" mity appearing amongst those who were compre-
 " hended in it, that it was evidently well negoci-
 " ated, and bid fair to be of long duration. The
 " Prince of VAUDEMONT, from whom this copy
 " had been purloined, was in great anxiety, and
 " sought for it a long while. D'AUBIGNY con-
 " ducted himself, upon this occasion, with so
 " much address, and so natural an air, that no
 " suspicion fell upon him; on the contrary,
 " having had the misfortune to kill one of the
 " inhabitants of the town, who had made an
 " attack upon him, the prince took him un-
 " der his protection. But this affair, although ex-
 " cusable in a man of spirit, having drawn other
 " enemies upon D'AUBIGNY, who pursued with
 " a deadly vengeance, the prince advised him to
 " withdraw, and even gave him letters of recom-
 " mendation to the Duke of ZELL, whom he pre-
 " tended to wish to serve."

" Being detained at Aix-la-Chapelle, where con-
 " ferences were carrying on by the envoys of the
 " confederated princes, he thought that he might
 " be able to discover their resolutions, and thus
 " render himself of greater service to the king,
 " during his stay in that city, or, at least, as much
 " so, as by being at Brussels.

" A secretary of the Marquis de LOUVOIS, in-
 " stead of adopting the usual address on the letters
 " sent to him, directed one to him, by mistake,
 " by the name of 'D'AUBIGNY, French officer,'
 " and countersigned de LOUVOIS. It was imme-
 " diately carried to the governor of the place, who,
 " upon opening it, recollected that there was a
 " suspicious person in the town; he caused enquiry
 " to be made, and, in consequence of the descrip-
 " tion given, D'AUBIGNY was arrested under the
 " false

" false name which he bore; it was to no purpose
 " that he disowned the letter; a process was insti-
 " tuted against him, as a spy; during which, the
 " prince was written to, who had protected him at
 " Brussels; the prince, calling to mind the loss of
 " the treaty of the confederacy, wrote, that he
 " must be punished as a spy. The council of war
 " condemned him to an ignominious death, al-
 " though he protested his innocence. The even-
 " ing before the intended execution, a young offi-
 " cer having come, with twenty soldiers, to guard
 " him, during the night, in the tower, where he
 " was imprisoned: after some sorrowful expressions
 " of condolence, as to his condition, it was pro-
 " posed to drink, with a view to banish such
 " melancholy reflections. D'AUBIGNY gave money
 " to a soldier, to procure some refreshments; the
 " soldier brought what he had purchased, when they
 " all entered the room to partake of them. Whilst
 " they were employed in broiling herrings, round a
 " large fire, he sprang towards the door, which
 " happened to be near, and which they had inad-
 " vertently left open, and pulling it after him, he
 " shut them in, and quitted the castle without ob-
 " struction; after several hair-breadth escapes, and
 " notwithstanding the diligent search which was
 " made by the governor, and his garrison, he found
 " means to quit the place, and to arrive at Dinant,
 " where he learnt the uneasiness which his impri-
 " sonment had given the Marquis de LOUVOIS,
 " who had fruitlessly employed every endeavour
 " to save him; but it is remarkable, although
 " the like circumstance has before occurred, that
 " the very night of D'AUBIGNY's escape from pri-
 " son, his *hair and beard, which were black, turned*
 " *entirely white.* It was by means of D'AUBIGNY,
 " that

“ that the project became known in France, of a
 “ very long and sanguinary war, and of the pre-
 “ parations which so many confederated princes
 “ were making, in order to oppress that kingdom.”

The first person to whom the honour has been ascribed, of foreseeing the present revolution in North America, is the Abbé DUBOS, an élève of M. DE TORCY, and who is equally distinguished in the career of politics, as in that of literature. Perhaps, however, he had not this event seriously in contemplation; though, after having asserted, in a work which we regard as a *chef d'œuvre* of its kind, that, as England was unable to carry into effect the Navigation Act, relative to the exclusive commerce of her colonies, in a variety of instances, it was highly impolitic to have recourse to war to enforce it, he adds, “ The efforts which
 “ must be made in the sequel, to reduce those
 “ colonies to the just obedience, which they owe to
 “ the parent state, will only tend, perhaps, to
 “ cause them to revolt, whenever they shall be
 “ aware, that they can do without the mother-
 “ country.” *The interests of England ill-understood in the present war*, (that of the succession,) second edition, *Amsterdam*, 1704, p. 73.

This is the real passage, in which the author meant to speak of the fate of the English colonies. That cited by M. GROSLEY, *London*, first edition, p. 237, 238, has no relation to it, and only dwells upon the impossibility of preserving the conquest of the Spanish possessions, of which the enemies of Great Britain, at that time, attributed to her the project. On this head, the judicious DUBOS advances, that “ the English, not having the re-
 “ sources of Spain for the preservation of her Ame-
 “ rican

“ rican conquests, they would escape from them
 “ before the expiration of ten years; and, even if
 “ they should be able to retain them, it would
 “ never be in tranquility, nor could they draw a
 “ revenue equal to that, which the Spaniards de-
 “ rived from them.” p. 217.

Modern writers, therefore, ought not to have supposed that the question, in this last passage, was relative to the epoch, assigned by this political writer, to the duration of the British empire, on the continent of North America.

The English, however, appear to have had apprehensions of a revolution in that quarter, after the succession war, as it was proposed in parliament, in 1715, to pass a bill, annulling the charter of the province of Massachusetts, and of some others. It was then publicly said, that, *if such a bill was not passed, the colonies, in a state of immediate dependence upon the crown, would become so powerful in time, that they would throw off the restraint of authority.* In vain did M. DUMMER attempt to remove these apprehensions; they were justly founded from the beginning. In the early part of queen ANNE'S reign, Colonel NICHOLSON, governor of Virginia, in one of his dispatches to the Board of Trade and Plantations, stated, “ that the
 “ inhabitants of that province, who were rich and
 “ numerous, entertained republican principles,
 “ which it was necessary to counteract in good time,
 “ in order to maintain the prerogatives of the
 “ queen, and to stop the progress of those pernicious doctrines, which were daily spreading, not
 “ only in Virginia, but in all the other govern-
 “ ments of her majesty.” *History of Virginia*, b. I. ch. IV. With a view of preventing the dangerous effects of these principles, this gover-
 nor

nor had, some time before, proposed that all the colonies should be united, under one single governor, who should have had the power and the title of viceroy: the execution of this office would not have been without obstacles. He also required that there should be maintained, in America, an army for the purpose of *subduing, therein, the enemies of the queen!* This project was worthy of a "tyrant," who had dared to answer the complaints of a colonist, who was unjustly persecuted, "that the Americans had no right to the privileges of the English, and that he would hang all those who opposed the execution of his orders, with a copy of their great charter fastened to their necks!"

STATE

STATE of the ENGLISH MARINE,
AT THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

VESSELS.	Tons.	Seamen & Soldiers.	Arti- lerists.
The Elizabeth-Jonas, - - - - -	900	460	40
Triumph, - - - - -	1000	460	40
White Bear, - - - - -	900	460	40
Victory, - - - - -	800	368	32
Le Marie Honora, - - - - -	800	368	32
Royal Ark, - - - - -	800	368	32
St. Matthew, - - - - -	1000	460	40
St. Andrew, - - - - -	900	368	32
Just Denial - - - - -	700	320	30
Garland, - - - - -	700	270	30
War-spight, - - - - -	600	270	30
Le Marie-Rose, - - - - -	600	220	30
Hope, - - - - -	600	220	30
Bonaventure, - - - - -	600	220	30
Lion, - - - - -	500	220	30
Nonpareil, - - - - -	500	220	30
Defiance, - - - - -	500	220	30
Rainbow, - - - - -	500	220	30
Dreadnought, - - - - -	400	180	20
Antelope, - - - - -	350	144	16
Swift-sure, - - - - -	400	180	20
Swallow, - - - - -	330	144	16
Forefight, - - - - -	300	144	16
La Marée, - - - - -	250	108	12
Crane, - - - - -	200	88	12
Adventure, - - - - -	250	108	12
Aquittance, - - - - -	200	88	12
Reply, - - - - -	200	88	12
Advantage, - - - - -	200	88	12
Tiger, - - - - -	200	88	12
Tramontaine, - - - - -	**	62	8
Scout, - - - - -	120	58	8
Achates, - - - - -	100	52	8
Charles, - - - - -	70	39	6
Moon, - - - - -	60	35	5
Advice, - - - - -	50	35	5
Spy, - - - - -	50	35	5
Merlin, - - - - -	45	30	5
Sun, - - - - -	40	26	4
Cygnat, - - - - -	20	12	2
George, (hoy,) - - - - -	100	50	10
Fenny-rose, (hoy,) - - - - -	80	40	8
Total 42	16515	7532	819

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T A B L E

OF THE

NAVAL FORCES OF ENGLAND.

FROM THE YEAR MDCLXXXVIII, TO THE YEAR
MDCCLXXVII.

VESSELS.	1st Rates	2d Rates	3d Rates	4th Rates	5th Rates	Frigates &c.	Under repair or on the Stocks	Total.
At the Accession of WILLIAM III. In 1688.	4	2	17	38	2	69	41	173
At the Death of WILLIAM III. In 1702.	7	14	47	62	36	107	**	273
In the Reign of QUEEN ANNE, In 1707.	7	14	45	64	40	114	**	284
Under GEORGE I. In 1721.	4	5	25	13	52	45	62	206
Under GEORGE II. In 1734.	5	11	30	19	45	58	40	208
Under GEORGE II. In 1746.	6	13	41	30	62	124	**	276
Under GEORGE II. In 1755.	5	11	48	36	74	67	**	241
In the Reign of GEORGE III. In 1777.	3	12	56	41	20	156	27†	315

† All on the stocks, and of which, five were three-deckers, seventeen two-deckers, and five frigates.

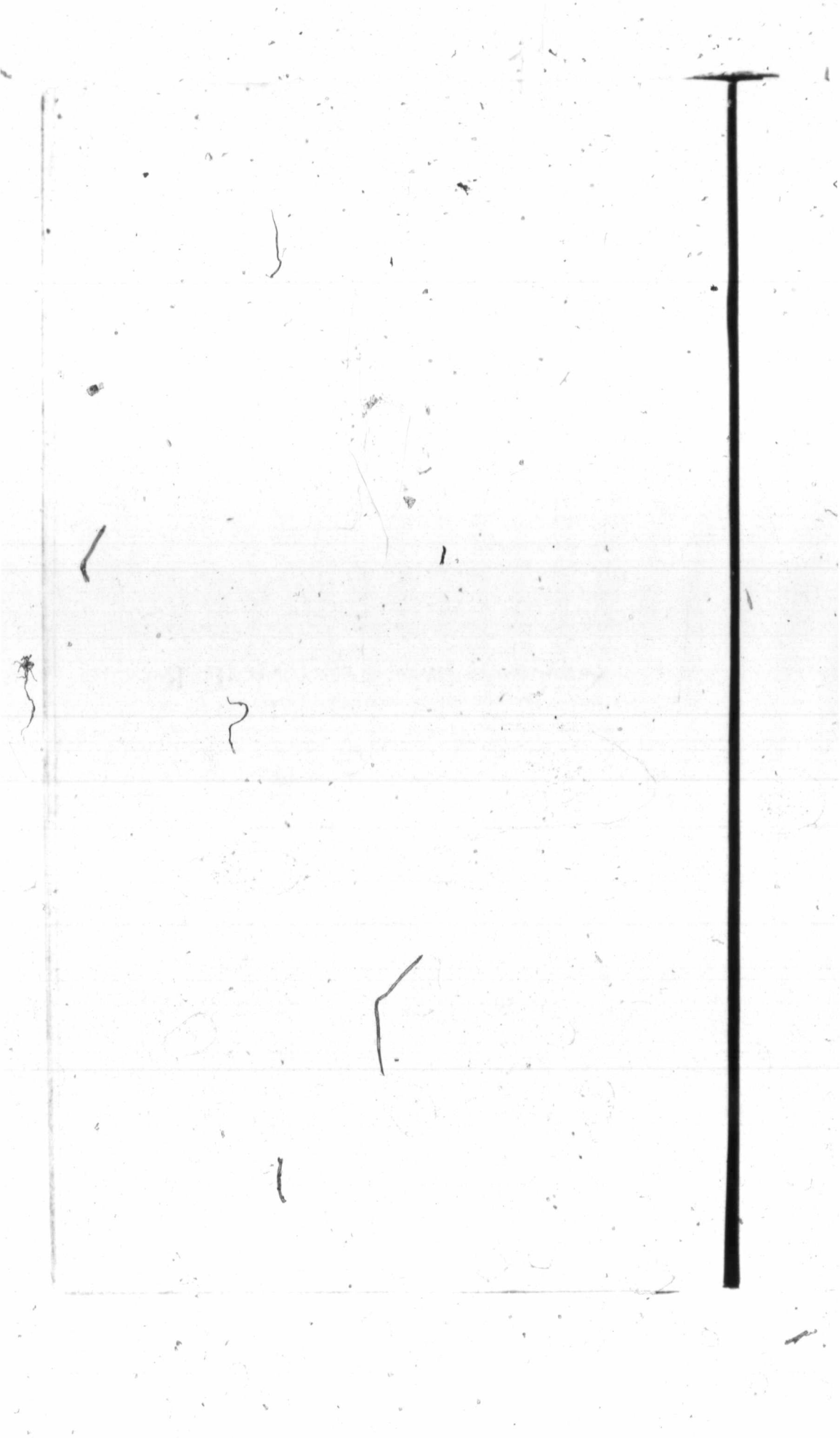
A P P R O B A T I O N

(OFFICIAL,) OF THE ORIGINAL WORK.

I have perused *L'Histoire des Progrés de la Puissance Navale de L'Angleterre*, and have found nothing therein, which should prevent the impression.

Yverdon, 13 June, 1782.

E. Bertrand, Censeur.



I N D E X.

B O O K I.

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